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**Proceedings of the XXVII Congress. *Uneven processes of
Rural Change: On Diversity, Knowledge and Justice***

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Kraków MAŁOPOLSKA



Uneven Processes of Rural Change: On Diversity, Knowledge and Justice

Europe is facing multiple processes of change that affect the rural in many ways: demographic evolutions, migration flows, renewed urban-rural relations, the rise and fall of alternative food networks vis-à-vis the seeming omnipresence of powerful food consortia, the changing power of constituencies of the rural, changing patterns of land use and valorizations of natural resources, rapid technological developments, etc. These change processes do not occur in isolation, but are embedded in a package of often interrelated external meta-trends (such as climate change, geo-politics, global markets) that position rural spaces in broader dynamics and result in uneven processes of change. The European Society for Rural Sociology has explored many of these processes in former conferences.

These uneven processes of rural change are interconnected and multi-level, involving multiple actors and governance approaches. They re-confirm the inadequacy of outdated concepts and dichotomies such as the urban-rural divide, the globalization-localization dichotomy or the disciplinary/academic segmentation of a complex reality. They are no longer able to capture the complex and systemic nature of today's Europe, its countryside and the ongoing processes of change. We can question how we (in our multiple roles as scientists, citizens, policy makers, members of the business community or NGO representatives) can deal with this. In the context of this conference, we propose to explore processes of rural change from three interrelated perspectives.

Mirrors and the richness of diversity.

In our multiple post-era (post-modernity, post-consumerism, post-liberalism, post-normal science, post-disciplinarity, post-humanism, and other posts), increasing diversity is being recognized in multiple domains. These include evolutions in technological developments and new combinations of societal and scientific fields, leading to new practices such as social innovation, urban agriculture, social-cultural valuation of ecosystem services, low-carbon farming or short-chain systems. There are also different cultural interpretations of 'a sustainable rural' and complementing and contradicting interpretations of desired pathways towards sustainability. These diversities are at the same time rich and comfortable (creating fertile breeding grounds for creativity) and threatening (creating confusion, injustice and fear of the unknown). How does 'the otherness' in terms of perspectives, disciplines and socio-economic fields mirror one's own values, paradigms and positions? And where (to what kind of actions and policies) does this diversity lead?

Whose truth, whose voice? Rural change and the creation of multiple knowledges.

The rural has been approached by different disciplines that can either enrich or compromise each other (economics, STS, natural sciences, demography, sociology). The diversification in society and science challenges traditional theoretical and methodological approaches of rural sociology in analyzing and interpreting the rural change. This questions the role of rural sociology vis-à-vis other 'sciences of the rural'. Moreover, 'scientific truths' are complemented

with multiple kinds of knowledge from other societal actors. How can we juggle these different knowledges: local; practitioner; policy; research, etc.? Do we have the skills and the motivation to become truly interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary in our research? If our 'laboratory' (the rural) is changing, what are the methodological and theoretical consequences for the discipline 'rural sociology' and its relation with other disciplines? What are the consequences for the role of the researcher in policy making, in innovation processes and so on? How are 'uneven processes of rural change' reflected in our own discipline, in our research agenda and collaborative networks with industry, civil society and policy organizations?

Winners and losers. Rural change and the question of justice.

The material and intangible flows between and within places and the dynamic interplays between newcomers and longstanding residents lead to processes of inclusion and exclusion that give rise to questions of justice - environmental, social, technological and economic. Questions of justice and equity relate to outcomes of rural change, but also to the principle of inception for change. How are opportunities distributed? What are the emerging socio-spatial configurations within and between rural spaces? How are the physical and non-physical sites of exclusion and of inclusion shaped?

The processes of rural change and the three elements of diversity, knowledge and justice lead to reflections about the significance of 'the rural' for a Europe in transition. Transition towards resilience and sustainability does not stop at the rural or urban fringes, at the borders of disciplines or practices or regions - it is affecting all aspects of Europe at all levels and in all places simultaneously. What then can be the (new) roles and meanings of 'the rural' and 'rural sociologists' in contemporary Europe?

All three cornerstones of the conference theme will inspire the invited speakers, working groups, and other activities at the conference.

We are happy to welcome you to Kraków!

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Table of Contents

Thematic Line 1: 'SPACE, PLACE AND (IN)EQUALITIES'	16
Working Group 1. The new relationship between rural territories and rural dwellers: experiences of success and failure between utopia and dystopia	17
Regional Identity and Crisis - Expectation and Reality of intentions planned by LAGs in the South Bohemia.....	18
T. Pilař, J. Sálus, A. Bábíková	18
Working Group 2. International perspectives on land reform: rural change and the question of justice	20
Land Grabbing in Colombia: old and new mechanisms.....	21
C. Hurtado	21
Working Group 3. Declining rural facilities and services: regional models versus everyday life realities	23
Securing food supply in Spanish remote rural areas: the role of travelling retailers	24
P. Cerrada-Serra, L. Arnalte-Mur	24
Village facilities and social place attachment in the rural Netherlands	26
J. Gieling, T. Haartsen, L. Vermeij	26
Local preventive action and partnerships: views on welfare service reform ..	28
M. Halonen, M. Kattilakoski	28
Green Infrastructure Spaces as a Factor of Rural Young People Wellbeing	30
G. Vazoniene, B. Vazonis	30
The Urban Question in a Rural Area: Struggles and strategies to add some urbanity to a rural economy.....	32
D. van der Wouw, E. Meijers	32
Working Group 4. Countryside connections: Staying in the countryside	34
S/elective belonging: how rural newcomer families with children become stayers	35
T. Haartsen, A. Stockdale	35
The entrepreneurship discourse and the (ex-) rural women entrepreneurs' lived experience of staying in the countryside.....	37
H.-M. Ikonen	37
'I want to be my own boss' – Women's motives to stay in the countryside ...	39
M. Sireni, A. Jolkkonen, V. Lemponen	39
Working Group 5. Tap for change: ubiquitous ICT, food and rurality	41
Mobile applications fostering situated learning opportunities in Alternative Agro-Food Networks.....	42
M. Della Gala	42



Implementing a Mobile-Based Application for Marketing and Technical Support: Developing a Sustainable System for Fish Farmers in Uganda	44
J. J. Molnar, I. Omiat, M. Matuha, G. Atukunda, J. Walakira, T. Hyuha, J. Bukenya, C. Boyd, S. Naigaga	44
Hand in hand - Social Innovation and New Technology supporting rural development.....	46
G. Nemes	46
Failing To Connect: Superfast Broadband, Rurality & The Failing Governance Of Rural England	48
M. Reed, A. Hamilton-Webb, R. Berry, I. Mena Parreño	48
Working Group 6. Poverty, social exclusion and marginalisation in diversified rural contexts	50
Poverty and material deprivation among Swiss farming families.....	51
S. Contzen	51
Quality of life in Macedonian rural areas.....	53
J. Jakimovski, E. Uksini, F. Filipovski	53
Ethnicity-based selective school choices and marginalization in disadvantaged areas of Hungary.....	55
M. Kiss	55
Manifestation of marginality and peripherality within differentiated rural structures in Slovakia	57
L. Škamlová	57
25 Years of post-Soviet Rural Development in Central Asia: Sustaining Inequalities.....	59
M. Spoor	59
Challenging Geographical Disadvantages and Marginalisation: A Case Study of Depeasantisation in Mountain Villages, the Western Black Sea Region of Turkey	61
M. Suzuki Him, A. Gündüz Hoşgör	61
Poverty and civil society in Russia	63
A-M. Sätre, L. Granberg, A. Varyzgina	63
Prevention strategies of avoiding poverty in small towns of contemporary Russia	65
A. Varyzgina	65
Working Group 7. On the move: International migration to/in rural areas. 67	
When Race Encounters Youth in Place: Stories of White Hierarchy in Rural Scotland.....	68
P. Cacho	68
Living better, but separated: emotional geographies of Mexican agricultural migrant workers in rural Quebec.....	70
L. Campos-Flores	70



African immigrants in the agriculture of the Maresme: between itinerancy and precariousness.....	72
T. Contreras Dávila	72
Health and Safety of Temporary Migrant Workers in Rural Canada.....	74
E. Dabrowska-Miciula.....	74
The challenges and response of location: Transnational migration in six different rural areas in Sweden.....	76
M. Johansson, D. Beach	76
England's Green and Pleasant Lands? Categorising migrants and protecting idylls through respectibilisation.....	78
N. A. Kerrigan	78
Beyond utilitarianism: migrant wellbeing and mental health in rural areas ...	80
P. de Lima, J. Jean-Pierre, L. Campos-Flores	80
Boundaries of inclusion or exclusion? The economic integration of transnational migrants in regional economies	82
R. McAreavey, B. Krivokapic-Skoko.....	82
Acceptance of international immigrants in rural Austria	84
V. Reitter.....	84
Making up for lost resources: How are immigrants attracted and integrated to the rural north?.....	86
H. R. Sigurjonsdottir, T. Heleniak, G. L. Harbo, Å. S. Hildestrand	86
Rural racism – from a discourse into a multifaceted experience of settling asylum seekers in Finnish countryside.....	88
T. Sotkasiira	88
The transnational rural other – reconsidering the idea of otherness in rural studies.....	90
J. Stachowski, J. F. Rye.....	90
Working Group 8. Mobilities, gender, racial and other social inequalities in rural Europe.....	92
Mobilities, racialization of labour and local policies of reception for seasonal migrant workers in Southern Europe.....	93
A. Corrado, F. Saverio Caruso.....	93
Life models and rural women: social and labour mobility in Sierra del Segura (Albacete, Spain)	95
J. Escribano, N. Vercher, D. E. Valero, J. Esparcia	95
Women in Rural Social Structure: Aspects of Social Inequalities.....	97
M. Halamska, S. Michalska	97
The concept of intersectionality – a convincing tool to explain the dynamic changes in rural areas?	99
T. Oedl-Wieser, M. Schmitt.....	99



Vocational Education and Training for Female Farmers to Change Gender-oriented Family Farm Tradition:A case study in the southern parts of German-speaking Europe.....	101
Y. Otomo.....	101
Mobile families: family regrouping strategies and residential trajectories of rural foreign immigrants.....	103
R. Sampedro, L. Camarero	103
Inclusive rural development? Some insights from gender and aged-based inequalities in rural Almeria (Spain)	105
J.J. Serrano, J. Escribano, J. Esparcia.....	105
Are there Equal Employment Opportunities for Refugees on Farms?.....	107
J. Stratmann, L. Theuvsen	107
Municipal perceptions and approaches to social exclusion in Spanish rural areas during the crisis	109
D. E. Valero, J. Escribano, J.V. Pérez	109
Working Group 9. Ageing rural communities: experiences and consequences of uneven demographic processes	111
Rural gerontocracies and the reshaping of the productive citizen: community stories in age and agency from the River Adur valley, UK.....	112
M. Gearey	112
Affective lives of rural ageing	114
A. S. Maclaren	114
Innovations in home-based elderly care in remote areas. Findings from northern Norway	116
M. C. Munkejord, W. Schönfelder, H. Eggebø	116
Elderly People in Rural Regions as Promoters of Social Innovations and Changing Knowledge.....	118
A. Noack.....	118
Working Group 10. Towards inclusive rural places and spaces.....	120
Implementing rural development programs.....	121
P. Kujala.....	121
Place-based welfare knowledge as a resource of healthy and sustainable places and communities.....	123
N. Kuuva, P. Pylkkänen.....	123
Farming for an alternative, traditional rural community: a case study in Hong Kong.....	125
N.K.Y. Leung.....	125
Working Group 12. Population Change, Economic and Environmental Transformations, and Rural Community Well-Being.....	127
The Organization of Services in Rural Places with Extreme Population Aging	128



D.L. Brown, N. Glasgow, L.J. Kulcsar, S. Sanders, B. Thiede	128
The Role of Human Capital and Assimilation in the Dispersion of the Foreign-born in the USA (title should be: The Role of Individual and Context Characteristics in the Dispersion of the Foreign-born in the USA).....	
	130
D. T. Gurak, M. M. Kritz	130
Encountering education in the rural: migrant women's perspectives.....	
	132
R. Mayes, R. McAreavey	132
Community-level Ecological Models of Gay Male and Lesbian Partnering Prevalence in the Micropolitan Areas of the United States, 2010–2014.....	
	134
D. L. Poston, Jr., S. Baker-Hughes, J. H. Wong	134
Community Well-being and Mexican Interstate Migration in the United States, 2011–2015	
	135
D. L. Poston, Jr., A. C. Menchaca, J. H. Wong	135
The Effects of Political, Religious and Economic Well-being on the Economic Costs of Homosexuality, United States, 2011-2015	
	136
D. L. Poston, Jr., C. Rollman-Tinajero	136
Youth Wellbeing and Demographic Dividend: the Nation Building Process of Asia's Newest Nation Timor-Leste.....	
	138
U. Saikia, J. Chalmers, G. Dasvarma, M. Hosgelen	138
Tourism Development in Rural Areas and Changes in Population, Economy and Environment.....	
	140
H. Sojasi Qeidary, N. Vazin	140
The Impact of Rural Youth Migration on Socio-economic Crisis in Rural Areas..	
	142
N. Vazin, T. Sadeghloo, H. Mokhtari Hashi	142
Thematic Line 2: 'KNOWLEDGES IN PROCESSES OF RURAL CHANGE'	
	144
Working Group 13. Shaping methods, shaping voices and the engagement of discourses in an age of uneven rural change	
	145
'When you leave, they will kill me'. Navigating politics in and of the field in northern Mozambique	
	146
K. Howell	146
Using community engagement and co-design methods to address critical rural health issues.....	
	148
S. Morton, S-A. Muñoz	148
Researching the Rural.....	
	150
D. Strijker, G. Bosworth, S. Hillyard	150
Working Group 17. Social movements and citizens' initiatives: Geographies, power relations, and determinants of success and impact	
	152
Disciplining the state: re-asserting marginalised narratives in resource governance processes.....	
	153



J. McCarthy	153
New social movements – rural NGOs after system transformation in Poland.....	155
A. Sitek	155
Mass media as crucial accelerator for new social movements dealing with rural development: evidence from Lithuania.....	157
R. Vilkė, D. Vidickienė	157
Working Group 18. Plural knowledges for AgriFood collectives: Making spaces for new rural-urban connections	159
Formats, outcomes and impacts of knowledge exchange in demonstration activities	160
A. Adamsone-Fiskovica, T. Tisenkopfs, M. Grivins	160
New opportunities for a sustainable food system through transformative learning in AFNs	162
C. Kropp, S. Stinner	162
Agricultural innovation in Portuguese rural areas: results of a survey	164
P. Reis	164
Towards an Edible City of Innsbruck- Knowledge Exchange on Agri-Food Practices	166
M. Schermer, C. Schütz	166
Working Group 20. Multiple knowledges and diversifying rural change	168
How to assess participation in rural tourism projects? Theory and practice in two case studies in Italy	169
L. Burighel, E. Pisani, D. Gallo	169
The challenges of setting up operational groups in agriculture, the case of Slovenia.....	171
M. Černič Istenič	171
Innovative strategies for the development of inner rural areas in Italy.....	173
A. Corrado, S. Sivini, A. Vitale	173
How farmers deal with agroecological transition? Production and circulation of knowledge in 4 French farmers' groups	175
F. Derbez, C. Lamine, A. Cardona, H. Brives, C. Heinisch	175
Education of rural population in Republic of Macedonia in the era of New Global Economy.....	177
J. Jakimovski	177
Community resilience and agency within the rural assemblage	179
M. Lendvay	179
Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno-UPM Foundation' Chair: collaboration between a public university and the private sector to meet challenges of rural entrepreneurship	181
R. Pastor, M. López, J.A. Navarro	181



New/old communities: Intergenerational knowledge transfer in study circles in the Transylvanian (North-Western Romania) rural space. Case-study in villages from Szeklerland (Eastern part of Transylvania).....	183
E. Veress	183
Working Group 21. Evaluation of ‘innovation’ projects and partnerships: challenges, practical experiences and methodological innovations.....	185
Learning through on-going evaluation of EIP-Agri in Sweden.....	186
K. Eckerberg, T. Bjärstig	186
Measuring Capability of Rural Communities: Conceptual and Empirical Challenges	188
L. Paula	188
Co-constructing a new framework for evaluating social innovation in marginalised rural areas	190
L. Secco, E. Pisani, C. Burlando, R. Da Re, T. Kluvankova, D. Miller, M. Nijnik	190
Strategies for empowering disadvantaged rural communities	192
A. Steiner	192
‘Drawing’ the countryside: freehand sketches as representation of rurality in Poland.....	194
P. Tobiasz-Lis, M. Wojcik	194
What innovation biographies reveal: international experiences and local obstacles to cooperative innovation in the food sector	196
G. Tuitjer	196
Working Group 22. Animals in a changing landscape	198
True cowmen and commercial farmers: Exploring vets’ and dairy farmers’ contrasting constructions of “good farming” in relation to biosecurity in England.....	199
O. Shortall, L-A. Sutherland, A. Ruston, J. Kaler	199
Working Group 23. Doing art in the Country	201
The heritage of cultural opposition under the socialist era: the role of art in local memory and identity building	202
B. Csurgó, E. Kovács	202
Shifts in Education in Remote Islands: Social Dreaming as a Catalyst for Change.....	204
F. J. MacLellan	204
Poetry, Painting and Change on the Edge of England.....	206
H. Tarlo, J.Tucker	206
Thematic Line 3: ‘AGRI-FOOD SYSTEMS AND THE RURAL’	210



Working Group 24. Small farms, local and global markets, and food for all: where are the connections and disconnects, and the potentials – what do we know?	211
Challenges and opportunities in farmers markets: the case of Lithuania	212
V. Atkočiūnienė	212
Family farming between dominance and resilience: Romania's alternative food networks	214
T. Capota	214
Potentials and Limitations of Regional Organic Food Supply: A Qualitative Analysis of Two Food Chain Types in the Berlin Metropolitan Region.....	216
A. Doernberg, I. Zasada, K. Bruszezwska, B. Skoczowski, A. Piorr	216
Estimation of potential production provided by small family farms: a case study in Portugal.....	218
A. M. Fonseca, C. I. Fonseca, M. E. Almeida, N. R. Guiomar, T. A. Pinto-Correia	218
Role of Small farming in food security and sustainability: a case study for Tuscany(IT).....	220
F. Galli, L. Fastelli, S. Grando, G. Brunori, F. Di Iacovo	220
Local food systems in rural North America: findings from Missouri and Nebraska	222
M. K. Hendrickson, S. Hultine Massengale	222
Small farms' contribution to Food and Nutrition Security: Evidence from Greece.....	224
P. Karanikolas, D. Theocharidis, T. Tsiligiridis, K. Tsiboukas	224
Small farms according to new directions of diversification in agricultural production.....	226
W. Knapik, M. Czekaj	226
Neo-liberal globalisation and the restructuring of the agro-food system in Lazio region, Italy.....	227
L. Salvia	227
Innovation Platform – a tool to enhance small-scale farmer potential and women empowerment?	229
M. Sell, H. Vihinen, G. Gabiso, K. Lindström	229
From the quasi peasant to the new peasants: new social identities of farmers cooperating with Civic Food Networks in Poland.....	231
R. Śpiewak	231
(No subject)From Butter Mountains to Food Deserts, Forests and Wild-things – exploring post-European futures for small farms in Wales	233
E. Thomas Lane, J. Ricketts Hein, A. Jones	233
Small farms typology and contribution to food and nutrition security	235
T. Tisenkopfs, S. Sumane, A. Adamsone-Fiskovica, M. Grivins	235
Production and economic potential of small farms in Poland.....	237



D. Źmija, M. Czekaj, K. Źmija.....	237
Working Group 25. RC40 Mini-Conference: Exploring the richness of diversity in alternative agrifood movements.....	239
How could lessons from Norway be used to strengthen the assumed transition from a central state controlled agriculture to family farming in Cuba?.....	240
R. Almås.....	240
The Paradox of the Apple as a Rare Fruit. Study on the Redefinition of “Normal Food” in the Context of Alternative Food Movements.....	242
T. Capota, H. Simon.....	242
Permaculture, regeneration and AAFMs discussion shift.....	244
I. Ibarra.....	244
The diversity of organic box schemes in Europe.....	246
S. Kummer, R. Milestad.....	246
Beer from the mountains–Value creation through bridging rural/urban and local/global.....	248
H. Moschitz, B. Oehen.....	248
Exploring cultural heritage de-valorized in national projects: The case of Bogatepe Village.....	250
D. Nizam.....	250
Seeds networks in Europe: innovative approaches of biodiversity management.....	252
Y. Piersante, A. Corrado.....	252
L. Reina-Usuga, T. de-Haro-Giménez, C. Parra-López.....	254
Innovative forms of communicating values between producers and consumers.....	256
M. Schermer, C. Furtschegger.....	256
Working Group 26. Conditions for just sustainability transitions within agrifood systems: comparative approaches.....	258
Insights from the trajectories of organic farming in Austria, Italy, and France.....	259
S. D’Amico, I. Darnhofer, E. Fouilleux.....	259
Addressing ecological and health dimensions in agrifood systems transitions: an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective.....	261
C. Lamine, D. Magda, M.-J. Amiot.....	261
Regenerative farming practices: on the collaboration, collective action, and knowledge generation of people engaging in places in different governance contexts.....	263
P. Swagemakers, M.D. Domínguez García, P. Milone, F. Ventura.....	263
What supports effective participation and voice? Preconditions for social justice inurban agriculture.....	265



C. Prové, J. Chappell, J. Desein, M. de Krom.....	265
Working Group 27. Ethics and sustainable agri-food governance: appraisal and new directions.....	267
Charitable food redistribution: a consensus frame	268
S. Arcuri	268
Fair Prices to achieve a Living Income.....	270
R. Bronkhorst	270
Governance of sustainability transitions: key values and features derived from Belgian initiatives aiming at introducing local products on supermarket shelves.....	272
S. Bui, I. da Costa, O. de Schutter, T. Dedeurwaerdere	272
Analysing dynamics of food assistance through system archetypes.....	274
F. Galli, G. Brunori	274
Access to land and urban food values: towards a urban food centrality with care for land, jobs and social relations	276
S. Grando, L. Colombo	276
Cultural turn in school meals: Reassembling food and nutritional security of schoolgoers	278
M. Grivins, T. Tisenkopfs, T. Silvasti, V. Tikka	278
Ethics in agri-food governance: responsibility, transparency and unintended consequences.....	280
D. Maye, J. Kirwan, G. Brunori	280
Establishing ethical organic poultry production: a question of successful cooperation management?	282
M. Schäfer, B. Nölting.....	282
Faith based organizations and charitable food assistance in the context of food system in Finland.....	284
T. Silvasti, A. S. Salonen	284
Working Group 28. Finance, institutions and the governance of European agriculture-Impliatiops for sustainable farming practicies and food security	286
Legitimation by innovation: a critical analysis of premises and assumptions of the CAP 2014-2020.....	287
M. Dudek	287
National food self-sufficiency following EU accession: Finland and Sweden compared	289
C. Eriksson, J. Peltomaa	289
Socio-organisational strategies of farmers: comparison of milk and grain sectors in Latvia	291
M. Grivins, A. Adamsone-Fiskovica, T. Tisenkopfs	291
Sustainable Farming and Food Security Issues in the Outermost Regions of the EU: The case of the Azores in Portugal.....	293



P. A. Hernández	293
Governance for food system resilience through a regional food strategy in Stockholm.....	295
R. Milestad, U. Geber, K. Nigell Richter, A. Hedberg	295
Methodological challenges in analysing farmers' business strategies for more sustainability in farming.....	297
S. v. Münchhausen, A. M. Häring	297
Geography matters; the relevance of territorial heterogeneity in shaping farmers' conditions, strategies and performances in the context of globalization and sustainability	299
J. Muñoz-Rojas, T. Pinto-Correia	299
Towards sustainable farming practices and food security: study about vulnerability of Finnish farms.....	301
A. Puupponen, A. Paloviita, T. Kortetmäki, T. Silvasti	301
Preservation of agricultural land as an issue of societal importance	303
E. Slätmo	303
Farming strategies in a continuously evolving European dairy market – a comparative case study of five different EU countries.....	305
M. Thorsøe, E. Noe, P-M. Aubert, O. Tayeb Ben Cherif, S. Treyer, D. Maye, M. Vigani, J. Kirwan, M. Grivins, A. Adamson-Fiskovica, T. Tisenkopfs, T. Emi	305
Working Group 29.Social innovations in agriculture and local food market 307	
(trans)local practices of organic farming: a case and some lessons from Northern Sweden.....	308
A. Dubois	308
Agroecological Symbiosis: Social Innovation in Rural Finland.....	310
S. E. Hagolani-Albov	310
Rise and growth of neo-rurality in Campania region (Italy): social innovation practices and connective branding for rural development	312
V. Luise, B. Orria	312
Norwegian Short Food Supply Chain Development.....	314
M. McKelvey Bulger	314
Ecovillages as a social innovation: examples from Hungary and Slovakia....	316
D. Moravčíková, T. Fürjészová	316
Structured approach to alternative food initiatives: the case of local food movement in Lithuania.....	318
D. Šumylé, L. Pareigienė, E. Ribašauskienė	318



The XXVII
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Thematic Line 1: 'SPACE, PLACE AND (IN)EQUALITIES'

Working Group 1. The new relationship
between rural territories and rural dwellers:
experiences of success and failure between
utopia and dystopia

Regional Identity and Crisis - Expectation and Reality of intentions planned by LAGs in the South Bohemia

T. Pilař, J. Sálus, A. Bábíková¹

Abstract – Paper is aimed at LAGs' development plans of countryside in the South Bohemia (SBR) - the region is classified as predominantly rural. There are compared intentions of LAGs written in strategical documents which are connected to crisis period (2007 – 2013 – influenced by world economic crisis) and post-crisis period (2014 – 2020). Because impacts of world economic crisis on dwellers and rural development in general were well known at the beginning of post-crisis period, there is an assumption, that the strategy of rural development had to be changed.

INTRODUCTION

The success of rural development in localities depends on many factors. These factors are of internal (e. g. regional identity, local organisations etc.) and external (e.g. economic crises) origin, which should be reflected in development documents of LAG's.

Generally, organisations as systems with a certain structure, including formal and informal elements, are influenced by external and internal surroundings (Armstrong, 1999). This is especially reflected during a crisis period, because the actions of every organisation are affected by what is happening externally (Keller, 2007).

Regional identity is an often discussed concept, especially within the context of regional development (Paasi, 1986, 2002; Raagmaa, 2002; Chromý, 2008), cultural and historical geography and cultural economy (Ray, 1998; Kneafsey, 2001; Kneafsey, Ilbery, Jenkins, 2001). This article deals with identity, with respect to the spatial and regional aspects (Fialová, Chromý, Kučera, Spilková, Štych, Vagner, 2010), knowing that even this definition is an unavoidable overlap of the concept of identity with the individual and collective levels.

Rural and regional development is influenced by 4 fundamental crisis tendencies: 1. economic crisis; 2. crisis of rationality; 3. crisis of legitimacy; 4. crisis of motivation (Koselleck 1988; Habermas, 2000). The global economic crisis in this respect can play a role in strengthening the factors resulting in deepening regional identity and in stabilisation of the local organization. But it can also lead to a weakening of regional identity and ending of the organisation. Assessment of this fact can bring a

fundamental knowledge of key factors influencing the successful development of the region.

METHODOLOGY

Analytical procedures are based on a critical discourse analysis of texts (in this case, the LAG development documents on the territory of SBR) and analysis of statistical data. Within the context of discourse analysis, the authors seek shared meanings and approaches to the social reality of the South Bohemian countryside. The creators of strategic documents are viewed in terms of an expert authority in the public debate on rural development in SBR and the findings made are considered as expert discourse. For example, according to Vepsäläinen and Pitkänen (2010), the country is becoming increasingly dependent on the social construct of its importance.

Based on the investigation of the interaction and conflicts of different social representations, images, meanings and values, certain recurring patterns are identified. The findings are compared to adding the socioeconomic analysis of the region.

RESULTS

Socio-economic analysis has been shown that SBR has its development potentials in tourism, agriculture and light industry with emphasize on environmental factors. The special role play nuclear power station Temelin and fisheries sector.

Authors of the development strategical documents of LAG's indentified those sources of local development: local culture, regional production, natural resources and social resources. The business sector is perceived as crucial for the development of individual locations, with each sector having a positive (stability of labour market,

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new usage of local sources etc.) and negative (low level of inter-cooperation, low additional value of their production, environmental pollution) influence on this development.

For indentify areas are used natural features as well as historical and cultural legacy. In general, for most LAGs, the typical use of the expression, "picturesque South Bohemian countryside" refers to the harmonious interplay between the cultural and economic exploitation of the natural landscape.

Local organisations tried to contribute in education, environmental, sport or leisure activities. Crisis and crisis elements are represented in documents with the conflict of public and private interests, low accessibility of region, education not focused on needs of region, insufficient investments and innovation, unemployment etc.

DISCUSSION

Comparison of the reality of economic crisis and current situation in SBR with plans of LAGs shows that the local leaders had to change of their thinking of rural development. E.g. it is better for the LAGs to cooperate with other LAGs on development of regional brand because of saving financial means and wider promotion. Reinforcing of regional identity and support of its role in rural development brings stability within period of economic crises. Reaction to decreasing number of tourists in crisis period meant shift in promotion of region – specifically older label "Southbohemian region" was changed into "South Bohemia" which created new borders of tourist area. Thinking of traditional transport services had to be changed into new forms – e. g. traffic transport DRT – Demand Responsive Transport, what is more convenient for small municipalities without financial means. And various kind of web portals (flow of information, education, promotion, sale) must be more intensively focused on needs of residents and communities there.

CONCLUSION

The global economic crisis has influenced regional development in SBR in both positive and negative ways. It is possible to positively evaluate that each LAG is intensifying the search for methods of strengthening the relationship with residents of the area. They suggested the elimination of unsystematic and randomness in the process of cooperation and the implementation of innovation. Each proposed measure is targeted towards a specific location and represents a starting point for subsequent measures. At the same time, these measures always respect the genuine resource base of the territory.

However, the crisis complicates the situation especially in excluded communities and those with inferior infrastructure. Their development potential is even more diminished, because the lack of job

opportunities and transport exclusion has led to the migration of population to the centres.

Within the context of document analysis, we can generally state that regional identity is one of the key elements of regional development and a factor of stability during the economic crisis. Organisations, whose focus of activities is at least partially close to the promotion of public interest, produce positive benefits to regional development during the crisis period, only if their activities are specifically aimed at the strengthening of regional identity.

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Working Group 2. International perspectives
on land reform: rural change and the
question of justice

Land Grabbing in Colombia: old and new mechanisms

C. Hurtado²

Abstract –Land dispossession of rural communities through violent and non-violent methods has been recurrent in Colombian agrarian history. As a result of the recent global land-rush, Colombia, with considerable productive land, has been the target for new investors in rural areas. With one of the most unequal systems of land access in Latin America, persistent rural poverty and unfinished armed conflict, new and old land control methods are taking place. This paper presents a systematic literature review of reported land grabbing case studies in order to identify the main mechanisms operating and the preceding violent process of land dispossession occurred in the last three decades.

INTRODUCTION

New economic global dynamics have been increasing the interest in land large-scale acquisitions by diverse actors worldwide. The drivers for this increase have been analyzed in various research studies, from a global level, attributed to multiple crises -financial, food, energetic, climate change, natural resources (Cotula, 2012), to national levels in which policies influence the redefinition of land use, land titling programs under discourses on property rights, and social and elite actors' struggles (Borras et al., 2012).

Recent large-scale acquisitions of land in Colombia have the same global drivers linked with national development policies, the agrarian law reform and with a long history of agrarian struggles in which the concentration of land has been the root of the current armed conflict (Fajardo, 2014). These current land transactions occur in particular regional contexts, i.e. agrarian frontiers, those with presence of ethnic and minority groups, high levels of poverty and natural resources, illicit crops, absence of state institutions, and the presence of armed actors. As a consequence, 7.2 million people have been forced to abandon their land, and about 8 million hectares has been taken from the original tenants, settlers or owners using violent and not-violent means.

Reparation policies have been implemented in recent years in order to reconstitute the land to the original owners. This has allowed reconstruction events to document the actors involved, identify the means and ends of the current land grabbing, and its preceding process of land dispossession. Two research questions therefore guide this study: (1) what mechanisms characterize the current land grabbing in Colombia?; and (2) to what extent are the preceding processes of land dispossession related to the current land grabbing?

METHODOLOGY

The research questions were addressed by performing a systematic literature review, which is an explicit, rigorous and accountable method to identify, select and critically analyse relevant research studies on the formulated questions. Retrieval and selection papers were primarily identified through keyword search in Scopus, Web of Science and Google Scholar, published since 1990. An initial search led to 437 academic references, but after the deletion of duplicates, 133 were loaded to Endnote. All potential articles were judged considering those included land grabbing cases, land dispossession, land conflict related to property rights or associated with agribusiness, green or environmental projects implemented in Colombia. After reading the abstracts, titles and keywords and deleting papers that did not meet inclusion criteria -those which included land grabbing but not Colombia or those related to agrarian problem exclusively as historic land concentration or agrarian reform- this led to a final body of academic literature of 35 academic articles. In order to have supplemented and detailed information about cases study regions, grey literature was also identified searching by Google Scholar. In addition, other documents were retrieved from organisations involved in examining cases of land grabbing and disposition and large-scale investments, both international -FAO, Oxfam, SOMO- and national -Planning National Department, Constitutional Court, General Controller, Minister of Agriculture, National Congress. National press also was included. All body of literature was analysed focusing in their empirical evidences of land grabbing cases with different purpose, or as a consequences of the model economic implementation or the violent acts to control land by different actors.

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RESULTS

The principal actors identified as land grabbers in the study cases were: economic and political elites at national and local level, national and multinational companies, paramilitary groups and drug-traffickers. The state is also a principal actor, although not as a grabber, but as an enabler of the land dispossession process by different means, including development policies, laws and the deliberate abandonment of its responsibilities in some the regions. The main common mechanisms of the recent land grabbing identified in the study regions could be classified as *institutional, private or commercial agreements and violent dispossession*.

(a) *Institutional mechanisms* come mainly from the state, and include: national policies to promote development promoting investment in agri-business projects, environmental policies to protect natural areas which have already been privatised, promulgation of new agrarian laws to allow investors to concentrate land and implement special economic zones, construction of the state with security policies that had ended in the increase of violence in the regions.

b) *Private or commercial agreements* include illegal land purchases through the falsification of ownership titles, the use of frontmen for irregular titling, alliances with civil servants to legalize irregular land transactions, the creation of multiple shell companies to fragment land purchases, and evading legal restriction to accumulate wastelands (*baldíos*) previously awarded to peasants in agrarian reform processes.

c) *Violent processes mechanisms* through massacres and treats by armed groups to displace people and clear the lands, or to force land sales. In these cases, local alliances between armed groups and criminal networks and between local elites and paramilitary groups to gain the control over land are very recurrent.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The several processes of land grabbing are a combination of different mechanisms operating simultaneously or sequentially. The systematic literature review presented in this paper makes possible to highlight some key points, for instance, the blurred frontier between legal and illegal forms adopted in the institutional and private mechanisms of land grabbing. In the institutional mechanism the state has a permanent role as a facilitator, not only of land dispossession, but also in legalising through laws, strategies adopted by grabbers when the cases have been reported, as in the case of illegal appropriation of westlands in the Altillanura region.

State development and security policies have facilitated the expansion of agribusiness projects, which have been implemented with the support of paramilitary groups who have displaced people from their land –as in Montes de María and Lower Atrato regions. The transactions between private actors are made, apparently, under the law, but clearly is a way to circumvent the law (as the fragmented land purchases).

It is also worth noting that these study cases of recent land grabbing, are preceded by violent actions and dispossession processes that have occurred over the last 30 years. Moreover, the control of public and legal institutions by armed groups and local elites, as well as diverse corruption actions have been a constant to give free rein to land grabbers (Grajales, 2013).

Finally, the implementation of Law of Victims and Land Restitution³ and the Peace Agreement⁴ is shedding light on the multiple actors and their strategies employed to gain control over land, natural resources and territories that could be helpful in broadening our understanding about land grabbing mechanisms internationally.

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³ The Act. 1448 was passed in 2011 in response to provide legal and material reparations to the victims of violence.

⁴ The Peace Dialogues between the FARC guerrillas and the national government to end the Colombian armed conflict began in September 2012 and the final Agreement of peace was signed in November 2016.



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**Working Group 3. Declining rural facilities
and services: regional models versus
everyday life realities**

Securing food supply in Spanish remote rural areas: the role of travelling retailers

P. Cerrada-Serra, L. Arnalte-Mur⁵

Abstract – Depopulation of rural areas and its consequences have been a focus of study in the literature. Nevertheless, the impact of these situations on the population's food and nutritional security have hardly been addressed. The present work helps to deepen the understanding of different practices organizing access to food in Spanish remote rural areas. Our case study in Chistau Valley (Central Pyrenees), attempts to understand how food access organization has been transformed, and what current social practices ensure food procurement to the remaining population, focusing on the role played by travelling retailers.

INTRODUCTION

Remote rural areas in Europe are characterised by low population densities, fragile economies and considerably geographical isolation. One way to describe these territories is 'Sparsely populated areas', in which sparsity characterises regions where low population densities and dispersed settlement patterns create specific challenges for economic activity and public service provision (Gloersen et al., 2006). Mountain regions can share some features with the above described areas, adding physical constraints in terms of access and communications and hard climate conditions. Spanish remote rural areas present serious demographic imbalances due to the intense rural exodus occurred in the last century. Depopulation with high ageing and masculinisation indexes lead to jeopardising social sustainability, which is the society's capacity to satisfy populations' needs (Camarero et al., 2009). Access to fresh, diverse and nutritious food is one of these needs, as well as access to services, both important variables in making rural areas socially sustainable (Escalona and Díez, 2007). Some barriers encountered by residents in remote rural areas to access food, particularly the elderly and those with reduced mobility, can also be found in some 'food desert' situations described for rural areas in the US and Europe (e.g. Shaw, 2006).

Our case study aims to analyse food physical access in a remote mountain area in the Spanish Pyrenees. Chistau Valley is a territory which combines features of a sparsely populated area with those common to remote mountain areas. Depopulation led to the closing down of local groceries and the decline of local food production. In this context, travelling retailers contribute to tackle the population's compromised access to food. This poses some research questions that have been

addressed in this paper: How has food access organization changed in parallel to the demographic decline? Which social practices are currently securing food access? Which is the role played by the existing networks of traveling retailers and what is their long-term viability?

CASE STUDY

Chistau Valley is in the North of Huesca province⁶. It is a typical Central-Pyrenees valley, with altitudes exceeding 3,000m and villages located between 1,000 and 1,400m high. Historically the valley had access problems and today, even with the existing road, access to the higher up villages is still challenging, particularly in the winter. The economic activity of the working population in the valley, especially in the higher villages, remains dominated by livestock farming, while services employ most of the population from the bottom of the valley.

Historic trends show the decline of the valley's population in the past century, from 2.646 inhabitants to 864 between 1900 and 2014. The main exodus happened from the 1920s until the early 1970s, driven by diverse factors that conditioned who migrated. This influenced the demographic structure of the population today, presenting serious imbalances with marked ageing and masculinisation rates, which arise some doubts regarding the social sustainability of the valley.

METHODOLOGY

The research method has combined: (i) official statistics to analyse the demographic trends and the structure of population; (ii) literature review; (iii) primary sources: two group interviews with dwellers of Chistau Valley and three in-depth individual interviews with traveling retailers trading in the area were conducted. Fieldwork was carried out in August and October 2015.

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⁶ Province is the Spanish administrative division corresponding to the NUTS 3 European Union classification.



RESULTS

Traditionally, the food system in the valley was based on self-consumption of products from the family farming, with limited external exchanges. There was a commercial structure in every village but with narrow offer and demand. This food system radically changed due to the population exodus, which forced the closure of grocery shops in small villages while agriculture and livestock production declined, particularly in gradually ageing families. Meanwhile, road access expanded commercial exchanges and progressively disseminated new food habits, and innovation of refrigeration and frozen food cold chains modified the food preservation patterns.

Today, residents in the upper valley's villages access food from three sources: (i) Own production, from the family farming; (ii) Purchase in shops and supermarkets in the larger villages of the valley, or outside the valley, travelling by car; (iii) Purchase from travelling retailers who regularly visit all the villages selling frozen, refrigerated or fresh products. The proportion of use of these three sources varies significantly depending on the family profile (age, composition), the type of residency, permanent or seasonal, and the food habits in the household, whether more modern or traditional. For a large family with young members the estimated monthly expenditure on food is 60-70% on purchases from travelling retailers, and 30-40% on a large shopping in supermarkets.

The food range offered by the retailers regularly visiting the villages play an important role in the valley's food system. Their service frequency varies from once a week to once a month, with seasonal changes, and some of their routes reach areas up to 170 km away.

The activities of this travelling retailers' model are completely private, without any type of support from the public administration other than the exemption to pay for selling in the villages of Chistau Valley.

The extent and importance of this food access model is not exclusive to this valley. Some of the retailers interviewed were part of, or knew, retailing networks covering most small remote villages in Central Pyrenees and the foothills, and even spreading to other areas such as the Cantabric Mountain Range. There are systems alike in western areas of the Pyrenees, and similar services have been reported to be operating in Central Spain. This is then an expanding commercial model which is being generalized in remote rural areas with similar characteristics.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Despite the food system transformation in the last decades, production for self-consumption still plays a relevant role for some younger families.

Nevertheless, the relevance of the role played by travelling retailers must be acknowledged.

The analysis found a food supply mechanism where strong personal connections between vendors and customers develop beyond the economic activity, sometimes even perceived as a community service by some retailers.

Different profiles of travelling retailers coexist in this food system. Their particular strategies shape a dynamic territorial structure where type of product, scale of the area covered and competition for business interact.

Today this activity is profitable enough to keep the model. However, its viability may be questioned if the demographic decline continues.

Since the adequate provision of services plays a vital role for the maintenance of population in areas with similar challenges to our case study, food supply should be considered a crucial component for territorial sustainability, and policies to guarantee access to diverse food need to be explored.

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Village facilities and social place attachment in the rural Netherlands

J. Gieling, T. Haartsen, L. Vermeij⁷

Abstract – Economies of scale and increased mobility have led to the closure of many village facilities. Most residents do not rely on locally available facilities anymore for their primary function. However, facilities are also meeting places. A decline in facilities may therefore negatively influence residents' social place attachment. This paper examines which facilities impact residents' social place attachment. Based on structural equation modelling, we conclude that in rural areas cafés and supermarkets may well matter for residents' social attachment. In contrast to common expectations, community centers, primary schools, and sports facilities were not shown to enhance social place attachment. Considering the increasing self-reliance of local communities, the present findings raise doubts about the use of public services to revitalize local communities.

INTRODUCTION

For decades, the number of facilities in many Western European rural areas has been steadily declining (Woods 2011). Concerns about facilities disappearing have mainly focused on two functions of these facilities. First, facilities are said to deliver important primary services in the everyday lives of villagers, allowing them to shop for groceries, take their children to school, and to engage in leisure activities within the village. Second, they are claimed to perform a social function as a "beating heart," "social infrastructure," and "third places." Spontaneous interactions at these facilities are believed to contribute to local ties and thus foster social cohesion (Haartsen & Van Wissen 2012).

In a densely populated country like the Netherlands, accessibility to facilities is not an issue for most people (Steenbekkers & Vermeij 2013). Supermarkets, primary schools, and sports facilities are often available within driving distance, so most residents do not rely on facilities within their village for their primary function anymore. However, concerns regarding the loss of their social function have remained or have even increased, as voiced by both residents and politicians (Brereton et al. 2011). In the era of state rollback, in which rural communities are increasingly held responsible for the quality of local society, high levels of social attachment became an important resource for citizen activity (Gieling & Haartsen 2016). The availability of local meeting places may facilitate social contacts and thus contribute to civic engagement.

Hence, this paper will assess the relationship between availability of facilities and social place attachment by posing two questions. Which village facilities impact residents' social attachment? And what are the differences between rural areas near and

those away from urban areas when it comes to the impact they have on facilities? We aim to answer these questions by means of a structural equation analysis.

SAMPLE AND METHODS

The quantitative data we analyze in this paper were collected by means of a paper and online questionnaire as part of the Socially Vital Countryside database '14 survey (SVP '14), carried out by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). The survey was conducted among a stratified sample of the rural population of the Netherlands, defined as the inhabitants of Dutch villages (< 3000 inhabitants) and outlying areas. We include respondents living in villages of between 500 and 1500 inhabitants, since discussions on the alleged relationship between facilities and social place attachment are most meaningful in these medium-sized villages. In smaller villages, facilities have already been gone for decades and, in larger villages, closure of the last remaining facilities is not an issue yet (Elschhof & Bailey 2015). Moreover, residents living more than half a kilometer outside the village (self-reported) were excluded from the analyses, because it was difficult to determine to which service area they were orientated. We include N = 2271 cases in the structural equation analysis.

RESULTS

The structural models aimed to determine whether village facilities contributed to residents' social attachment, in general terms. The results showed that the availability of a supermarket and a café were positively related to social place attachment, suggesting that their availability had a small but significant impact on residents' social place attachment (table 1). Community centers, sports

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facilities, and primary schools showed no relationship with social place attachment in village societies, suggesting they had no positive effect on social place attachment. In fact, the availability of a primary school was found to negatively contribute to residents' social attachment. Indicators that explain social place attachment in rural areas near cities and more remote rural areas do not differ much.

Table 1. Standardized coefficients of the structural models^a. Dependent latent variable is social place attachment.

Facilities	Near urban centres	Far away from urban centres
Primary school	-.10	-.12*
Supermarket	.17*	.14*
Café	.11*	.10*
Community centre	-.03	.04
Sports facilities	.02	.04

^a Sociodemographic control variables are not displayed.

* $p < .01$.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper's results suggest that cafes and supermarkets have a social function in the village. Both are places where villagers meet, and thus form and maintain social relations. However, a reverse relationship is also possible. Both are privately owned facilities and only remain available in a small rural settlement if economically viable. High levels of social place attachment may therefore cause these facilities to stay in business. In other words, their availability could also be interpreted as a consequence rather than a condition of social place attachment.

In contrast, the availability of a primary school, a community center, and sports facilities appeared unrelated to residents' social attachment, making it highly unlikely that they foster social place attachment. This is particularly striking, because all three are public facilities that are often believed to be important venues enhancing village community life. For this reason, local governments often invest in such facilities. In a time when rural residents are increasingly held responsible for the quality of local society, the notion that public facilities generate more engaged and active rural communities must be questioned.

The negative effect of the availability of a primary school on social attachment was unexpected. However, this concurs with some recent studies suggesting that school closure may also have a positive impact on village societies (Oncescu & Giles 2014; Egelund & Laustsen 2006). In the Netherlands, village schools may help maintain social cleavages in a village, when children of the same village attend different schools. In other words, activities and social

relationships in villages without a primary school may be more inclusive for all members of a village community.

All in all, this paper calls into question the assumption that the availability of village facilities is a necessary condition for social cohesion and social attachment. Residents interested in meeting other people do not necessarily rely on local facilities as meeting places. Alternative meeting places such as casual meetings at home, village events, or even facilities outside the village may also enable social contact. The prevailing policy assumption that local facilities, and in particular public facilities, are important meeting places fostering social attachment is not supported by this study's results. This does not mean that village facilities are considered superfluous. They still may be important for specific groups of residents and may also perform a symbolic function affecting local identity. However, in relatively urbanized and densely populated rural areas, the long-term effect of disappearing facilities on a village's social qualities seems to be less devastating than often suggested.

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Local preventive action and partnerships: views on welfare service reform

M. Halonen, M. Kattilakoski⁸

Abstract – Public welfare service structures are currently under reform in Finland. According to the plan, the responsibility for organizing health and social services will be transferred from municipalities to regional administrations, but the promotion of welfare remains a municipal task. In the relation to promotion of welfare and preventive action, the co-operation between municipalities, regional organizations, third sector and other actors is underlined. In the case study at hand, we explore what kind of welfare actions local municipal representatives consider to be important, and how they aim to sustain these actions in the future.

INTRODUCTION

In Finland, municipalities must establish basic services for local residents. Traditionally, social, health and education services have been the main areas of focus, but the ongoing restructuring of public welfare services means a new role for municipalities. In 2019, health and social services will be transferred to the counties, and the role of the municipality will be to promote welfare, vitality, entrepreneurship and employment. In the municipalities, the promotion of welfare will be implemented through e.g. education, infrastructure and cultural services. To some degree, the promotion of welfare belongs to the counties as a part of preventive social services (HE 15/2017 vp). The guidance is written in a broad sense, giving space for different kinds of interpretation and implementation.

In our research, we focus on the promotion of welfare in municipalities. Welfare includes measures aimed at the fulfilment of basic needs, as well the promotion of welfare and participation (Koskiahio 2008; Niemelä 2010). These services or actions include the dimensions of welfare from needs to resources and functions, and an understanding of *welfare* as a level of living, and *well-being* as the quality of life (Allardt 1993). In this research, the dimensions of welfare are examined by utilising the HDLB-model which is constructed on the basis of material and impersonal resources as *having*; love, companionships and solidarity as *loving*; and self-actualization as *being* (Allardt 1976), complimented with the dimension of *doing* that emphasizes human activities as a source of well-being (Hirvilammi & Helne 2014).

METHODS

The research method used here is empirical case study, under which the contemporary phenomenon is examined within its real-life context and any prior

theoretical information is exploited on the basis of the analysis (e.g. Yin 2003). The case study focuses on the *Siun sote* organisation of North Karelia that represents an early manifestation of a larger transformation. With the agreement of the member municipalities, the responsibility for providing social and health services was transferred from municipalities to the regional *Siun sote* organisation (Siun sote 2016), but the promotion of welfare remained a task to be carried out by municipalities. The analysis is based on the interviews of 12 municipal managers or incumbents who are responsible for the promotion of welfare.

RESULTS

To a degree, certain alarm indicators guided the content of the important welfare action. These indicators could show e.g. a high level of unemployment or custodies, or perhaps the incidence of obesity or the use of alcohol in a certain population group. The indicator thus guided an action that has a preventive purpose in the sense of addressing malaise or the expense of special services. These special services included social and health services, albeit that other sectors could be involved in actual preventive action. The actions were mainly centred on the municipal organisation or the public based co-operation district. Preventive action followed by alarm indicators tend to punctuate the needs and resources as a source of *welfare*, and mainly focused on the dimension of *having*. If the indicators showed some form of exclusion, the dimension of *loving* was noted as a preventive action, e.g. by strengthening the sense of community.

Another feature of action that was seen as especially important addressed social inclusion and participation, which emphasises a wider understanding of welfare. For instance, supporting

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children, youth and families, providing worthwhile actions for the unemployed, enabling meaningful activities for inhabitants, and strengthening the sense of security, are related towards promotion, without the necessity of a direct aim of prevention or rectifying the alarm indicator. The action also tended to refer to *well-being* rather than *welfare* by deepening the aspects of *loving* and *being*, and emphasising *doing*.

Respondents highlighted that the municipal resources needed to accomplish the promotion of *welfare* and *well-being* are limited, and the whole concept of "the promotion of welfare" prompts re-definition from the wider perspective. Co-operative structures are required between different municipal sectors, local authorities, firms and parishes, and above all, between the civic associations and organisations. When this co-operation is based on the production of welfare service of any kind, the form it takes can vary from gratuitous support and outsourced services, to formal partnership agreements. In some cases, the process of partnerships began with the collaborative definition of welfare, which was followed by a discussion of the content of joint action. In themselves, these process-based partnerships may be understood as a gathering form of participation that promotes *well-being* and sustains the local welfare action.

The respondents identified some threats for sustaining the local solution after regional transformation has occurred. Partly, these doubts originated from a scarcity of resources, but also from the deficient recognition of special characteristics of different rural areas, e.g. distances and sparsely populated structure. Their concern is partly linked with the promotion of welfare and preventive action, which came under the municipal social and health sector. Experiences from previous centralization processes showed that actions outside the core activities are easily left aside. Also, there may be differences of opinion as to whether some action belongs to either the municipality or regional organisation, if the aim has health or social dimensions but the exact promotion includes activities such as education or caretaker help. However, the respondents emphasised that the promotion of welfare is raised as one of the linking themes, which is developed further with discussions and process-based partnerships between municipalities and the *Siun sote* organisation. The process is at early stage, but currently, respondents

saw this beginning as an opportunity to consider and address the promotion of welfare in a new way.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results imply that the public promotion of welfare is widening from only *having* the resources to fulfil basic needs of *welfare* towards *well-being*, with emphasis placed on *loving*, *being* and *doing*. In order to both sustain local activities and develop a widening approach, different kinds of partnerships are important due to a lack of municipal resources, and since they form one dimension of the well-being themselves. Some doubts were expressed regarding the sustainability of local solutions of preventive action with the regional organisation, although the discursive planning process was noted as an opportunity to develop the promotion of welfare and preventive action with partnerships.

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Green Infrastructure Spaces as a Factor of Rural Young People Wellbeing

G. Vaznoniene, B. Vaznonis⁹

Abstract – Increasing interest in wellbeing issues of different social groups, highlights necessity to explore how rural youth wellbeing can be strengthened by using, being and acting in green infrastructure (or green) places. The territorial unit for this research was selected one "sub-eldership" (as the local / least administrative-territorial unit in Lithuania) nearby Kuršėnai town (in Šiauliai district municipality) which is full of green open places and they are permanently used by local community. The results of the research revealed that being and using green infrastructure spaces promote various aspects of young people's wellbeing including personal development, physical functioning, emotional status and finally have positive effects on their overall wellbeing.

INTRODUCTION

During the last years improvement of wellbeing for different social groups was emphasized as an important question in many Lithuanian documents, political reports, practical studies, scientific literature. There is an increased interest in wellbeing research considering various domains of life or factors which influence wellbeing and its outcomes. The role of green infrastructure and its social benefit for wellbeing improvement is quite narrow and insufficient in social science, so different researchers put efforts to deal with this question from different approaches and interdisciplinary fields. Wellbeing factors are various and include both internal and external factors of a living place to a person. The topic of green infrastructure approach is quite new in the social science (including sociology) in Lithuania, especially when it is applied to a particular social group. For young people (as a target group of this research) green infrastructure spaces are the areas for education of values and environmental consciousness, nature learning skills, promotion and strengthening of their integration and participation in local community through various activities.

Following the discussion above *the research problem* is how green infrastructure places affect the wellbeing of young people? The research object – wellbeing of young people. *The aim of the research* is to analyse the possible effect of the green places on youth wellbeing. *The tasks of the research*: 1) theoretically describe the benefit of the green places to youth, 2) to prepare the methodology of the research, 3) to reveal the results of the research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The interest in wellbeing of different social groups is increasing, because every case needs specific

wellbeing evaluation methods, measures, promotion implements. In Sociology the wellbeing of different social groups is not very deeply analysed (Bourke, Geldens, 2007; Veenhoven, 2008), but more attention is drawn on the factors that affect the level of "feeling and being well". Authors of foreign literature emphasize the green places effects on youth wellbeing different domains. Scientists (Bourke, Geldens, 2006; Mell, 2010; Simovska, 2012; Goldin et al., 2014; Capaldi et al., 2015) disclose various aspects of the importance of the green places in youth life, daily routine and activities:

- the interconnection of youth wellbeing and health;
- developing personal skills and knowledge;
- improving emotional and spiritual status;
- promoting the environmental cognition;
- reducing inequality through social participation;
- self-esteem and self-realisation;
- learning process etc.

Based on the emphasized approaches to youth wellbeing further the author presents the findings from exploratory research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Type of the research. The type of this research is exploratory - the main idea is to disclose how in local level (rural area - sub-eldership) can be used the existing green places for the youth wellbeing through various activities. Few researchers in Lithuania analyse the benefit of green places for the wellbeing of young people. According to this the research is significant not only for this case, but also could be applicable to other local areas in Lithuania.

Research methods. The methodology of this empirical research is based on the case study and specialists semi-structured interview methods. Using the case study approach there were described existing green places in the selected research area,

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which covers several green places which are not always used for the social purposes. The specialists' semi-structured interview aim was to analyse the importance of the green infrastructure places for improving the wellbeing of young people in the rural area (aged 14-29). The interview protocol was created using 17 questions. The given questions were divided in three groups of questions: 1) the characteristics of the specialists were identified, 2) statements and questions about green places were given and 3) specialists evaluated how green infrastructure places affect the wellbeing of youth. The third part was the most important - the focus was made on the key aspects which are important to youth wellbeing dimensions which are also emphasized by different scientists.

There were 10 specialists (teachers, health-care specialist, social educator etc.) who are enrolled in the interaction with youth directly and quite often. Specialists explored their knowledge and opinion how green places influence youth wellbeing in general, what are the links between green places and health, learning process, cognition of nature, inclusion and participation in various activities, relations with friends, emotional status and social skills. Furthermore specialists identified what green places are the most useful to the youth as well as revealed their ideas who and how could be responsible for the promotion of youth activities in green places.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The case study describing the importance of the green places to rural youth wellbeing revealed several interesting findings. As the area where the research was implemented is rich with green places (or natural nature, public spaces) for local community, including young people, but still it is used insufficiently. Mostly it functions as nature, but not really as an instrument or factor for the wellbeing of youth and overall improvement of life. Almost the same was stated by the specialists who interact with youth quite often. Specialists' interview explored such common findings:

- green places are not developed enough whether to participate actively in these places;
- wellbeing of youth does not depend only on them – it is a matter of various rural actors and ways how they interrelated;

- activities provided for the youth should be divided to different types of green places (parks, play yards, education area etc.) depending on the age group;
- youth participation in various activities in natural environment can strengthen their self-confidence, health, communication skills, they become more socialised what effects their overall wellbeing;
- this type of research makes stronger understanding that more different methods, people, government representors should be involved in the process of supporting local-rural youth.

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The Urban Question in a Rural Area: Struggles and strategies to add some urbanity to a rural economy

D. van der Wouw, E. Meijers¹⁰

Abstract – How can rural economies remain competitive in the age of the 'urban triumph'? Theoretically, three strategies are identified: connectivity; concentration and city network integration. This paper documents the struggles and strategies of the Province of Zeeland in the Netherlands, to remain competitive and attractive for people and firms, and identifies the factors that hamper the successful development of strategies to develop agglomeration benefits in a rural region. It shows how fragmentation is largely responsible for further marginalisation.

INTRODUCTION

The agglomeration benefits of larger metropolitan areas have become a key factor in all regional economic development theories. The concentration of people and firms in space entails cost reductions, output enhancements and utility gains for both firms and households. They profit from larger input markets, larger labour pools, the presence of better infrastructure, public facilities and more specialized business services, all facilitating better matches between supply and demand. Large cities generate more new knowledge and innovation. Consequently, productivity and wages are higher (Melo et al., 2009), and metropolitan regions act as 'escalators' for many citizens, allowing upward socio-economic mobility (Gordon, 2015). 'Urban triumphalists' even claim that the city is humanity's 'greatest invention' (Glaeser, 2011).

One of the reasons why the economy of rural areas often struggles and why many face a demographic decline, is precisely the lack of such agglomeration benefits. Many firms and people are attracted to the opportunities offered by larger metropolitan areas, which largely explains the patterns of migration from rural to urban areas as commonly found throughout Europe.

This paper explores the question of which broad strategies can make rural economies more competitive in the age of the 'urban triumph'. Theoretically, we derive three different strategies: connectivity; concentration; city network integration that allow rural regions to reap agglomeration benefits. We explore how these strategies play out in the most rural region of the Netherlands, the province of Zeeland, which is surrounded by important metropolitan areas.

THEORY: BORROWING SIZE

When a region is faced with competition from surrounding, economically stronger and consequently more urbanised areas, regional decline is a most likely outcome (Polèse and Shearmur, 2006). This is the fate of many peripheral regions around the world. Interestingly, the presence of cities of some size seems a prerequisite for peripheral regions to escape their fate of decline. Evidence suggests a minimum city size of about 100,000, but a cluster of smaller cities reaching that threshold would also prevent decline (Polèse and Shearmur, 2006). However, nowadays national and international urban connectivity seems more important for urban performance than urban size (Meijers et al., 2016). This follows the adage that 'networks substitute for proximity' (Johansson and Quigley, 2004), something that also holds at the regional scale, as stronger functional and institutional integration between close-by cities enhances their joint performance, as measured by the level of agglomeration benefits they can jointly organise (Meijers et al., forthcoming). This all provides impetus to the debate on a new policy and analytical concept: 'borrowed size', which suggests that smaller urban areas 'borrow' some of the agglomeration benefits of larger cities with whom they are well-connected/integrated.

Synthesising the literature, we argue that, in order to add some urbanity (read: agglomeration benefits) to a rural economy, three spatial development strategies can be distinguished:

1. Connectivity: the establishment of networks with surrounding metropolitan regions to 'tap into' some of the benefits they offer and 'borrow' some of their 'size'. In the case of Zeeland, this means that the region should become part and parcel of the 'agglomeration externality field' of surrounding regions by significantly enhancing the connectivity

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with these regions, e.g. becoming part of their labour market.

2. Concentration: This is the traditional option, building on the agglomeration economies literature, to concentrate the urban mass in a single urban center that acts as a motor for the entire region, being able to attract and retain people and firms. It demands concentration of investment.
3. City network integration: The small and medium-sized towns in Zeeland could become much stronger integrated, allowing to organise a higher level of agglomeration benefits. Rather than duplicating relatively low-level urban functions commensurate with the size of individual cities, complementary profiles could create urban functions on the scale of the network of cities.

ANALYSIS:

THE QUEST FOR URBANITY IN ZEELAND

The full paper provides an extended analysis of policy debates in Zeeland regarding these strategies.

Connectivity - Zeeland happens to be one of the very few regions in Europe that became more peripheral in terms of physical infrastructure. Travel times by road and rail to surrounding metropolitan regions increased, and the border with Belgium remains a barrier. Households and firms cannot locate in Zeeland and still tap into the agglomeration potential of surrounding metropolitan areas, unless one is prepared to make substantial sacrifices and costs. The main reasons why this strategy did hardly develop, include a lack of interest of the national government and surrounding regions, in combination with limited visibility and lobbying power to place connectivity on the political and policy agenda. Other reasons include internal fragmentation within Zeeland and an inward focus: internal connections were prioritised over external ones, demonstrating the lack of thinking on a larger scale and a longer term. Only recently did we see signs of a changing attitude and is more urgency given to fostering external connectivity.

Concentration - The natural urban heart of Zeeland (the Middelburg-Vlissingen conurbation) has not managed to develop into the undisputed urban core. Internal rivalry between Middelburg and Vlissingen leads to its marginalisation. Geographic and historical conditions have shaped an 'island

mentality' that leads to a politics of distributive justice rather than concentration.

City network integration - The main cities of Zeeland are in a process of enhancing collaborating as a city network (referred to as 'Z4'), mainly to achieve more political weight and visibility, without much success so far. This can also not compensate yet for the island thinking, stressing distances and pretending that the other cities are 'unreachable' legitimizes once more the prioritising of local interests rather than aiming for the greater regional good.

CONCLUSIONS

Former Dutch prime minister Balkenende stated that the lack of governmental power in Zeeland next to financial issues explains the lack of real collaboration. It hampers economic development of the region. The difficult cooperation, the rivalry and resenting someone else's success and instead demanding distributive justice has been termed the 'Zeeland disease'. We presented three possible cures; the best therapy seems a cocktail of all three.

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Working Group 4. Countryside connections: Staying in the countryside



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S/elective belonging: how rural newcomer families with children become stayers

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Abstract – Rural stayers are often defined as people who have never left their rural home region or village. However, rural regions and villages also receive new inhabitants. This paper explores if and how newcomers become inhabitants who stay put. We interviewed couples of newcomers who moved to a rural area of the Netherlands at the family formation life stage, between 5 and 10 years prior to this study. We view the process of becoming a stayer through the lens of getting attached to and identifying with the new home region. We adopt the concepts of 'elective belonging' and 'selective belonging' to explore the newcomers' actual experiences of rural place and, in turn, the ways rural newcomer families become stayers. We identify two types of stayers: children-led and convinced stayers. Both envisage a re-negotiation of staying or leaving at a later life stage (either the empty nest or old age stage). They elected to belong to residential places in enchanted rural landscapes. But they also are selective in developing belonging to the rural.

INTRODUCTION

Rural regions and villages not only experience outmigration; they also receive new inhabitants motivated by positive rural idyllic representations of the rural. Halfacree & Rivera (2012) note that there is often a mismatch between these rural representations and rural reality. They call for more empirical research into 'why and how pro-rural migrants subsequently stay in their [rural] destinations' (Halfacree and Rivera 2012: 92). In this paper, we respond to this call. We focus on newcomers who moved to a rural area of the Netherlands at the family formation life stage.

We view the process by which newcomers become stayers through the lenses of place attachment and home making. Groups such as our middle class newcomers seek out residential places in enchanted landscapes: in other words, they elect to belong to particular locations. Middle-class residents also tend to follow strategies of selective belonging to their neighbourhood. They adopt various practices of selective place-making, not (only) spatially selective, but (also) selective in terms of the meaning or representations of their place of residence (Benson and Jackson, 2012). We adopt the concepts of 'elective belonging' (Savage et al., 2005) and 'selective belonging' (Watt, 2009) in order to explore the ways rural newcomer families become stayers.

Based on the newcomers' experiences we examine perceived positive and negative aspects of rural life, and how these experiences interrelate with the practice of staying. In line with place attachment theories, we further distinguish between attachment to the physical and to the social rural environment (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001).

METHODS

Twelve newcomer couples were interviewed who all had moved to the rural northern Netherlands 5 to 10 years prior to the interview. At the time of moving, all were in the family formation life course stage. Respondents were recruited as a follow-up from the newcomers research project by Bijker et al. (2013) that took place in 2009 and 2010. The semi-structured and digitally recorded interviews lasted 60-90 minutes. They intended to address the newcomers' daily life experiences, feelings of attachment and belonging to the countryside, and if and how they perceived themselves to have become rural stayers.

The interviews took a biographical perspective, acknowledging that (non)migration processes are rooted in multifaceted and multi-layered everyday lives, and that they are instigated by multiple reasons (see Halfacree & Rivera, 2012). We combined deductive and inductive processes to develop a coding structure, building our categories partly on the interview questions and partly on the data. We used Atlas.ti to organise and code our data, but during the analysis phases we switched between the Atlas.ti codes and the original full transcripts to ensure that the richness of transcripts did not get lost.

RESULTS

When they initially moved, our respondents had no definite expectations of staying in the rural. All reported that they moved with the intention of 'we'll see how it pans out, we might stay a year, five years or longer'. They were not committed to staying from the outset. However, at the time of interview, when respondents were asked whether or not they had plans to stay or leave the village or the rural in the

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(near) future, nine couples claimed to have become 'convinced stayers' and three couples are classified as 'children-led stayers'.

The 'convinced stayers' expect to stay in the rural for as long as they can imagine. Most had moved to the countryside for lifestyle reasons, and possessed roots in the countryside and/or in the specific region they moved to. Most 'convinced' couples expect that life course changes such as becoming elderly and (potentially) less mobile may result in a re-negotiation of their staying process. Some anticipate a residential move towards either a larger village or a town with more facilities and services.

The three children-led stayer couples expect that child-related life course events will change their views on staying drastically. Two of the three couples moved to the countryside to offer the children a pleasant youth, the third moved for rural lifestyle reasons. Among children-led stayers the transition to an empty-nest life phase (when the children leave home) is expected to act as a trigger for re-negotiating the decision to stay.

Both groups are electing to belong in the rural for the time it suits their individual and family wishes. It also seems that because of these couples' earlier mobility histories, re-negotiating the decision to stay or move again is the logical thing to do.

Our newcomers identified with both the physical and social aspects of rural living. They appreciated typically rural idyll-like characteristics such as peace and quiet, natural qualities, relaxed lifestyle, and friendly and inclusive community. Disadvantages of the physical environment, such as the longer distances involved and the lack of diversity in facilities, were taken for granted because they did not outbalance the pros of staying. They now 'identify with' the rural place which has become meaningful to them. They elect to belong there.

However, we also found processes of selectivity in the way our newcomers developed strategies regarding rural community life. One strategy involved a conscious effort of the newcomers to adapt attitudes and the way they performed in order to get connected to, and accepted within, the local community. This seems to be a selective way of 'identifying with' rural community life, that is mainly found in the convinced stayers group. Two other forms of selectivity go hand in hand with processes of

'identifying against' some of the social aspects of rural living. First, children-led stayers seek only to become involved in (or 'identify with') child-related activities and only for as long as their children are active in village life. Second, both children-led and convinced stayers 'identify against' certain elements of local culture and of the real rural stayers: that is, the local residents who have lived all their lives in the rural community.

CONCLUSION

Newcomer stayers have 'elected' to move to a rural environment but also have 'selected' to belong to a sub-section of the rural community conducive to their life stage. Both elective and selective strategies of belonging go hand in hand with the process of becoming a stayer, either for the short or for the longer term. Selectively belonging to a place keeps the 'escape' option of leaving open, when changes in life stage occur. One might go as far as to say that some newcomer stayers, especially children-led stayers, have failed to, or are unwilling to, develop anything other than a superficial sense of belonging: instead what has emerged is an 'elective residence': they have elected to reside in the rural (for now) but not elected to belong to the rural.

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The entrepreneurship discourse and the (ex-) rural women entrepreneurs' lived experience of staying in the countryside

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Abstract – How do Finnish rural women entrepreneurs attain a sense of agency and feel recognised? This issue is examined via a follow-up interview study with long-term, older-aged entrepreneurs rooted in rural areas. It is concluded that they work in 'feminine ways', which brings them a sense of agency, but also prevents them from obtaining any wider recognition.

INTRODUCTION

The question of recognition is often framed by the prominent picture of an entrepreneur as a forward-thinking, risk-taking, globally mobile male (e.g. Ahl, 2002, Giazitzoglu & Down, 2017). Another frame is that of the rural woman associated with farming (Whatmore, 1990). Rurally located women who do not farm and are owners of small firms differ from these stereotypes and face, therefore, different challenges in relation to the discourse of the entrepreneurial spirit (e.g. Ikonen 2014).

There is a wide philosophical debate around the concept of recognition (for a review, see McNay, 2008). To simplify these theoretical arguments, we can conclude that becoming recognised is a vital human need. I aim to bring together the notions of recognition, agency and subjectivity, an approach selected because of the centrality of reflections made about the significance of one's 'life's work' to the interviews conducted for this study. One of the interviewees pondered, for example, whether she would ever manage to leave a permanent 'trace' of the firm that she had worked hard to develop while bringing up three children. In general, the interviewees' narration could be termed 'feminine'. In many instances, agency was 'minimal'; powerlessness seemed to prevail. Even so, the concept of agency held enormous meaning for the individuals concerned; indeed, agency has been said to provide one with a 'grip' on the world (Honkasalo, 2009). I utilise the idea of situated agency, via which a feeling of coherent subjectivity is said to be formed. This type of agency is characterised by creativity amidst routine; thus, it is a semi-autonomous agency, constricted by structures and power relations (McNay, 2008). So, do rural female entrepreneurs need recognition? If so, for what do they aim to be recognised?

DATA AND METHODS

The study is based on follow-up life-course interviews with Finnish rural women who were acting as entrepreneurs at the beginning of the 2000s. Eighteen women entrepreneurs were selected from survey data involving 132 women entrepreneurs. They were interviewed for the first time in 2001–2002. Sixteen of them were interviewed again in 2009, and a third interview round involved 12 participants in 2016. This 15-year continuum forms an in-depth picture of societal and personal change in individuals who have distinct local and personal ties.

This presentation draws mainly from the third interview round. I have coded the interview transcripts according to theory-driven and data-driven themes. These themes have been given descriptive names (e.g. 'feelings and emotions', 'futura', marketing). The analysis involved comparing and contrasting the interviews, and investigating how the themes were related.

RESULTS

An examination of rural female interviewees' current activities and related emotions indicates that rural, craft-like ways of working create a 'sense of agency' and a feeling of dignity, as suggested by other scholars. It is also clear from my interview data, however, that these women face hardships, such as economic paucity and remoteness, which they tackle via adaptations to the logic of internet marketing. What threatens their sense of agency in many cases is the expanding significance of the internet for business.

Some of the women interviewed were not affected significantly by the internet – for example, those who were retired or were also employed elsewhere, and were thus receiving additional revenue. A number of the interviewees, however – particularly those working in the crafts sector – explained that internet and social media communities had become extremely

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important in their self-marketing. Although the internet is a place in which even rurally located, home-based mothers can sell their goods, it is also an enormous space, in which achieving recognition is difficult due to competition from larger firms around the globe. Rural women, therefore, must market their goods aggressively – a concept with which the older women in the sample had not grown up. In addition, geography still matters, especially as once-available services are moving out of regressive areas (e.g. post offices are closing down, thus making delivery of goods to customers more difficult).

We can compare three examples of internet-related challenges here. Two craft entrepreneurs and one seamstress with a fabric shop had faced the same problems, but their solutions were different. One had 'taken hold of the tractor's backboard and jumped on board'. Another had made the decision to give up her business as she was not 'full of energy from dawn to dusk'; she did not want a Facebook following or to have to hold competitions and post product pictures continually. Her income was merely an added bonus for her family, so opting out was an option. The third woman was 'absolutely not interested' in the internet and had decided to invest in serving locals in an old-fashioned way, which meant a heavy workload and added stress, accompanied by the burden of needing to support her family financially.

For the majority of those who have continued as entrepreneurs, agency remains extremely gendered. As is typical of Finnish women, they were used to participating in working life, as well as taking care of their children and the home. As one woman put it, 'It is a choice, and that's it' – she decided to become an entrepreneur, whilst also taking all the responsibility for the household. Many say that only entrepreneurship can provide enough flexibility here; as one interviewee stated, 'an employer would not be that flexible'. Indeed, responding to the needs of one's family is built into these women's entrepreneurship, a fact which has prevented their firms from developing in the most effective ways.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Maintaining gendered practices means retaining a marginal level of agency in a male-dominated economy. These women receive hardly any

recognition beyond the 'female' category. Traditional, gendered ways of acting are supported by local traditions created and sustained by these women and their communities. The women feel recognised in this context, which makes them rely on such conservative practices, leading them to strive for success within this realm.

In all these cases examined here, staying is seen as an unquestionable solution. The rural surroundings represent these women's families, roots (in most cases), homes and everyday activities. Having a beloved dwelling place thus provides a sense of agency when everything else around them is changing in ways over which they have little control. The other side of the coin is that strong ties prevent the women from taking the initiative to change conditions that can be interpreted as unequal. I suggest, however, that the feminine craftswoman's subjectivity in itself brings a sense of agency – it is for this kind of entrepreneurship that they wish to be recognised.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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'I want to be my own boss' – Women's motives to stay in the countryside

M. Sireni, A. Jolkkonen, V. Lemponen¹³

Abstract – Regardless of the 'exodus of women' from the Finnish countryside, women are considered as an untapped source of rural economic growth. Those who stay or return are encouraged to engage in entrepreneurship. Drawing on qualitative material obtained from a magazine targeted at rural women, this paper analyses the prevailing discourses on rural femininities and sheds light on the expectations placed on female entrepreneurs. Additionally, based on a questionnaire study, the paper examines the motives and experiences of women who run their businesses in rural environments. The paper shows rural entrepreneurial activities to be gender-segregated, and concludes that gender equality is not necessarily supported by encouraging small-scale female entrepreneurship.

INTRODUCTION

In Northern Europe, rural regions have experienced a population decline and a reinforcement of the gender gap, as young women are more likely to leave their communities than men (e.g. Bye, 2009). In Finland, the gender gap is striking in the age group of young adults, with a maximum men-to-women ratio of 137 to 100 in sparsely populated regions (Maaseutukatsaus, 2017). Nevertheless, women have taken up positions of responsibility in rural communities. The fact that 75% of Finnish village development coordinators are women, and women are in charge of 70% of local action groups (LAGs) suggests that grass-root community development has in fact become a feminized field of action (Maaseutukatsaus, 2017). However, findings in other European countries propose that such feminization cannot necessarily be interpreted as empowering, and that feminization can be 'forced' when the responsibilities lose their attractiveness and volunteers are difficult to recruit (Matysiak, 2015).

In the 'multifunctional countryside', women play a crucial role as potential creators of new businesses (Markatoni & van Hoven, 2012). The need to facilitate typical women's activities such as tourism and food production, in order to enhance the prosperity of rural communities is highlighted in the recent OECD (2016) policy recommendations for Northern Sparsely Populated Areas (NSPAs). However, in Finland and elsewhere in the Western world, women are less involved in entrepreneurial activities than men, mainly because many people prefer jobs as employees (Kelley et al., 2016). Rural women may also encounter obstacles if patriarchal ideologies in rural communities and within households discourage their initiatives in entrepreneurship (Markatoni & van Hoven, 2012).

This paper aims to identify the dominant discourses on Finnish rural femininities and rural women's entrepreneurship by analyzing articles published in the *Koti* (Home) magazine, published by the Rural Women's Advisory Organization (RWAO).

The RWAO is the most important organization representing rural women and supporting their entrepreneurship, and their magazine is the most widely distributed publication which targets this specific group (Sireni, 2015).

Additionally, by drawing on questionnaire data obtained from the NSPA region of North Karelia (NK) in Eastern Finland, this paper aims to explore women's motives to undertake entrepreneurial initiatives, and their experiences of running businesses in rural environments.

DATA AND METHODS

Analysis of the rural women's magazine

The analysis is based on two recent volumes of *Koti*, which is issued 10 times a year. *Koti* is informative in its orientation, and contains articles on the RWAO's central advisory themes. It also publishes entertaining articles focusing on women who describe their activities in the countryside. The study material consists of 39 articles depicting women, ranging from between 2-5 pages per article. A discursive approach to analyzing the texts focused on the meanings which were produced and mediated by the magazine.

The electronic questionnaire

Female entrepreneurs in the NK region were contacted using email addresses provided by the local RWAO. The electronic questionnaire consisted of 29 questions on the women's motives, strategies and experiences regarding their businesses. A response rate of 30% was achieved, with 39 responses from farm women (23%) and non-farm women (77%) who run small-scale businesses (e.g. online shops,

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tourism, food production, handicrafts) in low-density areas.

RESULTS

Constructions of rural women

There are two main discourses on rural femininity actively promoted in the pages of *Koti*. Firstly (and in accordance with the more general discourse on gender equality and Finnish women's economic independence), women are presented as active agents and subjects in their own lives. A woman's active role in the labor market is taken as a for granted element of the rural way of life.

Secondly, the RWAO attempts to construct rural women as advocates of new livelihoods in the multifunctional countryside. The articles celebrate women's resourcefulness and innovativeness. They are provided with a role as empowered super-women who find niches, develop novel business ideas, implement local development projects, and make villages flourish. A common element in the stories is the willingness of the women (who are typically returning migrants) to live in the countryside, after a short or long sojourn away from their childhood environment. Even though the women interviewed in the magazine refer to their workload, a lack of free time and low income, these problems are not handled in a critical manner within the featured articles.

'I want to be my own boss'

The survey findings indicate that female entrepreneurs understand themselves (as they are expected to be), as economically active agents in the multifunctional countryside. They have typically undertaken a full- or part-time entrepreneurial initiative with the aim of fulfilling personal aspirations and ambitions. The possibility of *'being one's own boss'* and *'to live in the countryside'* are their most important motives for starting businesses, and the rural environment enables them *'to enjoy a free lifestyle as an entrepreneur'*. According to them, and also in line with the key message of the RWAO, *'the attitudes towards rural female entrepreneurs are positive'*.

The rosy picture of energetic female return migrants with brilliant business ideas is however challenged by the survey respondents, who reported that their *'income is too low'*, they *'have no free time'*, and they *'often feel exhausted'*. Although the

respondents highly value living in the countryside, they often find it hard to make a proper living from the countryside.

DISCUSSION

The entrepreneurship of rural women is pushed to the fore in Finland, however, it is not necessarily given that entrepreneurship serves to strengthen their financial independence or gender equality. As the RWAO does not pay attention to such necessary realities as the need to achieve a sufficient income, it seems to represent the voice of rural Finland, rather than that of rural women. In this regard, it offers women roles as promoters of rural vitality and supporters of rural community wellbeing, rather than one of profit making entrepreneurs.

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Working Group 5. Tap for change: ubiquitous
ICT, food and rurality



Mobile applications fostering situated learning opportunities in Alternative Agro-Food Networks

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Abstract – alternative agro-food networks (AAFNS) represent new forms of collaboration between producers and consumers. They provide a space where a variety of information and knowledge might be exchanged during direct interactions among their actors. nowadays, mobile applications have the potential to support such information/knowledge exchange. The study reports main results from a review of mobile apps oriented to AAFN. It explores their role in increasing and extending situated learning opportunities in AAFNS. Results of the research might be used to conceive of, design and develop mobile services to help AAFNS to scale up by supporting mutual understanding and collaboration among producers and consumers.

INTRODUCTION

The concentration, industrialization and globalization of the Agro-Food System led to uniformity in agricultural production and significant ecological impact. This development strategy resulted in the crisis of trust in mass-produced products among consumers and placed farmers in an unsustainable economic condition. To overcome limits of mainstream agro-business system, many initiatives aimed at shortening the physical distances between producer and consumer (geographical proximity), and the number of intermediaries in the food supply chain (social proximity) have emerged in many countries. These initiatives, that go under the umbrella term AAFNs (Goodman, 2004), provide a space where a variety of information and knowledge related to agriculture, the rural economy, the environment, food production, and healthy eating might be exchanged during the face-to-face interactions between consumers and producers (Fonte, 2008; Volpentesta, et al., 2013).

Mobile applications can provide ubiquitous and context-aware services extending such knowledge exchange and enhancing situated learning opportunities (SLOs) (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wu, et al. 2013) for producers and consumers. Hence, they might foster mutual understanding and collaboration in AAFNs.

The paper aims to explore the value of the use of mobile applications and services to increase SLOs in AAFNs. In particular, the key research questions are:

- What is the role of apps in increasing SLOs in AAFNs ?
- Can M-Services increase SLOs before, during and after a face-to-face interaction in an AAFN?

The study reports results of a review of apps oriented to AAFNs.

The rationale of the research is to maximize the chances of conceiving of new ubiquitous services able to improve the mutual understanding and collaboration among producers and consumers in AAFNs, by reinforcing social capital of local food systems

SITUATED LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES IN AAFNS

Consumers and producers engaged in AAFNs operate in a setting where the process of gaining knowledge is contextualized in an experiential framework and learning is a social process that is situated in a specific context and embedded within a particular social and physical environment. This study models a SLO in an AAFN as a triplet of components that are interrelated: face-to-face interaction context (F2FI), knowledge and information source (KIS), and learning content domain (LCD). Ubiquitous services are able to "augment" SLOs by making use of knowledge structures and information on the context of the interaction (user's profile, time, location) to better address users' needs.

METHODOLOGY

The review was conducted by searching apps explicitly oriented to AAFNs on the two main application stores App Store (IOS), and Google Play (Android). Only apps showing ubiquitous features and explicitly claiming to support any form of AAFN were included in the sample. Data were collected from May to June 2016 from the app description and in most cases by testing the apps too. Functions of each app in the sample were classified taking into account both the information flow direction (reporting, informational, or interactional) and the function scope (social oriented or decision support oriented).

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Moreover, following the model for SLO, both apps' functions and apps as a whole have been mapped on a function analysis space taking into account if messages' contents were categorized, the use of context items (users' identity, time and location of interaction) and the KIS width (personal, organizational, AAFN's community and external community).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The sample of this study included 126 apps. As regard social oriented functionalities 46 apps (36%) apps provide social reporting function, 35 apps (28%) provide social reporting and social searching functionalities and 1 app provide social reporting, social searching and social pushing functionalities. Moreover, 15 apps (11%) appeared to be, more than the others were, able to facilitate SLOs. These apps implicitly detect users' identity, time of the interaction and (in 5 cases) its location. Detected data enable the apps to give the user a more effective way to create and maintain social relationships as well as sharing knowledge with other people who have needs, interests, or problems similar to those of the users themselves, and are at the same time related to same context. Hence they increasing and extend SLOs, in particular before and after the F2FIs. As regards decision support oriented functionalities, 71 apps (56%) provide decision support reporting; 126 apps (100%) provide decision support searching; 2 apps (22%) provide decision support pushing and 40 apps (32%) provide task automation functionalities such as the e-commerce functionalities. The analysis of data showed that even if all the apps in the sample offer contextualized research functionalities of categorized contents, mainly useful to extend SLOs before the F2FIs, just 7 apps use the time of the interaction to provide information such as the farmers' markets open at the time of the request, or the food in season. Moreover, from the 62 apps offering the opportunity to locate the nearest farmers' markets, just 7 provide information on producers participating to them and products available at the farmers' markets. Furthermore, just 20% of apps leverage on users' preferences to provide contextualized content that could extend SLOs after the F2FIs in AAFNs, as well as just 3 apps use location, users' identity and time to send to users "push notification" that could improve the SLOs before and while the F2FIs in AAFNs.

CONCLUSION

Although, mobile technologies offer the chance to capture and use large sets of user's context data to support and extend SLOs in AAFNs, reviewed apps have a restricted context awareness capacity and use of contextual data appears very limited too. Despite it is widely recognized that social interaction plays a fundamental role in situated learning process (Lave & Wenger, 1991) the study showed that only a restricted number of apps provide functionalities that could support social interaction for such a process. Similarly, the support of decision support oriented functionalities resulted to do not take advantage of all the opportunities offered by mobile technologies to provide ubiquitous services able to increase and extend SLOs in AAFNs.

The research results can be used to design and develop M-services that, overcoming limits of reviewed apps, could be better able to support Situated Learning in AAFNs in an effective way, and allowing re-connection and close communication among agro-food producers and consumers creating new market opportunities and favorable conditions for cooperation and innovation within the local food system.

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The XXVII
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Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Implementing a Mobile-Based Application for Marketing and Technical Support: Developing a Sustainable System for Fish Farmers in Uganda

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Abstract – Mobile phones have a rapid diffusion rate and facilitate farmers' access to information, helping increase their bargaining power, control over external events, develop new skills and grow revenues. Several different business models have emerged in efforts to provide technical support to African farmers with cell phones. Each varies in the level of public sector control, business model, cost, and flexibility. One commercial model invites farmers to subscribe to a fish-focused network of producers managed by a service provider who moderates the transactions and may be compensated by subscription fees, transaction fees, or commissions. The entrepreneur firm builds and supports a network of suppliers, producers, and buyers whose transaction costs support the network. The source of technical information may be uncertain, but the responsiveness to technical questions may be rapid because the entrepreneur is motivated to keep and grow the number of participants. This is the approach we take in Uganda. The purpose of this paper is to describe the implementation of a mobile-based application for fish farmers, participation processes, and services provided. The conclusion considers how ICT advances food security and development by empowering farmers and linking them to each other, extension, and input suppliers.

INTRODUCTION

Mobile phones have the ability to provide information, and thus encourage greater production efficiency. Despite the rapid increase in the use of mobile phones that has greatly influenced agriculture sectors in various ways world-wide, many Ugandan fish farmers still lack the basic communication infrastructure necessary to access fish farming information and make timely decisions. Most small-scale fish farmers have limited access to reliable information about new and improved methods of farming. Most farmers do not attend agricultural fairs (where they exist), and aquaculture extension workers do not reach every farmer. In addition, extension workers who visit the farmers often give them discrepant information, leaving farmers confused (Mwangi, 2008). Thus, farmers rely on their traditional knowledge, experience and guesswork to make decisions for day-to-day activities, which is ineffective in managing a non-traditional enterprise like aquaculture.

METHOD

A total of 48 small to medium scale fish farmers, comprising of 34 men and 14 women, participated in

the study between the months of May and July, 2014. Focus group discussions with fish farmers were conducted in five districts (Masaka, Mpigi, Bushenyi, Mukono and Kalungu) of Uganda during the months of May to July, 2016. Focused group discussions were used to gain a broad range of views on the research topic. The discussions also provide an opportunity for obtaining general background information about a topic (Berg, 2009). An interview guide was used to gather information about mobile phones use among fish farmers, needs and interests of fish farmers, and problems faced by fish farmers. Responses obtained during focus group discussions were transcribed verbatim and treated using thematic content analysis (Fig 2). Thematic content analysis involves identification of themes from qualitative data that "at minimum describe and organise the possible observations and at maximum interpret aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Participants identified a number of roles that mobile phones play within the context of the aquaculture

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

industry. These include marketing and coordination services, in particular, technical guidance, mobile payments and contacting family members. Farmers recognized the significance of mobile phones as a new form of technology not previously available to use. The farmers' response to mobile phone usage and its efficiency were based on how mobile phones were used to communicate with customers in surrounding villages and negotiate prices for their fish. Mobile phone use also included farmers receiving calls from their fellow fish farmers inviting them to attend group trainings on a village level. The use of mobile phones also delivered convenience benefits to farmers who were starting to substitute physical meetings with mobile phone conversations. Farmers reported that mobile phones provide monetary savings over what would have been spent on travelling.

CONCLUSIONS

The study revealed that farmers mainly use their mobile phones to make mobile payments, contact family members, and communicate with buyers/middlemen. However, factors such as poor network coverage, frequent power cuts, lack of calling credit, awareness and promotion has constrained the full utilization of the potential use of mobile phones. The study also highlighted that farmers prioritized information on; pond management, feeding, stocking and harvesting, and most importantly market prices. Although farmers were also interested in other categories of information, like fish diseases, seed variety, fish species to be cultured, sampling etc., only a small sample prioritized them. Despite the vital roles mobile phones play in aquaculture, there is still low capacity and usage of mobile telephony as a tool for delivering reliable information on fish production and market prices. Access to timely fish production and market price information can boost aquaculture development in Uganda by empowering farmers to make good decisions. Most small scale farmers depend on the word of mouth to get information from intermediary fish farmers since the extension workers are unable to reach all farmers and guide them on best fish farming practices. This indicates that support is still needed for disseminating information on market prices and fish production.

Mobile phones could help disseminate fish farming and market price information, given fast growth and expanded connectivity in the country. There appears also a great deal of potential for reaching farmers since all the fish farmers who participated in the focused group discussions have access to at least one mobile phone. Mobile phones have already shown what is possible and the important role it plays in delivering information to farmers in developing countries. Cell-based systems that can enable fish

farmers to receive a wide range of information about aquaculture production and market prices should be put in place. Such system would require combined efforts of all key stakeholders mainly farmers, traders, agriculture extension service personnel in MAAIF and NGOs and ICT service providers particularly mobile phone telecommunication companies. This could accelerate aquaculture development in Uganda by providing timely information about agricultural information and market prices can help farmers significantly, and in many ways reduce risks by empowering them to make good decisions.

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Hand in hand - Social Innovation and New Technology supporting rural development

G. Nemes¹⁶

Abstract - In recent years, social innovation has been gaining more attention, not only in the scholarly literature and in public discourse but in rural development practice as well. Important reasons for this are the greater availability of new technologies in rural development and the involvement of civil society and in this form of innovation. In this paper, building on definitions of social innovation found in the literature, we focus on the actual processes of social innovation in a particular case in rural Hungary. We found that the application of new technologies (GPS, smart phone application, video) attracted much attention and greatly helped social processes and the reinforcement of social networks. At the same time, the social learning involved in the project was an essential part of enabling the local community and particular individuals to use new technology in their everyday work. The project gave ample opportunities for rural development action, however, to make it a real development tool for sustainable tourism, benefiting local businesses, a better marketing and communication strategy should have been applied.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, social innovation (SI) has been gaining more attention and a number of different understandings both in the scholarly literature and in public discourse. Rural regions normally have low capacity to develop genuine technological or market innovations, thus social dimensions, and within those social innovation, should receive more attention. Dargan and Shucksmith (2008) claim that innovation in LEADER (a programme aiming at local development of rural areas) is often understood rather as a social and cultural innovation, instead of a technical (and science interpreted) one by encouraging local linkages and collective learning, and improving the rural locality. Learning does not equal new technical and scientific discoveries but it can be "based on activities which recombine or adapt existing forms of knowledge" (Smith, 2000, p.10). LEADER Local Action Groups (LAGs) can themselves be considered as SI brokers in a given rural territory. On the other hand, as information technology has been spreading in everyday life, the use of new tools (for marketing, communication, product development, etc.) is becoming a necessity in agriculture, tourism and other rural industries. However, to make rural people able to use new IT tools, social learning and social innovation is needed. Thus, the use of IT in rural development represents both a challenge and a great opportunity. In this article we explore these issues through the case study of a GPS based smart phone application, providing 160 hiking trails, serving sustainable tourism in and local development at the territory of the Balaton Uplands LEADER Local Action Group (LAG), Hungary.

METHOD

Our case study is primarily based on action research, participant observation and other qualitative research methods as interviews, community analysis through workshops and participatory video, etc. We have worked closely together with the LAG since 2008, participated in the planning and the implementation of the project, contributing to the methodology, analysis and the evaluation of the results. For the analysis of the outreach of the application, the relevant IT analytics was used.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Balaton Uplands LEADER LAG is rich in natural resources and has good potentials for sustainable tourism. At the same time, to capitalise on these potentials, there was an urgent need to connect both relevant local actors with each other and the region with the outside world, as a destination for rural tourism. A parallel demand was the social need for destinations offering possibility for 'alternative' tourism. This project intended to meet these fundamental social needs through the community-based development of tourist trails, made available through an innovative GIS system and smartphone applications for the tourists.

The LAG organised local workshops in all its 60 settlements, during which local actors gathered attractions, placed on a large printed map and organised into three trails (for walking, cycling and horse riding) designated in each village. This occasion also provided a neutral communicative space for discussions, finding possibilities, building networks and contacts for local entrepreneurs, local authorities, NGOs and local enthusiasts etc. (community

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

development tool). It also provided appropriate space for the local development agency of the LAG to meet the population in their territory, to gain information, personal and institutional contacts (rural development tool). After the workshops a LAG employee accompanied by local people walked along the trails, recorded the GPS tracks, took photographs, collected stories etc. Then a GIS database was built (using new technologies), smartphone applications were developed and innovative tools, including Google™ advertisements, Facebook™, printed leaflets and digital information boards were used for the marketing of the results (marketing tool). A community made video illustrating the process is available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mfUUbGK6M0&list=PLZdrE4wSYjP341bW2d4pZJ-XJbfxDGIn&index=3>.

The project was designed and delivered as one of the main local activities of the local LEADER LAG. As part of their 'green tourism' development it became one of the three legs of the local development strategy. Balaton Uplands provides favourable circumstances for such a project, with strong natural and human resources, reasonably developed services and many high-quality local products, all good resources for rural tourism development. Also, the local LAG is one of the best functioning ones in Hungary with a strong professional background, good networks, importing knowledge and best practices from domestic and international examples.

The innovation initiated from three different sources: (1) a local entrepreneur; (2) a social scientist; and (3) the project managers of the LAG. The local entrepreneur was originally from Budapest, speaks various languages, and was working in rural tourism (accommodation, horse trails) and ICT at the same time. He came up with the idea of the GPS trails, could handle the technology and develop the first version of the GIS database and coding. The social scientist, a rural development expert, based on good practices seen in EU Member States and on the available resources, he suggested to use the GIS/GPS project as an opportunity for community development and an interface for creating networks, packages and rural development work in general. The local development agency of the LAG (project managers)

participated in the development of the innovative features of the project from the very beginning. Even if ideas, impulses and methods were suggested by others, they very quickly internalised and improved, operationalised the initiatives and carried out the vast majority of the work. They were people with different resources/skills, often helping, complementing each other, and that was an essential success factor for the project.

CONCLUSION

During the process of developing the GIS database, community mapping and so on, there were many tangible, positive effects of the project. Several new co-operations, joint strategic thinking, planning in the field of rural tourism were identified, and local networks were significantly developed. The process also provided a very efficient interface for the LAG development agency to meet local people, collect and spread information, innovation etc.

The development of social networks and improved information flows have enhanced the development capacity of the whole region, thus benefitting everyone. However, the main beneficiaries of the project were those connected to rural tourism in some way (service providers, local producers, local authorities, tourists etc.).

At the same time, the actual outputs (GIS system, smartphone applications, connected homepage etc.) represent a huge potential for marketing and tourism development. Nevertheless, the introduction and marketing of the products has so far not been too successful. The application (<https://guideathand.com/hu/downloads/balaton-felvidek>) was downloaded 3086 times, service providers, local producers were viewed 3543 times within the application. These numbers are not very high, and the main reason for this is the low efficiency of local marketing of the application. The LAG did not manage to convince local tourism entrepreneurs to use and promote it to visitors and tourists. In this field more social learning and social innovation is needed.

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Failing To Connect: Superfast Broadband, Rurality & The Failing Governance Of Rural England

M. Reed, A. Hamilton-Webb, R. Berry, I. Mena Parreño

The UK has one of the most developed on-line economies on the planet. Relatively densely populated, heavily urbanised and with high levels of ICT adoption, the UK's development of an online mediated economy is not only dependent on the physical infrastructure. As well as falling behind globally there is a second anxiety, which all parts of the constituent countries of the UK should be able to participate in this brave new on-line world. This paper focuses on how this anxiety is being addressed in the rural areas of England and what that indicates about the changing space of the rural.

The drive to ensure that the rural areas have a provision that is equal to that of cities has been dominated by a discussion of achieving high speeds that are described as 'superfast' broadband (SFBB). This drive to create such an infrastructure intersected with a desire to simultaneously shrink the purview of the state as part of austerity policies and a new localism. In this way, the delivery of SFBB was not only to be a harbinger of technological future but a new modality of governance, and in combination, of rurality.

The plans for the universal provision of broadband have undergone several revisions. In 2009, there was a universal service commitment (USC) to 2 Mbps to every home in the UK by 2012, to be followed by SFBB or 24 Mbps+ to 90% of UK residences by 2015, and to 95% by 2017. In 2015, the UK government announced a universal service obligation (USO) of 10 Mbps by 2020, but this is not legally binding and stands alongside the EU 2020 goal of 30 Mbps. Also in 2015, the UK government announced the ambition to have ultrafast broadband (100 Mbps+) to 'nearly all premises in the UK', this has not been matched by a timetable or funding. These bold statements do not acknowledge the geography of rural Britain, the pace of technological change and the market for broadband technologies existing alongside the apparatus of government.

The adoption of broadband in the UK has been rapid, rising from 200,000 users in 2002 to 13 million in 2004, along with a fast roll-out of broadband to mobile phones (4G), in part facilitating the UK's digital economy of more the £120 billion in 2015.

Advocates of rural areas have been concerned that they have not been at the forefront of sharing in these technological advances and wary of the appearance of a 'digital divide'. Simultaneously there has been a push for ever greater speeds regardless of the lack evidence of their utility or economic impact. British Telecom (BT) the former nationalised monopoly retains ownership and maintenance of the passive infrastructure, with other providers (ISPs) being able to access this to provide competing services. The market for broadband is dominated by four providers who have over 85% of market share, with BT the dominant provider with a 30% share. In urban areas, BT and Virgin Media are a duopoly, in the countryside BT is dominant.

Our case study is 'Fastershire' a partnership between the county councils of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire and BT. Fastershire would fund BT to provide the infrastructure for SFBB through both highly rural counties, to bridge the gap between what would be achieved through normal market functions and their costs, over £50 million would be provided for this purpose. As well as providing SFBB to 90% of these counties, there would also be funding for training, efforts to include otherwise exclude groups and demand stimulation measures to ensure resident were aware of the options. In 2017 as part of the project, 6500 homes were provided with fibre broadband by 'Gigaclear' with speeds of up to 1 Gbps (1000mbps).

Assessing the success of Fastershire is complicated by acknowledging that the initial premises of expected economic and social impact were not evidentially based, therefore falling short from aspirational goals is not an adequate assessment. Simultaneously, 'partnering' a small, local government organisation has meant that it is uncertain if people are responding to the project or the position of BT. From experience survey results, residents value reliability over speed, and asides from video conferencing have not changed their business practices or software usage in response to the improved access. Gains have been in being able to access services more quickly, to access cloud-based



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ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

platforms and to offer broadband as a service to others, particularly in the tourism sector.

The prime aspiration is that of being able to participate in corporate systems or large scale platforms and to work remotely. Private homes emerge as a key component in the emerging rural digital economy, with home working and home based businesses requiring reliable SFBB. This aspiration is what we term a 'post-rural' modality of employment, with all the attractions of rural life without the friction of distance, saving time and money on commuting and more autonomy. Businesses connected to the on-line retailers are a surprising presence in the countryside, as well as demand from farms for high levels of ICT access. The potential and presence of SFBB have been well communicated to residents and a barrage of complaint has met the shortfalls in provision.

To date, the results of this intervention have been to provide some homes with a fibre connection that exceeds the needs of a super-computing centre, while nearby villages are reliant on a 4G connection. The pattern is now more complicated than a neat rural/urban divide, overlaying patterns of exclusion with those of BT's infrastructure provision. Confidence in the competence of the state, in the form of Fastershire, has been tarnished by the over-promising and under-delivery of BT as experienced by many residents. As the experience of Gigaclear demonstrates there are considerable gains to be made from working with smaller entrants to the market. This requires the development of a local state capable and empowered to make evidence

based decisions on targets, sufficiently robust to counter powerful corporations and in dialogue with citizens as to what infrastructure is necessary, in combination with accountable programmes for its delivery.

There is tentative evidence that SFBB, where it is available, is facilitating new forms of rural business and life, conforming to existing social stratifications but suggesting possibilities for lower carbon, re-localised patterns of enterprise. In part the conflict is caused by the construction of broadband as a consumer service rather than a utility, fuelled in part by exaggerated claims of its short-term impacts rather than a long-term vision of its benefits to society and economy. In many of the responses residents reply as citizens, seeking to support their neighbours and those excluded in their communities, rather than simply rage at the denial of their consumer rights. It is in this space of citizenship that the future of ICT and its engagement with rurality needs to focus, to re-inforce a citizenship enabled by technology rather than just as consumers of corporate products.

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**Working Group 6. Poverty, social exclusion
and marginalisation in diversified rural
contexts**



Poverty and material deprivation among Swiss farming families

S. Contzen¹⁷

Abstract – Some Swiss farming families face situations of poverty and material deprivation despite Switzerland being a wealthy country and despite instruments of agricultural policy supporting almost all farmers in financial terms. This paper draws on a mixed-methods study of Swiss farming families and presents on one hand the extent of poverty and material deprivation and on the other hand how these situations are lived. The paper points to the prevalence of adaptive preferences marking farm households resilient in situations of poverty while possibly leading to a loss of their livelihood in the long run.

INTRODUCTION

Poverty among farming families in Western European Countries is not a new issue as farming families have to struggle for new income sources or adapt their production systems for many centuries (e.g. Meert et al., 2005). For some decades now, processes of globalisation and trade liberalisation have changed agricultural and other policies further impacting the lives of farming families, also in Switzerland. Despite being a wealthy country and despite disposing of instruments of agricultural policy supporting almost all farmers in financial terms, some Swiss farming families face situations of poverty (Fluder et al., 2009). However, official statistics lack data about how many Swiss farming families are affected by poverty and knowledge is limited about how such situations are lived. This paper aims at shedding light into this black box by presenting data on the extent of poverty and material deprivation among Swiss farming families. Furthermore, it seeks to scrutinise how these situations are lived.

METHODS AND DATA

This paper is based on a case study of Swiss farming families living in situations of poverty or material deprivation, which was carried out between 2013 and 2015 (Contzen et al., 2015). The study used a mixed-methods design: On one hand, it used the data of the Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) provided by Swiss Statistics for a secondary statistical analysis. Due to the small number of farmers in SILC, six waves from 2007 until 2012 have been combined, resulting in sample of 1666 persons working in agriculture or 4.7% of the weighted sample. For the secondary statistical analysis mainly descriptive statistics and to a minor extent logistic regression were used, comparing persons active in farming with similar population groups outside the agricultural sector.

On the other hand, in 2014, 32 qualitative interviews were carried out with Swiss farm households in precarious income conditions: married couples with and without children; single male and female farmers. Interviews were conducted at the interviewees' homes and recorded and transcribed afterwards. The interviews were analysed using inductive coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1996) and deductive coding (Mayring, 2010).

The sample represents households with diverse structures and stages in family cycle. It consists of persons of different ages and varies regarding educational levels. Additionally, it includes farms of different sizes with diverse production systems located in all production zones of Switzerland. Thus, the sample represents a broad spectrum of Swiss farm households and farms.

RESULTS

The secondary statistical analysis confirmed that some Swiss farm households face situations of poverty: 7% of them live below the Swiss poverty threshold¹⁸, compared to 3% up to 11% of similar population groups outside agriculture, such as solo-entrepreneurs or small businesses with less than five employees. However, about one fourth of farm households experience situations of relative financial deprivation, i.e. their income is lower than 60% of the median income. This rate is higher as in comparable groups where the proportion is between 7% and 16%. Hence, Swiss farm households experience a higher poverty risk than similar population groups outside the agricultural sector.

Despite this 'objective' prevalence of poverty in Swiss agriculture, only few interviewees perceive themselves as poor. Nonetheless, their financial situation weighs heavily on their shoulders and is perceived as psychological stress.

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¹⁸ This threshold has been adapted to the specificities of farming households, i.e. regarding lower housing and living costs, see Fluder et al., 2009; Contzen et al., 2015.



In addition to monetary indicators non-monetary material indicators were used to analyse the situation of farm households. Because of the general difficulties to measure income in surveys and even more difficulties of measuring it for self-employed persons including farmers, non-monetary material indicators are very valuable. The secondary statistical analysis showed that the material living condition of farm households is similar to the one of comparable population groups outside agriculture. Hence, about the same amount of farm households (5%) is affected by material deprivation than comparable households (3%-10%). The qualitative case study provided in-depth information on some indicators of material deprivation and confirmed that a lot of farmers are forced to postpone payments on a regularly basis, a fact which leads to psychological stress. The case study further showed that some interviewees must deal very carefully with food expenditures, and a lot of them can't take any holidays because of financial reasons.

Despite harsh financial situations and material deprivation, farm households seem content: Logistic regression showed that generally farm households tend to be 2.5 times more satisfied with their income than other self-employed persons in similar income and living conditions (odds ratio being significantly different from 1; $p=0.03$).¹⁹ This difference in satisfaction between farm households and other self-employed can partially be explained by the rewarding aspects of farmers' profession, such as working with animals (Gasson and Errington, 1993) or one's own land (Barclay et al., 2007). However, according to our qualitative analysis, this difference must mainly be explained by adaptive preferences (see Halleröd, 2006). This phenomenon describes the tendency of persons, who live during several years in poverty or deprivation, to adapt to their situation by lowering their preferences and expectations.

CONCLUSIONS

The adaptation of preferences and expectations to what is possible makes farm households resilient in situations of poverty and material deprivation. This allows enduring such situations for a very long time, however, it might negatively impact the psychic and

physic conditions of the farm household's members. This in turn can result into other (financial) consequences impacting the well-being of the family and prosperity of the farm. Furthermore, farm households might start to live of the substance of their farm businesses, hence destroying their livelihood in the long run. Partly because of adaptive preferences, but also due to the tradition of farm continuity or the 'psychic income' of farming (Gasson and Errington, 1993:228) etc. farm households tend to remain in agriculture although they can no longer or only hardly make a living out of it.

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¹⁹ The logistic regression has not been done for poor farm households separately.



Quality of life in Macedonian rural areas

J. Jakimovski,²⁰ E. Uksini, F. Filipovski²¹

Abstract The text refers to the study of certain elements having an impact on the quality of life in Macedonian rural areas, that is, the dynamics of the employment, the structure of disposable household income and attitudes of the citizens about the problems in the household. The number of employees per household is the most important indicator for the level of poverty of all household members, including children, but employment and salary throughout life affect the degree of poverty after retirement.

Key words: rural areas, employment, unemployment, disposable household income, quality of life.

INTRODUCTION

In rural areas socially and economically underprivileged people are concentrated.

In recent years, the transition of young people from education to work is becoming longer, more complex and turbulent.

Republic of Macedonia with an unemployment rate of 25.2% in rural areas (Labor Force Survey 2015) certainly does not provide good prospects for social integration of the workforce, especially if we take into consideration the unemployment rate of the young population (15-29 years of age) which represents 40.5%. That means that over one quarter of the total workforce in the rural areas is unemployed and two fifth of it aged 15-29 is prevented from receiving a salary and work experience.

Table 1. Employment and unemployment rate of the population aged 15 and over by gender and age- rural areas, 2015

Age	Employment rate			Unemployment rate		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Total	41.6	52.8	29.6	25.2	26.0	25.3
15-29	28.8	35.5	21.6	40.5	42.0	37.5
30-39	58.9	70.6	45.7	23.6	29.9	24.1
40-49	58.1	75.8	40.6	18.7	18.7	18.7
50-59	53.6	81.9	35.0	18.7	18.8	18.4
60-64	29.2	40.9	14.4	15.1	18.9	-
65+	8.7	7.2	7.0	-	-	-

Source: Labour Force Survey, 2015. 2016. *Statistical review: Population and social statistics*, 2.4.16.02/843, State statistical office, Republic of Macedonia, p. 96.

The results in the table show that the average proportion of employed women is 23% lower than that of men, but that difference is significantly greater in the age groups from 40 to 59 years of age, where the concentration of the consequences of birth, the care and upbringing of children is the highest.

The largest number of members of the young educated generation is placed in a situation of losing the best years of their lives waiting for employment in years when they can give the society most of their energy and creative ability (Jakimovski, 2017: 11972). "Unemployment in the Republic of Macedonia is not only an economic problem, but also a difficult social problem

and depressing content of human development (Uzunov, 1999: 87)".

Long-term unemployment makes young people frustrated and unsatisfied since they are forced to indefinitely postpone important functions, both for the individuals and for society - marriage, parenthood and the like.

By passing over the age limit (60 and over for women and 65 over for men) the general maintenance of households becomes weaker, investments in the farm are lower, the cultivation of land is not sufficient and not of a good quality, the livestock fund decreases, the houses are not well maintained, etc.

"Certain psychological and social syndromes also appear in the behaviour of the aged village population. The consequences at the beginning are in the decreasing of the agricultural production, and later in the complete going over of all production function in the household (Jakimovski, 2004:25)".

There are inefficient services in the public sector, a sense of deterioration of the environment/surroundings, distrust in the government, depression, reduced social organization, decline in the services of the private sector, empty houses poor living conditions, lack of social and cultural events for the young people and closing of public institutions (schools, doctor's offices, post offices and shops). Agriculture is the only source of income, which cannot sustain the micro system and diverse needs of the population. In addition to low-income, there is a great discontent of the population in these areas due to the underdeveloped public infrastructure (roads, water-supply systems, etc.) (Jakimovski, 2010). Rural urban migrations derived from the income level still exist, differences in salaries still exist and as we see they become bigger in the last decade

Employment, and the structure of disposable household income and are the elements of quality of life. Normally, the impact of employment on poverty is positive. Earnings from paid work are the biggest source of income, while the lack of earnings is the greatest cause of poverty (Sutherland et al, 2003). Changes in the employment status or earnings are the main reason for the movement in or out of poverty. (Jenkins and Riggs, 2001).

RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA

The basic methodology applied in this research is comprised of the knowledge gained through the analysis of the conducted survey, and from previous statistical data and other researches.

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The field survey lasted from 11 October to 24 October 2014. The survey data collection was carried out according to the procedure: "door to door". The population frame was adult population in the Republic of Macedonia, and the research sample was stratified and random with a size of 1200 respondents. Our data were compiled from various secondary sources. I drew employment and unemployment rate by gender and education from the 2015 and household income and subjective opinion about the ability to make ends meet from State statistical office.

RESULTS

Public opinion is a result of our research where we have raised the question "Which of these problems creates major problems for your household"? The conducted research unambiguously points to the fact that in the Republic of Macedonia, households face low incomes and lack of employment opportunities. Namely, 43.3% of households in rural areas are mostly affected by insufficient income, 34.04% believe that there are no conditions for employment, 9.3% poor conditions for medical treatment, poor housing conditions 7.3%.

Data show that the socio-demographic and socio-professional characteristics to an unequal extent condition the differences in views on the problems in the household. The youngest respondents, aged 18-29, mostly share the opinion that the biggest problem is "lack of employment conditions" (51.6%), while all other age groups share the dominant attitude for "insufficient household income".

The stressed position of young people for lack of employment conditions can be understood as a result of the employment policy and the lack of access of young people to the labour market.

In Macedonia, the following policies and measures to reduce unemployment are implemented:

- Encouraging entrepreneurship and start their own business;
- Programs to prepare for employment: training with known employer, training with known employer with subsidies, training for advanced IT skills, practical work and education for starting a business.

The level of education is a factor defining the views of the rural population in terms of the problems in the household. From the respondents with completed primary education 25.3% stated that the main problem was "lack of employment conditions", while among respondents with college and university education this response was significantly more frequent (43.9%). Accordingly, among the rural population with primary education problem "insufficient income" is dominant, while among the population with college and university education the view that "there are no employment conditions" dominates.

In the table can be seen that the total disposable household income in rural areas is lower for 5.5 percentage points, and the participation in the wage from employment is lower for 11.5 percentage points compared to the share in urban areas. But, significant is the participation of income from self-employed (27.4%) in total disposable income in rural areas.

Evaluating the total revenues the majority of households in rural areas (35.3%) believe that total revenues meet the needs of the household with extreme difficulty. Less frequently it was estimated that the total monthly revenues meet the needs of the household with "certain difficulties" (26.9%), so that based on these common assessments it can be concluded that households in rural backgrounds basically with their monthly income find it

difficult to satisfy their household needs. This means that they perceive the effectiveness and appropriateness of the economic and social policy in the Republic of Macedonia in a negative perspective. Namely, only 10% stated that monthly revenues "easily satisfy the needs in the household" (bearably easy 6.4% and easy 3.7%).

Table 2. Household income and subjective opinion about the ability to make ends meet, 2014 – structure

Total disposable household income – annual average per in EUR			Distribution of households according to the subjective opinion about the ability to make ends meet		
Total disposable income	Rural area	Urban area	All households	Rural area	Urban area
	5,047 EUR 100.0	5,338 EUR 100.0			100.0
Wages and salary	49.1	60.6	With great difficulty	35.3	31.0
Income from self-employment	27.1	10.1	With difficulty	26.8	29.9
Income from property	0.1	0.1	With some difficulty	26.9	27.2
Pensions	18.4	25.8	Fairly easily	6.4	8.5
Social transfers	2.5	2.6	Easily	3.7	2.8
Received private transfers	2.7	1.2	Very easily	:	:
Other income	0.0	0.0			
Paid private transfers	-0.3	-0.4			

Source: Survey on Income and living conditions, 2014. Statistical review: Incomes, Expenditures and Prices, 2.4.16.01/848, pages 28 and 27, Skopje 2016.

CONCLUSIONS

Over one quarter of the total workforce in the rural areas is unemployed and two fifth of it aged 15-29 is prevented from receiving a salary and work experience. According to the obtained data an image was created of the current situation in the Republic of Macedonia regarding the problems in the household, the satisfaction of the household income, wherefore it can be said that it is relatively unsatisfactory, but may be changed or improved for a smaller segment of the population.

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Ethnicity-based selective school choices and marginalization in disadvantaged areas of Hungary

M. Kiss

Abstract – It can be considered an individually rational choice when parents decide to remove children from a local school if segregation has begun in the institution, however this process has very harmful consequences from the perspective of the society. This collective action problem leads to a larger gap suffered by disadvantaged children, and in the long-term leads to their disintegration. The Children Opportunities Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has lead a research project in 23 disadvantaged areas. Building on a large representative database, we analyze the following questions: in these rural areas, how many children are removed from local schools, what kind of family do they come from, what are the explanatory factors behind selective school choice and is there a difference of quality between the local schools and educational institutions of commuting children.

INTRODUCTION

It is an individually rational choice when parents decide to move their children out of the local school if segregation has begun within the institution, however, this process has very harmful consequences from the perspective of the whole society. This is a collective action problem (Olson, 1987) seeing that selective school choice, as a primary mechanism, contributes to processes that threaten social integration, hence it signifies conflicting individual and collective interests. The main mechanisms of this process are the following: parents with a higher socio-economic status remove their children from the local school when the number of Roma students starts to grow. As a result segregation begins to intensify, leading to the devaluation and contra-selection of teachers. There are also collective mechanisms within the segregated classes (such as stigmatizing or peer group subculture), which cause poor school outcomes (Kézdi-Kertesi, 2009, 2014; Messing-Molnár, 2008; etc.). These processes result in a homogeneous school environment and poor educational conditions, albeit it is exactly the disadvantaged students who would benefit the most from heterogeneous relationships and would necessitate the best educational services (Coleman, 1966; Rosell, 1976-1977 etc.). Harsh educational conditions exacerbate the gap suffered by disadvantaged children, resulting in their disintegration in the long-term. Although, in the past ten years there have been several constraints implemented within the Hungarian educational system making it more difficult to remove a child from a local school (Zolnay, 2010), parents still retain the right of freely choosing a school and the

incentives of the educational institutions are also still the same (Kézdi-Kertesi, 2014).

METHODS AND MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are a number of publications in the aforementioned topic, yet these mainly focus on the cities; our aim is to provide a picture of the rural disadvantaged areas of Hungary, where the situation regarding the high rate of Roma students in the schools is also quite problematic. The rate of schools in the initial phases of segregation (rate of Roma pupils is above 50%) is more than three times the national average. That is why the consequences of this phenomenon are also very intense concerning the integration and perspectives of disadvantaged children, who constitute our main target group. In 2013-14, the Children Opportunities Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences lead a representative research project in 23 disadvantaged rural areas and created a large database consisting of 12,000 children's data. A number of problems have been addressed from which we are focusing on selective school choices. Our main questions were: what is the degree of the selective school choice in the primary schools of examined areas? What are the explanatory factors behind this phenomenon and what is the connection between the types ("local schools" and "schools of commuters") and the quality of the schools?

MAIN RESULTS

Our research shows that the rate of children not attending a local school is about 15% in the disadvantaged villages (we examined only the selection between settlements). These children tend



to have well-educated non-Roma mothers and the family has a slightly higher income than average, however, we found that financial situation is not among the main influencing factors. Contrary to our hypothesis, our data shows there is commuting not only in the upper, but in the lower grades of primary school as well (from 7 years of age). The main factor determining selective school choice in these areas was the rate of Roma students in the schools/grades and presumably the preconceptions associated with this. According to our data, 70% of commuters study in a heterogeneous school environment (where the rate of Roma students is lower than 40%), while more than 60% of those who attend local schools study in a segregating school.

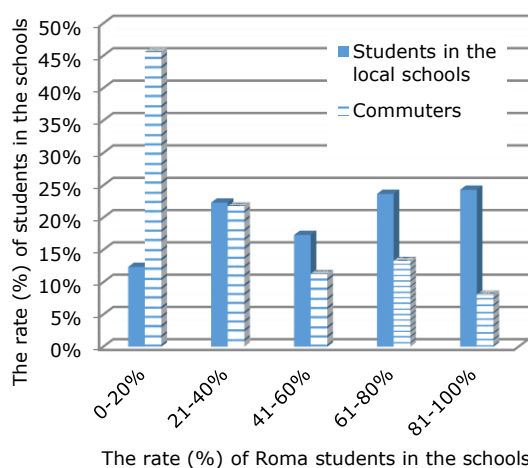


Figure 1. The distribution of students in local schools and commuters on the basis of the estimated rate of Roma students in the primary schools in disadvantaged areas

There was also a significant difference regarding effectiveness among schools in our study: the schools of children who study locally had lower scores in mathematics and reading comprehension (on the basis of the National Assessment of Basic Competencies), the discrepancy being greater in the latter field. A likely reason is that the family background plays a vital role in the acquisition of language skills (Bourdieu, 1973; Lareau, 2002; etc.).

INTERPRETATION AND FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Our research was explorative in the sense that thus far there has not been any big data collection in these disadvantaged areas focusing on families and children. Our results present a novelty concerning the

relevant literature: our data suggests that the phenomenon of removing children from local schools in these sub-regions starts earlier than we thought. Also, contradictory to our hypothesis that selective school choice is not significantly influenced by school infrastructure, the appraisal of teachers, or the perceived development of the child. Finally, our research presented new findings regarding the high rate of schools that are segregated in these areas. Within the framework of our previous research project there was no possibility to examine schools according to maintainer, however, our experiences in the field and the latest quantitative data shows that religious primary schools in disadvantaged regions is to educate children with a favourable family background (while in religious high schools the rate of disadvantaged students is overrepresented) (Hermann, Varga, 2016). In the next phase of the research, when eight more sub-regions will be involved, we will also analyse this factor, and we are planning to examine inter-city selection also with surveys and interviews as well.

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Manifestation of marginality and peripherality within differentiated rural structures in Slovakia

L. Škamlová

Abstract – This paper attempts to point out differentiated rural structures, especially mountain areas and the borderland zone, in the context of the socio-spatial polarisation and manifestation of the phenomenon of marginality and peripherality. With the use of ANOVA analysis, we examine a set of selected indicators of socio-spatial polarisation and verify whether and to what extent its dynamism depends on the character of diversified rural structures.

INTRODUCTION

Under the influence of the spatial polarisation, rural areas have begun to change significantly in terms of structural changes and to differentiate to a greater extent (Woods, 2005). Even more in the case of Slovakia, where this differentiation was accompanied by far-reaching transformation processes influencing its spatial organisation, increase of regional disparities and marginalisation as such. Not that before 1989 the spatial polarisation and inequalities did not exist, but after the regime has changed, these issues have become more apparent and the social as well as academic demand for their solution even more vehement (Mikuš, Máliková, Lauko, 2016). As a result, some parts of the countryside began to stagnate and decline gradually. These parts of rural environment can thus be referred as marginal, peripheral. With respect to the proclaimed diversity of the rural environment, it is necessary to acknowledge its increasing heterogeneity through the precise identification of lagging areas and understanding their needs with respect to its social, economic and environmental specificities.

The key results of this paper emanate from the analysis based on a broad set of statistical data related to phenomenon of marginality and peripherality and its development over time. With the use of ANOVA the paper attempts to verify whether socio-spatial polarisation can be recognised across the Slovak rural areas and to what extent the dynamic manifestation of marginality and peripherality depends on the character of diversified rural structures.

METHODOLOGY

Considering the diversity of rural environment, it is important that rural research, especially the one of socio-spatial polarisation, should take into account its specificity and uniqueness. In this case, the greatest emphasis is put on the most vulnerable areas more prone to becoming marginal and peripheral. Thus, we look closer at two specific rural structures: mountain

areas and the borderland zone, and since Slovak landscape is rather mountainous, plus one additional structure formed at the intersection of those two structures, which represent approximately 2/3 of Slovakia.

In the selection of relevant indicators of socio-spatial polarisation in the Slovak rural context we built our research on the existing research framework where indicators of an economic, social, geometric or infrastructural nature are the most commonly used. This also corresponds with the main approaches to the study of marginality and peripherality developed by Sommers and Mehretu (1998), Schmidt (1998), Leimgruber (2004). With respect to data availability and representativeness, 14 indicators were analysed at the local level in the period of two decades, referring to census years 1991, 2001 and 2011. We further applied ANOVA analysis (analysis of variance) followed by Tukey's HSD test in order to demonstrate the relations between the selected rural structures and the phenomenon of marginality and peripherality, as well as to point out their mutual interconnection. Our main hypothesis was as follows:

H₁ – A specific type of rural structure has a statistically significant effect (at a significance level of 5%) on the values of the analysed indicators.

RESULTS

We were able to proceed to the confirmation of the H₁, implying that the specific type of rural structure has a statistically significant effect (at 5% significance level) on the value of a given indicator, in the case of 10 indicators in 1991 and 2011, and 11 indicators in 2001. This means, that at least in the two types of rural structures the values of those indicators are not a coincidence, but a result of a different impact of space in those periods.

Primary results of ANOVA analysis confirmed the significance of all indicators over the analysed time period, but for a more detailed insight into the relations of those indicators in the individual types of



rural structures we also applied Tukey's HSD test. As a result, from the perspective of the nature of individual indicators, one must consider changing significance of individual indicators from which we can deduce that in different rural environment (type of rural structure) various indicators appear to play a key role. For instance, between mountain areas and the borderland zone the socio-spatial polarisation was most significantly influenced by those indicators related to education, distance from the regional centre, economically active population and infrastructure. In the case of mountain areas and the intersection zone it was mostly education, distance from the regional centre and infrastructure which matter the most, while between the borderland and the intersection zone the most significant indicators relate to economic dependency, distance from the regional centre, economically active population, unoccupied dwelling and infrastructure as well.

In terms of the dynamism of this phenomenon, there was a positive recognition that approximately 1/3 of the analysed communes, regardless the type of rural structure, reflected stabilisation or even decrease in their polarisation with respect to the selected set of indicators (Figure 1).

Trends of polarization 1991-2001 and 2001-2011	Mountain areas		Borderland		Intersection	
	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.
	31	5,22	21	2,53	25	6,44
	108	18,18	127	15,30	68	17,53
	60	10,10	97	11,69	39	10,05
	42	7,07	65	7,83	56	14,43
	174	29,29	232	27,95	109	28,09
	92	15,49	145	17,47	39	10,05
	18	3,03	27	3,25	12	3,09
	43	7,24	73	8,80	27	6,96
	26	4,38	43	5,18	13	3,35

Figure 1. Trends of polarisation of space in the analysed rural structures in Slovakia between 1991-2001 and 2001-2011

On the other hand, position of significant number of communes within the polarised regional structure of Slovakia has deteriorated over time. This further emphasizes the importance of such a research in the

most vulnerable rural areas in order to address the key issues and prevent its further decline.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on our analysis we have found out, that in two decades period not only the influence of different rural structures toward the selected indicators keeps changing over time, however, there are significant changes within every type of rural structure as such. This contributed to the verification of the H_1 . Last but not least, it is relevant to stress that not all mountain areas or all borderland zone must display the features of marginality or peripherality (Máliková, 2016) and that there does not exist a single place which would be pre-destined to become a marginal or peripheral one (Labrianidis, 2003).

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25 Years of post-Soviet Rural Development in Central Asia: Sustaining Inequalities

M. Spoor²²

Abstract – In post-Soviet Central Asia, poverty, income inequality and social exclusion are still particularly rural phenomena. Although poverty reduced until the economic crisis of 2008-09 (after an initial strong increase in the problematic years of the 1990s), in general inequalities have been sustained, in particular caused by unbalanced development, dependency on natural resource extraction, resource conflicts (amongst other between hydropower generation and irrigation demands for water), and capital city-centered growth models, to the detriment of rural populations, which are still quite numerous in the five countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan).

INTRODUCTION

In this paper it is argued, on the basis of available secondary sources and existing data bases, and partly based on observations made during various research trips undertaken by the author throughout the 1992-2016 period, that post-Soviet growth and development of the five newly independent countries in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) has given rise to sustained inequalities, mostly to the detriment of the (still numerous) rural populations. While the centrality of this region as bridge between East and West is generally recognized (like it was in the 'old days' of the Silk Road, and currently again in the context of the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative of China), this unbalanced development with substantial levels of poverty and social exclusion should also be seen as an obstacle for future sustainable development.

ANALYSIS

Three elements of national and rural development in particular are being analyzed in this paper. Firstly, most of these emerging countries based their growth models one-sidedly on their natural resource wealth (extraction of carbohydrates such as oil, natural gas, minerals, but also industrial crops such as cotton). They also went through stages of 'economic nationalism', creating new borders and entering into trade conflicts with neighbors, contrary to other trends in globalizing their economies, and the traditional role that Central Asia had as a trading corridor. Secondly, and related to the first one, the region has suffered hidden and open resource-based conflicts, in particular regarding land and water.

Inter-state tensions emerged in particular between the downstream (irrigation water dependent) countries, such as Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan and the upstream (hydropower energy dependent) ones, such as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Locally, these have also occurred and were often fought out along ethnic lines, in particular in the densely populated Fergana valley, the rural heart of Central Asia, sometimes giving rise to violent conflicts. Thirdly, all countries have followed a rather unequal capital city-centric growth model, using the proceeds of exports of mineral wealth (or cotton) for rapid urbanization, with little or no investment in rural development (and small towns), resulting in a growing urban-rural divide, 'sustaining' poverty and social exclusion in rural (and mountainous) areas, and increasing domestic rural-urban and cross-border migration. While it is recognized that this region is indeed a bridge between West and East (also re-emphasized by the Chinese 'Old Belt, One Road' initiative), it is argued in this paper that there is a need to reduce these inequalities and redress unbalanced growth, as they will be an obstacle for sustainable growth and development, with rural areas staying behind.

CONCLUSION

These elements of unequal growth and unbalanced development (natural resource-dependent and single sector-based growth, unequal access to land and water, and urban-rural gaps) are fundamental to understand post-Soviet transition in rural Central Asia during the past 25 years. They are analyzed in this paper in order to understand the still high levels of rural poverty and social exclusion. Poverty has diminished (in particular during the high growth years until the economic crisis of 2008-2009), but the phenomenon still remains a major challenge for the countries in the Central Asian region, and together

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with sustained income (and other) inequalities is likely to cause growth and development models in the Central Asian region to be unsustainable in the long-run.

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The XXVII
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Poland, Krakow
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Challenging Geographical Disadvantages and Marginalisation: A Case Study of Depeasantisation in Mountain Villages, the Western Black Sea Region of Turkey

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Abstract – This paper examines an implication of depeasantisation for rural community in a case study of *Dikmen* in Turkey, which has faced depopulation, agricultural decline and impoverishment during the last decade. The analysis of 171 household data and the qualitative data obtained from in-depth interviews with 27 women show that the villagers are depeasantised and apparently marginalised. However, while some villagers live under multiple deprivations, some challenge geographical disadvantages by investing their meagre earnings on transportation and communication technologies. An ongoing-process is a reconfiguration of marginality within the community rather than a total marginalisation of depeasantised villagers.

INTRODUCTION

Depeasantisation is an old and new issue. While a fate of peasantry in capitalist society was a much debated issue under the 'agrarian question' in Marxist scholarship, in a specific historical conjuncture of the twentieth-century modernisation they were actually recomposed into agricultural producers for markets as well as the conservative mass of smallholders in many countries (Araghi, 1995). Today, multiple processes of globalisation are reconfiguring rural societies once again, as indicated in the recent studies of such issues as the global agri-food system, the foot-loose location of food-processing, and the commodification of natural resources (Woods, 2007). While neoliberal agricultural reforms, along with technological developments, have enabled farmers in some regions to find new opportunities in global market, many others are forced to abandon farming as a result of the policy shift. Today, depeasantisation is 'a major global process' (Araghi, 1995:359; Murray Li, 2009; Aydın, 2016). Even so, Woods, in his exploration of 'global countryside', invites us to see an impact of globalisation on rural society not in terms of relations of domination and subordination, but 'through a micro-politics of negotiation and hybridisation' (Woods, 2007: 502). Globalisation is a reconfiguring process; while it marginalises some social groups, other groups renegotiate their marginality through on-going socioeconomic transformation. For a more sociologically informed study of globalisation and rural social marginalisation, an investigation of processes of exclusion and inclusion for differently positioned social groups is required (Shucksmith and Chapman, 1998). In this attempt, we examine an implication of neoliberal agricultural reform and depeasantisation for a rural

community in *Dikmen*, a Western Black Sea district in Turkey.

METHODS

In the years between 2013 and 2014, we conducted a research concerning depeasantisation, especially an issue of women's off-farm wage work, in five villages of *Dikmen*. In this paper, we discuss the analyses of 171 household data collected by semi-structured interviews with rural women selected by purposive sampling and the qualitative data obtained from in-depth interviews with 27 women. Semi-structured interviewing consisted of questions regarding household structure, household economy and socio-demographic information of household members. In in-depth interviewing, we asked women to tell their stories about the issues of family and social relations as well as domestic, agricultural and off-farm works in order to understand rural social life and socio-economic changes in context. The household data were analysed by descriptive statistical analysis in SPSS. All the in-depth interviews were recorded with a voice recorder with the permission of women. Transcriptions of interviews were thematically categorised and analysed by in- and cross-case examinations.

FINDINGS

Most areas in *Dikmen* are mountainous, soils are not fertile, and mechanisation is difficult. In order to compensate unproductive subsistence agriculture, many men worked as agricultural labourer in neighbouring districts or as wage worker in cities while those who remained in village cultivated tobacco, the only cash crop. In the early 2000s and

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

onwards, the privatisation of cigarette factories as well as a series of new agricultural policies which support gainful products rather than farmers negatively affected rural households in the area. Today, Dikmen villages face depopulation, aging population and agricultural decline. Generally, young men migrate to cities after eight-year primary education to work or continue further education. The villages now consist of the elderly, the men who returned from cities for ill health or another, their wives, unmarried daughters who did not continue education, and children. In the early 2000s, a few fishmeal and seafood-processing factories started operating in the lowland of Dikmen. Fishmeal factories, which are largely mechanised, employ exclusively men yet the very limited number of workers from nearby villages. In contrast, seafood-processing factories which produce mainly sea snail for East Asian markets employ hundreds of rural women from mountain villages for labour-intensive shelling work.

The household data confirm the depeasantisation of the villagers. According to an analysis of occupational statuses of household members, only 16 percent of the households support themselves by farming (mostly subsistent agriculture). Twenty-eight percent live on pension or welfare benefits. Thirty-seven percent earn from wage work (mostly irregular work). While 42 percent of the households do not have a wage-earning member at all, the male breadwinner family is 23 percent and there are 24 percent of the households which a female member(s) is the only wage-earner.

While women's newly engaged wage work relieved many impoverished households after the end of tobacco production, a comparative analysis of the narratives of working and non-working women reveals that paid work away from home enabled the former to escape from economic, social and cultural deprivations, which are often specific to women. Wage-earning activity empowered them in patriarchal household relations, provided them with social relations beyond families, and enabled them to purchase personal needs and invest on transportation and communication technologies like smart phone, which connect them with a life beyond their village.

Women's accounts of family members' work history suggest that their fathers or husbands tend to be the only son who involuntarily returned from a city due to the father's request or their own illness,

disability, or other incompetence. Many of them are now unemployed. Some receive disability allowance. Many keep themselves busy with subsistence farming.

More than a quarter of the households in our study consists of one or two persons many of who are the elderly. A significant part of the elderly is pensioner. Yet, many old villagers are without pension and receive old-age allowance which is about one fourth of farmer's pension. A few old women work at a sea snail factory to compensate insufficient income.

CONCLUSION

Dikmen villages are depeasantised, impoverished and apparently marginalised in the course of neoliberalisation of agricultural policies. However, while some villagers (the welfare dependent, unemployed men, and their unemployed wives and daughters) live under multiple deprivations, some (pensioners and wage working women and men) challenge geographical disadvantages through employment, traveling and communication technologies and integrate themselves into globalising economy and culture. Especially, factory work has radically changed the life of young rural women who used to be among the most marginalised in the community. The ongoing-process is a reconfiguration of rural marginality and differentiation between the newly marginalised and the newly integrated within the depeasantised villages.

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Poverty and civil society in Russia

A-M. Sätre, L. Granberg, A. Varyzgina²⁴

Abstract - The focus of the paper is on the reactions in civil society on the local level, related to poverty problems in Russia. Local initiatives has become a political aim in the local context, at the same time as political control of civic activities is restricting to implement and further develop such initiatives

INTRODUCTION

During the long growth-period in the Russian economy from 2000 to early 2020^s, poverty decreased clearly. Large-scale poverty in Russia had been the cause for a series of political measures aiming to stimulate economic and social development. However, poverty as such was not the explicit goal for any strong direct measures.

In 2005, the Kremlin launched a set of programmes, focused on healthcare, housing, education and agriculture. They were to be implemented by regional governors. Even if Russia remained an authoritative democracy as Gelman et al. (2003) calls the system, the implementation took place with new features in local policy, including two interesting aspects, which does not fit very well in traditional authoritative political system: projects and local agency.

First and foremost, regions and individuals have to apply to take part in the programmes and local agency complemented political measures. More concretely, in its programmes, the state offers resources for individuals, families and entrepreneurs to facilitate agency towards increased well-being.

The focus of the paper is on the reactions in civil society on the local level, related to poverty problems.

METHODS AND DATA

Theoretically the paper is utilising the frame of institutional economics while adding an orientation to agency as the changing factor. Poverty can be understood as an objective or a subjective phenomenon, or like Amartya Sen as a capability deprivation, inability to achieve a collection of functionings.

Civil society is understood here as according to Alfred B. Evans (2013), the sphere of activity that is initiated, organised, and carried out primarily by citizens, and not directed by the state. In addition to being located between the family and the state, civil society is distinct from the sector of businesses that are oriented primarily toward making a profit.

In this presentation interpretations are based on content analysis of qualitative study data. It is composed of interviews of local population in small towns and villages as well as representatives of local administration and experts in regional centres. The data has been collected using semi-structured qualitative interviews, complemented by observing and in some cases by special methods like focus group meetings. Four of the regions are located in north-western Russia, one in Volga region and one in Siberia.

While collecting the data some places were visited many times and even followed for the whole period, while others were visited one to three times. The data was collected since 2001 but the most relevant part of data for this article was composed of over 200 interviews collected in 2012-2016 from five Russian regions.

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

First the typical family level vicious and virtuous circles in development of poverty are discussed.

Secondly the answers of civil society to poverty are analysed. This includes among others preliminary answers on the questions, 'what kind of changes and new forms has civil society experienced, while answering the challenge of poverty and its ramifications?', and 'how are civic actors adapting into the political harnesses?'

Although it is difficult to estimate to what extent the Governmental programmes have actually been implemented, interviews with local authorities and low income families reveal that they have benefitted from participating in the programmes. These had remarkable impact at least from 2007 to 2014, after which inflation and budget cuts have increased. Also, in the severe situation of 2014-17 the Government has kept social programmes running. Because of decreased real value of budget and governmental supports, the crisis is seen in longer cues for those who apply for such support.

Although civil society was indeed growing in the 1990s, many commentator have noted that doors have been closing again after Putin's access to

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power. The development after the annexation of the Crimea makes such arguments even stronger. Indeed, we meet a 'dual reality' (Salamon et al., 2015): simultaneously the government's increasing attempt to control civic associations as well as explicit wishes by the same government to activate citizens and to support local initiatives. On the other hand, if authorities consider NGO activities to be politically oriented rather than fulfilling social aims, initiatives taken by active citizens might be punished. The dividing line between bad and good activity goes somewhere between politicised actions and constructive social and cultural initiatives.

Statistics show the weak situation of NGOs. In general, however, efforts to increase voluntary work and to popularise the third sector seem to have increased the knowledge about NGOs, about self-help groups and groups for helping socially vulnerable people.

It appears that in the Russian case, local initiatives of cooperation with others in a similar life situation are more about coping than actually about realising agency for changing a particular situation. Another observation is that those who cooperate with each other are not necessarily the most vulnerable, but are more likely to be those who are marginally above the poverty line.

Our research identified several initiatives taken by individuals (for instance a former workplace leader; an entrepreneur; a local politician) and provided evidence of the initial stages of empowering processes. However, the development and outcomes of such initiatives depended on the contexts in which they were undertaken. Where mechanisms for supporting new ventures or dialogue were lacking, such initiatives could end up as single events, before – if ever – there was the time for them to take root.

The TOS²⁵ -system in the Archangelsk region is a form of support for local informal groups to implement small-scale initiatives (Granberg and Sätre, 2017).

TOSs, clubs and meetings can be described as elements of early phase of civil society. They are such forms of civic activity, which have more space to develop in Russian circumstances than western type NGOs. This is simply because they are rather practical in nature, dealing with concrete local problems, often in close cooperation with local administrations, who also contribute to their funding.²⁶ Another organised solution is a local fund. An open issue is where the limits go between accepted cooperation and non-accepted

cooperation, according to the stand of the federal state's and regions' power-holders.

CONCLUSIONS

The Russian leaders have expressed the needs of collaboration, not only between administration and firms but also with the local population. Russian power hierarchy cannot, however, solve societal problems within hierarchic decision making but needs wider participation by local people. In the same time, Russian leaders have difficulties to trust on Russian citizens, and therefore citizens' activity is controlled. It leads Russian leaders to a complicated dilemma to support active participation while constructing increasing control on it at the same time – having probably negative effects on local initiatives and innovations. For local citizens it means the dilemma of living in a kind of 'dual reality', needing to find a balance between support and punishment.

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²⁵ *Territorialnoe Obshestvennoe Samoypravleniye*, in English 'self-managed local association'.

²⁶ After increasing in numbers through the 1990s, from the beginning of the 21st century, the number of NGOs supported by the West started to decline in the face of decreasing Western funding and increased state control (as manifested in new legislation in 2006 and again in 2012).



Prevention strategies of avoiding poverty in small towns of contemporary Russia

A. Varyzgina²⁷

Abstract - The paper presents typology of- prevention strategies of avoiding poverty and improving of quality of life of one of the most vulnerable population group – families with minor children.

INTRODUCTION

Improving quality of life and poverty reduction of families with minor children is very important issue in the situation of recent economic changes and decline in living standards. The risk of poverty is higher for families with minor children since they have dependents, but as the same time it motivates them to be active in preventing poverty.

The theoretical framework of the research is deprivation approach to poverty issues (Townsend, 1979), Sen's capability approach (Sen, 1999), theory of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The majority of studies focuses on issues of poverty reduction in a sense of helping poor families to get out of poverty. Set of studies analyze people's strategies of surviving in poverty (Ovcharova, 2003; Tikhonova, 2014). Another group of publication concentrates on analyzing of Russian state social policy in poverty reduction and state support of poor families with minor children, which is mainly financial, which is important, but not enough (Rimashevskaya, Ivashinenko, 2013; Teodorovich, 2009; Ivashinenko, 2011). There is lack of research on importance of creating conditions, social services infrastructure in small Russian towns and rural areas, which give families who are in the risk of poverty, resources and opportunities to enlarge spectrum of prevention strategies of avoiding poverty, available for them.

The paper argues that families' choice of prevention strategies is determined not only by resources, social capital and possibilities families are able to use to improve their life situation, but also both by their subjective perception of opportunities they have and their readiness to use them.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

The paper presents results of 3 international projects, conducted in Nizhny Novgorod (NN) region by research team from University of Glasgow, Uppsala University, AI university of Helsinki and Lobachevsky state University of Nizhny Novgorod. During the 1st pilot project (2010) on poverty reduction 38 semi-structured interviews were made in Nizhny Novgorod (social services agencies, NGOs, and poor families).

The main research on poverty reduction and improving population quality of life was conducted in Nizhny Novgorod region (Russia) in 2011. Two average small towns of Russia were chosen in the region. The research consisted of two stages: population survey (n=1415) and 51 semi-structured interviews (local authorities, social care system, school education, health, NGOs, families), and ketso²⁸ sessions (n=16). The 3rd research project (2013-2014) was focused on quality of life issues in small Russian towns and rural areas: 41 semi-structured interviews were conducted in the region with local authorities, social care system, school education, entrepreneurs, NGOs, families).

The paper presents the classification of prevention strategies of avoiding poverty of families with children, which is based on factor analysis of survey data, and internal and external factors determining the choice of the strategies. Content analysis of qualitative information was also implemented to enhance understanding of the strategies.

FINDINGS

In the study, there were identified key external and internal factors, which are significant for families in their choice of prevention strategies. Families see as the most significant external hampering factors low wages, plant shutdowns, job cuts in the region because they often do not allow people find better-paying jobs in their hometown. In consequence, families are forced to rely on their internal resources for implementing prevention strategies of avoiding poverty, like migration, commuting, shift method of work, and forced entrepreneurship. The only external factor, which is perceived by families as one expanding the number of prevention strategies available, is natural resources of the region. This is important even more for rural residents like a source of additional income, as well as a source of food.

The most significant internal factors for families are number of dependents in the family, inclusion into social networks (relatives, friends, neighbors), a plot of land in property, personal vehicle. Internal factors, except the first one, are usually perceived as capabilities, extending the range of prevention

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²⁸ Ketso is special way of organizing group discussion, for more details see www.ketso.com.



strategies available for families. These factors could partly compensate for negative impact of some external hampering factors (such as unemployment, job cuts) and to reduce the risk of family poverty.

Both external and internal factors could be perceived by families as possibilities (like natural resources) or limitation of the strategies' choice. There is correlation between families' factors perception and their selection of strategies.

Low-resource families suffer more from hampering external factors than families with social capital.

The developed typology of prevention strategies of avoiding poverty of families with children is based on future possible actions in case the financial situation of the family deteriorate, as well as on the experience of already implemented strategies to reduce the risk of poverty. These are overlapping strategies, one family could combine two or more strategies at the same time.

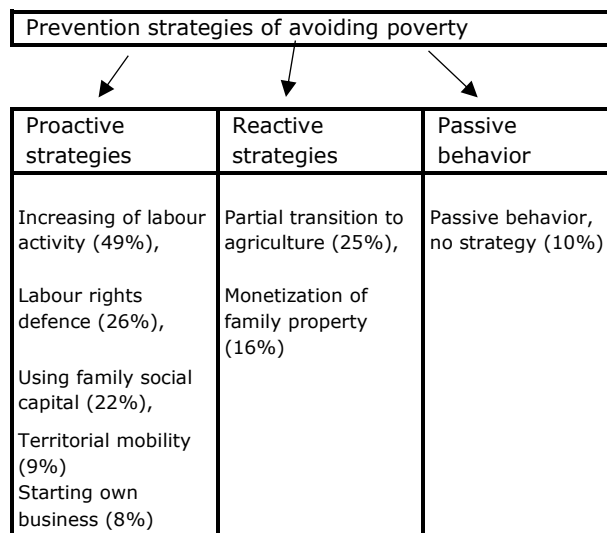


Figure 1. the model of prevention strategies of avoiding poverty of families with children

The most efficient prevention strategies, which did let families improve their life situation (according to families' estimations), are based on possibility and capability to convert human, economic, social and cultural capital of the family ("converting social capital," "increasing of labor activity"). Low-resourced families are not able to apply efficient prevention strategies, so they have to choose ones of maintaining the current level of well-being: "partial transition to natural economy", "conversion of family property", "territorial mobility".

CONCLUSIONS

Social capital, families' resources influence their choice of prevention strategies. It is important to take into account families' subjective perception of opportunities they have and their readiness to use them. Families, which objectively have resources, but do not realize it or are not ready to use them, choose passive way of social economic behavior. In contrast, families, including low-resource people, realise their resources and ready to use them, choose proactive preventive strategies based on social economic activity (like starting their own business).

Low-resourced families included in social support networks tend to cope with difficulties more successfully. Mutual exchange let them implement their potential resources and avoid poverty or reduce the risk of poverty. Families excluded from exchange social networks, having not enough social capital to convert, usually can't improve their well-being, very often the situation goes worst, despite the efforts made. As a result, a very small part of the most active of them choose social and political protest activity as a preventive strategy of avoiding poverty.

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Working Group 7. On the move: International migration to/in rural areas

When Race Encounters Youth in Place: Stories of White Hierarchy in Rural Scotland

P. Cacho²⁹

Abstract – These instructions give you guidelines for preparing camera-ready short papers for the ESRS 2017 conference proceedings. The length of the short paper is maximally two pages including references. There will be no key words. Use this document as a template if you are using Microsoft Word. The footnote symbol following this abstract should not be deleted.

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the intersection of race, youth and rurality by exploring the experiences of minority young people in the Scottish Highlands, where my doctoral study took place in 2016.

The distinctive feature of whiteness in rural Scotland, where a significant majority, seventy-nine percent, is described as 'White Scottish', emerged in latest Census (Scotland Census, 2011).

Thus, the Scottish Highlands is a space where encounters with difference, that is, non-white and/or non-Scottish people, is limited and sometimes absent (de Lima, 2012). Additionally, experiences of xenophobia or exclusion for Eastern Europeans tend to be ignored or denied in rural contexts (Dawney, 2008), and overall, I argue, silenced in the Scottish Highlands.

To thoroughly comprehend experiences of exclusion and xenophobia of minority white youth in rural spaces we need to problematise the idea of whiteness further introducing the concept of 'white hierarchy' in rural youth studies.

WHITE HIERARCHY

To understand what is behind experiences of xenophobia for minority youth we must look, first, within the concept of race. There, the idea of 'whiteness' appears (Leonardo, 2009). Whiteness is grounded in a social belief of the privileged status of white people questioning how race privilege is distributed in contemporary societies; in short - 'white privilege'.

Through the dynamics of whiteness, the concept of 'white hierarchy' (Garner, 2006) emerges when, for example, problematising white minority rural young people's experiences, revealing how the intersection of race, rurality, and youth needs to be further nuanced in order to understand experiences of exclusion and inclusion of minority young people in rural communities.

The concept of white hierarchy understands there are different categories of whiteness within white groups related to their degree of access to institutional power (Leonardo, 2004). Thus, the idea of a white hierarchy, enable us to comprehend why the life experiences of young Eastern Europeans with less access to institutional power, for example, could differ from the one of local youth in rural Scotland. Hence, the concept of white hierarchy is helpful for its capacity to reveal the processes of exclusion of white minorities in a predominantly white countryside such as rural Scotland.

RURAL YOUTH STUDIES

Images of 'youth' are the result of social creation (Hopkins, 2010) whereby assumptions and stereotypes may be working against young people. Indeed, traditional stances have viewed young people as problematic; being misrecognised, excluded from decision-making, and seen through homogeneous lenses. Additionally, young people's experiences and aspirations have not been designed to meet or express their actual needs, but to satisfy those of the adults around them (Giroux, 2012).

Given the dearth of literature in rural youth discussion, I will attempt to link Critical Race Theory (CRT) (see Delgado and Stefansic, 2012) into current rural youth discourses, understanding how issues of youth could be shaping the muteness around racism, xenophobia and any racial discrimination in rural spaces.

WHEN RACE ENCOUNTERS YOUTH IN PLACE

Through CRT and its tool of counter-storytelling, emerges the stories of eight black, mixed and white young people living in the Scottish Highlands. I show how the young people's potential aspirations can be profoundly shaped and constrained through the life experiences of race, a social constrainer rarely discussed in rural societies.

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When tracing the intersection of rurality with youth and race issues and how they impact on minority young people's life experiences and aspirations, experiences of racism and xenophobia tend to be silenced in rural landscapes, the silences becoming even acuter than in urban spaces. Such silences, emerging as the preeminent and most powerful finding of my study.

The three common themes that connect all the young people's narratives from my thesis demonstrate that issues of isolation are particularly acute for those who were born abroad. The isolation results from living in a rural area; additionally, these young people experience isolation and exclusion due to being perceived as 'other' by their neighbours on the basis of their race, ethnicity and/or national origin.

The second theme relates to how most of the young people in this study experience school as a site of exclusion, even violence, instead of a place of inclusion and safety. That school appears to play an active role in reinforcing the young people's exclusion perhaps reflects a limited knowledge and understanding of race, racism and difference on the part of teachers and other educational and youth professionals in these rural institutions: the institutional actors accountable for the young people.

The final theme is related to the contrasting ways in which these young people negotiate the exclusions they experience. Thus, it is important to see these young people as active agents who deploy a range of resources to cope with, and sometimes to rebel against, their isolation and exclusion in their communities.

The flatness of accounts of racism and xenophobia, the cognizance of a white hierarchy, and the potential absence of effective policies acknowledging racism and exclusion among rural youth is, perhaps, having an impact on the life experiences of rural young minorities. I question here how minority youth, particularly young people who are invisible like those from Eastern Europe, could become part of a place: specifically, of rural landscapes – if, at any point in

their lives, minority young people could ever be envisaged as being just like any other local youth in rural white spaces in Scotland.

Consequently, here I argue, the intersection of race, youth, and rurality is essential to expose racism and xenophobia in rural areas. Indeed, the stories of the black and minority young people from my doctoral thesis should stimulate reflection on the need to provide, when absent, and to enhance, when in place, consistent and compelling anti-racist practices for minority youth on the part of practitioners and local authorities across rural areas.

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Living better, but separated: emotional geographies of Mexican agricultural migrant workers in rural Quebec

L. Campos-Flores³⁰

Abstract – The Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (CSAWP) permits the entry of temporary migrants to all its provinces. On the one hand, governments, farmers' associations, and international institutions highly value this program as a model for addressing labor shortages. Researchers, on the other hand, question it and argue that the conditions of employment result in abuses, create vulnerabilities and undermine labour protection. In addition, others have critically analyzed the effects that these policies are creating in rural areas in Mexico; the country that provides most of the agricultural workers hired by the CSAWP. Our research project addresses the emotional geographies of cyclical labour migration, analyzing how emotions are produced in the interaction of individuals and their environment; their role in the construction of individual and collective identities, and the spatial repercussions that result from these processes. We argue that the CSAWP represents a good site for the examination of the emotional costs of the back and forth between the "here" (the place they call home) and "there" (the work site). We will present some of the findings from our fieldwork which highlights the fissures and tearing in the social and family tissues that emerge within this context.

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception, the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (CSAWP) has attracted the attention of scholars and unions leaders. On the one hand, the social researchers were triggered by the governmental decision to privilege temporary migration while it has been denounced the unfair terms under those workers are hired. At the same time, some organisations such as The United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) questioned, additionally, the impact and pressure these kinds of jobs bring to Canadian workers. Both actors underlined the exponential rise in this kind of migration:

Migration, from 203 Mexican workers entering Canada in 1974 to 21,499 in 2015. These concerns led to dozens of studies which have found that the employer-tied contracts signed by agricultural temporary foreign workers (ATFW), increase the risks and exposes them to abuse, exploitation, occupational illnesses which are not recognised and overall, results in the violation of their rights and liberties as enshrined by the Canadian Laws (Basok, 1999; Preibisch, 2007; Depatie-Pelletier et Dumont, M., 2014). Furthermore, as the research undertaken by feminist geographers suggests, we need to address the link between emotions and labour migration. We argue that emotions in men have being overlooked by researchers of labour migration, particularly when referring to those categorized as 'low skill workers' (Davidson et al., 2005; McKay,

2007; Pratt 2009; Aure, 2013). My PhD Research Project aims to deepen our understanding of the emotional costs generated by cyclical and highly controlled agricultural labour mobility, both to the transmigrant workers and to their families. It elucidates the relation between emotions and the restriction on the exercise of rights, and the effects that emotions could have on the identity of individuals, the family unit and the social tissue in their communities of origin. The purpose of this study is to contribute to the recent interest related to including the emotional dimension in geographical studies underlining the links that can be established with other categories of subordination such as class, gender and race, and other forms of oppression with the aim of exposing its complexity and its interconnections.

METHODS

A comparative study between the CSWAP and the Agricultural Stream of the Temporary Foreign Workers Program (ASTFWP) is undertaken. However, in this presentation the attention is primarily focused on the first. 23 semi-structured interviews were conducted with workers (15) in their community of origin situated in Chiapas, Mexico; family members (5) and key people (3). I also used Participant Observation both in the community of origin and in the host-working place (Quebec, Canada), so we could enlarge our vision about the dynamics that take place in these spaces where workers are continuously interacting either with their family members, government officials and local people. the worker and

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his links and relations with different actors is used as unit of analysis, so we can describe and analyse his interactions with multidimensional and multi-scalar spaces. Visual ethnography will allow to provoke responses with less time to think and more space to feel (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). The creation of a map that represents how emotions are experienced in the interaction of individuals and their environment will offer a visual overview of our findings.

FINDINGS

Between March to June 2016 field-work was conducted in the selected communities both in Mexico and in Guatemala. While different, the experience was very rich. In Mexico access to one of the villagers who offered me some lodging during my stay was facilitated by a key contact. This resulted in research participants being very approachable and willing to engage with the study, when they found out that I was staying with Ana and Ramon (fictitious name), a local couple who were well known and respected.

The interviewees shared the information easily. In contrast, several difficulties were experienced in Guatemala where the person who agreed to facilitate access to workers wasn't present, nor the professor from one of the universities who was to give me access to documents and potential researchers. Consequently, this led to the idea to undertake a second field-work stage to collect all the data needed to have a similar number of participants.

The results observed through the analytical process initiated at the end of April 2017 (still in process), demonstrates that more than two thirds of the interviewees have been working for eight years or more in the CSAWP for periods between five to eight months each calendar year. This potentially means that they may have missed family events, such as birthdays, school graduation and/or being present during the birth of one of their children, repeatedly during all those years. Because the workers don't have the right to family reunification (other than events considered urgent), they are being subjected to working conditions that infringe the right to psychological integrity (Depatie-Pelletier, E., et Dumont, M., 2014).

Even though they did not explicitly talk about the topic, both, the workers and their spouses are being deprived of gestures of affection, meaning a soft loving touch, hugs or intimate relations. We learned that many workers have become alcoholics, drug or game addicts, suffered depression, and in some cases, have witnessed other workmates being homeless, being divorced, having serious injuries or mortal

accidents, or have committed suicide. Not all is negative, of course. As McKay (2007) argues, we observed, for instance, that the workers have developed more affectionate relationships with their male children/teenagers; acknowledge the important role that women play in daily life, and learn to enjoy cooking and collaborating in domestic chores. The preliminary analysis of this research has highlighted the importance of addressing the emotional aspects of migrant lives in Human Geography research which is rarely acknowledged in the field of migration studies.

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African immigrants in the agriculture of the Maresme: between itinerancy and precariousness.

T. Contreras Dávila³¹

INTRODUCTION

The Maresme region in the province of Barcelona has historically been important in the cultivation of vegetables and in floriculture. Since the 1990s, African immigration has intensified in the region due to the economic boom experienced by Spain in that decade. Specifically, the capital city of Mataró hosts African immigration from Gambia, Senegal and Mali. These people have been occasionally employee in the field, however, with the crisis that began in 2008, their employment has declined, and the existing one has probably become precarious, giving rise to alternatives for survival.

Several researchers have written about the African immigrants in the agriculture of Spain, especially of the Universities of Almería and Alicante, provinces where they have important presence. However, the changes in their occupation as a consequence of the crisis and the alternatives of occupation, objective of this work, have been little studied and observed in general, so, this approach on certain economic activities, nationalities and regions can contribute to know which more clarity the living conditions of the foreign population.

The questions that I try to answer in this study are: How have the agricultural working conditions of the african immigrants residents in Mataro changed since the crisis? What survival strategies have they found facing agricultural unemployment?

Starting from the hypothesis that the new conditions of work and the survival alternatives have aggravated their precariousness.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

This study was done during the months of December 2016 and March 2017 and is based on a qualitative methodology. The technique used was the personal interview to a total of 20 people between the ages of 27 and 46: five from Senegal, six from Gambia, five from Mali, and four supervisors of the workers, two natives, one from morocco and one from Mali.

The field work was done in Les Cinc Sinies, a peri-urban agrarian space of more than 200 hectares on

the Maresme coastline, where there are crops outdoors and in greenhouses. This area maintain a traditional agriculture despite its proximity to Mataró, the capital of the region, where all the interviewees live. Surveys were also made to workers of Sant Andreu de Llavaneres, place where traditionally people cultivate flowers in greenhouses.



The sample is based on the selection of specific cases, taking into account the countries of origin of the interviewees, and in cases of interest found thanks to "people who know people", what is known as chain sampling. After completing the interviews, the content was analyzed.

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

The results of the investigation can be summarized in the following points:

- Due to agricultural production is seasonal, eventual contract is inherent. However, since 2008, as a result of the crisis, this contract has increased while permanent contracts, stable for one year, have declined. Now they are mostly temporary contracts with a maximum of 6 months. The employers do not make permanent contracts to avoid the compensation that requires the dismissal. They bind temporary contracts and dismiss the worker when they must give stability according to law. But it is not generalized. There are different situations depending on the criteria and circumstances of the contractors. I found a couple of cases with opposite situations: one person who came just before the crisis (year 2007) and since then works indefinitely in the same place,

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and another that came in 2008, already the middle of the crisis, and always have worked without contract.

- The monthly salary is between 850 and 950 euros per month and has decreased with respect to years before the crisis an average of 200 euros. Normally they paid per hour of work: 4.50 euros the hour from Monday to Friday and 5 euros the hour on Saturdays.
- Most of the workers in Cinc Sinies work 45 hours a week, and the workers at Llavaneres work 55. The legal maximum working time cannot exceed 40 hours per week, so, the wage outside this range is out of the formality.
- Due to the preeminence of temporary contracts, the workers are between unemployment and temporality. They have to find alternatives for survival. The main are the following:
 - Pick up pineapples in the field to sell them to merchants.
 - Collect branches from a shrub called *Lentiscus* to sell it to intermediaries that export it to Holland. Apparently, with this plant dental medicine and varnishes are manufactured.
 - Collect scrap and paper from trash and then sell it.
 - They work on specific days as helpers in construction, as gardeners in private houses, or in loading and unloading food in the market.
- The destruction of employment has been the biggest negative effect of the crisis, so employment with contractors has become sporadic. In addition, the conditions in the rest of work alternatives have worsened. Payment for a bunch of *Lentiscus* or a kilo of pineapple, scrap or cardboard is less than in the years before the crisis.
- The crisis has also affected landowners, mainly from globalization. High production costs cannot compete with imported products from the rest of Europe and from African countries. For this reason they are obliged to reduce the number of employees and the fixe contracts.

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Working conditions are worse as a result of the crisis because permanent employment has declined and

wages are lower. However, working hours have not changed and always have exceeded the legal working rules.

On the other hand, employment alternatives outside the contractual relationship have determined the livelihood of these people, in the periods when they have been unemployed and even since their arrival to Mataró.

Specifically, many immigrants have survived thanks to collecting pineapples and "herb" (*Lentiscus*), but the crisis has also affected the remuneration of these activities, which coupled with the scarcity of other employment has caused the constant displacement to the different towns of the Maresme and even to provinces such as Murcia and Almeria in search of work.

The new conditions of work and the alternatives of survival have accentuated the precariousness of the African immigrants who live in Mataro. They are living between unemployment, poor working conditions and survival activities.

In spite this population have been an important and visible part of the society since the 1990s, during the course of this work no other field studies that reflect the reality of these people were found. Findings hope to contribute to the knowledge of their living conditions in purpose of their gradual integration.

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Health and Safety of Temporary Migrant Workers in Rural Canada

E. Dabrowska-Miciula³²

Abstract – While rural labour migration continues to increase, agriculture ranks among the most hazardous industries with approximately 53 000 of temporary migrant farm workers exposed to various hazards on Canadian farms annually. This paper examines temporary migrant farm workers' occupational health and safety issues in Canada through a scoping review methodology. The goals were 1) to analyse interdisciplinary approaches to health and occupational hazards exposure in agriculture, and 2) to synthesize the existing knowledge on seasonal migrant workers' health and agricultural safety experiences in Canada. Migrant farm workers have been shown to be at elevated risk of work-related injuries, illness, and fatality in many parts of the country. There is a need for developing broader national policies to improve legislative shortcomings and employer compliance. There is a range of opportunities to provide cross-border scholarship aimed at the occupational health of MFWs internationally.

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, labour migration is increasing annually and approximately 53,000 temporary migrant farm workers (MFWs) worked across the country in 2015 (Government Canada, 2017). Besides the positive effects advancing rural economies, the public health consequences and long-term agriculture-related ill health and occupational injury have negative implications, disproportionately affecting migrant workers (McLaughlin, et al., 2014). The occupational health issues of MFWs in Canada has been an overlooked area of research.

OBJECTIVE

This research seeks to answer the following questions: What approaches and concepts are adopted to examine occupational health and safety (OHS) issues concerning MFWs? What are the main findings on health and agricultural safety for MFWs related to their precarious employment in Canada?

METHODS

This research adopts a multi-method approach using the elements of a scoping review of peer-review publications, policy briefs and incorporates some participatory research. The main inclusion criteria were studies focused on OHS in the attempt to map data from all Canadian provinces.

RESULTS

From a set of 89 reviewed documents, 9 published papers, one policy brief and one thesis met the inclusion criteria. The majority of these studies were conducted in Ontario (5); others include British Columbia (2), Quebec (1), Saskatchewan (1),

Manitoba (1) and Atlantic Canada (1). Presently, MFWs mainly arrive from Mexico, Guatemala, Philippines, Thailand, Jamaica, Nicaragua, India, Ukraine and Vietnam; yet, about 80 countries are approved to participate. All agricultural workers in Canada face numerous occupational hazards.

Interdisciplinary approaches adopted to examine OHS

The benefits of the multi-layered framework in studying OHS recognizes the heterogeneity of migration programs. Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) employees are particularly vulnerable because their work and visas are always tied to a single, local employer. The permanent non-citizen status, cyclical migration, conditions of recruitment, lack of freedom of association and collective bargaining rights, and discrimination, place these workers in a complex situation. Their OHS rights can be easily violated. The interdisciplinary approaches used to analyse the OHS include: human rights, social determinants of health, global health impacts, global mobility and human capital, economic development, law, equity, public health and health and safety (Read, et al., 2013; Hanley et al., 2014; McLaughlin, et al., 2014; Orkin et al., 2014; Preibisch and Ottero, 2014; Madden, 2016).

Main OHS Findings for Canada's MFWs

Occupational health concerns include pesticide-related illness, musculoskeletal injuries, workplace injuries and deaths, heat stress, infectious disease, gastrointestinal problems, exhaustion due to extensive working hours, depression, stress, anxiety, and skin, eye, throat and respiratory irritations, etc. (Pysklywec, et al., 2011; McLaughlin, et al., 2014). Accessing health care is difficult because of language

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differences, barriers to coverage, fear of termination of employment, fear of repatriation, lack of information and lack of transportation (Narushima and Sanchez, 2014; Orkin, et al., 2014; Viveros-Guzmán and Gertler, 2015). It is rare that MFWs receive health and safety training working with machinery, fertilizers or lifting heavy loads (ibid).

DISCUSSION

OHS issues and barriers faced by MFWs are intensified on account of their temporary status, without rights to citizenship in Canada. The interdisciplinary approaches revealed that their rights are often neglected as they “occupy a liminal in-between space, neither fully in countries of origin nor destination” (Hennebry et al., 2015, 534). Multiple negative implications to agricultural migrant workers’ safety and health were identified in international studies due to their precarious employment and deteriorating work arrangements. In Canada, the conditions of their heightened vulnerability were observed in multiple provinces and appear to be systemic in nature.

Since MFW programs are governed at the federal level, while the provincial ministries define health standards for workers and legislate OHS laws, integrated government strategies are required. Provincial actions in Ontario, such as mobile medical clinics, access to transportation (bicycles or vehicles with seatbelts), community support networks, could be implemented in other rural areas in Canada.

CONCLUSIONS

The research highlighted an immediate need to target OHS issues of MFWs in rural Canada. There is a need for developing broader national policies to improve legislative shortcomings and employer compliance. There is a range of opportunities to provide cross-border scholarship aimed at the occupational health of MFWs internationally.

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The challenges and response of location: Transnational migration in six different rural areas in Sweden

M. Johansson, D. Beach

Abstract - Based on data from an ethnographic educational research project in six different rural areas in Sweden the present paper focuses on identified challenges and responses to transnational migration in local communities and their secondary schools. The challenges and responses show that scarce resources have helped to generate some antagonisms among local residents toward the transnational immigrants. However, examples of solidarity were also found.

INTRODUCTION

The presentation draws on novel results from a research project that takes its starting point from the current dominance of urban studies in contemporary educational research (e.g. Hargreaves, Kvalsund & Galton, 2009; Öhrn & Weiner, 2007). Hence it was designed to develop an understanding of youth, their participation and agency in rural contexts. It asks what it is that distinguishes and unites young people's social inclusion and participation in various schools and how schools in different places address young people's opportunities to work and social inclusion. Central to this are understandings of belongings, social relationships, differences and conflicts in various places. Urban research has explored in depth the growing heterogeneity, segregation and conflict and proposes a loss in cities of solidarity and community spirit from older times (Sernhede, 2007). Whether the same applies to rural communities is not clear; some would claim that they experience more fellowship and closeness due to joint histories, family relations and common experiences, whereas others consider this not to be the case (see Solstad, 2009). Furthermore, if rural areas do provide a stronger community spirit and sense of solidarity it remains to be explored whether this adheres mainly to the locally bred or also include internal and/or international migrants.

Issues as these were put to the fore in our research as the fieldwork started in 2015, parallel to the large migrant and refugee streams to Europe. In Sweden there is today no national strategy for rural development related to international migration. However, the authorities chose to distribute rather large groups that asked for a residence permit in the country to rural areas of which many hitherto had limited experiences of such an influx of big groups of immigrants. In this paper we examine what happened

in six local rural places when new arrivals were "placed" there. How were the placements conducted and motivated by the State? How was the lack of preparedness and resources in local regions dealing with this? We consider available space in the school e.g. school facilities and teacher shortages and what happens when the public services have been opened up to privatisation and capital has become the key actor with regard to different refugee accommodation.

Theoretically, the project draws in particular on the work of Doreen Massey (1994). More specific her understanding of place is understood as relational and continuously in process through socio-spatial and material practices, including various identities and contemporary/historical relations and conflicts. From this theoretical position there is a close connection between space, place and the construction of social relations and spatial identities

METHODS

The paper has been developed from research in an ethnographic research project named *Rural Youth. Education, place and participation* funded by the Swedish Research Council. Six rural municipalities were selected for the study to achieve a variation in location (north/south, distance to large cities), demography, and local labour markets. They include both sparsely populated areas and small communities. One secondary school was selected from each area, and a five week compressed mode of ethnographic fieldwork (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004) carried out in one class from each school. The main data sources are observations of classroom/school interactions (340 hours of lessons) and teaching content, field conversations and formal student interviews (with 136 students; 68 boys and 68 girls), supplemented by observations of the neighbourhood and interviews with school staff from each school. The



observations typically focussed on presentations of place, participation, influence and conflicts, e.g. how places and their relations are presented and positioned, whether and how the teaching relates to place and the students' chances of inclusion and influence in the local and wider society both now and in the future. Student interviews focussed on similar themes and especially young people's views of inclusion, fellowship and conflict (understandings of 'us' and 'them') in various contexts, and their positioning of the local school/community in relation to others. The fieldwork was done in 2015-2016. It was carried out by three individual researchers, with occasional visits from others in the research team, and the analyses have been both case-specific and collective. The latter was in line with the theoretical understandings of contexts and understandings as relational, and is similar to the analyses of collective ethnography (Gordon et al, 2006).

RESULTS

The paper focus on the dynamic characteristics of rural places that together with the interplay between newcomers and long standing residents can lead to processes of inclusion and exclusion as well as to questions of environmental, social, technological and economic justice as reflections about the significance of 'the rural' for a Europe in transition today. It relates to new patterns in global migration and their significance with respect to different rural areas in Sweden. Sweden has been rather generous as a host to new migrants in the past but in recent years the welfare system has undergone massive restructuring. Introduction of decentralisation, market solutions and privatisation with e.g. big changes in the area of education and health (Beach, 2017) are some examples. This has created an interesting challenge for the State, which it seems to be solving by "dumping" new migrants into available spaces in rural areas that have been created for a host of different production and recreational activities: none of which seem to be specifically relevant to hosting and integrating new citizens. In the paper we explore the responses of students and teachers towards this by focussing on processes both in the wider communities and in each school.

To summarize the responses show conflicts when already scarce resources are to be divided by more people but there is also responses that point to solidarity with the newcomers from other countries. Central to these responses is an underlying critique towards the State for its lack of handling and support. Further there are development of diverse strategies to master the situation and the perceived gains of receiving new community members. The fieldwork also point to the importance of community traditions in which local solidarity justifies certain measures, but also some silences, that might be related to worries of playing into the hands of certain political forces.

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England's Green and Pleasant Lands? Categorising migrants and protecting idylls through respectibilisation

N. A. Kerrigan³³

Abstract – Using discourse analysis on interviews conducted with host residents from a small rural town in the south of England, the aim of this paper is to explore the way residents categorise migrants in terms of their suitability and attainability of representing the town's 'rural idyll'. Analysis shows how the categorisation of migrants was contingent on their social position/standing, in which those who conformed to middle-class occupations (i.e. being a 'Doctor') were more readily accepted than those with working-class employment. This paper demonstrates how categories of migrants were used to restrict or enable belonging to the wider rural community in order to protect the 'rural idyll' of the town.

INTRODUCTION

Recently there has been a significant increase in both public and scholarly circles around the categorisation of migrants. The distanciation of time-space (Giddens, 1984) brought about by globalisation has meant that people from specific geographies are becoming disembedded from their local contexts and are moving across wide time-space distances (see also, Massey, 1994). The response by the British government has been to construct categories in order to distinguish between the differing types of migrants coming in and out of the country, facilitating the production of exclusive and exclusionary boundaries of belonging (Sibley 1997).

Contemporary research (e.g. Kirkwood *et al*, 2016) examining the categorisation of migrants has predominately focused its attention on the national context of the debate without acknowledging the experiences of migrants and the use of categories to designate belonging at the local level. Specifically, analyses of the categorisation of rural migrants is something that has been largely overlooked in the literature, mainly because of the marginalised position rural research holds within the broader social sciences.

What this paper aims to do, therefore, is to explore the ways in which rural migrants' sense of belonging are contingent on the categories given to them by members of the host community within a small rural town in the south of England. Borrowing heavily from David Garland's (2001) concept of responsabilisation and the wider informal social control literature, this paper will demonstrate how categories derived from a process I call *Respectibilisation*. Respectibilisation is the process whereby migrants are given belonging

and legitimacy to the rural community through conformity with and an obligation to adhere to the existing middle-class affluent structures of the community. While the concepts of legitimacy and respectibilisation share some similarities, there is also a key difference. Whereas legitimacy refers to the migrants' abilities to conform to the rules and norms of the wider community, respectibilisation is the structured process between migrants' abilities to conform and the host community's attempt to structure, define and produce what those norms are and the boundaries around which migrants can be included. Specifically, respectibilisation is about the construction of middle-class customs and values as to not only depict a rural idyll based on a shared affluent identity but also to exclude/include and categorise migrants, depending on their ability to conform.

The article will conclude that through this process of respectibilisation, the rural community became a space of governance in which norms and community structures were both internalised by those residents who have a shared psychological and emotional investment and externalised towards migrant who are able to buy into the middle-class, affluent values of the community to protect the idyllicisation of the area.

METHODS

A discourse analysis (Jorgenson & Philips, 2002) was conducted on semi-structured interviews with residents of a host rural community in the south of England. Line-by-line coding of verbatim transcripts was undertaken within a structured framework and the development and reviewing of themes was achieved abductively (Richards & Richards, 1998),

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whereby themes were generated taking concepts drawn from the literature (identity, community, diversity, belonging, integration, assimilation) and patterns that developed out of the data (middle class values, occupation, hierarchy of belonging, respectibilisation).

ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

One of the central themes taken from the interviews conducted with residents of the host community was the way in which the categorisation of migrants was contingent on the migrants' claims of belonging and assimilation into the wider rural community structure. For instance, the Polish and other Eastern European residents were often identified as 'immigrants' as residents of the host community perceived them to be unable to 'fit into' and conform to the rural identity of the town. This can be seen in the way **P1** talked about Polish residents: -

P1: There is a large percentage of Polish immigrants in the town. They work locally in the factories. This has occurred in the last six to seven years.... And it's not just Polish, it's Polish, Latvians and Czechoslovakians and all the rest of them that moved here. I just don't think they represent the rural identity of (town).

What this extract demonstrates is that the phrase 'immigrant' is being used as an exclusionary device towards migrants that residents of the host community perceive do not conform to the rural identity of the town. However, whilst there were exclusionary rhetorical stances towards Eastern European migrants, the host community seemed to accept professional and generally more affluent 'migrants' as they appeared to be more representational of the conventional middle class, rural norms, values and beliefs of the town. As maintained by **P6**: -

P6: Most people from well-off or professional backgrounds: you, know, people who've got the money, can buy the houses, that sort of thing. They're accepted because they are respected and revered.

What this extract illustrates is that boundaries of acceptance are not fixed; rather the rhetorical use of categories produces boundaries of belonging which are fluid and open. These vary of course and are contingent on the perceived class status or occupation of the migrant. For instance, doctors were marked as being 'acceptable' migrants, because of their ability to position themselves with the affluent,

rural values and norms of the place. This was something that was especially evident in my interview with **P11** as she talked about a local doctor of Ethiopian descent: 'We do have a doctor who is from Ethiopia; he's dark but very posh. He makes a wonderful contribution to the community: helps out at local events, very approachable, that sort of thing'. Therefore, as long as migrants could position, or align themselves with middle-class, affluent rural identity of the town then they could be accepted or approved of within the community.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This process of assimilation, nevertheless, into middle-class values and customs requires a certain level of 'cultural capital' for newcomers within rural communities, and in fact can only get migrants so far. Ultimately rural communities have specific sets of cultural sensibilities and practical knowledges which determine the extent to which migrants are able fit into the social networks of rural community life (see Tyler 2006). I have demonstrated one particular understanding of the way in which this is achieved. The process of respectibilisation is about the migrants' abilities to conform with and adhere to the affluent middle-class values of the rural community which are, in turn, shaped and bounded by members of the host community as to maintain and protect their rural identity. However, as this short paper has denoted this is not a process of integration, but rather about the structuring capabilities (Giddens, 1984) of residents of the host community towards migrants, leading to the realisation that no matter how much migrants attempt to fit in true insider status is never fully given (Sibley 1997).

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Beyond utilitarianism: migrant wellbeing and mental health in rural areas

P. de Lima, J. Jean-Pierre, L. Campos-Flores³⁴

Abstract - The wellbeing of migrants is marginalised in discussions on migration, with a tendency to focus mainly on instrumental views of migrants and their experiences in host societies. The neglect of migrant wellbeing can partly be attributed to a privileging of the economic contribution of migrants and an emphasis on host society perspectives and partly to the persistence of disciplinary silos. The paper will present the results of a literature review undertaken on migrant wellbeing and mental health in rural areas of Canada and the EU in order to identify emerging issues, gaps and suggestions for further research.

INTRODUCTION

The emphasis on international migration as a mechanism to address the economic objectives of receiving and sending countries has resulted in the neglect of the wellbeing of migrants as individuals. Ill-health can lead to social exclusion which in turn increases the likelihood of illness resulting in 'a downward spiral'. Literature on migrant integration has neglected their physical, emotional, mental and social wellbeing for a 'successful migration outcome' (Ingleby, 2009). Furthermore, the recent attention on migrant wellbeing has focused on urban areas, despite growing research identifying diverse spatial patterns of migration settlement (Jentsch and Simard, 2012; Carter et al. 2008). Wellbeing is conceptualised as a dynamic/relational process emerging out of material and subjective experiences embodied in the social, economic, cultural, emotional, psychological and political processes of everyday living with varying impacts on wellbeing (McGregor and Sumner, 2010). This paper aims to: (i) address the gap between the literature on migrants' health and wellbeing; and (ii) highlight emerging issues/gaps related to migrants' wellbeing and mental health and suggest areas for further research.

METHOD

This paper draws on two reviews of academic, peer-reviewed and grey literature published in English using established search engines/ databases undertaken between 2015 and 2016. Key search words included: 'migration, migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees' coupled with the following terms: 'wellbeing, emotions, health, mental health, rural, rurality, rural services, social determinants of health, occupational health and hazards and discrimination'. The primary sources of literature

were the European Union and Canada, however, literature from Australia and the USA were not excluded. Documents were reviewed and analysed to identify emergent themes and gaps related to international migrants including refugees and asylum seekers, wellbeing and mental health.

FINDINGS

Five overarching issues emerged on migrant wellbeing and mental health. (i) The WHO 1946 definition of health 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social wellbeing not merely the absence of disease' (WHO, 1997, p. 1) is widely accepted. Drawing on the 'social determinants' approach to health an inclusive framework encompassing prevailing socio-economic, cultural and political conditions and the psycho-social aspects of people's lives are emphasised (WHO, 2016). (ii) A lack of accurate and reliable data on international migrants associated with the use of different proxies (e.g. country of birth 'foreign born', citizenship, etc.) and the paucity of data on migrant identities (e.g. gender, ethnicity, socio-economic, etc.) are widely acknowledged (Anderson and Blinder, 2015). (iii) The limited research on mental health and migrants has focused on asylum seekers, detainees, trafficked victims and on minority ethnic groups some of whom may be first generation migrants (Carta *et al.*, 2005; Classen *et al.* 2005; Fazel *et al.*, 2005). Refugees and asylum seekers are identified as more likely to experience poor mental health with an overrepresentation of schizophrenia and psychosis among these groups (Castaneda *et al.* 2015). (iv) migrants tend to be healthier than native-born populations (i.e. 'the healthy migrant effect') on arrival, but their health converges to that of the native-born over a period of time (Domnich *et al.*

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2012; McDonald and Kennedy, 2004). Potential 'stressors' associated with ill-being and poor mental health are: (a) migrant experiences in their countries of origin and during each stage of their journey; their reception and experiences in transit and destination societies. Factors such as employment, income/poverty, discrimination, stigma, co-ethnic social networks and family support are identified as important (de Lima, 2016; Bhugra and Gupta, 2011); (b) the triptych influence of legal, organisational and structural factors in influencing migrants' rights and their access to services (Rechel et al., 2013; Jayaweera, 2014; Durieux-Paillard, 2011).

Finally, (v) the literature review revealed a gap in research on the wellbeing and mental health of migrants in rural communities, except for one study (e.g. Bhugra and Jones, 2001) which briefly cited lack of 'ethnic density' particularly at the early stages of arrival as a potential risk factor in the onset of schizophrenia among Asian migrants. It is generally acknowledged that rural residents experience poor access to health care facilities due to a combination of factors: distance, lack of affordable transport and centralisation of services. Migrants experience additional barriers due to lack of trained primary and secondary health care practitioners who can work cross-culturally, exclusionary practices and cultural and personal beliefs. This is exacerbated by the paradox of proximity – despite large distances between inhabitants, people may know their fellow residents – which can result in the stigmatisation and the exclusion of particular groups (Parr et al. 2004).

A RESEARCH AGENDA

The review of literature revealed a dearth of information in general which takes into account the impact of different spatial locations on migrant wellbeing and health. Additionally, if migrant wellbeing is to be understood and taken seriously, the need for research to address the following is essential: experiences of different migrant groups; a life course approach to understanding migrant identities and trajectories, risk factors associated with different stages of migrant journeys and the impact on wellbeing; the effects of stigmatization, social exclusion including specifically the impacts of low income, discrimination and legal restrictions on migrants; and the lack of robust studies on access to mental health care support, interventions and their efficacy. In conclusion, the literature on migrant wellbeing confirms that it is not migrating per se but an understanding of the interaction of previous health history and poor-quality healthcare in countries of origin and the conditions of migrant lives in origin and destination countries that are the risk factors that have to be addressed in research.

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Boundaries of inclusion or exclusion? The economic integration of transnational migrants in regional economies

R. McAreavey, B. Krivokapic-Skoko

Abstract – This paper uses data from Australia and Northern Ireland to examine migrants' inclusion and integration in regional economies. The paper will scrutinise migrants' entry into, their participation in, and eventual mobility within, the labour market. Using Bürkner's (2012) multi-level framing of inequalities, the analysis will connect macro, meso and micro influences as a means of unravelling contemporary labour migration. This recognises that labour mobility is implicated within global and political forces as well as localised contexts. The paper examines the way in which boundaries of exclusion and inclusion are created and/or maintained by the state, private sector bodies, civil society and individuals. It considers the implications for the governance of receiving societies.

INTRODUCTION

Social structures and institutions have long been recognised as sites of division and connections, depending on the degree of cohesion within a given society and the extent to which barriers are created or eroded (Durkheim 1984). Contemporary debates show how migration to New Immigration Destinations (NIDs) brings particular challenges including uneven patterns and processes of migrant incorporation that are manifest in numerous ways. Novelty, newness and uncertainty presents serious worries to even the most experienced policymakers and service providers (Phillimore 2015). Meanwhile the uneven treatment of migrants in the labour market has been increasingly debated (see for instance Corrado et al. 2016, Rye 2017, Scott 2017). It is to the latter issue of the labour market that we focus on in this article. Bauböck (1994) shows the importance of boundary blurring and crossing in facilitating integration, suggesting a degree of fuzziness with the concept. We argue that boundaries retain value within everyday encounters. Alba shows how they refer to the way in which people make distinctions and mentally orient themselves towards others (2005, 22). As such they are a social reality and the way in which they are deployed to reinforce social hierarchies and divisions warrants our attention. We want to explore the movement across boundaries particularly in relation to migrants in the labour market. We ask: how do different actors and institutions frame, sharpen or blur boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and what are the implications for migrants' social and economic mobility? We draw on empirical research from Australia and North-ern Ireland to illuminate this issue.

SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

Lamont and Molnár (2002) distinguish between social and symbolic boundaries. Boundaries help understand how social differences (race, gender, class, etc.) are upheld or eroded. Social boundaries relate to actual social difference and to social groups. They are manifest 'in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and non-material) and social opportunities' (ibid, p 168). Symbolic boundaries meanwhile are intersubjective 'conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people, practices, and even time and space' (ibid p.168). They involve the application of readily available scripts that allow individuals to evaluate social interactions (Lamont 2017). Boundary movements do not necessarily lead to exclusion, exploitation or isolation, more positive consequences can arise (Lamont 2014). We use Bürkner's (2012) intersectional framework for understanding inequalities which suggests that draws attention to micro (i.e. social practices); meso (representation) and macro (social structures) levels. This moves beyond problematic binaries and it recognises the irreducibility and dialogical nature of social divisions. We are interested not only in firm or "bright" boundaries (Alba 2005) such as policies about who has the right to work, but also in porous or "blurred" boundaries, the way in which actors interpret those policies, but also the actions that they take which may impede or sup-port social action.

DATA COLLECTION

McAreavey's data is drawn from focus groups and interviews with migrants and support agencies (2005-2013) across various locations in Northern Ireland (NI). Krivokapic-Skoko uses data from a national three-year longitudinal study (2008-2010) of almost



1,000 new immigrants in regional and rural Australia (Au). The data also includes interviews with migrants, communities, government bodies and private sector.

HARD BOUNDARIES

The stigma of being an ex-convict prohibited one man from prospective work in the Irish context, simply because of the particular representations of ex-convicts as being unsuitable for employment that arose from judgements made by social actors in powerful positions. Stigmatising in this way served to harden social boundaries that would allow him to access opportunities and join the working population. Hard symbolic boundaries were at play in rural Australia where remoteness, isolation and a very limited labour market led some respondents to describe the community as "cliquey" and close knit: "They have all grown up together and have lived here all their lives. They are very reluctant to allow strangers in", or as another ethnographic account shows: "People do not accept outsiders into local community easily." These features present big challenges for immigrant groups from different cultural backgrounds. It also demonstrates the interplay between social and symbolic boundaries, something that was visible in the context of recognition of overseas qualifications. This was evident in both sites and it created social and symbolic boundaries: 'Being in a country that has such a rigid and inflexible system of qualifications, and not being recognised as a qualified professional makes me feel worthless' (Au); 'Getting my electrical trade recognised was a nightmare. It took almost a year - very demoralising' (Au). UK income thresholds created hard social boundaries that excluded 'legal' migrants' participation in the labour market: 'I think because of the visa restrictions it makes it almost impossible to get a job... I've been in this job and they have set a salary range and after my current visa is up they will not be able to sponsor me because I fall under the salary range...the companies get a lot of restrictions from government regarding restrictions...' (FG Indian migrants, NI 22.05.13). On the face of it, social boundaries allow migrants' inclusion in a host society, but hard symbolic boundaries can present real barriers.

FLEXING AND STRENGTHENING BOUNDARIES

Contextual factors influenced migrants' pathways. Certain 'scripts' determined the types of jobs that migrants 'should' be doing. They were so powerful that they prevented individuals' from accessing jobs for which they were qualified. Even for those in employment, other boundaries prevented their full participation in the labour market: "Sponsoring employer made me feel like a 2nd class citizen...He made threats about me ever leaving his company as 'he would get me sent back'" (Au migrant from NL). Racism was at play with African migrants in NI who were considered suitable only for particular types of jobs. This contradicts their legal status that allowed

them to work in the same way as other economic migrants. Time and again individuals recounted their experiences of being herded to work as cleaners, care assistants or in security: 'Presently I work for an agency doing carework. My agency will not call me until they are stuck... Sometimes I will not hear from them for 2 or 3 weeks and I know that the local people are working...So then I get calls for jobs outside of Belfast.' (African mi-grant, FG (NI), 07.06.13). A discussion between Polish women in NI revealed how scripts were frequently used to distinguish between migrant groups, suggesting a hierarchy of entitlements. This was reflected in the Australian data: Some of the respondents objected 'strongly to refugees being allowed into Australia, especially when we have had so many stringent criteria to fulfil' (Au migrant from Zimbabwe) and some other provocative statements such as '... those who go through the right channel to apply for immigration always have difficulty to get a visa e.g. skilled migration...' (Au migrant from Malaysia).

CONCLUSION

Our research shows how symbolic and social boundaries intertwine. Moreover boundaries of inclusion and exclusion emphasise differences at the expense of commonalities. Such boundaries are hardened through social structures and social interaction, this in turn creates unequal access to the labour market, deepening social divisions and inequalities.

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Acceptance of international immigrants in rural Austria

V. Reitter

Abstract – Population decrease and international immigration are two demographic phenomena currently converging in European rural areas. This paper examines the reception of asylum seekers in rural Austria focusing on the factors determining acceptance by the local population. Following a qualitative-explorative research approach, the empirical results point to factors promoting and hampering acceptance. These factors are discussed in an analytical framework of structures, relations and perceptions.

INTRODUCTION

Growing global migration is one of the most ubiquitous demographic phenomena of recent decades. Since the end of the twentieth century, European countries have become one of the most important destinations of international migration movements. Although international immigration³⁵ to larger cities plays an important role, peripheral areas in high-income countries are also becoming an increasingly important destination (Hugo/Morén-Alegret, 2008). Thus, this migratory demographic development converges with a contrary demographic phenomenon: the depopulation in rural areas in Europe (Fargues/McCormick, 2013). This paper deals with the specific consequences of the reception of asylum seekers and the conditions of acceptance³⁶ by the local population in rural Austria. To deepen our understanding of the genesis of acceptance, this case study draws on community-specific, structural and socio-economic aspects as well as the anticipated and perceived consequences of the immigration by the local population. The location of the researched municipality at the border to the Czech Republic determined its economic and social development in the twentieth century. The exhaustion of economic, demographic and social infrastructure point to a cumulative, multi-dimensional, spatial and socioeconomic process of erosion (Giffinger/Kramar, 2012). In April 2015, the municipality received fifteen male asylum seekers and in the following year the number rose to almost one hundred persons.

METHODS

Following a qualitative explorative approach an ethnographic field study was conducted in a municipality in northern Lower Austria (August 2015) applying two central research methods: participant

observation and qualitative interviews. The field was gradually mapped by referral sampling. The qualitative interviews included five expert interviews with relevant decision-makers in different socially institutionalized functions in the district and seventeen narrative in part problem-centred interviews with community inhabitants. In addition, through informal ethnographic interviews delicate topics could be accessed and local context material was gathered to increase background knowledge.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

The factors influencing the acceptance of asylum seekers by the local population can be attributed to three analytical levels: structures, relations and perceptions.

Communal Structures

At the communal structures five aspects are promoting acceptance: First, measures to inform the local population; second, offering language courses for asylum seekers; third, appointing ambassadors of integration to enhance knowledge of everyday life practices; fourth, promoting opinion leadership by the community elite (persons in socially institutionalized functions); and fifth, enabling charitable work by asylum seekers. Conversely, the structural weakness of the region, the geographic location of the municipality and the lack of jobs are factors likely to hamper acceptance.

Social Relations

Two main phenomena can be observed on the level of social relations between asylum seekers and the local population: First, a practice of inclusion of asylum seekers into community everyday life through a process referred to as 'zuwanehma' ('hugging

³⁵ With international migration, I refer to a spatial movement crossing international borders for temporary or permanent settlement. Asylum seekers are international (im-)mi-grants, with the difference that the former cannot return to their home country at any time.

³⁶ Acceptance signifies the explicit or implicit consent of a person or a group that results from the perception and positive evaluation of an innovation (Lucke, 1995).



closely') and second, the perceived and anticipated consequences of the reception of asylum seekers for community life. Positive experienced impacts like value-adding through charitable work, the preservation of jobs for the local population, direct monetary transfers and strengthened social cohesion are enhancing acceptance. On the contrary, anticipated conflicts of distribution and the suspected disruption of the social structure are hampering acceptance.

Perception of Asylum Seekers

The characteristics of newcomers as perceived by the local population concern first and foremost the emic attribution 'zuagroast' ('incomer') constituting an exclusive practice of a separation between an autochthonous we-group and those coming from an unspecified outside. Furthermore, characteristics of asylum seekers like willingness to work, modesty and inconspicuousness are highly valued, whereas faineance, frugality, and the display of symbols of wealth do not correspond to the image of a refugee in need. Moreover, community dwellers wish for families with children instead of single men as the former are seen to counteract processes of depopulation and ageing.

CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE

The empirical results reveal that specific conditions in the municipal structures, the social relations and the perception of asylum seekers can enhance and hamper accepting attitudes. Especially measures promoting language skills and knowledge about local habits found at the structural level are particularly important regarding social participation and to ease potential conflict (Machold et al., 2013). Brunner et al. (1994) also point to the influential role of politics and the church and their interlinkages in the local population to steer opinions of the local population. While characteristics of rural, peripheral regions lead to their demographic thinning (Nadler et al., 2010), structurally weak areas can also benefit from immigration (Brunner et al., 1994; Hugo/Morén-Alegret, 2008). In this regard Nuikina (2014) argues that strengthened social cohesion contributes to community viability. Moreover, the results show that enabling charitable work for asylum seekers promotes not only their inclusion into municipal life but can also lead to perceived benefits for the local population. Yet, the fear of being substituted, seen as an inevitable result of a growing labour force, corresponds to simple economic models of supply and

demand (Peri, 2013). Finally, the visibility of 'the stranger' (see 'zuagroast') in rural areas proves to be highly influential in daily life (Gruber, 2014).

Acceptance is a complex social phenomenon that manifests itself within the interplay of socio-economic, structural und ideational determining factors, anticipated and perceived consequences as well as diverging interests. The results of this research raise questions about the validity of the discussed factors, for other rural communities and in longitudinal perspective.

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Making up for lost resources: How are immigrants attracted and integrated to the rural north?

H. R. Sigurjonsdottir, T. Heleniak, G. L. Harbo, Å. S. Hildestrand

Abstract – Despite the recent increase in immigration into the Nordic countries, there has been population decline and aging in remote rural regions (Nordregio 2016). A recent Nordregio study has examined how selected municipalities in the Nordics integrate migrants at the local level and highlights best practices in migrant integration, including the central role of local integration coordinators, increased access to language learning and earlier mapping of skills and competences.

INTRODUCTION

The number of immigrants in the Nordic countries has increased substantially in recent year, mainly consisting of labour migration, refugees and asylum seekers. Immigration brings added value in regions facing ageing population and lost human resources (Storesletten, 2000), but this added value is determined on the successful integration of immigrants into the society and labour market of the destination country (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2017). A recent Nordregio study examined how different municipalities in the Nordic countries and the Faroe Islands attract and integrate migrants at the local level within different national and regional regulatory frameworks. Emphasis was placed on identifying processes that support the integration of newcomers, as well as understanding what their contribution means for local labour markets. The study finds variances between countries and regions in relation to the types of immigrants migrating to different areas. Some of the municipalities are contributing to the increased flow of refugees, while others have an immigrant population that consists mainly of labour migrants. Findings suggest that local integration coordinators, civil society and solid leadership play an important role in supporting the integration of immigrants.

METHOD

The study consists of a policy overview, and six local case studies where qualitative interviews were applied. Each case study consisted of two to four day visits of one or two persons, including one native speaker, in each Nordic country. The location of the six case studies regions were chosen because they were known to have declining and aging populations. Meetings and interviews were conducted with local and regional officials, national officials, businesses

employing immigrants and other actors, such as language schools, employment offices, union representatives, and immigrants themselves. These interviews were supplemented by a review of documents on immigration and integration at national and local levels. Most of the regions are actively taking steps to mitigate their population decline through immigration and integration. The case studies were carried out between June and November 2016.

A number of research and policy questions were addressed in the local case studies, including the following:

- What role do labour migrants, refugees and other newcomers play in local labour markets?
- What is the role of civil society in the immigration and integration processes?
- What lessons and best practices in integration can be transferred to other rural or remote Nordic regions confronting similar issues?

RESULTS

Immigration and successful integration can be vital to rural towns and regions facing population decline, ageing populations and labour shortages. A key message to emerge from the case study regions is that successful integration requires solid political leadership to encourage and coordinate local actors. The challenge of learning Nordic languages came up in all the case studies and can be identified as a key factor for long-term integration. The time provided for language learning for refugees (in many of the cases, one to two years) is not sufficient to master a Nordic language. Even though English is widely spoken, restricted language skills are a barrier for social inclusion and career development.

Employment is another important factor for integration and the need to map and validate previous



skills and experience came up repeatedly. Skills do not transfer easily and do not often match the local employers' requirements. However, holding a job does not guarantee social inclusion, with full time employment only one important factor in fully integrating immigrants into society.

It was evident that national, regional and local authorities can play an important role in integration by facilitating, coordinating and enhancing communication and cooperation between actors. At the same time, the civil society is a decisive actor for social inclusion. That applies to organisations like the Red Cross, but also alternative societal groups like sports clubs, mentorship programmes and language cafés. Newcomers need to feel welcomed and included, something that does not come solely through employment and taking care of other daily responsibilities. The risk of segregation is enhanced if no one takes the responsibility to act as intermediary between the local people and the newcomers. Like Ager & Strang (2008) note, feeling welcomed increases the level of integration.

A positive attitude towards immigration and immigrants themselves makes integration much easier. A more promising outcome can also be expected if the whole immigrant family is considered in terms of integration, not only the parent working or children enrolled in school.

CONCLUSIONS

In all the case study regions, it is evident that immigrants are vital for the local labour market, which is an important message during a period where many peripheral regions are experiencing a net influx of international migrants following a long period of out-migration. The newcomers make up for lost human resources, therefore, successful integration is vital.

Regions can do more to facilitate integration and increase the likelihood of immigrants wanting to stay in these rural areas. Social inclusion of both labour migrants and refugees, and their families, is central to encourage them to stay in rural areas for the long-term. Acts of friendliness and recognition are important factors for making refugees feel (Ager & Strang 2008). The integration and long-term inclusion of immigrants is essential for regional growth and should not only be viewed as a social welfare issue. Seeing integration as a two-way process that is beneficial for all is a sentiment that regional and local authorities can cultivate by fostering a positive attitude towards immigration

among natives and employers though demonstrating the benefits of immigration.

Most of the cases showed the benefits of having an integration coordinator as a link between the immigrants and the local community. The coordinators can match newcomers with local employers and engage with employers on regular bases. Local employers play a major role and are often pro-active in the integration of newcomers. On-the-job practice is a good way of learning to work in a new country, providing immigrants the opportunity to validate previous work experiences, as well as for language learning. This supports the findings of the NERP report where it is stated that social insurance programmes could be designed in a more job-oriented fashion (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2017). Mismatch between migrants' skills and job requirements is a challenge in many of the regions. Companies and public employers play a major role in providing validation and apprenticeships; for example, authorities can build on good practices in areas such as Jämtland, Sweden, where the Mayors have provided immigrant apprenticeships. Providing easy access to language learning courses and forums to practice speaking is essential for social inclusion and career development. In the Finnish case, the exploitation of e-learning in small and rural communities and providing access to language courses while waiting for asylum proved successful in speeding up the language learning process.

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Rural racism – from a discourse into a multifaceted experience of settling asylum seekers in Finnish countryside

T. Sotkasiira³⁷

Abstract – The concept of rural racism was introduced to highlight the specific experiences of minority ethnic communities living in rural areas as well as to emphasize the importance of recognizing how racism may take different forms and manifestations in different local contexts. In Britain, rural racism was identified as discrimination and othering which was largely due to the conceptualization of 'rural idyll' as white and ethnically homogeneous. In Finland, there is an evident lack of research on the experiences of migrants living in rural towns and other parts of the Finnish countryside. This said, the existing small body of literature has revealed that there are migrant communities in rural locations and that people there may come across both violent resistance as well as more subtle forms of everyday racism. This paper discusses the prevalence of rural racism in the Finnish asylum seeking context. Drawing on interviews conducted with people who are involved in the reception of refugees and asylum seekers in small, provincial towns and municipalities, it investigates the ways in which the discursive strategies of new racism are used, often in subtle ways, to deflect attention away from xenophobia and racism in rural municipalities hosting asylum centres.

INTRODUCTION

In 2015, a record number of asylum seekers applied for international protection in Finland. As a matter of urgency, reception centres for asylum seekers were set up across Finland, customarily in buildings that were previously used, for example, as schools or hospitals, and then vacated, due to the de-population of rural areas and the centralization of public services. These kinds of premises are often found in rural and remote municipalities.

Although some locals welcomed this new vitality, there were many who were suspicious of the newcomers. A small, but vocal, group also reacted aggressively, for example, by holding demonstrations against reception centres and attacking them with petrol bombs. In Finland and elsewhere, similar reactions have been observed in rural locations, which have experienced an influx of immigrants with refugee background (Sotkasiira & Haverinen 2016).

This paper focuses and explores the community responses to the settlement of asylum seekers and refugees in small, provincial towns and municipalities in Finland as a form of rural racism. Drawing on the interviews conducted with people who are involved in the reception and settlement of refugees and asylum seekers, I investigate and detail the ways in which racializing discourses are used, often in subtle, and sometimes, in overt ways, to deflect attention away from the prevalence of xenophobia and racism.

RESEARCH DATA AND METHOD

The data used in this paper was originally gathered as part of three broader projects investigating migrant settlement in rural areas. This paper focuses on the

data from interviews conducted with individuals involved in the reception of refugees and asylum seekers in five small, provincial towns and municipalities in Finland. These localities were selected due to the fact that in 2015 a reception centre was established in each of the places, which were classified as rural municipalities using a classification based on Geographical Information Systems (Finnish Environment Institute 2014).

For the purposes of this paper 23 interviews were analyzed consisting of interviews with representatives of municipalities (11), staff members of asylum centres (5) and civic activists (7 people). Among the interviewees, there were mayors, public officers, volunteers and activists dealing with immigrant settlement and integration in the respective locations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As this paper is concerned with the 'racialization' in small non-urban municipalities, it builds on and contributes to two research areas in the racism literatures: 'old' and 'new' forms of racism (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Sniderman et al., 1991; van Dijk, 1992) and rural racisms (Chakraborti & Garland, 2004; Dhalech, 1999; Neal, 2002; Neal & Agyeman, 2006). In Finland, there exists research on the different forms of racism, but there is a lack of research on the topic in rural contexts.

In short, the idea for the paper's three-level *analytical framework* derives from Theo David Goldberg's (2008) article in which he develops an argument for the existence of 'racisms without racism' by discussing the notions of 'raceless racisms' (El-Tayeb, 2011; Goldberg, 2009), and 'racism

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without racists' (Bonilla-Silva 2003, Keskinen et al., 2009). In my analysis, I comprehend these new forms of racism as three strategies of non-racialization. Informants use them in a mutually complementary manner in order to explain away and normalize xenophobia and racism.

FINDINGS

Informed by the debate on rural racism and on the denial of racism as a pervasive feature of contemporary discourse about migration, the paper identifies three separate yet interdependent discursive strategies used by interviewees to 'talk away' racism. These include discourses that: (1) naturalize and normalize xenophobia by explaining it as being part of rural culture and lifestyle ('raceless racisms'); (2) individualize racism by explaining it as the work of a marginalized few ('racism without racists'); and (3) rationalize racism by comprehending it as a response to precarious and hard conditions of rural living. In the paper, examples are given of each discourse.

Though many similarities can be identified between the conceptualizations of rural racism and the opposition to asylum centres that occur in rural Finland, there are also noteworthy differences. It is particularly important to note that the protest in Finnish countryside is of two kinds: 'old' and 'new'. While the interviewees were not overtly racist in their remarks, they recognized that there exists local opposition, which uses strong racist undertones and is often derogatory and demeaning to asylum seekers. In the mainstream, however, the language of racial reference is coded and embedded in the discourses of othering and masculinity, for example. The mainstream speakers, while condoning racism and treating it as the work of the few also legitimize it by providing explanations and rationalisations.

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The transnational rural other – reconsidering the idea of otherness in rural studies

J. Stachowski, J. F. Rye³⁸

Abstract – Since 2000, and particularly following the EU enlargements in 2004/ 2007, Europe's rural regions have received large numbers of international migrants. In this paper we argue that these migrants (as other minority/ marginal rural populations) represent a group of "others" that is largely ignored by the rural social system. As other "rural others" the migrants fall outside and contest the hegemonic majority representation of rurality. However, we claim that they represent a genuinely different kind of "otherness" than that of those groups hitherto discussed in the rural studies literature: They are "transnational rural others". We discuss how international rural migrants negotiate and often manage to compensate for their "otherness" by drawing on symbolic as well as material resources originating in their homelands. Results suggest that they often fail/ avoid to integrate into receiving rural communities yet they thrive as transnational actors. The discussion builds on a qualitative material from Eastern European labour migrants in a Norwegian rural location (N=23)

THE TRANSNATIONAL RURAL OTHER

For long, the rising numbers of international migrants in rural regions were understudied in the rural studies literature (Bock, Osti, & Ventura, 2016). However, recently a growing body of papers has discussed the many aspects of the international rural migration phenomenon (for reviews, see Svensson, Urinbojev, Wigerfelt Svensson, Lundqvist, Littorin & Albin, 2013; Rye & Scott, in review), suggesting important research challenges. In this paper, we study experiences of international in-migrants into rural Europe from theoretical perspective of "otherness" and transnationalism. Firstly, we illustrate how the process of 'othering' among labour immigrants occurs. Secondly we demonstrate how international migrants are qualitatively distinct from other 'rural others'. Thirdly, we establish links between concepts borrowed from rural and migration studies and argue why such connection may be a fruitful device for future analysis.

RURality AND ITS 'OTHERS'

Otherness have for long been a key concept in the social sciences (de Beauvoir, 2011; Said, 2003; Simmel, 1999). It refers to a complex process whereby some groups of the population are defined as not belonging to the majority. They are rather seen as distinct from and deviant to mainstream society, often with implications for their integration into the society.

In rural studies, the idea of 'otherness' have been invoked in the seminal paper by Philo's (1992) and the subsequent debate between him and Murdoch and Pratt (Murdoch & Pratt, 1993; Philo, 1993). According to Philo (1992), rural studies have for long failed to acknowledge the presence of groups that deviate from typical representations of rurality. The

discussion resulted in a number of studies rendering visible the heterogeneity and diversity of social groupings in rural areas. These studies have demonstrated how various groups populating rural areas, such as women, elderly, second-home owners, homosexuals, or people of other ethnicity experience marginalization and exclusion in rural communities (Panelli, 2006). The aftermath of the 'other' turn has been a contestation of the idealized, bucolic and harmonious picture of the countryside. Otherness and its' construction is a complex issue demanding researchers to take into account such components as, for example, power relations, identity or representations of the rurality (Little, 1999).

TRANSNATIONALITY

Beginning in early 1990s, migration literature has provided a large body of evidences of immigrants' cross-border activities. Transnationalism as a concept capture these practices and suggest that the lives of many contemporary migrants should be considered in terms of simultaneity and multiplicity of their engagements, orientations and belongings occurring at the junction of home and host societies (Vertovec, 2009). Transnationalism is a multifaceted and comprises a broad array of practices such as economic, familial, socio-cultural and political ones (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013)

One of the central issues has been to understand how migrants' transnational practice impact both sending and receiving communities and how engagement in transnational practices influences immigrants' integration in host countries (Faist et al., 2013).

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CASE & METHOD

The analysis is based on 19 in-depth interviews with 23 Polish labour migrants living in a Norwegian coastal municipality, here called Fish Island. In recent years, the demographical structure of the municipality has changed significantly. Foreign-born population has raised from 4% in 2004 to 24% in 2017 and today comprises nearly 45 nationalities. The most numerous immigrant groups are Lithuanians, Poles, Bulgarians and Estonians.

FINDINGS, RESULTS

Our analysis suggest three main findings.

1. *Faceless labour migrants* – Mass character of immigration combined with clustering of immigrants within single industry severely delimits accumulation of bridging social capital disallowing further social integration. Furthermore, it affects negatively opportunity for language training. As a result, the significance of work place as an arena for integration is weakened. Work pressure and high turnover enhance the feeling of alienation among labour migrants.

2. *Self-perceived otherness* – The dominant element of informants' narratives is of a divided local community with natives and immigrants constituting two separate segments. Despite of being self-conscious of the function the immigrants perform in the local community, elements of identity invoked by informants illustrate the distinction between "us" and "them".

3. *Existence between being and belonging*
Informants' accounts reveal their strong orientation towards home country. They spend a predominant part of the year living and working in the municipality while maintaining multiple bonds with families and institutions back home. Home country is a repository of strong social relations, resources, and it has a strong sentimental element, invoked by references to national and ethnic identity. Two main reasons for maintaining of the homeland connections are: perceived vulnerability of the local labour market and unspecified future plans.

CONCLUSIONS

Our study demonstrates that labour migrants occupy significant but marginal place within rural social structure.

On the one hand, they perform an important function by fulfilling the demand for the low cost and flexible labour force in the local industry. On the other hand, the ethnicisation of the local industry has significant implications for determining immigrants'

self-perceived position and their general incorporation into social spheres outside the labour market. Their position is liminal, on the borderline between embeddedness and dis-embeddedness. It may be understood in terms of being which only to limited degree develops into belonging. Immigrants are 'guests', 'spectators' occupying a sidelined position with limited engagement in the life of local community. Barriers of integration may be tiresome but are effectively compensated for by engagement in transnational practices. As a consequence, immigrants become rural 'others' but 'others' of a distinct kind. Their distinctiveness lies in a possibility to negotiate and counterbalance the 'otherness' by drawing on various symbolic and material resources.

Combining concepts of transnationalism and 'otherness' as used in rural studies, to analysis of international labour migration to rural areas offers a heuristically solid tool. It allows to delineate two essential features of the phenomenon: migrants' integration in rural areas and their simultaneous leaning towards home country.

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Working Group 8. Mobilities, gender, racial and other social inequalities in rural Europe

Mobilities, racialization of labour and local policies of reception for seasonal migrant workers in Southern Europe

A. Corrado, F. Saverio Caruso³⁹

Abstract – Migrant work is a structural element of development processes in Southern European agriculture by intensification and vertical integration. Mobility regimes have segmented and continually reorganized farm workforce by gender and race. Reception housing services are very differentiated by countries and regions as the output of local governance approach and production systems.

INTRODUCTION

In the last years different studies have highlighted the structural role of the migrant labour in the Mediterranean agriculture. In particular in the postfordist agricultural enclaves, where the intensification of production has produced the increase of the intermediation costs and the international competition has caused price decreases. The on-site availability of different basins of an extremely mobile, interchangeable, flexible and low cost labourers has represented a fundamental variable for the innovation or resilience of local agriculture. This development process and the organization of the workforce within it have been described speaking of a process of "californization of the Mediterranean agriculture", as since over a century the market of agricultural labour in the West Coast of USA is based on the continuous substitution of different groups of migrant workers - at first Chinese, then Japanese, Philippine and finally Mexican - rigidly divided by linguistic, cultural and racial barriers.

As many other inherent aspects the migratory processes in the Mediterranean countries, the arrival and insertion of thousands of workers looking for a job in local agriculture has rarely recorded forms of management, planning and institutional regulation, leaving the "bargain" to the informality and the self-management by migrant networks.

Some of the principals hubs of the seasonal mobility of farmworkers are "rural ghettos" (Perrotta and Sacchetto, 2012), where migrants of temporary or long staying offer several services to seasonal labourers, firstly work intermediation, but also housing in abandoned structures, curtains or huts of cardboard or electricity supply, food, drinkable water, etc.

In different intensive production areas in southern Italy and Spain forms of ghettoization (Checa, Arjona

and Checa Olmos, 2003), connect with forms of ethnic intermediation and supervision at work (what is named *caporalato* in Italy) or illegal hiring.

This paper aims firstly to analyse the processes of racial organization and restructuring of agricultural labour in Southern Europe, in order to reveal the dynamic nature of the Mediterranean market of agricultural labour depending on the mobility regimes and a complex and overlapped stratifications on gender, racial, administrative bases. Secondly the paper presents the results of a comparative analysis of the policies of reception and temporary housing for seasonal migrant labourers, promoted by local administrations in different rural areas of Southern Europe, where seasonal migrant workers arrive numerous during harvest periods, with the aim of highlighting critical elements and good practices. Institutional interventions to set up reception and temporary housing services for seasonal migrant labourers present very different results depending on different forms of governance and attitude towards migrant workers in agriculture and their rights.

METHODOLOGY

The contribution builds on the results of an ongoing research, carried out with interviews, direct observation, and field visits. After considering relevant literature, it analyses different cases in southern regions of Spain (in the province of Jaen in Andalusia) and Italy (in the regions of Calabria, Basilicata and Puglia), with the purpose to appraise potentialities and limits of institutional interventions to address housing needs by migrant labourers during seasonal harvest periods.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

We have identified different models. The model of country hotel structures or multi-building hotels - the "red de albergues para temporeros" of the Spanish

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

province of Jaen (established since 1998 and working in the November-February period of olive harvesting) and the "alberghi diffusi per i lavoratori stagionali" in province of Foggia (established in 2006) - adopting a more structured approach and a long term intervention for the reception of seasonal agricultural workers but with some main differences. In the first case reception services are in public buildings managed by 24 municipalities and financed by the employers; the access by the farmworkers is just for a few days while waiting for hiring or renting. In the second case reception centres were established by the Region Government in three municipalities - Foggia, Cerignola e San Severo - and their management undertaken by local non-governmental organizations, employers are not involved in the maintenance and financing of the reception system. However the isolation in the countryside, in the absence of transport services, or the access regulation by staying permission or a labour contact have discouraged the use by farmworkers; reductions and delays in the disbursement led to their conversion for other purposes (i.e. the reception of asylum seekers). So progressively this model has been replaced by the fragmented and patchy interventions of the "emergency governance" typical of other Southern regions (Caruso, 2015). In 2015, three million euros were invested for an isolated tented camp for 250 people (but farmworkers during the tomatoes' harvesting period are estimated around 7500), which remained empty for the entire summer season. Migrant farmworkers had preferred to remain in the many ghettos dispersed in the countryside. In 2017 the big ghetto of Rignano was destroyed but again people didn't want to stay in the new precarious tents set up by the Region. The emergency governance model of camps have been applied since 2011 in Calabria and then in Basilicata. A temporary structure has turned in a permanent one in Rosarno

Plain in Calabria, where hundreds of migrants (many of whom are asylum seekers or refugees with temporary permission) stay all year round augmenting up to 2000 in winter oranges harvesting period.

In 2016 the law n. 199 was approved in Italy with the aim of contrasting black labour as well as forms of exploitation in agriculture and organizing a special plan of reception and assistance services for seasonal workers during harvesting periods. However organic interventions have not been set up until now, due also to difficulties in the involvement of producers organizations, unions, non-governmental organizations and migrant farmworkers all together, as in the Spanish case.

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Life models and rural women: social and labour mobility in Sierra del Segura (Albacete, Spain)

J. Escribano, N. Vercher, D. E. Valero, J. Esparcia⁴⁰

Abstract-This work employs qualitative techniques and a case of study in Spain to analyse the main life models of rural women today. More evident patterns can be grouped into two blocks. First, patterns implying local trajectories anchored at the rural world and the maintenance of gender roles, although showing important divergences regarding social and economic participation according to a generational component. Second, models connected with urban experiences that suppose updated socio-cultural frameworks, higher education level, and which could promote socio-economic initiatives and help to fix the population.

INTRODUCTION

The stereotype of women who stay in rural areas tends towards a suggestion that they adopt traditional roles. Avoiding traditional roles has meant emigration to cities. The relative higher emigration of women in rural areas has been explained mainly by the hypothesis of *enlightened flight*: young highly educated women who emigrate because of their job aspirations which are strongly restricted in rural environments. A lower social recognition as individuals is one of the underlying mechanisms producing that *flight*.

Nowadays, female emigration and *enlightened flight* dynamics persist in rural areas but they do not represent the only choice. Despite higher female emigration and masculinization in Spanish rural areas, there are many women who feel rooted to their villages and try to build a space of rupture with traditional rural women frameworks. These women remain in rural areas and adapt their spaces to their personal life trajectories, as for instance, commuting strategies (Camarero & Sampedro, 2008).

However, other rural women inhabit life models which are little or not linked with socio-cultural transformative schemes and, even, maintain discourses of resignation and indifference (Sampedro, 2008). Between these extremes, there are many positions to be identified and characterised.

So, this research aims to determine the main life models configured by rural women today. Life models refer to different life style pattern' of women in relation with the diverse dimensions of life (economics, politics, society, gender roles, family, etc.) which can be explained through dynamic

elements such as age, education level, residential trajectory or sociocultural schemes.

METHODS AND DATA

This work is configured as a qualitative case of study in Sierra del Segura (Albacete, Spain) and is based on the content and discourses analysis of 35 interviews which were recorded during July 2016. The interviewees were mainly women (two men) who were selected according to their profile and following intentional and snowball criteria. Thus, we have collected testimonies from nine economic actors, nine politicians, eight professionals or practitioners and nine representatives of the civil society and social organisations.

Sierra del Segura is a region located in the south-west of the Albacete province (Castilla-La Mancha). It includes 12 municipalities, 105 hamlets and signifies a low population density (6,42 inhabitants per square kilometre). Nowadays, this area is facing four major challenges: a) depopulation processes (it has lost more than a quarter of population during the last two decades), b) masculinisation (105,5 men for every 100 women), c) high unemployment rates (an increase of more than 40% during the period 2007-2015; in 2015, 56% of unemployed people were women), and d) ageing (more than 30% of population is older than 65 years in 2015).

MAIN RESULTS

The case of study shows four different major life models for rural women. First, women who have never lived out of rural environments, who assume domestic roles and sporadically participate in economic activities in order to contribute to the

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household economy. These women need women's associations to disconnect from the domestic atmosphere, and to improve their self-esteem and socialisation, but they are not implicated in politics or social movements.

A second option is represented, mainly, by a younger generation of women, very heterogeneous, who do not play an exclusive role of family care. Nevertheless, they are anchored to the rural world, without urban experiences or high education levels. Their situation implies precarious work trajectories and weak perceptions of gender roles. Nevertheless, these women carry out a relatively strong social participation regarding conventional organisations (women's associations, local festivities...) and leisure. Moreover, sometimes they hold posts as politicians in the local council.

The third life model implies urban trajectories and it includes young women who have returned to the rural villages after finishing their university education at cities and in a context of economic crisis. Their situations are characterised by swinging among jobs, which not always are connected to their careers. Consequently, they have a vulnerable rural future. These women participate in the social life and they also show quite interest in local issues such as forums for citizen participation or activities related to Local Action Groups (LAG). As women from new generations, they are concerned about gender roles and inequalities and their bigger presence at rural areas.

Finally, a fourth option could be identified with the *new rural women*. We refer to women who have an urban experience and a high education level, and who are protagonist of a wide range of self-employment initiatives related to local resources and supported by significant local networks. These women perceive strong gender roles in their rural life but they usually have more tools and resources in order to overcome these obstacles than other women from previous models. Their social life is quite similar to urban women and they are extremely involved in social movements and political matters.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

If the women's development with equal opportunities is vital for the future of rural territories, public policies should strengthen those women life models with most

potential. On the one hand, having young and high educated women represent an opportunity for rural areas (third life model). These young population should be rooted to the area throughout programs focused on new rurality activities (ICT, professional services, e-commerce, social and ecological agriculture...) and services (leisure, culture, communications, housing, e-learning...).

On the other hand, it is essential to consolidate and to expand those life models configured by entrepreneur women (fourth life model). They are higher-educated women with strong roots in rural territories and key urban experiences. Their trajectories bring socio-cultural frameworks which imply the reconsideration of traditional gender roles and the full participation of women in rural life. So, we propose improving women participation, stimulating local leaderships, cooperative networks with institutions and better services to facilitate women entrepreneurship both from a business point of view and from a personal point of view. Also, there is a need for tougher actions for the overall social development of rural areas, especially those regarding gender roles and equal opportunities between men and women.

To sum up, rural world still keeps resistances to social and female development, which are more or less present depending on the life trajectories, educational level or sociocultural schemes assumed by women. This work makes visible the heterogeneity of rural women contributing with four life models that facilitate the analysis of rural areas with gender perspective.

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Women in Rural Social Structure: Aspects of Social Inequalities

M. Halamska, S. Michalska⁴¹

Abstract: Our research takes into account the growing differences in various types of rural communities; we have compared the social status of men and women taking into account their level of education, occupational activity, social position, income and its influence on the level of women's self-evaluation. The paper highlights some results of the research project "The Structure of Rural Society and Its Consciousness Correlates" (NCN 2013/11/B/HS6/01811).

INTRODUCTION

Research into the place of women in rural social structures meets with many difficulties: in developed countries the sociology of rural communities has been deconstructed and issues of social structure and stratification are no longer studied (Halamska 2013, Laferté 2014). In addition, until the 1970s the majority of findings concerning social structure involved exclusively the male population (Domański 1992). Current analyses take into consideration the equal participation of men and women, but the new standard of research has created a problem in comparing the social position of the sexes. In the traditional schema it was assumed that the basic unit in the social structure was the family, not the individual. At the same time it was considered that family status was determined by the man, as he was who provided the means of support and took the important decisions. Such ideas rested on the premise that a woman's social position was defined by that of the head of the family—the man. A married woman's status was thus the status of her husband, but independent unmarried women were a problem in such an arrangement. Given their small number, however, it was considered that overlooking them would not have a negative impact on the reliability of analyses. When the position of women began to be taken into account in research, new issues emerged in regard to comparing the social position of men and women: the most commonly used indicator of an individual's social status is occupation. Since it is obvious that many women do not work outside the home and that the occupational structure of those who do differs considerably from the occupational structure of men, it is difficult to find a common indicator of social position for both sexes (Mendras 1988, Domański & Dukaczewska, 1997). Women more often work in occupations that can be made to accord with their household responsibilities; their professional careers are shorter and are often interrupted; their occupations are frequently worse paid, require lower qualifications, and offer less

chance of advancement. In order to occupy the same occupational position as a man, a woman must take a different career path and overcome other obstacles; often she must possess higher skills (Michalska, 2013). There are furthermore occupational categories that are dominated by one of the sexes, thus testifying to the existence of two job markets and making it difficult to compare the positions occupied by men and by women.

In the article we will analyse the indicators which usually are taken to show the place of the individual in the social structure in the context of various types of rural communities. We will also study how social position of the individual and its social environment is connected with his or her self-evaluation level.

DATA AND METHODS

The analysis is based on data from two empirical studies:

- the representative research of the Social Diagnosis 2013 (further DS 2013), in which the rural sample included 4,160 households and 14,740 persons (of which 51.7%, or 7,600 persons, were women), and
- our own study in 2016 in four specially selected rural areas (NUT4). Each represented a different type of social structure (working class, farming, working class-farming, and intelligentsia-working class), which was treated as a contextual variable. In all, the sample included 480 households, with 1,480 individual respondents, of which 51.1% (756) were women.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As it is shown by data from 2013 (DS 2013), women in rural areas are slightly better educated than men: the indicator for **women's educational level is 102%** of the indicator for men's educational level, while 10 years earlier it was only 99%. The result is the significantly higher share of women in the group with a higher education (65%) or secondary school education (55%). Men decidedly predominate among

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people with a vocational education (61%), but women are the majority among those with only an elementary school education (54%). The social-occupational structure points to **a fairly clear division between male and female occupations.** Women strongly predominate in the group of specialists (350 where Male=100), service employees and sales employees (360), office employees (219), and mid-level personnel (187), while there are significantly fewer of them in upper management positions (60) and in manual laborer categories (27-13). One of the most important indicators in establishing a person's place in the social structure is income. As emerges from the DS 2013 data, in 2013 **income discrimination against rural women** meant that in the group of representatives of power, higher civil servants, and management, women received salaries at the level of 85% of those received by men for similar work; the figure was 75% in the group of specialists, 85% for technical and mid-level personnel, 90% for office employees, 77% for employees in personal services and sales, 82% for farmers, gardeners, and fishers, 71% for industrial laborers and other workers, 68% among machine operators and machine and equipment assemblers, and 71% among manual laborers.

Consciousness correlates of the social structure were also tested using Rosenberg's self-esteem scale (Gray-Little & al 1997). It emerged that **women more often than men place themselves on the "average" level** (fig.1) and more rarely on "low" or "high" levels. The difference between men and women's level of self-esteem can be caused by individual characteristics (women are better educated) and from the other hand – psychological "glass sailing", which blocks the highest self-esteem. In addition, **the influence of contextual variables on self-appraisal** was visible (fig. 2), particularly in traditional, closed structures (dominated by farmers), and in modern, open (gentrified) types of structures, where there is a significant proportion of the middle class. In traditional rural societies male domination is more strongly perceived by women which is visible in the research. In traditional rural communities women's lower self-esteem is the result of farmers' domination in the social structure. They create a closed, homogeneous social group, which is reproducing itself in 2/3. As a result, the social structure of this social group has an influence on the process of socialization and creates a specific reference group, important for perceptual influence (Burbank 1995)

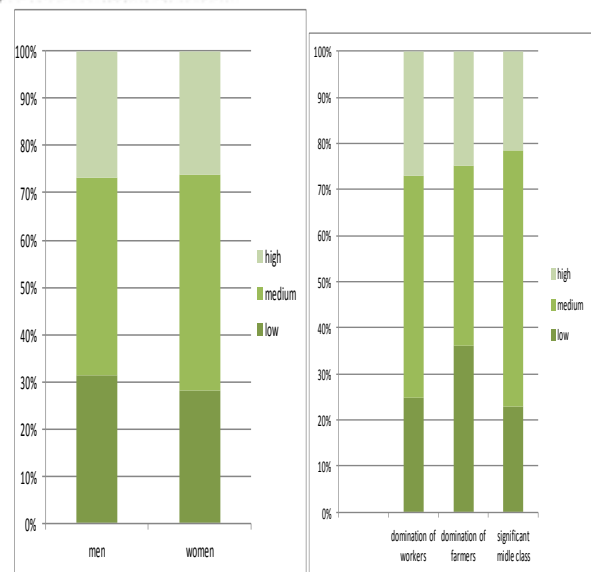


Fig. 1. Structure of the self-appraisal of men and women (left)

Fig. 2. Self-appraisal of women in various types of rural communities (right)

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The concept of intersectionality – a convincing tool to explain the dynamic changes in rural areas?

T. Oedl-Wieser, M. Schmitt⁴²

Abstract – Intersectionality can be considered as a multi-layered paradigm: It is popular in feminist theory discourses, it is applied as a methodology for analysis, advocacy and policy development, and it is used as a springboard for social justice. In this paper we discuss if intersectionality is suitable for socio-economic regional analysis. Based on experiences with the implementing of gender aspects in the regional development processes it proves to be a big challenge to treat further categories of discrimination and to explore their intersections in the rural context.

INTRODUCTION

Besides the dominant discourse about the increasing population in metropolitan areas, worldwide and also in Austria the results of recent elections (towards right wing parties in rural regions) suggest a need to concentrate more on the issue of space in a national context. It is urgent to find explanations for people's growing dissatisfactions and tendencies toward factionalism. The rural regions gain new relevance for debates about social cohesion and solidarity. For a successful coping with these challenges one should learn from the shortcomings in the past when many of the rural social problems and multiple inequalities were not sufficiently recognized in socio-economic analysis; especially with regard to gender-specific aspects, which haven't been analysed adequately neither in their scope nor in their intersection with age, ethnicity, ancestry, religion etc.

Diversity is intensifying at different speeds and intensities in all spheres of life. This is a result of increasing mobility and flexibility in the working sphere (multi-local families, transnational migration for work), precarious professional biographies, individualization with its opportunities and risks, seeking refuge as a consequence of violent conflicts, and the still unequal distribution of income, house and care work between men and women. Connected with working abroad, multi-local living and increasing numbers of divorces are weakening family networks.

Although gender inequality is a structural problem in the whole political system and in society there are certain circumstances in (peripheral) rural regions which reinforce gender inequality additionally such as distances and insufficient mobility, lack of attractive jobs, unfavourable availability of educational institutions, male-dominated structures and withdrawal of the public and private sector (Dax et

al., 2009; Leibert and Wiest, 2014). Referring to these restricted living conditions it is important to analyse which are the drivers for inequality and which specific conditions influence and determine gender relations in rural regions. Is there a possibility to identify single aspects that decrease women's problems? The concept of intersectionality seems to be promising for the investigation of intersections but does it keep well also with regard to rurality?

WHAT IS INTERSECTIONALITY?

Intersectionality can be considered as a multi-layered paradigm: It is a feminist theory, a methodology for analysis, advocacy and policy development of various kinds, and furthermore, a springboard for social justice. While a lot of controversies surround both the theoretical and methodological aspects of intersectionality, the concept has gained ground inside and outside of the academic sphere. Within the international community, intersectionality is increasingly emphasized as an important element of the gender equality agenda (e.g. CEDAW, EU law).

The 'explicit articulation of the concept' occurred in the late 1980s but the 'theoretical endeavor' of intersectionality has been present within feminism long before that (Lykke, 2010). It can be argued that its agenda is not new but its intelligence lies in the perspective's shift and extension.

Intersectionality is an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege (Degele and Winker, 2007). It is difficult to cope with more than three analytical categories but there is no theoretical reason to focus first of all on gender, class, and race which is usually done. The relevance of the categories rather depends on the matter and the level of investigation. The

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supplied arguments in supporting the selected variety have to be comprehensible and convincing.

Following Degele and Winker (2007) we suggest to start with the *identity level* and inductively select the necessary categories from the social practice, go on with the *structural level* and focus on the categories gender, class, and space, and conclude with the *peoples' representation*. The novum will be not only to describe the peculiar categories' conditions but also to define their coherence and interrelationship. When working with the concept of intersectionality one has to recognize that discrimination is not static and that a person's different identities are subjected to discrimination depending on time, situation and location.

HOW TO IMPLEMENT INTERSECTIONALITY IN STUDYING THE RURAL?

Until now, there are not so many studies available which apply the intersectional approach in general and in rural regions (e.g. EC, 2007). There are many aspects to consider if implementing such a complex methodology:

It needs a clear definition of research questions to identify the categories which should be explored on its own as well as in their intersection. The interests, needs and priorities of both, rural women and men of different ages, education, ethnic background etc. have to be taken into consideration in all facets of life. This requires qualitative research methods.

In addition, it is necessary to close the large gaps of gender-disaggregated data and to conduct periodically gender-specific analysis at regional level.

A feminist approach should not conduct simplistic analysis focusing on numerical representation of women but should link their limited presence or absence with the question of power.

To make other groups of disadvantaged rural people visible it would be best if the different living conditions not only of women and men but also of these humans (like young and elderly people, migrants, disabled persons) are analysed and considered routinely over a longer period. (Schmitt, 2012)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Up to date, the intersectionality debate is primarily an academic discourse. Although many international treaties (UN, EU) include a legal obligation to non-discrimination and intersectional consideration, their implementation into research and social practice is rather weak. With regard to rural regions the 'intersectional invisibility' (Knapp, 2013) is widespread. As a consequence, regional stakeholders in politics and administration are often only interested in single issues, e.g. gender-specific migration, without a comprehensive view integrating categories such as age, class and ethnicity. To understand and counter the growing dissatisfaction among the rural population it is necessary to look at the specific living conditions and needs of different groups of rural people and to promote comprehensive socio-economic analysis to a larger extent.

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Vocational Education and Training for Female Farmers to Change Gender-oriented Family Farm Tradition: A case study in the southern parts of German-speaking Europe

Y. Otomo⁴³

Abstract – This case study of 54 female farmers in the southern parts of German-speaking Europe demonstrates that there are two main fields of vocational education and training (VET) for women to effectively change gender-oriented family farm tradition: one is initial VET (IVET) in agriculture for female farm successors, and the other is continuing VET (CVET) in home economics, in particular for women whose partners are farm successors.

INTRODUCTION

The southern part of German-speaking Europe is a mountainous region. Because of its topographical features, small-scale family farming is the predominant mode of agriculture in this area. The family farm has traditionally been handed down from father to son, and therefore it has been exceptional for daughters to be socialized as successors; rather, female farmers generally have their own career unrelated to agriculture and engage in agriculture by marrying a farm successor.

The aim of this study is to discuss the effects of vocational education and training (VET) for female farmers to change gender-oriented family farm tradition based on a case study conducted in Bavaria, Austria, Switzerland, and South Tyrol from 2012 to 2015.

RESEARCH METHOD

The data for this study were obtained through semi-structured interviews roughly two hours in length with 54 female farmers regarding their life course and career formation. The interviewees recruited using snowball sampling were as follows: 16 female farm managers and/or female farmers who have been educated in agricultural home economics in Bavaria, 17 female farm managers and/or masters (*Meisterinnen*) in the agricultural sector in Austria, 9 female farm managers and/or female farmers who had completed formal agricultural education and training as a certified agricultural skilled worker (*Landwirtin EFZ*) in Switzerland, and 14 female farm managers and/or female farmers who acquired vocational certifications in the agricultural sector in South Tyrol.

WOMEN'S STATUS IN FARM MANAGEMENT

The ratio of female farm managers in this area has a wide range of regional differences. According to a statistical map by European Committee in 1997, the ratio was as follows: 28-41% in the city of Vienna and in the state of Lower Austria, 23-28% in other Austrian states, and 10-14% in South Tyrol, 4-10% in Bavaria. In Switzerland, the ratio of female farm managers in 2015 was 5.4% (BFS). Family farms managed by women tend to be small in management scale and part-time farm households. The composition ratio of part-time farm households in this area is as follows: 59.5% in 2015 in Bavaria, 55.1% in 2013 in Austria, 28.6% in 2015 in Switzerland, and 40.7% in 2010 in South Tyrol. In Bavaria and Austria, part-time farm households are in the majority, but in Switzerland, full-time farm households predominate.

Table 1. Interviewees' status in farm management

		BY	AT	CH	ST
1	Female farm successors	0	5	6	5
2	Female co-managers of a conjugal farm after marriage	9	7	0	0
3	Female farm managers on their husband's farm	0	1	0	1
4	Female farm managers among "Newcomers" in the agricultural sector	0	0	1	0
5	Partner of farm manager	5	4	2	8
	Total	14	17	9	14

BY: Bayern, AT: Austria, CH: Switzerland, ST: South Tyrol. Table 1 shows the 54 interviewees' statuses in farm management. Selection bias has to be taken into consideration, but female co-managers of conjugal farms are the majority in Bavaria, while female farm successors and female co-managers of a conjugal farm are the majority in Austria. Interviewees in Switzerland and South Tyrol were restricted to female

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farm managers, and afterward in South Tyrol, female farmers who acquired vocational certifications were added.

VET FOR FEMALE FARMERS

National systems of VET are very diverse. In Europe, there are three "classical" models of VET: the liberal market model of Britain, the state-regulated model of France, and the dual corporate model of Germany. In Bavaria, Austria, and Switzerland, the VET system uses the dual corporate model. In Italy, it uses the state-regulated model in South Tyrol, which was originally developed under the influence of German culture. VET in Europe is divided into initial VET (IVET) and continuing VET (CVET).

Table 2. Number of interviewees by types of vocational qualification in the agricultural sector

	Qualification	Interviewees	
			Farm managers
BY	Certified Housekeeper for Agricultural Households	2	1
	Master of Home Economics in Rural Areas	10	7
	Master of Agriculture	1	1
	Domestic Engineer in Rural Areas	1	0
AT	Master of Home Economics in Rural Areas	10	7
	Master of Horticulture	2	2
	Master of Viticulture and Cellarage	1	1
	Master of Agriculture and Forestry	1	1
	Engineer in Horticulture	1	1
	Diploma in Engineering (Home Economics)	1	1
CH	Certified Agricultural Skilled Worker	6	4
	Master of Agriculture	1	1
	Diploma in Engineering (Agriculture, Biology)	2	2

In Table 2, the number of interviewees in Bavaria, Austria, and Switzerland are summarized by types of vocational qualification in the agricultural sector. In Bavaria, all interviewees except one acquired vocational qualification as home economics (*Hauswirtschaft*) majors. In Austria, female co-managers of a conjugal farm tended to gain vocational qualifications in home economics mainly through CVET after marriage, while female farm successors gained vocational qualifications in agriculture through IVET. Because Swiss interviewees

were restricted to female farm managers, they were all female farm successors except one, and gained vocational qualifications in the agricultural sector through IVET or CVET. However, the majority of Swiss farming women are partners of farm managers and receive CVET in home economics (Otomo & Rossier, 2011).

In South Tyrol, there is neither a qualification of certified housekeeper for agricultural households nor that of master of home economics. However, our interviewees gained vocational certifications as, for example, a lecturer in rural life, an ambassador of her own products, and a farm tour guide issued by the South Tyrolean Farm Women's Union.

CONCLUSION

The social circumstances of female farmers in these areas differ, and therefore, we can identify various ways of VET for female farmers that are effective to change gender-oriented family farm tradition.

Female farmers generally have their own career outside of farming, and CVET in the agricultural sector is useful to build their second career as farmers.

There are two types of CVET: one is formal based, which leads to vocational qualification to be a master of agriculture, a certified agricultural skilled worker, a certified housekeeper for agricultural households and so on; the other varies from short-term courses without certification to long-term courses that lead to vocational certification.

One of the majors of agricultural profession, home economics, has been studied exclusively by farm women through CVET. It comes from conventional gender-oriented division of labour, but home economics skills are very useful for women to take the initiative in managing agricultural pluri-activity. VET in home economics was reformed, and nowadays it contains service industry skills.

In Austria, more daughters have the chance to become a farm successor and take IVET not only in home economics but also in agriculture, horticulture, viticulture and cellarage, and forestry. The double qualification called "*Berufsmatura*", which is essentially VET, and access to tertiary education is acceptable by female farm successors.

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Mobile families: family regrouping strategies and residential trajectories of rural foreign immigrants

R. Sampedro, L. Camarero⁴⁴

Abstract – The aim of this paper is to explore the social factors that may be related with the permanence -or the exit- of foreign born immigrants in rural areas after the 2008 economic crisis. For this purpose we analyze the evolution of the five main groups of immigrants coming from non EU-15 countries in rural areas of Castilla y León, one of the most rural and depopulated region in Spain. We focus especially in the patterns of mobility from rural to urban areas and in the family regrouping strategies. The paper highlights some results of the research project 'Crisis and immigration in rural areas in Castilla y León' (CSO2015-67525-R MINECO/FEDER).

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of foreign born immigrants in rural areas has been considered like an important opportunity to stop or even reverse depopulation, especially in less dynamic regions in Southern Europe. Far from being only a cheap and flexible labour force, they represent an opportunity to revitalise social and economic life of villages. Anyway foreign born immigrants suffer frequently the social inequalities linked to the so called 'immigrant condition', a social status that is not necessarily related with legal or administrative traits but with the lack of social recognition as full members of the community. In this context, the deep impact of global economic crisis in Southern Europe has produced since 2008 increasing levels of social inequality that frequently show a strong ethnic component.

The social integration of foreign born immigrants and the capacity of rural areas to keep them living there in the long run is therefore a very relevant question. Obviously this capacity has to do with the attitudes and expectations of both immigrants and native population and the ways in which settlement is conducted. Previous research suggests that rural areas and agricultural works –and other employments located in small villages- might be only a 'temporary station' in a way to more rewarding jobs and living conditions in urban areas (Camarero, Sampedro and Oliva, 2011). But the potential of rural areas to retain immigrants in the long run depends also on the characteristics of the newcomers.

This paper focuses on the social factors that may be related with their staying or exit from rural areas. For this purpose we analyze the evolution of the five main groups of immigrants –those coming from Bulgaria, Romania, Morocco, Colombia and Ecuador- in rural areas of Castilla y León, an inner, very rural

and depopulated Spanish region. We focus specially on the patterns of mobility from rural to urban areas and the family regrouping strategies.

Previous research showed that immigrants coming from Eastern Europe are the most rural groups with nearly half of them living in non-urban settlements. Both men and women have a high engagement in agricultural activities. The population has a quite balanced gender composition that is linked with a highly "family" way of migration. Moroccans have also a significant presence in rural areas. This group is composed mainly by men with an important implication in agrarian jobs. This feature is related with a migration pattern that is characterized by crossover marriages and transnational families: males migrate and their spouses keep on living in Morocco. The family regrouping occurs afterwards when the position of the pioneer is well consolidated. For Latin American population the peculiar feature is the frequent migration of women, sometimes single mothers that eventually regroup their children and get married in Spain with compatriots or, much more frequently than other groups, with Spaniards. Latin American women, as women from Morocco, are mainly employed in tertiary activities.

The different levels of formal education are also relevant. For those coming from Morocco it is considerable lower than for people coming from Latin America and especially from Eastern Europe. These features add to different legal and administrative opportunities to reach a permanent and safe situation in the country and to diverse perceptions and stereotypes of native population among the different national groups of foreign immigrants.

DATA AND METHODS

Data come from Spanish Register of Inhabitants (2007

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to 2014) and the Spanish Residential Variations Statistics (EVR) -1998 to 2015-. The data used refer to foreign-born population so that people who acquired Spanish nationality are included.

RESULTS

Foreign immigration and rural repopulation.

After decades of demographic declining, rural areas of Castilla y León experience a repopulation process in the first decade of this century. Migratory balances become positive mainly as a result of the arrival of foreign born immigrants. This process is interrupted by the burst out of the economic crisis in 2008. We can observe a considerable drop of flows between 2007 and 2012. Growth rates of foreign-born residents falling steeply due to the halt of new arrivals more than to the return of current residents. After 2012 the crisis effects are clear and migratory balances become negative. Undoubtedly economic crisis expels population –nationals and foreigners– from rural areas. In this context the five national groups present a different evolution: groups from Eastern Europe reduced abruptly, Latin American groups experience a smaller reduction but Moroccans increase slightly.

Are rural areas 'temporary stations' in a way to urban destinations? First of all, rural areas are the entry point for a considerable number of foreign immigrants, especially for Romanians and Bulgarians that arrive directly to rural areas. In the case of Moroccans, Colombians and Ecuadorians, there is a redistribution from urban to rural areas that account for a good number of newcomers. On the other side, the main destination of people leaving rural areas is urban areas rather than destinations abroad. In the last years of the crisis immigrants from Eastern Europe are the only ones that seem to return to their countries or travel abroad more than move to urban sites. Regardless the intense flow of people coming from and going to urban sites, the migratory balance across the period shows that rural areas always loss population in favor of cities and that the rural is indeed a 'temporary station' for many immigrants.

How is the family regrouping occurring? Family regrouping is a crucial dimension of immigrants' social integration in the host society. For immigrants staying in rural areas the crisis seems to cause an intensification of family regrouping. This process

should be understood in relation with the different family migration strategies as said above. The arrival of women and children is especially intense in the Morocco case. Male pioneers are bringing their wives and children. The evolution of the population pyramids show a clear tendency towards a more gender balanced population in Morocco, Romania and Bulgaria cases, although in the first case the reason is the arrival of women, and in the second, the leaving of males. For Romanians and Bulgarians the narrowing of the pyramid base reflects also the leaving of whole families from rural areas and the halt of arrivals of new families to them. As we said before, crisis expels males. This is also the reason why the population pyramids of Colombians and Ecuadorians increase their female imbalance. In this case it is remarkable the increase of arrivals of people older than 45, what may be related with the regrouping of parents.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The ways in which different groups of foreign people face the effects of the economic crisis could highlight the social factors that favor or hinder the integration of immigrants in rural local societies. We can observe different patterns of family regrouping that are also linked with different residential trajectories. Some family migration strategies strongly related with rural-urban mobility seem to favour the permanent settlement of immigrants in the countryside while other ones reinforce the role of rural areas as 'temporary stations' in a way to more rewarding jobs and living conditions in urban areas. As one clear example of the first ones is the Morocco population's these family migration strategies seem to be a stronger factor of local integration than the so-called 'cultural closeness'. On the other side, taking into account that this is the national group with less economic, educational and symbolic capital, we could say that some sorts of mobility are a valuable resource to face social inequalities related with the 'immigrant' condition.

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Inclusive rural development? Some insights from gender and aged-based inequalities in rural Almeria (Spain)

J.J. Serrano, J. Escribano, J. Esparcia⁴⁵

Abstract – In this paper we examine the inclusion of women and young people in rural development programmes since 2000. For this purpose, we analysed the social network of relevant actors in the region of the Levante Almeriense (Spain) through the accomplishment of 45 interviews conducted in June and July 2015. The main results indicate that the presence of “relevant” women is smaller than men’, whereas the presence of young people is non-existent. Through Social Network Analysis (ARS) we verified how the role of women in development programmes is limited and almost marginal. In addition, the behaviour of men and women in relation to each other is very different, as a result of late entry of women into the Local Action Groups (LAGs). Therefore, while the future of rural areas depends on women and young people to a large extent, very little progress has been made on gender mainstreaming, as well as on young people involvement in rural development.

INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVE

The origin of the Rural Development Policy in the European Union (EU) and Spain can be established with the LEADER Community Initiative in the 90s. This is characterized by a double dimension: one of them has encouraged the productive diversification of the rural space; the other one has emphasized the social component of rural development. The latter promoted the revitalization and empowerment of rural society based on articulation and social cohesion, that is to say on Social Capital (Shucksmith, 2000).

LEADER has been characterized by the inclusion of the population in decision-making in development programmes in relation to the bottom-up approach and the creation of new local governance and management structures such as Local Action Groups (LAGs), where the different collectives and social groups were integrated and participated. However, since the beginning of LEADER the participation of women and youth has been limited. This led to the spontaneous development of women’s associations. It was not until LEADER + (2000-2006) when the EU became more aware of the need to increase the presence, participation and equality of both, young people and women in decision-making bodies, as well as the development of gender norms and equality at both European and national level. The impact of this decision was analysed by different authors (Pallarès-Blanch, 2015) although there are no empirical results at local level of the impact of these measures on both groups of people.

On the basis of the above-said, in this work we approach a case of study, focusing on the LEADER area of the Levante Almeriense (Almeria, Spain)

where the programme was managed between 1996 and 2015. Our objective is, firstly, to determine whether, following these almost two decades of implementation, the inclusion of young people and women in the LAG can be considered sufficient or satisfactory. Secondly, we intend to value the level of prestige that the members of both groups have in the network of the relevant actors in the region. In women’s case, we analysed the differences and similarities with men.

METHODOLOGY

We used Social Network Analysis (ARS) to analyse the information obtained from 45 interviews with relevant actors from the region of Levante Almeriense. 80% of interviewees were men and 20% were women. Relevant actors were people who worked or had worked in the context of the socioeconomic dynamics of territorial development in the area from a supralocal perspective. These actors were from a wide range of sectors: institutional, economic, social and technical, both public and private.

The original list of relevant actors was carried out from previous interviews with key informants (chairman and manager of the LAG). The first list of names was not closed as new relevant actors were included in following rounds of interviews. During the interviews, in addition to identifying the social network of relevant actors of each of the interviewees, they were asked to characterise each of the relationships according to traits such as the activity by which they met, the duration of their relationship, intensity and frequency of this, key skill of the person, etc.

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RESULTS

The first point to highlight is the lack of presence of young people as actors represented in the LAG. There is no actor included in the sample under 35 years. Interviewed women are a little bit younger than the men, that is to say, there is a greater presence of women in ages between 36-45 years, while men are in the intervals of 46-60 and over 60 years.

One of the results obtained for the whole social networks of relevant actors is the predominance of consolidate relationships (over 10 years). This shows that we are facing a network made up of "traditional" actors, who have a long presence and trajectory in the rural area. These relationships represent 86% of all existing in the net. On the contrary, relations lasting between five and ten years represent 11%, while those of less than five years constitute 3%. However, if we analyse the predominance of relationships by duration and gender, we do find differences (Table 1).

Table 1. Duration of the relationships by gender

	Men	Women
< 5 years	3%	8%
5-10 years	11%	23%
>10 years	86%	69%

Source: Own elaboration (Interviews - Levante Almeriense, 2015)

The length of women's relationships is smaller than men's, which is related to the greater difficulty and delay in the entry of women into the social network of actors in the LEADER area, as well as in the LAG. If we analyse the prestige of the group of women in the social network of the group, it is observed that this is quite small (9%), as well as the trust in them (8%). By contrast the group of men concentrates most of the prestige and the confidence (91% and 92% respectively).

As for the frequency and intensity of gender relations, we observed that in the female group more frequent contacts predominate than in the case of men. That is to say, whereas among women the daily, weekly and semi-annual relations predominate, the contacts are monthly, semi-annual or even annual among men. On the other hand, the results on the intensity of the relations show certain differences by gender, although the average intensity in both groups is similar (about 50%). Men have a higher percentage of high intensity relationships, while the percentage of low intensity relationships is higher for women

(24% for women versus 16% for men). According to Granovetter's interpretation of "the strength of weak ties" (1973), these ties offer a new source of information, while the most intense relationships show greater overlap in information, and they are better well-known. That is to say, redundant links do not offer added value. This tendency is present in the case of men. However, not redundant links (weak ties) could be comparatively much more strategic. This tendency is present in the case of women.

As for the origin and destination of the relationships between men and women, we observe that 91% of the relationships that arise from the male sex are destined for another man, and only 9% of the relationships are for women. In the case of women, 91% of the relationships are towards a man, whereas 9% are towards another woman. In any case, for both groups, the implementation of the LEADER program in the area has favoured relationships of all kinds, as both men and women have increased their contacts (34% men and 38% women).

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the implementation of laws and measures to increase the role of young people and women in rural development and in LEADER programs, the presence of women remains limited and marginal, while that of young people is absent. The relational behaviour of men and women is clearly different, as they are influenced by previous developmental factors. Both situations, the absence of young people and the marginal position of women in the social network of LEADER (Board of Directors of LAGs), poses a future for rural areas that will hardly be able to respond to the demands and needs -real and felt- of this population. If we add to this situation the traditional lack of young people and women in rural areas due to emigration, we find a rural environment with difficulties for the development of creative and innovative initiatives, capable of giving continuity not only to the processes of territorial development, but also to the rural environment as a whole.

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Are there Equal Employment Opportunities for Refugees on Farms?

J. Stratmann, L. Theuvsen⁴⁶

Abstract – In recent years many refugees have migrated to Europe. Job market access is considered crucial for their successful integration, and European farmers are potential employers. But what are the requirement profiles, e.g. of an agricultural worker? And are farmers willing to employ refugees or do they discriminate them? To answer these questions, 190 German farmers were surveyed. Results are promising and show partially low employment barriers on the part of farmers.

INTRODUCTION

In the years 2015 and 2016 there was a strong flow of refugees from various countries to Europe (Economist 2016). Hence, a big discussion about possibilities of integrating these refugees into social life and about prospects of work for refugees has started in many parts of Europe (Borjas and Monras, 2016). Refugees have been accommodated in urban areas as well as in rural areas. After the asylum procedure is passed, it is very important to earn money with a job for a self-determined life. So in a long term view more jobs for refugees will be needed in urban areas as well as in rural areas.

Today there is already a higher unemployment rate in rural areas than in urban areas, e.g. in the countryside of Eastern Germany (Destatis, 2016). However, because of the ongoing structural changes in agriculture there could be more jobs available for non-family fulltime workers on farms in the future (EURS, 2016). Therefore, the scope of this work is to figure out a requirement profile for agricultural workers employed by farmers in Germany and to get knowledge of farmers' attitudes towards refugees or of barriers farmers perceive before employing refugees on their farms.

METHODOLOGY

Farmers were surveyed in summer 2016 by means of a standardised online questionnaire all over Germany (N=190). The questionnaire was designed based on a literature review and included questions about farm characteristics and requirement profiles for agricultural workers in permanent jobs, statements about willingness to employ refugees and socio-demographics of the respondents. Data were analysed with IBM SPSS Statistics Version 24.

DATA SET AND RESULTS

The farmers who participated in the study are on average 45 years old ($\sigma=13.7$; 17-80 years) and

76% of them are male. 88% of the farms are conventional, 12% organic farms. Only 12% of the farmers have another main source of income compared with the German average of 54% (Destatis, 2013). The data set includes farms with mixed structures as well as specialised arable and livestock farms; i.e. 2% have viticulture, 5% fruit cultivation, 42% forestry (1-4,000 hectare), 26% milking cows ($\bar{O}180$ cows, 25-1,300). 83 farmers (44%) are not engaged in livestock production.

On average 2.4 family workers ($\sigma=1.1$; 0-8), 4.7 full-time non-family workers ($\sigma=9.4$; 0-55) and 14 seasonal workers ($\sigma=9.4$; 0-270) are employed. The number of employed people as well as the structure and size of the farms surveyed are very diverse.

As a result the demands of the farmers for agricultural workers also differ considerably and it is difficult to get a portrait of "the" farm worker and the required competence profile. Hence, an explorative factor analysis (FA) was run to reduce 32 qualification competences from four groups of competences into a smaller number of factors reflecting required competence profiles. Table 1 shows the result of FA;

Table 1. Results of the factor analysis (FA)

Factor	Cronbach's Alpha	Number included	Number of before
"Personal competences I"	$C\alpha=0.804$	5	14
"Social competences"	$C\alpha=0.799$	4	4
"Professional competences"	$C\alpha=0.755$	4	10
"Personal competences II"	$C\alpha=0.685$	2	.
"Methodological comp."	$C\alpha=0.653$	2	4
Total		17	32

KMO = 0.840; Explains 65.9% of the total variance

Source: Authors' calculation

the five factors extracted include 17 different competences. The FA explains 65.9% of the total variance among the 17 variables. These variables are

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well-suited for the FA as the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is relatively high at 0.840. Furthermore, all factor loadings of the single variables were higher than 0.5.

Besides normality test results, table 2 shows also descriptive statistics for distribution of answers to question "How much is your employment decision influenced by the following characteristics or attributes of job candidates?". Farmers do not feel influenced by attributes like age, sex, nationality, religion or skin colour of the job applicants. But farmers say that they are influenced by the language skills of permanent and seasonal workers, by the observance of prayer obligations during the day, by wearing of a burqa or by the external appearance of the job candidates.

Table 2. Test of standard distribution and significance for answers to question "How much is your employment decision influenced by the following characteristics or attributes of job candidates?"

Variables	Mean value	Significance	Std. Dev.	Std. Err.
Sex	-0.71	0.000 ***	1.13	0.08
Age	-0.34	0.000 ***	0.92	0.07
Nationality	-0.87	0.000 ***	0.94	0.07
Religion	-1.01	0.000 ***	1.04	0.08
External appearance	0.10	0.161 n.s.	0.98	0.07
Skin colour	-1.33	0.000 ***	0.78	0.06
Visible eye-catching tattoo	-0.62	0.000 ***	1.15	0.08
Visible eye-catching piercing	-0.31	0.001 ***	1.21	0.09
Language skills of	0.71	0.000 ***	0.93	0.07
Language skills of	0.13	0.067 n.s.	0.99	0.07
Following rules of Ramadan during fasting	-0.06	0.524 n.s.	1.36	0.10
Observance of daily prayer obligations	0.16	0.086 n.s.	1.30	0.09
Wearing of a headscarf	-0.10	0.349 n.s.	1.47	0.11
Wearing of a burqa (covered head to toe)	1.20	0.000 ***	1.14	0.08

Scale: -2=totally disagree, -1=disagree, 0=neutral, +1=agree, +2=totally agree; N=190; Level of significance (bidirectional): ***= p≤0.001; **= p≤ 0.01; *= p≤ 0.05; not significant (n.s.)= p> 0.05

Source: Authors' calculation

To identify the determinants of farmers' willingness to employ refugees, a multiple linear regression analysis was conducted. The results are presented in table 3. All in all the results show that farmers do not see skin colour, religion or nationality by itself as major barriers against the employment of refugees. Farmers consider refugees reliable workers but it is also shown that language skills of workers are a very important issue as well as farmers' lack of knowledge about refugees' qualifications.

This leads to recommendations for policy-makers and other concerned parties on how to include refugees into the agricultural job market and rural areas: First, learning German language very quickly is a crucial first step for job market integration. Second, farmers need more information about the qualification profiles of refugees. More transparency about jobs and requirements will be helpful for both sides.

Table 3. Multiple linear regression of farmers' willingness to employ refugees.

Independent variables	Regression coefficient Beta	Significance	VIF
I could imagine to employ unskilled workers as permanent full-time workers and develop their skills as needed.	0.207	0.000***	1.314
Language is a barrier for employment of refugees.	0.127	0.063	1.194
I consider refugees are reliable workers.	0.287	0.001***	1.407
Training on the job of refugees will take more time than training on the job of EU-citizens.	0.086	0.139	1.105
I am willing to employ refugees as trainees firstly.	0.440	0.000***	1.360

Dependent variable: "If I need farm workers I will employ suitable refugees who want to work in agriculture as permanent workers."; corr. R² = 0.461; F=33,3; p=0.000***; Durbin-Watson-Test=2.089; Significance: ***= p≤ 0.001; **= p≤ 0.01; *= p≤ 0.05; not significant (n.s.)= p> 0.05; N=190

Source: Authors' calculation

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Municipal perceptions and approaches to social exclusion in Spanish rural areas during the crisis

D. E. Valero, J. Escribano, J.V. Pérez⁴⁷

Abstract – This paper explores the perceptions and approaches that local authorities of rural areas have held regarding social exclusion and poverty processes during the 2008-2015 recession in Spain. Understanding how these processes have been perceived and approached by local authorities is important in order to identify how policies have been addressing poverty and social exclusion in rural areas. In line with this idea, we have focused our study on mayors' discourses about those processes, using evidence from two different qualitative research projects. The fieldwork was concurrently carried out during 2014 in two different regions: Castilla -La Mancha and Valencia. Results show significant common trends beyond territorial boundaries highlighting feedback relations between 'cojunctural' impacts of the crisis on (un)employment and the structural processes shaping social realities in rural Spain.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to understand how poverty and social exclusion have been perceived and approached by local governments in Spanish rural areas.

Social exclusion and poverty in rural areas are characterized by two features that shape how these phenomena are perceived and addressed: i) the particular disadvantages that rural areas may present (Bertolini et al., 2009), and ii) an important lack of public awareness about them (Commins, 2004; Bertolini et al., 2009). However, the persistence of poverty in rural areas -particularly among rural women, children, and migrant minorities- is still one of the most important challenges faced by rural communities (Beaulieu, 2005).

The economic crisis of the last decade has had an undeniable impact on poverty and social exclusion rates in rural areas. While these processes have been general, there have been significant territorial differences within countries depending on the socio-economical features of each area. In Spain the percentage of the population at risk of poverty or social exclusion was consistently higher in rural areas than in cities, reaching in 2014 a rate of 43,8% while in urban areas it was 26,2% (Eurostat, 2017).

Policies coping with social exclusion are developed at all governmental levels, although the local scale has a remarkable position being the closest government to rural citizens. Public policy theory acknowledges the importance of cognitive capital -in combination with other types of resources- to set a

concrete public policy. So, studying the perceptions that local authorities may have to social exclusion seems fundamental to understand the policy choices that are made in rural areas.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

This research is based on rural mayors' perceptions about social exclusion in their municipalities as an approach to understanding how actions against social exclusion are framed at the local level. Evidence has been pooled from two different qualitative research projects about social exclusion carried out during 2014 in rural areas of two different regions in Spain: Castilla-La Mancha (Sierra de Alcaraz and Campo de Montiel in Albacete) and Valencia (inland areas of Castellón and Valencia provinces and mountain areas in Alicante). The diversity of situations regarding geography (remoteness and accessibility), socio-demographic trends (population level), policy features (classification in rural development programmes) and political orientation (political party of the mayor) were taken into account when selecting the case studies. A total of 35 mayors of rural municipalities were interviewed on the topic. We analysed the mayors' narratives following the three classical axes of inequality -gender, age, and origin- in order to i) identify their perceptions of social exclusion and how it affects different groups of people, and ii) how those perceptions are linked to the approaches taken to address poverty and social exclusion.

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RESEARCH RESULTS

Social exclusion perceptions

First, there is not one common view on social exclusion among rural mayors, but they usually tend to perceive a low incidence of social exclusion in their municipalities.

On the contrary to what reports and literature indicate about gender differences (Bertolini et al., 2009; Beaulieu, 2005), rural mayors tend to show bigger concerns about men than women. Unemployment -and in particular the loss of jobs because of the crisis- seems to be the crucial factor in social exclusion processes as perceived by rural mayors. When there is an acknowledgment of the particular risks of social exclusion faced by rural women, it is linked to the combination of the local labour market constraints with personal factors (e.g. lack of mobility, qualifications) while social control and gender inequalities as exclusion factors are only occasionally mentioned.

The axis of origin does not appear in the mayors' discourses. While immigrants would be included in reports as one of the groups most at risk of social exclusion, they are rarely even recognised by the interviewees. However, mayors highlight the risks of another profile which does not appear in the reports: ex-urban dwellers who have moved to the rural area looking for a more affordable lifestyle after the first impacts of the crisis. Unemployment and problematic backgrounds are seen as the factors shaping the exclusion risks of this group.

Concerning age, children are rarely mentioned. The group whose vulnerability is highlighted in both regions is the elderly population, linking it to low incomes and the combination of high needs of health care with a limited local offer of health services. Valencian mayors also showed concern for young people, focusing particularly on their high unemployment rates.

Approaches to face social exclusion

We have found two main types of municipal approaches to face the social exclusion processes described in the mayors' discourses. On the one hand, there are measures focused on attending the unemployment crisis: employment programs, advice and assistance for employment search, and even giving priority to unemployed people for accessing other social benefits and programmes. On the other hand, mayors describe other types of programmes with an approach based on aid: monetary benefits and specific programmes to attend particular profiles

as women, immigrants, dependents, and disabled people. Here the discourse is framed by a narrative focused on blaming austerity policy decisions made by other government levels regarding the distribution of resources, closure of services, or cutbacks.

FINAL REMARKS

These common trends align well with the notion of invisibility of social exclusion in rural areas and show a distorted perception of the phenomenon. Mayors tend to overlook those vulnerable profiles that are usually highlighted by reports, what indicates: i) a tendency to invisibilize groups like women, immigrants and children; and ii) a tendency to make equivalent social exclusion with unemployment. These perceptions are reflected in municipal actions, which are focused on fighting or alleviating (the most visible) unemployment, particularly regarding the traditional heads of the family. Attention to other factors shaping social exclusion is left in the hands of services and programmes which have been affected by cutbacks and other provision constraints. So, we would like to resume that the employment crisis has reinforced a peculiar self-perception of the rural community and the social process affecting it, by placing the focus on local-male-centred dynamics while ignoring the complexity of factors underpinning the vulnerability of other social groups.

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**Working Group 9. Ageing rural communities:
experiences and consequences of uneven
demographic processes**



Rural gerontocracies and the reshaping of the productive citizen: community stories in age and agency from the River Adur valley, UK

M. Gearey⁴⁸

INTRODUCTION

The 2007 global financial crisis continues to impact on economies worldwide. Within the UK a new 'politics of austerity' (Kitson et al., 2011) over the past decade has been defined by drastically contracted state financing for public services. At a regional & local level these processes of austerity have led to reductions in local authority funding, with frontline social services such as housing, healthcare & community welfare & public infrastructure such as highways maintenance & local transport particularly hard hit. It is argued that this new political environment, under the auspices of austerity, masks a different rationale; a desire to use the 'shock' of the 2007 financial crisis to further embed neoliberal strategies (Fraser et al., 2013). These macro & micro impacts all interlink to have tangible effects on citizen's life experiences. Scott (2013) has argued that these politics of austerity impact asymmetrically on rural lives. Much research has focused on the impacts of austerity politics on rural elders, mainly orientated around reduced provisions of social care, lack of rural transport & welfare issues around loneliness & isolation (O'Hara, 2014). Yet little analysis has been undertaken to explore agency in rural ageing in response to austerity politics. A key aspect within gerontocracy research is the concept of life experiences (Segal, 2013), shaping how elders conceptualise & articulate their current concerns; what guides them into particular courses of action & decision making. Using environmental change, & in particular water resources management, as a motif for exploring these decision-making processes, enables us to capture the heuristic devices that rural elders use to engender agency in response to austerity measures in their local environments. Key to this is a recognition that elders can be productive citizens in contention against neoliberal prescriptivity which denotes them as dependent, vulnerable & economically burdensome (Walker, 2012). The main aim of the research was to address the question: In what ways have rural elders responded to austerity politics by building their own networks of solidarity within the context of environmental change?

METHODS

The research is empirically focused, using qualitative semi-structured interviewing techniques to capture how rural elders enact agency in response to the impacts of austerity politics. Using water resources management as the central focus, enabled the respondents to share with the research team the multiple ways that they both account for their own agency & for the changing roles of local government with regards to lessening resources. The empirical enquiry has sought to look closely, at a granular level, at what is actually happening at the micro level along one medium sized river catchment. The River Adur in West Sussex, UK, was chosen as a typical catchment, with the focus of the empirical work on three waterside communities situated mid-way down the river; the villages of Upper Beeding, Steyning & Bramber. Respondents were recruited during July 2015 to January 2016 through a snowballing technique; initial contacts were made with a number of public, private & third sector organisations whose remit of work corresponds with issues engaged with environmental activities, & who make use of the contribution of elders. 34 respondents were interviewed in total, with 25 individuals over retirement age who remain active volunteers. The interviews were recorded & transcripts produced. The interview data was analysed using content analysis techniques to highlight the main themes & issues provided by the respondents, with final approval from the University of Brighton's Research Ethics committee.

RESULTS

The fieldwork revealed that elders used both extant & self-generated social networks to further their own matrices of care. Discussing issues of water resources management; from house flooding, to road erosion, river re-naturing & restoration, to citizen science activities such as ecological surveys of water quality and biodiversity, respondents were clear to articulate that their motivation in terms of voluntary participation were threefold. Firstly to 'replace' or 'subsidise' actions that were once the preserve of local government (such as producing neighbourhood

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plans or issuing advice on drainage management); secondly to connect with similar life stage citizens in their locality who shared similar world views & passions; lastly, as these elders had often relocated locality in retirement, to make new place-based friendships. Their voluntary activism was both pragmatic & sociable; providing elder citizens with a wide range of benefits such as social inclusion & status, mental stimulation, physical engagement & education. Their productivity was high in terms of beneficial outputs & low in terms of financial inputs: although the majority of elder citizens can be ranked within groups 1, 2 & 3 of the 8 UK's NS-SEC bandings, in terms of their socio-demographic profile. Voluntary participation changed over time, with the newly retired engaged more likely to engage with physical activities such as culvert clearing & tree planting & older citizens providing support through desk based activities such as blog writing & attending parish council meetings & local events.

DISCUSSION

Using water resources management as a focal point has enabled the research to highlight the multiple & varied ways, & reasons, that rural elders engage in voluntary work against the backdrop of austerity politics. Reframing how we perceive rural elders is of critical importance. In response to neoliberal regimes which portray elders as unproductive, siloing them into static positions as state financial burdens, this research argues that elders are creative, dynamic members of society whose voluntary contributions of personal resources are crucial to keeping rural communities functional. Instead we can learn from the examples of our elders. Of crucial importance is the way in which changing landscapes enable elder citizens to articulate wider changes in society – in terms of community values, political expediency & individual connectivity. Using the community as the spatial focus we can gather these responses into a series of community 'stories' orientated around the symbolism of the riverbank as a conduit & connector of places, people & ideas. Rural elders have tackled the retreat of the state within the 'politics of austerity' by taking charge of local governance within parish & town councils, & through logistical activism within community campaigning groups across a range of sectors & interest groups. What are then created in

these rural spaces are hybrid gerontocracies based on advocacy, activism & agency, defiantly overturning rigid preconceptions which depict rural elders as vulnerable & productively stagnant. Explored across a number of inter-linking narratives, this paper argues that the genesis of this activism is a shared collective imagination, defined by life experiences, motivated by a desire to reassert agency within the process of ageing & driven to revivify the rural spaces that they populate. The community stories which highlight these 'agency in ageing' experiences are orientated around protecting an array of local water environments, with the collective imaginations of the fieldwork participants part fictional, part memory, as these elders are often retiree resettlers, using their voluntary contribution to revitalise their adopted community & embed themselves within it.

CONCLUSION

These findings are a tentative step towards further work on rural gerontocratic networks of agency & the reshaping of how we understand productive citizenship. The spatiality of the 'now' links directly with the spatiality of the 'then', as these elders use their recollection of their earlier, exogenous experiences of community life as the basis for contemporary engagements with environmental volunteerism & local politics. Ageing & place become the unifying point at which as Chris Carlsson (2014) suggests 'redefining life's purpose', is finessed. Reflecting back, projecting forward, but operating in the continual 'now', these elders helps us to consider possible other sustainable futures for rural communities & the roles that they do, should & must play in redefining what it means to be a productive citizen.

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Affective lives of rural ageing

A. S. Maclaren⁴⁹

Abstract – Affective and embodied knowledges have come to exert an influence on both rural studies and ageing studies. Drawing together these two contexts and considering the accelerated demographic ageing experienced in rural areas in contrast to urban areas, this paper aims to explore the affective and emotional lives of older people living in rural Scotland. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper explores two emergent themes: the more-than-human nature of rural spaces that older people experience and the socialities that rural spaces afford.

INTRODUCTION

Demographic ageing is a global phenomenon (Skinner et al., 2015). Developed countries in particular are seeing the largest increases in absolute and relative demographic ageing. This process is most pronounced in rural areas, with rural areas ageing faster than urban areas. Rural ageing has thus become an area of study for many scholars. However, as the term rural is heterogenous and considered to be a social construction, 'what is rural about rural ageing' has been posited as a question of interest in rural studies (Rowles, 1988). Rowles considered rural ageing to be usefully conceptualised in three ways: as an ecological context, a socio-cultural context and from a phenomenological perspective. In light of contemporary perspectives that have come to exert an influence on rural (Carolan, 2008), ageing (Skinner et al. 2015) and rural ageing studies (Hanlon and Skinner, 2016), I look to consider the embodied dimensions of older people's everyday lives of living in rural Scotland to ask, against these interlinked theoretical and conceptual contexts, what is rural about rural ageing in Scotland.

RURAL SCOTLAND

Rural Scotland is often imagined and conceptualised as highland Scotland. You can envision such landscapes, containing hills, coasts, lochs, skies, cows, sheep and crofts, as evidenced on the national tourist website (<https://www.visitscotland.com/>). Rural Scotland, however, is more than just highland Scotland, with 95% of the country classified as rural by the Scottish government. The highlands and the islands form a majority, but other rural stories exist. There are accessible rural and remote rural areas as well. In my research, I wanted to move away from this vision of the rural highlands and explore other rural spaces.

I elected to choose East Lothian, as it presented a space where the issues of demographic ageing in rural areas were present. East Lothian's population includes a large proportion of older adults and it

therefore offered potential as a study area, in that there would be potential participants for the research project. Furthermore, East Lothian has been somewhat overlooked in terms of the construction of rural Scotland, despite being a predominantly rural area and in relatively close proximity to Edinburgh.

METHODS

My research consisted of six months of ethnographic fieldwork in the village of North Kirkton in East Lothian. I follow Crang and Cook's definition of ethnography as 'participant observation plus any other appropriate methods/ techniques/etc. ... *if they are appropriate for the topic*' (2007, p. 35; emphasis in original). This fieldwork aimed to intervene in debates around ageing, rurality and everyday life and examine the experience of older people living in rural Scotland. My ethnographic practice involved conducting interviews, both in situ and walking, attending organised community events and participating in everyday life in the area. I looked to immerse myself in my research area in order to gain grounded insights into the lives of the people who lived in North Kirkton.

In considering people's feelings and emotions of living in rural spaces there has been debate as to whether or not you can truly lay bare the emotions or feelings individuals had in the spaces of their lives. I follow Carolan, who has articulated that 'we cannot literally feel in these pages what respondents truly experienced in their lived experience. But this does not mean that we cannot at least get a taste of their world through their words' (2008, p. 412).

Analysis of my data did not occur as a discrete stage of my research but occurred iteratively as the research progressed. Ultimately my analysis relied on emergent thematic coding from the various forms of data I collected in ethnographic notes, interview transcripts, interview notes, written sources such as press cuttings, magazines, online sites and images (both mine and others).

I now turn to presenting some emergent themes from my analysis that aim to draw out insights into the lived, emotional, embodied and affective

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dimensions of older people's lives in a rural village in Scotland.

DISCUSSION

Within my research I found that older people had a complex relationship with the rural spaces and places of their lives. In particular I wish to highlight the themes surrounding more-than human natures of rural spaces and rural socialities.

In my research, older people's engagement with the materiality of their rural space emerged as a significant theme within their everyday lives.

'When I look out here I see big skies, and I love the feeling of space [...] it's a lovely view, it's a fabulous view [...]. And that's what I like to be able to see, lots and lots of sky, lots of open space, I suppose it's the opposite to being claustrophobic'

Many participants articulated the quality of the landscape and the view, but it was clear how the view is established as part of a relational assemblage of the landscape itself and the more-than-human elements that it is made up of. Sounds, textures and emotions are all built up to encapsulate the everyday experience of older people living in rural spaces.

Another theme that stood out is of the 'banal, seemingly mundane' encounters that shape the lifeworlds of older people, in particular their personal encounters with others dwelling in the rural space.

'I just find that, like walking up to the post office, I can meet so many people and have a chat you know... I'll always say good morning or hello or something. It's just that, you have to speak with people, you know'

These everyday encounters were a meaningful practice for the older people in the village and contributed to their sense of community. This daily encounter was a part of the 'atmosphere of friendliness' that existed within the village. The rural sociality that this produces becomes an important element of the rural space.

CONCLUSION

This research aimed to explore rural spaces and contribute to the idea that 'consciousness is corporeal; thinking is sensuous. In short, our understanding of space is more-than-representational. It is a lived process. To ignore how understandings of rural spaces are embodied, is to ignore a major source of our understanding' (Carolan, 2008, p.409).

I offer a perspective to the idea that people and conditions co-evolve with landscape and place and thus the complex interdependencies of space and place that exist matter (Hanlon and Skinner). The rural in rural ageing is more than a passive backdrop; it 'is more than a research setting, rather it is an ever-changing context' (Scharf et al., 2016, p.50) of older people's lives.

Engaging with older people around their embodied relationships with rural spaces can give us grounded perspectives around their relational nature, that appreciates the affective nature of the rural now, but also in how older people embody and conceptualise what is in rural spaces, against the longer trajectories that ageing affords. Rural spaces and places are relationally constructed through assemblages of people's individual experience and biography.

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Innovations in home-based elderly care in remote areas. Findings from northern Norway

M. C. Munkejord, W. Schönfelder, H. Eggebø⁵⁰

INTRODUCTION

We live in a society marked by an ageing population. Research indicates that the majority of elderly people prefer to live in their own home, including in the later stages of their lives when they depend on care (Berglund, Dunér, Blomberg, & Kjellgren, 2012). It is also documented that the number of users of care services in Norway has increased by 20% from 1994 to 2013, whereas the public spending on the care sector has doubled during the same period of time (Otnes, 2015). Young users of home care services compose a proportion of this increase (Gautun & Grødem, 2015), but demographic ageing will undoubtedly put further pressure on the sector. Today, the municipal care services consist of far-reaching and continuous (24/7) activities that are carried out by a small number of managers, a large number of personnel, a high percentage of employees without professional training, many part-time workers, most of them women, increasingly with an immigrant back-ground (NOU 2011:11, 14).

The ageing population is especially noticeable in rural areas with high out-migration of younger people, and sometimes also in-migration of retirees (Burholt & Dobbs, 2012; Róin, 2015). Remoteness and a relatively thin and scattered populations often characterize rural areas. In this project, we assume that distance and travel time to municipal centres may hamper the ability to offer satisfactory home-based services to those living furthest away, and that rurality (in terms of distance and travel time) may complicate the collaboration between formal and informal care providers (see e.g. Ryan, McKenna, & Slevin, 2012). At the same time, we assume that the transparency and close social bonds that characterize many rural communities may foster extensive informal care from family members, neighbours and persons engaged through local voluntary organizations as found in a study from rural Sweden (Bygdell 2014). Rurality may hence pose some particular challenges and opportunities in terms of developing satisfactory care services.

Studies show that home-based care in Norway has a heavy health care bias, and that social and practical care services are less developed. In order to contribute to innovation in elderly home-based care, we

examine challenges and opportunities that rural communities represent as caring spaces. In this paper, we will address how home-based elderly care may be improved through organizational innovation.

METHODS

We have conducted a qualitative study in two municipalities in Northern Norway: Tana (Finnmark) and Steigen (Nordland). We selected these municipalities for two reasons: a) they provide home-based care arrangements for elderly in remote areas, thus having to *cope with distance*, and b) because they, for various reasons (such as personal motivation among municipal leadership and a budgetary necessity) are *highly interested in improving their (home-based) health- and care services*. We currently collaborate with two leaders in each of the two municipalities, and it is envisioned that this study will strengthen ongoing innovation processes, and contribute to new care arrangements in the participating municipalities and beyond.

During our qualitative fieldwork in 2016 we interviewed 11 professional care providers, 10 representatives from the third sector, 28 elderly people (20 users and 8 older next of kin), three younger next of kin (adult children or children in-law), as well as six leaders of the municipal care sector about experiences, challenges and opportunities in home-based care in remote areas.

RESULTS

Our suggestion regarding how home-based care in remote areas may be organizationally improved may be summarized in five main points. We recommend:

To appoint a primary contact person for each (elderly) service user. The primary contact person is expected to know the user, and to coordinate the public services offered with the GP, but also and in particular with help and care from the family, volunteers and others in the local community

To re-organise home care services by clearly distinguishing between health services (home nursing) on the one hand and practical and social care services on the other, including services related to food, social contact, transport, personal care (shower, dressing, toilet), cultural activities and other services.

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As part of this re-organization of home care services, a wider and more flexible use of home helpers is crucial. Currently, home helpers in Norway (in contrast to e.g. Sweden and Denmark) provide only cleaning services. As a consequence, there is a lack of awareness of the importance of social care that home helpers may provide.

To introduce preventive home visits as a regular service for all inhabitants beyond a certain age. Today, only 25 % of municipalities in Norway provide such preventive home visits, and even less amongst the less populated municipalities (Førland, Skumsnes, Teigen, & Folkestad, 2015). The purpose of this would be to map current and future practical, social and health care needs, evaluate if adaptations in the house are needed in order to meet the challenges associated with an increasing loss of functional abilities. This is particularly important in order to get in touch with elderly people without (present and active) family members, as in fact it is often the family, and not the older person herself, who defines the care needs and who apply for public services when necessary

To introduce new forms of technologies, such as the use of telecare as a supplement to formal and informal home-based care services. Another example may be to enable users to use skype or other communication technologies a) to directly contact staff in the municipal health and social services when needed, b) to keep in touch with family and friends and c) to cope with loneliness. With time, it is also possible to use technology that stimulates, entertains, activates and structures daily life for the elderly (See NOU 2011:11).

To offer transport opportunities for older people. This is particularly important for those living far away from the municipal centre, the Day Care centre, senior café and other meeting places for older people. In fact, coping with distance does not seem such a big deal for older women and men in remote areas if transport is affordable, regular and safe, and takes you where you want to go. An example of demand-responsive transport in Finnmark is "flexxskyss", a taxi or minibus that any older person may order twice

a week to get to the municipal centre and back again to their own door step for a symbolic price.

CONCLUSIONS

In the time to come, we will collaborate with the leaders of home-based care in the selected municipalities to try to develop an action plan for implementing (some) of these recommendations. So far, we see that flexibility of services offers opportunities for older people in remote rural areas to remain in their own home – which is a great advantage as long as they themselves perceive their home as a safe place to live.

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Elderly People in Rural Regions as Promoters of Social Innovations and Changing Knowledge

A. Noack⁵¹

Abstract – Many regions in Europe are facing enormous challenges ranging from economic problems and infrastructural deficits to an increasing ageing of the population. Rural regions are particularly affected by these problems. In contrast to the innovative capacity of cities, it is said that rural regions are hostile to innovations. However, especially in rural regions with manifold problems innovative social change is almost becoming a neoliberal imperative for local actions. The paper will not only focus on the question of how social innovations in these regions emerge but will also have a look at elderly people as prospective drivers of those processes. Based on ethnographical research in different rural regions in Germany the paper illustrates in how far elderly change spatial knowledge and local practices and have an impact in the respective regions.

ELDERLY PEOPLE AS INNOVATORS IN RURAL REGIONS

Many rural regions in Europe are facing manifold structural crises. Demographic changings, a below-average economic productivity, an insufficient supply of technical and social infrastructures as well as the chronic austerity of state systems hamper developing approaches for such communities to be resilient (Manthorpe and Livsey, 2009). Regions with distinct social problems moreover often suffer from a so-called brain-drain (Matthiesen, 2004), since educational disadvantages and deficits particularly encourage the young, education-oriented people to move away.

Facing those challenges, regions – under neoliberal governments – are forced to produce innovative products, services and procedures. Processes of social innovations⁵² are becoming a “message of salvation” (Howaldt and Jacobsen, 2010), almost an imperative for local actions.

According to this assumptions and based on ethnographic research in six problematized rural regions in Germany this paper illustrates that societal actors – and among them elderly people⁵³ –take initiative and develop innovative approaches to local problems. They decided not to wait any longer for outside support but to look for alternatives, to become active and to break up with established ways of acting. In the field of spatial research such phenomena are treated as “innovative acting”. Not

least they are discussed as being potential “endogenous” factors for regional development.

So far, a very few researchers (Munoz, Steiner and Farmer, 2015) have been recognized elderly people as promoters of innovative projects. It has long been assumed that after their retirement they do not (or cannot) play an active role in society any more (Wegner, 2012). Starting from first empirical evidences the paper assumes that there is a great potential in aging societies to combat societal problems in rural regions with innovative projects.

A FOCUSED ETHNOGRAPHY FOR ANALYSING SOCIAL INNOVATIONS BY ELDERLY PEOPLE

To gain a comprehensive understanding of social innovations initiated by elderly people in German rural regions the research for this paper⁵⁴ is based on an ethnographic approach. Consolidated under a focused ethnography the author triangulates different qualitative and quantitative methods.

To get an idea of the elderly who are coming up with new ideas, of their motives, values, aims and intentions to be innovative I employed problem-centered interviews (Witzel, 2000). They were combined with participant observations that provide information about the positions of elderly in the village communications and organizations. The methodological triangulation is complemented by a household survey that is used to get an impression of

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⁵² I understand social innovations as newly recombined and variegated space-related knowledge and practices that have to be legitimated, accepted and spatially spread to be seen as innovation. All in all, they are an initial point for changing and dynamising spatial knowledge and social practices as well as for spatial developments in general.

⁵³ Following the World Health Organization categorization – I consider a person an elderly who meets at least one of the following three criteria: s/he is over 60 years old; in terms of the position on the labor market the person formally enjoys his/her retirement; in terms of the social role in the family s/he qualifies as a person having grandchildren.

⁵⁴ My research for this paper is part of a wider research project “Innovations in Rural Municipalities. Conditions, Actors and Processes of Creative Community Development” (2015-2018) at the Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space (IRS).



the projects awareness in the villages as well as of its social impacts there.

The triangulation of distinct methods enables the investigation of social innovations from different perspectives and thus a more holistic view of such processes.

ELDERLY PEOPLE CHANGE SPATIAL KNOWLEDGE AND LOCAL PRACTICES

The major findings are based on empirical data from case comparisons between three elderly men⁵⁵. They are located in a rural East-German region (Uckermark) and in a remote rural area in Western Germany (Eiffel). In one community an elderly is working for the improvement of social engagement by advocating a village kitchen and a community garden. In the second community, an elderly created the idea of temporary uses of vacant shop windows as arts spaces to revitalize the former village centre. The third elderly protagonist offers resistance against antidemocratic tendencies in a voters' association.

The empirical data illustrate that innovative elderly people dissociate themselves from a perception of rural areas as being problematic by maintaining a positive spatial image. They challenge existing spatial interpretations by alternative visions. For those elderly with creative potential, problematized villages mostly offer opportunity structures, niches and spaces of development. Thus, social problems in rural communities do not rule out social innovation processes per se. The crisis of an entire rural area or a particular village may even be a productive factor, by forcing to break new grounds.

Furthermore, elderly people, when negotiating and developing new project ideas, influence immaterial as well as material aspects of their local environment. In a physical sense they build new places and locations, construct new features and bring former wasteland to life again, thus contributing to the reconstruction of the local milieu. Those activities are not only associated with material improvements in the villages, they also have intangible effects by bringing together local residents. The elderly, in this regard, operate as network nodes to link different actors for a joint implementation of new projects. Thus, they enable residents for taking spatial responsibility and therefore take over tasks of social integration – provided they enjoy trust, social recognition, and spatial resonance. However, new social impulses of elderly do not only imply new solutions that are

helpful to overcome crises and conflicts. They may as well construct new problems and conflicts or can even have ambivalent, possibly negative consequences for certain groups and actors.

ELDERLY PEOPLE AS ENDOGENOUS POTENTIAL

In Germany different novel projects can be identified where elderly protagonists creatively experiment with new ideas and practices, which lead to new spatial knowledge and practices. For the category of the "young elderly" (aged between 60 and 70) empirical results already have shown, that these people, at least in cities, are engaged in various ways, develop experimental spirit and initiate new projects after their retirement due to a newly-gained time budget (Wegner, 2012). In my research there is empirical evidence that in some respect this also holds for elderly people living in rural regions. This is not surprising as the local problems are pressing and no external solutions to problems are in sight. Thus, there is a certain, yet unused endogenous potential in ageing societies and elderly people to innovatively address societal problems in rural regions.

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⁵⁵ At least in three of six rural regions elderly people take initiative to innovatively address social problems. In these cases – whether it is accidental or kind of a structural principle is hard to evaluate – only men take up the role as a key figures or promoters of social innovations.



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Working Group 10. Towards inclusive rural places and spaces



Implementing rural development programs

P. Kujala⁵⁶

Abstract – The key question of this article is how a place-based policy approach can strengthen the growth of enterprises in rural areas when implementing rural development programs. A critical discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews with national, regional and local authorities was performed. The focus is on the work of the managing authorities. Only a few studies exist at that level, while the importance of their work has increased with EU membership.

INTRODUCTION

A place-based development approach has become an increasingly important approach in regional development in rural areas in EU-countries (Bachtler, 2010, Barca, et al., 2012). According to Bachtler (2010) one fundamental challenge for a place-based policy perspective is how to promote institutional capacity building at the local and regional levels and to develop social capital. A meaningful place can represent distinction, valuation, continuity and change (Gustafson, 2001). The sense of place among actors can also be very strong and be maintained even in the face of difficulties (Soini;Palang;& Semm, 2006).

The focus of the study is on 1) how managing authorities can foster entrepreneurship through the utilisation of a place-based development approach when implementing EU rural development programs; 2) how and to what extent the discourses of managing authorities and entrepreneurs differ on the issue. One goal of the Rural Development Program for Mainland Finland is to create employment by improving business competitiveness, supporting new entrepreneurship and promoting company networking. **In practice, unemployment has increased and the population of rural areas has decreased over the last few years.**

I will combine the idea of social capital (Putnam, 2000) and the model of the creative system (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996) with a place-based development approach. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1996) creativity results from a system composed of three elements: a culture that contains symbolic rules, a person who brings novelty to the symbolic domain, and a field of experts who recognise and validate the innovation. The key elements of social capital are reciprocity, honesty and trust (Putnam, 2000).

DATA AND METHOD

The data consists of 38 semi-structured interviews conducted by a researcher in Finland in 2016. National, regional and local managing authorities of rural development programs were interviewed, as

well as entrepreneurs, who had received financial support for their business activities, executive managers of LEADER-groups, program evaluators and members of the Finnish Parliament. Evaluation reports of the rural development program 2007–2013 and 2014–2020 (MMM, 2017) helped to trace the context of program implementation.

The interviews focused on two major themes. First, the respondents were asked what the geographical location of an enterprise means from a business point of view. The second main theme investigates how the managing authorities support the strengths of the place, and on the other hand, what is the role of the entrepreneur in improving the business environment.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was undertaken by following in the footsteps of Fairclough and Wodak. According to Wodak (2004) CDA affords special standing as guides for human action. It seeks not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a kind of delusion. Fairclough (2005) highlights that CDA based on a critical realist social ontology is of potential value to organisation studies.

The first step, content analysis was conducted with the help of NVivo- software.

MAIN RESULTS

Based on the analysis of interviews two discourses were distinguished. These were interpreted as the discourses of "amenity of the business location" and the "bureaucratic iron cage of authorities". They are presented below.

Amenity of the Business Location

According to this discourse, entrepreneurs see location as a platform for the creation of innovation, as a possibility for creative thinking. Location consists of those amenity factors, that bind an entrepreneur to a place and create continuity to foster entrepreneurship. The remote location of a company is not a barrier to entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs have succeeded in transmitting the spirit of a place to their customers. Entrepreneurs have created networks with surrounding actors, and with the help

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of digitisation have gained global networks. Some entrepreneurs, who have moved location, experience their acclimatisation to their own place, but not to the local area. An entrepreneur statement illustrates the discourse: *Well, geographical local and place, they are vital. To a company like this.*

Bureaucratic Iron Cage of Authorities

In this discourse, the location of a company is defined by the criteria for assessing the application. There are a sparsely populated rural area, core countryside, or other rural area, for which specific, fixed support levels are defined. Authorities have adopted a bureaucratic culture, according to which an authority must be able to verify, check and control all actions. Owing the redefinition of support areas, some strong rural areas excluded from funding. Entrepreneurs are quite satisfied with the advice and support from authorities, but decision-maker authorities feel that directions limit their opportunities to advise customers and to visit the company in its location. Authorities themselves want to allocate time for development work, but find that learning and observance of detailed regulations takes all their available time. An evaluator's comment describes the discourse:

Stepping away from the daily interpretation of a section of an act, which seems to hinder their thinking at the moment.

DISCUSSION

When applying for financial support entrepreneurs give their business ideas to the authorities for assessment, which can be analysed according to the Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) model. Often at that stage, the idea is already bound to the entrepreneur's own geographical location, of which they are proud. In assessing the worthiness of an enterprise for support, the discourse of the amenity of the business location has to yield to the discourse of the bureaucratic iron cage of the authorities. A location's amenity factors are evaluated according to selection criteria, instead of the visibility or comfort the place. Viability is assessed according to countable potential customers or turnover of the company. Respondents

declare that the goals of rural programmes are good, but the ways in which the programs are implemented are not brave enough. Authorities' fears of making mistakes are seen as a restriction to new creativity. Csikszentmihalyi (2006) highlights the importance of the cultural context with innovation. When the bureaucratic iron cage is the dominant discourse, the cultural context does not constitute the best way for ideas to shape up as innovation. If authorities were to trust applicants a little more, regulation could be simpler and there would be space for cooperation between authorities and entrepreneurs, and for creativity and discretion in the work of the authorities instead of only checks and control.

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Place-based welfare knowledge as a resource of healthy and sustainable places and communities

N. Kuuva, P. Pykkänen⁵⁷

Abstract – In this paper, we discuss the possibilities and challenges of generating local, place-based welfare knowledge drawing on action research in three localities, found in the rural region of South Savo in eastern Finland. We understand place-based welfare knowledge as a combination of official statistics in health and welfare and experiences and challenges of place-related welfare issues identified by the local actors. The local welfare knowledge is shown to add value to forms of codified knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

Finland has largely followed the so called Nordic model of welfare characterized, e.g. by far-reaching state intervention in order to secure individual welfare and large social security system based on universal coverage and solidarity (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

However, the ongoing reform of Finnish national welfare policies and policy implementation, the strengthening welfare promoting role the local governments and the efforts towards greater involvement of the third sector and citizen themselves in the maintenance of health and welfare are factors that give rise to consider welfare in the light of place-based development.

Place-based development refers to rural or regional development approach that recognizes the diversity of places and considers the place-related knowledge and needs as a point of departure for any development measure (Barca, 2009). This is also true in issues pertaining to health and welfare. Our study thus seeks to combine place-based knowledge production, utilization and planning for place-based development measures to advance the health and wellbeing of citizen living in a given place.

Our study is tuned to address two inter-related questions:

- How does one construct local welfare knowledge?
- How does the notion of place contribute to the conceptions of welfare?

The study is informed by ideas regarding Local Welfare Systems. The notion of Local Welfare System refers to a dynamic system within a locality whereby the cultural and socio-economic specificities of the locality characterize the welfare needs and the various combinations of official and unofficial actors and the local welfare resources overall. (Andreotti et al., 2012.)

DATA AND METHODS

The research data consists of quantitative and qualitative data which together make up what we call the place-based welfare knowledge. The quantitative data includes the Regional Health and Wellbeing Study produced by the National Institute for Health and Welfare. It is collected by structured postal or telephone questionnaire forms from 1820 residents of over 20 years of age from the municipality of Mikkeli, eastern Finland. Mikkeli is a small town with a total population of 54 500 living over a large geographical area of 3230 km².

The given statistical data provides local governments (municipalities) with statistical prerequisites to monitor their residents' health and well-being. For us, too, it provided a point of departure for the further inquiries.

The statistical data gives a good general picture, but it also leaves in shadow any place-related characteristics and tacit knowledge that people may have of health and welfare. In order to pursue these aspects we compiled interpretative data from the local actors. This was done by means of a local stakeholder round table (later called LSRT).

The LSRT was assembled for example through public invitations in local newspapers and direct e-mailing or phone calling to the corresponding third sector and official actors. LSRT were arranged in three localities of Mikkeli each representing a different kind of living environment: one small town suburb and two different rural localities. From 15 to 20 participants attended each LSRT session of approximately 2 hours of length.

LSRT addressed in each locality three main themes, namely a) perceived wellbeing, b) health and c) material welfare. Under each theme 3 to 4 findings drawn from the survey were presented to the participants (in the form of a statement). The

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participants were then invited to comment on the findings one by one, for example by supporting, challenging or amending it with one's own understanding about the state of local affairs. After the individual reflection stage, the participants were invited to discuss in pairs or in small groups whether they could add any challenges pertaining to the findings and paying attention to the particular place, i.e. local circumstances. The qualitative data is thus made of the individual and group reflections taken together.

RESULTS

The purpose of the study process was to deepen understanding about health and welfare issues in three localities within the town of Mikkeli in Eastern Finland. This was done by combining statistical welfare data with related tacit knowledge, such as lived experiences pursued through the stakeholder round table method. We name the outcome of this combination of forms of knowledges as *place-based welfare knowledge*.

While the statistical data gives approximate indications of health and welfare in a given area, the specific welfare challenges remain often wanting. Thus, there is a need for field work for addressing questions like place-specific security issues or service experiences.

We found certain strengths in the stakeholder round table method, namely that:

- LSRT is a workable way to enlighten sub-local conditions.
- This becomes accurate when the statistical data does not represent the conditions of the various localities within the same administrative/statistical town area.
- In LSRT, one can advance tentative local discussion on, for instance, which welfare challenges could be addressed locally and which may still need support from the local government level and so on.

Method wise, it proved to be a challenge to recruit the participants, especially the local residents, in the LSRT gatherings. It is likely that we mobilized the most active residents who are also contributing to local voluntary organizations. Hence, there is a tendency to a certain bias to hear the voice of the relatively resourceful residents.

In considering the contribution of place specificity to understanding about local health and welfare our tentative results bring forth the following.

Overall, we found that local stakeholders can generate invaluable firsthand knowledge of place specific welfare issues. From among the different local stakeholders, they were the local residents in the first place whose insights had the strongest bounds to the place.

The place-based inquiry conveys added value when informants describe community life, sports and outdoor opportunities, local transport, availability of services, security, drug abuse or multiculturalism as well as challenges pertaining to these. A place-based inquiry into these problems may bring in a noteworthy local dimension and a hint of a possible solution or alleviation.

At the same time, it proved that the place-based approach pursued by the round table method could not bring so clear added value when addressing findings on general diseases such as mental disorders. The informants highlighted factors such as scarce employment opportunities, uncertainty of employment, insufficient income, alcoholism and loneliness as supra-local challenges. That is, they were rarely addressed from any place-specific perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

This was the first reflection of the work in progress. The next steps will involve a second gathering of the stakeholder round table informants who will this time address the possible local solutions for the specific local welfare challenges.

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Farming for an alternative, traditional rural community: a case study in Hong Kong

N.K.Y. Leung

Abstract –This paper examines how the community rehabilitation project in Lai Chi Wo (LCW), Hong Kong, acts as a “third way” to create new place meanings in the contested rural space in Hong Kong. More importantly, the paper explores the challenges it faced when the Chinese lineage traditions meet the institutional rules under the collaboration between indigenous villagers, academic institutions and non-governmental organization.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Holding the assumption that place is constructed, relational space that involves actors’ interactions and the fact that it is also continuously shaped by the structural forces (Horlings, 2016), rural communities in the former British colony, Hong Kong, is a contested space, in which the colonial, patriarchal and historical discourses co-exist concurrently. It does not only hinder sustainable rural development in Hong Kong, but also restrict the diversity of place meanings in rural space. The case study in this paper demonstrates joint efforts between academic and non-academic actors in transforming rural place in Hong Kong. This kind of community project is the first of its kind in Hong Kong. The aim of this research is to explore the role the Chinese lineage culture play in hindering the formation of an “inclusive” rural community in the case of Hong Kong and to contribute to the discussions on the place-making strategies under different forms of cooperation in various cultures and regions (Dessein, Horlings & Battaglini, 2015).

The land tenure system inherited from the colonial times are deterring the current government from regulating rural land use and implementing proper and more sustainable rural planning. The indigenous inhabitants, who retain the land use and land ownership, are articulating the lawful traditional rights granted to them by the former British government to sell land and small houses. In recent years, there are demands for abandonment of the land tenure system. Lots of home and farmlands has been or will be, removed by the bulldozers of private property developers who cooperate with the indigenous inhabitants.

Many rural communities are either abandoned, or in chaos. Farmland is turned into brown fields, or used by the indigenous people or private developers to build houses for speculation. Yet, without proper planning, the physical setting of the rural village is disordered, the construction waste and materials are everywhere, the housing style is also inconsistent with the cultural and historical origin of indigenous villages.

Although some non-indigenous residents have tried to do something to revitalize the community, the security of the tenure still depends upon the financial interests of the owners, i.e. the indigenous or property developers, and the values of the land for development. Therefore, neither the government or the majority of the residents could empower and revitalize their own communities on a larger and more systematic scale.

This paper discusses how the case of LCW acts as a “third way” to address rural problems in Hong Kong, and investigates the struggles and negotiations involved between different parties and how these in turn shape the place meanings of locals and incomers attached to the community.

METHODOLOGY

Over the course of 13 months, the farming lives of around 20 participants were traced between late 2015 to early 2017 in Lai Chi Wo, Hong Kong. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 16 participants. LCW was once the largest and most prosperous agriculture village in the area, but the village and its farmland was abandoned for more than 40 years ago. The village is going through a series of agricultural-led revitalization: around 20 urban dwellers have moved into the village and engaged in small-scale community farming. Led by established environmental NGOs and an academic research institute in Hong Kong, it is an expert-led, scientifically oriented project. Ecological restoration, environmental education and scientific oriented farming are carried out in the village under the project. The aim is to revitalize the network of the community by attracting villagers to move back to the village, making the village self-sufficient small community, and thus transforming it to a showcase of alternative and sustainable rural development in Hong Kong.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The rural rehabilitation project at Lai Chi Wo is a peculiar and atypical case among the efforts of the social activists who engage in farming and community building as a kind of new social movement and local



environmental NGOs initiating agricultural and community projects to address the rural issues (On, 2000), It represents a product of post-colonial environmentalism that aims to address the rural development and indigenous problems. The project itself signifies the interplay between patriarchy in traditional Chinese community, colonial legacies in rural Hong Kong, and alternative farming in the context of environmentalism in Hong Kong nowadays.

The project is organized by two established environmental NGOs in Hong Kong, a non-profit making charitable organization, and the University of Hong Kong. It enjoys the cultural capital, networks and reputation of local environmental NGOs, the financial supports from the international, foreign bank, the scientific knowledge backups from professionals in tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, cooperative indigenous inhabitants. So, it can overcome institutional obstacles like land use, land lease, farmlands and government policies.

Apart from its abundant resources and networks, the LCW project itself is also unique among other community building projects in Hong Kong. It is the first community project launched in an indigenous village, which is totally abandoned. Concerning the indigenous politics, all the grassroots community projects are taken place at relatively populous non-indigenous villages as a struggle against rural development and resumption of farmlands. Instead, LCW is an expert-led, collaborative and scientifically oriented community project in an abandoned indigenous village on the Country Park enclave area. These enclaves mostly preserve authentic natural habitats or abandoned farmlands that preserve high ecological values and where the soil is relatively infertile for farming.

Thus, the LCW project enjoys a log of advantages and it is achieving the goals related to the construction of infrastructure, rehabilitation of farmlands, increasing number of visitors and making use of ecological assets for environmental education. Yet, the grand project cannot form an "inclusive" community that engages the locals and incomers together and develop a coherent sense of place towards the new community. The study reveals that place meanings the incomers attach to LCW do not meeting those of the indigenous people of LCW. It is an inorganic community, where the cooperation between locals and incomers recruited by the university was built upon different benefits they

wished to obtain from the project. For example, the locals want to enjoy the profits from the tourism business brought by the rehabilitation, while the incomers hope to obtain farmlands and live an alternative lifestyle in the village. However, the lineage culture is inherently exclusive and the locals emphasize the sense of ownership, especially properties that represent wealth, e.g. houses and lands, within their own clan. Therefore, they are always sceptical towards the incomers that they might take over their village. The local/incomer distinction is strong. In other words, the place meanings the locals attached to the community is still traditionally-bounded and deeply embedded in the lineage and kinship system. The incomers feel hierarchy and alienation expressed by the indigenous concerning their participation in the communal affairs, resulting a sense of detachment. For them, LCW is a place with attractive natural environment and abundant natural resources that are good for farming and ecological research. Yet, they are isolated from the culture and traditions in this place.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the collaboration between academic actors and non-governmental organizations guarantee sufficient social and economic capitals to overcome the institutional challenges that have long been hindering sustainable rural development in Hong Kong, it fails to solve the discrepant cultural beliefs and to build up consistent, or non-exclusive place meanings among locals and incomers.

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

**Working Group 12. Population Change,
Economic and Environmental
Transformations, and Rural Community Well-
Being**



The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

The Organization of Services in Rural Places with Extreme Population Aging

D.L. Brown, N. Glasgow, L.J. Kulcsar, S. Sanders, B. Thiede⁵⁸

Like many high- and middle-income countries, the US population is aging, and rural populations are aging faster than their urban counterparts. Changes in a community's age structure are generally thought to be associated with changing needs and demands for a wide variety of goods and services. Many types of goods and services are age-graded, hence changes in a population's age structure may be translated into more (fewer) providers as the relative share of different age groups changes over time.. Our study uses a community sociological perspective to examine the ways in which aging-related services are organized in four rural communities with extremely old populations. We examine the provision of services, including how they are organized and the kinds of services available, as well as the utilization of services by older residents, including how they gain access to services and whether they experience barriers in accessing services. We conduct semi-structured interviews with local government officials and community leaders from the non-profit and private sectors, and focus groups with older residents of the same four communities.

We situate our study in communities with extreme population aging because such communities are a possible harbinger of things to come for many more communities throughout the US. Hence, understanding how small rural places with extremely old populations currently provide services for their aging residents, as well as how older residents of such communities access services, may shed light on more widespread service-related challenges, and perhaps opportunities, in the future. Because of the narrower range of services available in aging and geographically isolated rural places, some scholars have viewed older rural persons as being doubly disadvantaged. In actuality, however, there have been relatively few studies of rural older residents' service availability and access. As Krout and Bull (2006: 22) observed, "researchers have not given much priority to understanding rural aging issues or the impact of residential environments on older persons..." Our study attempts to help fill this gap.

Even in today's increasingly interdependent and globalized world, people continue to solve many of

the challenges of everyday life in their immediate residential communities. Accordingly, people's well-being is contingent on the institutions that structure social, economic and political life in their residential communities. Increasingly, however, the role local forces play in producing social and economic well-being and security is either amplified or diminished by the interaction of endogenous forces such as local government, non-governmental organizations, and local economy with external forces such as state and national-level policies, global economic linkages, and technological innovations that diminish distance between the local, national and global. This perspective on local society is called "neo-endogenous development" (Shucksmith (2009). The neo-endogenous perspective envisions a cooperative relationship between levels of government, but in the US inter-level competition is just as likely. This affects how services are organized for older adults. Our case studies examine the local ecology of service provision. We describe the roles played by local, state, and national level government, in addition to associations between government, the market and the nonprofit sector.

The case studies reported here were conducted between June 2016 and January 2017. They comprised of a combination of interviews with public and private sector service providers, and focus groups with older residents of the respective communities themselves. Two trips were made to each case study community – one to conduct the interviews and the second to conduct the focus group. The four communities we studied all had extremely old populations. Hence, we are not examining the relationship between population aging and services access. That would require a comparative design in which extremely old places are juxtaposed with their younger-place counterparts. We simply want to understand how places with extremely old populations meet the service needs of their older residents. The case studies were selected by being: (a) at least one standard deviation higher than the mean of median age of all nonmetropolitan counties, (b) in a region with widespread rural population aging

⁵⁸ Cornell University, Cornell University, Kansas State University, Brigham Young University, and Penn State University respectively.



**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

(c) not adjacent to a metropolitan area, and (d) containing at least one place of 2,000+ population.

We conducted a total of 71 hour-long semi-structured interviews with service providers, consisting of 14 to 20 non-profit organizations, government agencies and private businesses in each study site. We interviewed 96 persons. We conducted focus groups in each community approximately 1 month after the interviews with service providers. All participants were living independently, and almost all of them still drove.

Consistent with the “neo-endogenous development” perspective that shaped this study, our research showed that local communities often partner with external structures to organize and resource the provision of health, transport and other services for older persons. Perhaps the best example of this is the collaborative relationships between federally-funded AAA and local senior centers. While relationships across levels of government often facilitate a higher level of service availability, this is not always true. One of our study communities is located in a state that declined to expand Medicaid. According to the regional mental health director we interviewed, this state-level decision has resulted in a dramatic reduction of mental health services for older rural persons. Of course, localities have little or no direct influence over state-level decisions like this, but such exogenous shocks reduce local decision making options. In this instance, a previously positive multi-level cooperative association for mental health care delivery has withered as a result of the state’s decision.

In addition to collaboration between local community and extra-local structures, we also found many examples of intense collaboration across domains *within* the same community. In one example, the local transit system involves contributions from state and local taxes plus funds from the local hospital. The resulting system not only provides a way for older persons to circulate in the community, but also a way for persons in surrounding counties to access the local hospital and school. Conversely, the lack of internal collaboration can diminish services. In another example, residents refused to vote for a school millage, and the city has a significant budget surplus which it declines to share

with the county run school. As a result, the school system lacks sufficient funds for a library or to hire and retain STEM teachers, and is losing students. This poorly performing school directly affects older residents because physicians and other professionals are repelled from communities with poor schools. Put simply, these are not good places in which to raise a family.

All four study communities had a local hospital, but the extent and quality of services differed markedly among them. This variation is partly due to communities’ differing ability to attract and retain high quality medical personnel. One study community combined community investment in schools, parks, exercise facilities and recreational facilities with an explicit recruitment strategy thereby transforming attraction into retention. In contrast, numerous focus group participants in other communities complained that their respective hospitals could not retain physicians, which led to their bypassing the local hospital for any but the most routine matters.

Whether it be health care, transportation, food security, or some other service domain, our research shows that aging rural communities can be resilient in the face of population aging and/or population decline. While it is undeniable that these demographic processes can adversely affect local communities, the impact of changes in population size and structure are not mechanistic nor automatic. Localities can mobilize local resources, develop creative partnerships across the public, non-profit and private sector domains within the community, and develop durable relationships with external institutions. This neo-endogenous perspective on community development is a powerful lens for examining the differential impacts of extreme population aging in rural communities in the future.

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The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

The Role of Human Capital and Assimilation in the Dispersion of the Foreign-born in the USA (title should be: The Role of Individual and Context Characteristics in the Dispersion of the Foreign-born in the USA).

D. T. Gurak, M. M. Kritz

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper focused on foreign-born spatial dispersion in the USA by examining differences between traditional and dispersed places in individual human capital, acculturation, geographic region, and economic context. It also compared national origin differences in dispersion. By drawing on confidential census and ACS files, we were able to build settlement indicators for national origin groups rather than having to limit the analysis to the total foreign-born or pan-ethnic regional groups (e.g. Asians and Hispanics) as occurs when PUMS files are used. The confidential files allowed us to examine dispersion trends and characteristics for a larger number of national origin groups (40) and geographic areas (741) than previous studies. The analysis shows that immigrants' dispersion patterns differ sharply by national origin. While dispersion is just starting for Dominicans, Cubans, and other Caribbean origin groups, it is already well underway for Indians, Mexicans, Nigerians, Filipinos, and refugee groups. Some European groups (Germans, British), as well as Canadians, are widely dispersed but over half of Italians, Poles, and Portuguese still live in their group's top five gateways. The analysis also showed that most dispersed immigrants live in small or mid-sized metros rather than rural or non-metro areas.

National origin groups not only differ sharply in dispersion levels, but our analytic models indicate that it is important to take origin heterogeneity within the foreign-born population into account when examining dispersion patterns. We drew that conclusion based on findings from fixed-effect models that examined the individual and context correlates of dispersion for the total foreign born as well as for Mexicans and non-Mexicans. Results from 40 OLS country models that examined the association between immigrant's dispersion and their human capital and acculturation characteristics indicated that no single model accounts for group differences in dispersion. The total foreign-born model showed that dispersion was significantly associated with most of the human capital and acculturation measures, including male sex [+], age [-], never married status [-], education [+], years in USA [-], years in USA squared [+], citizenship [-], residence in a household with a native-born head [+], English language fluency [+], and migration status [+]. The directions of those relationships were consistent with expectations based on human capital and spatial assimilation theories. The measures that had the strongest relationships to dispersion were internal migration status, English language fluency, residence in a mixed nativity household, and advanced or professional

degrees. However, after controlling for economic context several of the coefficients in the total foreign-born model were no longer significant or they were greatly attenuated. These findings suggest that immigrants with different skill profiles disperse to different economic contexts. The models estimated separately for non-Mexican and Mexican migrants, revealed some group differences in dispersion. For instance, none of the human capital measures were significant for Mexican settlers but higher education did remain significant for non-Mexicans settlers. On the other hand, the acculturation measures were significant for non-Mexicans and all of them except citizenship and recent immigration status were significant for Mexicans. Two further models estimated for Mexican and non-Mexican migrants showed that findings between non-Mexican settlers and migrants were comparable but that was not the case for Mexican settlers and migrants. The only significant correlates of dispersion for Mexican migrants were male sex, internal migration status (relative to recent immigrants from abroad), and Northeastern residence. An additional finding emerged in the non-migrant model for non-Mexicans, namely that migrants were significantly likely to be school attendees. That finding indicates the growing importance of international students in the US foreign-born population.

Based on review of 40 OLS country models, we found that there is also considerable heterogeneity within the non-Mexican population. Those country models showed that only two measures - internal migration status and residence in a household with a native-born head - had positive and significant relationships to dispersion for most countries (36). The four outliers for internal migration were Mexicans, Guatemalans, Venezuelans, and Cambodians and the four with insignificant relationships for mixed household nativity were Laotians, Pakistanis, Thais, and Israelis. Another measure, never married status, had a significant and negative relationship to dispersion for 28 countries. Given that India and Mexico, the two largest U.S. immigrant groups, were among the 12 countries with insignificant relationships and they are widely dispersed, this finding also suggests that heterogeneity within immigrant groups may lead to different dispersion patterns. The finding that never married immigrants are likely to live in areas that are less dispersed, may occur because marriage markets in traditional places have more compatriots from which partners can be chosen. English language fluency was significant and positive for 27 countries and probably should be considered a robust



**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

correlate of dispersion given that English is the native language for most of the countries that had insignificant or inconsistent relationships. That group included India, Jamaica, Philippines, Canada, and the UK. More importantly, English language fluency was significant and positive for groups with lower education levels (Mexicans, Guatemalans, and Hondurans) that have dispersed to rural areas in recent decades to work in agriculture and other low-wage industries. Salvadorans are another Central American group that fits that patterns but their relationship was not significant, possibly because they are less dispersed than other Central Americans are.

The education findings from the group models are also of interest. While advanced/professional degrees had one of the more significant relationships in the total foreign-born and the non-Mexican models, that measure was only significant in 22 country models. That finding held up for all the Asian countries except Cambodia, Japan, Laos, and Thailand. This finding is not surprising given that these groups have different immigration histories than other Asian groups. Cambodian and Laotian immigration started as refugee flows while most Japanese immigrants enter the country on temporary (non-immigrant) visas to work as managers or technical workers at Japanese manufacturing companies based in the USA. Thais are a relatively small but diverse immigrant group. While highly educated Thais are concentrated in Los Angeles, other Thais have come as brides of U.S. service men and live around U.S. military bases (Ratner, 2010). A third Thai group, the Thai Dam, has refugee roots in Laos and Vietnam and is concentrated in Central Iowa.

The findings for the economic context measures suggests that dispersion does not just depend on immigrant's human capital and acculturation characteristics but also responds to opportunities in different places. Although we did not estimate a causal model that took the entire set of settlement options available in different labor markets into account, our findings suggest that further insights into dispersion determinants could be obtained by looking more carefully than we were able to do in this paper at how immigrants' internal migration responds to economic and other spatial inequalities. We did look at the association between dispersion and context economic growth, wages, and industrial structure. That analysis showed that the context measure that had the strongest relationship to dispersion was the labor force share employed in education/research/technology industries. This finding is not surprising given that immigrants with advanced college and professional degrees are more dispersed and likely to live in those type of places. Positive and significant associations were also found between dispersion and change in native-born employment change, and labor force shares employed in construction, agriculture, and the military. In addition, for non-Mexicans, the shares employed in manufacturing and native-born mean wages were significant. For Mexicans, the significant context factors were labor force shares employed in education/research/technology, agriculture, and the military. Native-born employment change was also significant for Mexicans.

Our findings provide a more nuanced picture about which immigrants are dispersing and the dispersed places that have attracted them than case studies or studies of the total foreign-born do. While the finding for Mexicans of a significant and positive relationship between dispersion and the share employed in agriculture is consistent with what case studies show, some findings showed similarities between dispersed Mexicans and non-Mexicans. For instance, Mexicans as well as most non-Mexicans are less likely to disperse if they have been in the USA only a few years but, *ceteris paribus*,

dispersion increases for both as years in the USA increase. In addition, Mexicans and most non-Mexicans are likely to be dispersed if they have English language fluency and reside in a household with a native-born head. If they migrated in the past year, they were likely to move from elsewhere in the USA rather than from abroad. In spite of these similarities, the non-Mexican models were more robust than the Mexican models. That may occur because of the large size of the Mexican foreign-born and their widespread dispersion. Because Mexicans lived in 727 of the 741 labor markets, they were in places that had weak as well as strong economies. It also means that co-ethnic dynamics differ for Mexicans and non-Mexicans in different places. Mexicans, for instance, would have compatriot availability in most parts of the country and could learn about opportunities available in niche areas via their vast social network. The fact that English language fluency was high among dispersed Mexican settlers, in turn, may account for why English language fluency was not significant for Mexican migrants although that measure was a significant correlate of dispersion for settlers and migrants from other origins. While immigrants moving to areas where they have few compatriots probably need English language fluency to manage their own affairs, Mexican migrants probably draw on assistance from compatriots.

The analysis indicates that immigrants from several countries are dispersing rapidly within the USA to a wide range of places. These findings suggest that American society is becoming a more tolerant place for immigrants even though there is evidence to the contrary, including the passage by states of legislation aimed at making it more difficult for undocumented immigrants to work and the calls for increased restrictions on immigration. Nonetheless, the dispersal of immigrants from many origins that have different ethno-racial phenotypes to places where they have few compatriots suggests that they perceive that housing and jobs are open to them in places beyond the gateways. On the other hand, the finding that many dispersed immigrants have settled in education/research/technology centers suggests that economic growth may not be the only factor that immigrants take into account in their relocation decisions. According to Bishop and Cushing's argument (2008), there is increased clustering of people with similar human capital and cultural values in different metros. Immigrants with a range of skills may be dispersing to these clusters because they perceive that they are welcoming places where they will not be discriminated against in their housing and job searches. In general, our findings suggest that it is important to remember that immigrants come to the USA for different reasons that lead to different settlement patterns and dispersion pathways. Refugees, for instance, are scattered by resettlement agencies in different parts of the country when they arrive. Growing numbers of Filipinas, Thais, and other immigrants are marrying American men living in non-metro areas. Low-skilled labor migrants likely seek and find different jobs in dispersed areas than advanced and professional degree holders do. International student numbers are increasing and many of them live in dispersed places because the colleges and universities they often attend are in small and mid-sized metros. The locations of other temporary immigrants too (admitted as nonimmigrants) need further study to assess how their settlement patterns shape dispersion.



The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Encountering education in the rural: migrant women's perspectives⁵⁹

R. Mayes, R. McAreavey⁶⁰

Abstract – This paper explores migrant women's encounters with formal and informal education in what can be termed new immigration rural destinations. We explore the extent that educational opportunities are realized in these places. Using empirical data from rural Australia and Northern Ireland we examine English language classes and we reveal the social and cultural dimensions of community-based English language instruction. Secondly, we highlight transnational senses of, and tensions around, 'local/rural' pedagogies and resultant migrant strategies. We show how economic goals may conflict with educational aspirations and so require attention from policymakers.

INTRODUCTION

Very little work exists on the intersections between labour and education migration, and even less so in relation to gender and 'the rural'. This paper contributes to understandings of the links between labour migration and family education agendas by exploring migrant women's individual and family aspirations for, and experiences of, education in the rural places in which they find themselves as a result of the pursuit of transnational employment opportunities. We examine experiences and discourses of formal and informal education from the perspectives of migrant women.

The paper commences with a brief discussion of the macro-politics of English language teaching and learning followed by a short overview of the conceptualization of visible/invisible pedagogies informing our analysis of migrant perceptions of formal education. We then offer an overview of the empirical data including a discussion of our sites as NIDs. The connections between local provision of informal ESL classes and migrant women's experiences and senses of belonging in Boddington and Armagh is presented. Next, we explore migrant women's perceptions of and resultant strategies around formal children's education. We demonstrate links between the rural as a particular kind of place and not only perceptions of 'quality' of education but also specific pedagogies, and show how migrants seek specific opportunities as afforded by their situational capacities.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

Policies clearly point to the importance of English language as an integrating tool (OECD, 2015; CEC, 2016). However, how this happens remains opaque. Migrant perceptions and evaluations of host destinations, including, as we show, understandings

of the pedagogies underpinning formal education, are shaped by their (often continuing) social and economic linkages with their countries of origin (see for example Vertovec, 1999). As Hall (1993, p. 262) has noted, migrants often 'negotiate and translate' between two cultural languages and identities. We seek to understand our participants' complex encounters with formal education in light of these translations and in the context of two contrasting pedagogic modes which we now describe.

VISIBILITY OF PEDAGOGIES

Drawing on Bernstein's theorization of invisible and visible pedagogies, Sriprakash et al. (2016) explore middle-class, Chinese-background parents' use of private tutoring for their children attending primary school in Sydney. They show how invisible pedagogies lead to a style of learning that is less obviously structured. In contrast, visible pedagogies retain 'strong boundaries between subject areas, single modes of assessment,' rigid evaluation criteria and hierarchical teacher-student relations (Sriprakash et al. (2016, p. 429). The tendency of primary schooling in Australia of embedding invisible pedagogies in this way leads to questions among parents regarding the capacities of such pedagogy of giving students an understanding of/skills in the sorts of evaluations that enable access to selective public secondary schools and prestigious universities (Sriprakash et al. 2016). We explore the application of visible and invisible pedagogies using data from Boddington and County Armagh.

APPROACH TO THE RESEARCH

The Australian research involved semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 10 women who had migrated from various countries to rural Boddington to accompany male spouses who were working in skilled employment at the gold mine. The data from Northern Ireland is drawn from a series of qualitative

⁵⁹ A longer version of this paper has been published in [Discourses: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01596306.2017.1306986), available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01596306.2017.1306986>.

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studies including an interview with a Polish teacher and one of three focus groups with a Polish women's group.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Class, mobility and educational opportunities

While employment was a primary driver for migration, educational opportunities and desires for themselves and their children were also of importance to participants in both sites. These potential collateral opportunities and benefits, however, were broadly conceived rather than specific to either site. For example, interviewed migrant women in Boddington expressed a belief that, as Sofia put it, the move would be 'good for the education about the English' and that there was the opportunity 'to get a better education.' In the perception of Armagh focus group members, Ireland 'not only creates job opportunities but also delivers educational [opportunities] for our children and facilitates our own development' (FGI #4).

Learning English as a second language

While none of the interviewees in Boddington were in paid work, some of our Armagh participants were employed. Some spoke of learning English in the workplace and others were quick to point out that these opportunities depend on the job in question. This is borne out in the literature (e.g., Hunter, 2012) which shows that the development of English language skills in workplaces is far from straightforward and is tied to the needs of particular sectors, positions and workplace cultures. Learning English in this way is also unlikely to assist in developing the command of English required to 'just live here' and to be able to 'cope somehow' (FG I#4). Self-expression required deeper learning:

We are able to communicate. We cope somehow... when you speak in Polish you can express yourself so easily, you can talk about your feelings, emotions, everything that is important. But when you want to say the same things in English it's much more difficult.
(Focus group interviewee #1)

Multi-cultural spaces

The Boddington and Armagh community ESL classes, played a crucial role in fostering emotional and practical connections with (often highly-respected) local community support figures (the teachers), and in the development of local knowledges. Sophia in Boddington commented:

So lucky there is an ESL group. We can ask about Australian culture and – yeah. So yeah, I can talk with [the teacher], asking about anything that I want to know.

The sites of the classes were important, reinforcing the intersection of language with other aspects of incorporation. Interviewees in both sites described lack of confidence, physical and emotional isolation in their homes as a result of lack of English competence.

Formal education

Typical and key sites of encounter with formal structures were schools. Participants felt that, as Nina expressed it, their 'kids are more happy here.' Importantly, this happiness was related to their children's apparent enjoyment of primary school education, which was seen to 'encourage [the children] to be more confident' (Yasmin). Yasmin interpreted the emphasis on confidence building and the children's happiness as happening 'maybe because here it's in the country'. Nina's understanding was that:

... the Australian education [system is] looking for kids to be more sure about themselves. The teaching is to be a good person. I think it's not bad, because I know [my child] hates the school in [home country], but he loves, he is so happy here.

Nina went on to say that the education 'is not too good', further commenting that 'maybe it's because we are in a little town [that] I don't see too much homework'. Some participants linked the 'invisible' pedagogy to rurality motivating them to find additional tutoring in Sydney. The pursuit of educational capital reproduces rural spaces/places as inadequate, linking rural spaces to public education and the city to choice and private education, highlighting classed dimensions of mobility and rurality.

CONCLUSIONS

Economic factors may primarily drive migration. But individual strategies are not reducible to single factors—structural, education and family considerations also determine individual options.

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Community-level Ecological Models of Gay Male and Lesbian Partnering Prevalence in the Micropolitan Areas of the United States, 2010–2014

D. L. Poston, Jr., S. Baker-Hughes, J. H. Wong⁶¹

There is a sizeable demographic literature describing and analyzing the distribution of partnered gay male households and partnered lesbian households in the U.S. However, virtually all these analyses have focused on metropolitan areas.

In this paper we examine the prevalence rates of partnered gay males and partnered lesbians in the nonmetropolitan United States. Specifically, we analyze the prevalence and distribution of gay male and lesbian partnered households among the 534 micropolitan areas of the U.S. using five-year data estimates from the American Community Surveys for the 2010–2014 period.

We calculate for each of the micropolitan areas prevalence ratios for gay male couples and for lesbian couples.

We also propose and test several ecological hypotheses focusing on community-level predictors in an attempt to account for the variability among the micro areas in the same-sex partnering ratios.

We first compare the prevalence levels of partnered gay males and partnered lesbians in the micropolitan areas with a similar analysis of metropolitan areas conducted earlier by Poston and Chang (2016). We show that the values of gay male and lesbian prevalence among the micropolitan areas of the U.S. are higher, and for some areas markedly higher, than the levels of prevalence among the metropolitan areas of the U.S.

For instance, of all the micropolitan areas, the Key West, Florida micro area has the highest gay male couple prevalence value, 8.71, and the Las Vegas, New Mexico micro area has the highest lesbian couple prevalence value, 5.41.

The value of 8.7 for Key West means that a gay male household is 8.7 times more likely than a randomly selected micro household to reside in Key West. The Las Vegas, NM value of 5.4 indicates that a partnered lesbian household is 5.4 times more likely to live in Las Vegas, NM than a randomly selected U.S. micro household is likely to live in Las Vegas, NM.

In contrast, similar research conducted by Poston and Chang (2016) for the metropolitan areas of the U.S. shows that the San Francisco–Oakland–Fremont, CA metro area has the highest gay male couple ratio value, 2.78. And the Ithaca, NY metro area has the highest lesbian couple index ratio, 2.97.

San Francisco's gay male value of 2.8 is only one-third as large as that of the highest micro area, Key West. And Ithaca's lesbian prevalence ratio of 2.97 is significantly lower than the 5.4 lesbian prevalence value of Las Vegas, NM. The highest gay male prevalence values and the highest lesbian prevalence values in the micropolitan areas are quite a bit larger than the highest prevalence values in the metropolitan areas.

In our paper we also point to differences and similarities in the main community-level predictors of same-sex prevalence for the micropolitan areas compared to those for the metropolitan areas. We look specifically at such community-level independent variables for the micro areas as the opposite-sex cohabitation ratio, population size, median age, percent black, and percent of households that are renter occupied. We hypothesize that all these independent variables, except for median age, should be positively associated with gay male prevalence and with lesbian prevalence.

Some of the hypotheses are supported, some are not. Also, some of our results in this analysis of micropolitan areas are similar to the Poston and Chang (2016) analysis of metropolitan areas, and some are not.

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Community Well-being and Mexican Interstate Migration in the United States, 2011-2015

D. L. Poston, Jr., A. C. Menchaca, J. H. Wong⁶²

In this paper we undertake an analysis of the interstate migration flows of Mexicans in the United States in the 2011-15 period. Our theoretical rationale and modeling are grounded mainly in sociological human ecology.

Our paper fills two important voids in the demographic literature analyzing migration streams. First, virtually all prior analyses of U.S. interstate migration streams have focused on the migration flows of persons without regard to their race or ethnicity. Our paper analyzes the migration flows of Mexicans.

According to sample data from the American Community Surveys of 2011 through 2015, there were over 8,800 Mexicans living in one of the 49 contiguous U.S. states and the District of Columbia who had migrated to that state from another U.S. state or the District one year earlier.

The above number of over 8,000 is the number of Mexican interstate migrants in the ACS samples. We do not have complete count data of the total number of Mexican migrants in any one-year period. Thus we first use ACS sampling weights to raise these sample data to estimates of the actual numbers of Mexicans engaging in interstate migration. We then describe the rankings of the interstate migration flows of Mexicans.

Second, much of the prior work of interstate migration streams in the U.S. has used spatial interaction models with a heavy focus on economic approaches and variables.

A major contribution of our paper is its articulation of the human ecological approach for studying interstate migration flows. Our analysis points to the important and statistically significant influence of state-level ecological factors dealing with community well-being as predictors of the size of the Mexican migration flows to and from the states of the U.S.

Spatial interaction models are grounded in the straightforward gravity model of migration that stipulates that the size of the migration stream between any two origin and destination communities is positively related to the population size of both the origin and destination communities, and negatively

related to the distance between the origin and destination communities.

The spatial interaction model begins with the gravity model, but goes beyond it by introducing as additional independent variables a series of mainly economic factors pertaining specifically to the positive and negative characteristics of the areas of origin and destination, including such factors at origin and destination as income levels, per capita government expenditures, employment rates, among other variables.

The ecological modeling we undertake in this paper goes beyond these mainly economic considerations.

A major difference between sociological human ecology and economics is that human ecology, unlike economics, includes within its purview the entirety of collective life (Poston and Frisbie, 2005).

Economics, for instance, does not "investigate the nonpecuniary aspects of economic relationships. Nor does it treat those subsidiary but contingent relationships which do not find expression in a pricing system, such as occur in the family and between nonprofit institutions" (Hawley, 1950: 73).

Or as Gibbs and Martin (1959: 34) noted many decades ago, "whereas economists are ordinarily interested in the interrelationships of such variables as supply, demand, cost, and prices within a given sustenance organization, ecologists are concerned with the characteristics of the structure itself."

We hold that we are better able to gauge the effects and importance of community-level well-being on the interstate migration flows of Mexicans by employing the theoretically broader model of sociological human ecology instead of the narrower and more limiting spatial interaction model.

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The Effects of Political, Religious and Economic Well-being on the Economic Costs of Homosexuality, United States, 2011-2015

D. L. Poston, Jr., C. Rollman-Tinajero⁶³

There is a fair although not extensive literature in sociology, economics and demography about the relationship between homosexuality and income. Most analyses report that gay men experience a statistically significant earnings penalty compared to married heterosexual men and cohabiting heterosexual men. Research shows that controlling for a host of individual-level characteristics, gay men earn between 3 and 10 percent less than married or cohabiting heterosexual men.

On the other hand, research indicates that partnered lesbians experience about a 3.5 percent earnings advantage compared to married heterosexual women, and about a 9 percent earnings advantage compared to cohabiting heterosexual women.

Most of these analyses focus mainly on individual-level factors, including sexual orientation, as predictors of earnings (Badgett, 1995, 2001; Black et al, 2003; Baumle and Poston, 2011; Klawitter, 2015; Martell and Hansen, 2017)

Our paper builds in two ways on much of the earlier literature that has examined the economic advantage or disadvantage of homosexuality.

First, we use data from the American Community Surveys for the years of 2011 through 2015 to provide the most recent estimates of the "advantages" and "disadvantages" of homosexuality for partnered gay men and partnered lesbians.

Second, we extend many of the earlier analyses by employing multilevel models. We estimate multi-level earnings models separately for partnered gay males and for partnered lesbians, comparing their earnings patterns with those of partnered heterosexual men and women, married and cohabiting.

In addition to considering the effects of individual-level characteristics on earnings, our multi-level models also take into account the effects of state-level characteristics. We examine the effects of such state-level characteristics as the presence of sodomy laws and the presence of antidiscrimination laws; the percent of the state population voting Republican; the percent of the state holding membership in the

Southern Baptist convention; the per capita gross state product; and the percent of the gross state product attributable to manufacturing.

In our multi-level models, we are less concerned with the direct effects of the state-level characteristics on earnings. Our primary interest is with the cross-level statistical interactions between the state-level characteristics and the slopes of sexual orientation on earnings.

We focus on whether and how the several state-level characteristics alter or change the effects of sexual orientation on earnings.

Our general findings are that when compared to partnered heterosexuals, gay males experience an economic penalty, and lesbians experience an economic advantage. But the magnitude of the penalty/advantage is decreased/increased depending on the political, religious and legal well-being of the state of residence.

We find that the cost of being a gay man differs greatly from that of being a lesbian, and that gender plays an important role in determining the manner in which contextual variables influence the relationship between sexual orientation and income. These results carry important implications concerning not only the cost of being homosexual, but also the cost of being unmarried, emphasizing the important interplay between these characteristics and income (Badgett, 2009).

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
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Youth Wellbeing and Demographic Dividend: the Nation Building Process of Asia's Newest Nation Timor-Leste

U. Saikia, J. Chalmers, G. Dasvarma, M. Hosgelen⁶⁴

Abstract – This paper is based on the consultative process informing the preparation of the 4th Timor-Leste Human Development Report. The focus is on training provided to the National Statistics Directorate, which is the key national partner in the project. The aim of training was to develop new and deeper insights into ways to achieve the future demographic dividend that Timor-Leste has on its radar. The paper explains the design of a wellbeing system that could help chart a pathway for the realisation of a future demographic dividend. The paper presents training information that was conducted in two main stages. The first of these comprises training field enumerators and supervisors before the start of the survey. The second stage of the training consisted of strengthening the capability of statistical specialists concerning demography and its inter-relations with economics, health and development and the analysis and interpretation of these data for policies and plans. The proposed paper also covers key preliminary findings of the survey presented in the second stage of training. This includes analysis of the following metrics on achievement of overall wellbeing sufficiency, rural-urban comparison, and district-wise comparison of the intensity of overall wellbeing achievement of Timorese youths.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on the consultative process concerning the preparation of the 4th Timor-Leste Human Development Report, which is expected to be finalised towards the end of 2017. The focus of the consultative process in this paper is the training provided to national stakeholders, and specifically to members of the National Statistics Directorate. The clear purpose of the training is to develop new and deeper insights into ways to achieve the future demographic dividend that Timor-Leste has on its radar. Timor-Leste – Asia's newest country – is currently one of the youngest countries in the world and it is experiencing a very distinct youth bulge. The fertility that was exceptionally high (7.8) a decade ago is showing strong signs of decline in recent years. However, to bring forward the window of opportunity for a youth demographic dividend, there need to be public policies to accelerate fertility reduction, alongside policy initiatives that target the wellbeing of the burgeoning youth population. The 'demographic window' is not just a demographic question but also a human capability question. Are youths sufficiently schooled/ skilled to contribute to T-L sustainable development? Are they holistically healthy enough to take on future workplace duties? Do youths experience strong solidarity with families and communities? Do current policy priorities match the expectations of youth? The paper presents training information that was conducted in two main stages.

The first of these comprises training of field enumerators and supervisors before the start of the survey. The second stage of the training consisted of strengthening the capability of statistical specialists concerning demography and its inter-relations with economics, health and development and the analysis and interpretation of these data for policies and plans.

METHODS

The training was focused on a survey /measurement tool that is innovative in two particular ways: 1) it is conceptually and mathematically aligned with the human wellbeing system developed by Bhutan and Assam (India) in collaboration with UNDP and Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI); and 2) it surveyed people covering all the districts in Timor-Leste at the individual level rather than the household level. The methodology aims to capture the wellbeing of youths in eight different domains: living standard, physical and reproductive health, emotional and psychological health, education and knowledge, community vitality, cultural diversity and vitality, governance, and environment. The rationale is that youths want meaningful work, but for this they need relevant training, physical and mental health, a sense of belonging to vital communities and a flourishing environment, together with satisfaction with the political environment. Wellbeing surveys involve a measurement tool that solicits and aggregates user perceptions on the quality of their lives and their society. The findings provide "signals" to agencies and pressures for change. Ultimately, the multiple 'domains' of lived experience are expected to produce

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a tracking tool that could take advantage of the young age structures and potential demographic dividends that Timor-Leste has in store. If conducted periodically over time, the wellbeing system could provide longitudinal information for the policy community to identify what tends to shape youths' aspirations, attitudes and behaviours in terms of community stability and vitality. In this way, the wellbeing system could help chart a pathway for the realisation of a future demographic dividend. Accordingly, the focus of the training explained in this paper concerns the importance of expanding national capacity to gather, analyse and make use of complex data on population economics. A further value that informs this paper is that such data, which shape official perception of how youths encounter development, represent their lived experiences, rather than the opinions of outside experts. An extensive fieldwork was conducted among 800 youths covering all the districts of Timor-Leste.

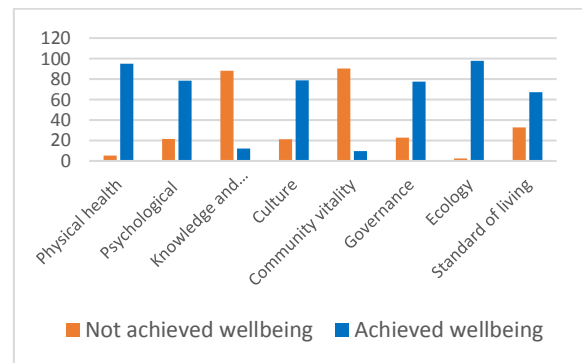
The Timor-Leste wellbeing framework combines eight dimensions related to various process aspects of lives (referred to as domains in this chapter) of youths and are normatively selected and considered intrinsically important for both individuals and the society as a whole. This wellbeing framework draws on the Gross National Happiness system pioneered by Bhutan and used in the Assam Human Development report 2014⁶⁵. Each domain consists of a set of indicators, disaggregated into specific set of variables or questions. The framework on the whole comprises eight domains and around 118 variables based on personal, collective and relational questions.

KEY FINDINGS

The analysis of the survey data found that 74 percent of the youths in Timor-Lest are enjoying subjective wellbeing – they have achieved either 'moderate sufficiency' or 'extensive sufficiency'. This simply means that more than two third of the youth population in Timor-Leste finds most of the process aspects as 'satisfactory' i.e. on average they find the processes as they would prefer them to be. The analysis at domain level reveals that the key drivers

of subjective wellbeing in Timor-Leste are ecological stewardship and physical health (Figure 1).

Fig 1 Percentages of youth in achieving wellbeing in various life domains



The intensity of sufficiency or insufficiency in the wellbeing framework is measured by the average number of domains where youths are found to have achieved sufficiency. It is seen that on an average, youths in Timor-Leste have achieved sufficiency in 5.2, rounded up to 5 domains out of 8. Among the youths surveyed, 10 percent of them are found to be "deprived" of overall life wellbeing. Youths in this category have done relatively well only in two life domains: physical health and ecology. Most notable finding of the survey is that youths who could not achieve overall wellbeing in life, could not achieve wellbeing in education/knowledge domain.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the youth wellbeing framework presented in this paper suggests that with the strong signs of declining fertility in recent years along with some encouraging signs of overall subjective wellbeing among the youths in Timor-Leste, the country can achieve demographic dividend in near future. However even if the window opens, the dividend is not spontaneous. To achieve the dividend Timor-Leste's development policies need more specific focus on youth wellbeing related to education/knowledge and community vitality domain.

⁶⁵ The report is available at http://www.in.undp.org/content/india/en/home/library/hdr/human-development-reports/State_Human_Development_Reports/Assam.html.



The XXVII
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Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Tourism Development in Rural Areas and Changes in Population, Economy and Environment

H. Sojasi Qeidary, N. Vazin⁶⁶

Abstract – Rural tourism is one of the branches of the tourism industry that due to natural and human potentials and attractions in rural areas can play an important role in the revitalization of rural areas, creating the employments and income for rural people, conservation of natural, cultural, historical heritages and finally rural integrated sustainable development. Due to the inherent nature of tourism concept, it contains the various aspects such as economic, socio-cultural and environmental dimensions that its influencing could be analyzed. There are so many studies and researches about tourism and rural tourism and also its different aspects. Tourism development in rural area has a many positive and negative effects on rural communities in various aspects such as economic, social- cultural and environmental dimensions that could be resulted to important changes in rural people life. Therefore, theoretical literature studying based on documentary methodology show that rural tourists increasing could be resulted to significant changes in rural community's life style such as changing in income, income resources, wearing style, increasing population and ... aspect of their life. These changes are common in all around of world destination rural. Because rural tourists transfer and advancement their life cultural values, social life and economic livelihoods in destination rural area that its impacts are changing the rural people life style.

Keywords: *Tourism Development, Rural Tourism, Rural Changes, Tourism Effects*

INTRODUCTION

Rural tourism is one of the most common forms of tourism in Iran. Tourists presence in rural area and they communication and interaction to rural people, a long time could be result to happening many changes in rural environment (Doh, 2006: 29). Tourism development in rural area could be counted as a suite way to saving them from poverty and solving the migration and social – economic problems of these spaces. In most rural areas, due to the dominance of the agricultural economy and its vulnerability, attending to other development activities such as tourism to complementing the agriculture incomes, from different aspects, can be guarantee to improve the living conditions of rural communities. The presence of tourists in the rural environment can be effective in diversifying the economy of rural areas and the underlying changes in income, employment, entrepreneurship, investment and Therefore, the development of tourism in rural areas is the goal of planners and managers. The tourists' presence in rural with tourism potential, especially in the rural fringes of metropolitan, underlying changes in functions of these rural area in order to meet the needs of rural tourists. Although most areas in Iran are facing to depopulation of villages, but in villages with natural tourist attractions, this process is reversed and the population is growing. But with regard to the carrying capacity principle of tourism, increased number of threshold and capacity of the rural population, can be effective in the destruction of the environment and natural resources in the long term. Thus, the aim of this study focused on analyzing the changes of tourism development in rural areas. Until now, many studies have been conducted regarding the effects of rural tourism that one of them is Mahdavi and et al (2008) research that show tourism development has

positive effects on rural cloths and dressing, decreasing the migration, increasing the sense of belonging to rural spaces, personal and public health and medical infrastructure improvement, increasing the rural safety and security. However, According to residents attitude, the negative effects of tourism has caused to rising commodity prices, rising cost of land and housing, and consequently, increased land speculation, Increase in construction and building houses with modern style, a change in the pattern of rural housing and even the materials used in them, destruction of plant and animal species in the region, agricultural land use change to residential and commercial use, creating waste by tourists, And the development of abnormalities among young people, especially in the high season of tourism. Ghafari and torki (2009), in their research find that there is meaningful relation between the number of tourist and tourism prosperity and social- economic indicators improvement. Research of Badri and et al., (2009) show that although tourism has led to positive impacts such as job creation, especially jobs for young people and increase the income of residents in rural areas, but negative economic impacts such as increased prices of goods and services in the tourism season, rising land prices and the general increase in the cost of living and economic dependence residents over rural tourism has also sought. But these studies are not focused on the challenges of rural change and the positive and negative aspects have not been studied. Therefore, in this study had been tried to analyzing the rural environments changes in rural with tourism potential in neighbor to Mashhad metropolitan and Determining that the changes in the rural environment, mainly in what areas and how much is?

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PROCEDURE

This study was applied by descriptive-analytic method. In first step the list of positive and negative changes in relation to tourism development were collected based on Dehyars and local councils as local managers. Then, the opinions of local people in relation to each factor were questioned according to the questionnaire. For operations of this study, the study area is focused on Binalood rural point in North East of Iran and near to Mashhad metropolitan. Because the villages in this region have a very strong historical and cultural and natural attractions that daily absorb a significant part of the tourist from Mashhad and even country. The collected data were analyzed by statistical methods

RESULTS & FINDINGS& FINDINGS

The results showed that based on local managers attitudes in rural areas, tourism development need to providing and attending to some cases that the most important of them can be pointed to the development of rural infrastructure by governments.

Table1- required Infrastructure for the development of tourism based on rural people

Options	means	Standard deviation	variation Coefficient
attention to the characteristics and nature of the village	4/51	0/49	0/11
Tourism management in village	4/39	0/51	0/12
Reconstruction of historical place in village	4/30	0/62	0/14
People's attitudes about their village	4/29	0/66	0/153
Providing the Tourism infrastructure by government	4/59	0/68	0/154
Designing the Strict laws for protection of nature	4/06	0/68	0/16
People participation in tourism activities	4/32	0/73	0/17
Attention to social and economic condition of rural people	3/58	1/09	0/30

Based on rural people opinion, research finding through of factor analysis (with varimax turn) show that KMO index is 0/73 and it is less than 0/05, then data are proper for factor analysis model.

Table2- Bartlett statistic test

0/73		KMO index
777/95	Chi-Square	Bartlett test
136	df	
0/000**	sig	

Furthermore, the findings of the study showed that the four basic dimensions of tourism development in rural areas have led to changes in the rural areas. These changes had positive and negative side in 2 dimensions. So, positive changes resulted from rural environmental changes are in field of economic and cultural development. But negative changes resulted from tourism development in case study rural area, were mostly concentrated on social and environmental challenges. So, in first factor rotation, total variance is 19/31 percent and it focused on economical positive changes that income changes resulted from income increasing in rural community is one of these important changes. In second factor rotation the amount of variance is equal to 13/37 percent that mainly emphasize on negative environmental changes resulted from tourism development and most amount is related to destructing effects. In The third factor rotation the amount of variance is equal to 13/07 percent that mainly

emphasize on cultural positive changes in case study area and more changes are related to promoting the cultural level of rural people. In fourth factor the amount of variance in the rotation is equal to 9/5 percent that mainly emphasize on negative social changes in case study rural area with tourism development and it reflect reduction of social cohesion in villages and also fading local customs of rural community along time.

Table3- rotated factors matrix through of varimax method

Options	1	2	3	4	Convergence
Income increasing	0/85				0/77
unemployment Reducing	0/75				0/60
Increasing in shops profits	0/71				0/59
Improving the economic condition of rural people	0/65				0/43
Creating the job opportunity	0/52				0/42
Improving the village position	0/51				0/50
Creating the long-term adverse effects		0/87			0/43
Increasing in traffic and vehicles air pollution		0/84			0/45
Increased waste and pollution in rural landscapes		0/53			0/51
Natural source destruction		0/52			0/78
Improving the cultural level of rural people			0/77		0/71
Awareness increasing			0/56		0/61
Negative outlook related to urban			0/53		0/51
Government attention to cultural potential of rural area			0/48		0/38
Improving the Quality of life			0/46		0/58
Reducing the cohesion and communication				0/78	0/66
Fading the local costume				0/67	0/46
specific value	3/28	2/27	2/22	1/61	
Variance percent	19/31	13/37	13/07	9/5	

DISCUSSION

Given the observed trends in tourism development in Iran, it is clear that the development of rural tourism is developing as a new tourism models. But tourism development in rural area has different impact in rural environment that have both positive aspects and negative aspects as well. Tourism development in rural area, based on present study in case study area show that in cultural and economic aspect it result to positive impacts but from social and environmental aspect, these effects are negative that need to local planners attending and notifying host community and tourists about these changes toward managing them and preventing of natural environment destruction.

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The Impact of Rural Youth Migration on Socio-economic Crisis in Rural Areas

N. Vazin, T. Sadeghloo, H. Mokhtari Hashi⁶⁷

Abstract –Migration from rural is main phenomena in developing countries, that has very positive and negative impact. Rural - Urban Migration is one of the consequences of industrialization process and the establishment of industries in urban areas. Rural - Urban Migration in which mainly young labor forces of rural areas move and to cities, has economic and social consequences in both the origin and the destination. Based on this problem, the research using descriptive-analytic method seeks to study the economic and social consequences of migration of young people from rural areas. The results show that the economic consequences of such withdrawal of the labor force are: decline in agricultural products, wasting natural resources, economic stagnation, greater poverty that lead to "Economic Crisis" and the social consequences such as: population aging, females marriage aging, disconnection of youth people with their family that caused "Social Crisis" in rural areas.

INTRODUCTION

Immigration is a form of geographical or spatial mobility of the population that takes place between the two geographic units (Zanjani, 2001: 212). Currently in developing countries, including Iran, the most important type of internal migration is rural-urban migration; that results from inequalities in economic and social development between urban and rural areas. This inequality in development, according to research findings over the years results from the concentration of wealth, assets, economic activities, and a variety of services in urban centers as well as the continued neglect and degradation of rural areas (Chukwuedozie and Patience, 2013). The survey shows that young people (the age group of 15 to 34 years) migrate more than other age groups. For example, in Iran, according to 2011 Census of Population and Housing, the most rural migrants (over 60%) are in the age group 15 to 34 years (Statistical center of Iran, 2011), that shows the most rural migrants in the country are young people, Which leave rural areas in hope of finding a better job and enhancing their life. Migration of rural youth as a constant theme in various fields of humanities and social sciences, has attracted the attention of researchers, and most of the studies are in the field of causes of migration and its impact on the destination of migrants and national economic development. About the study of consequences of the migration of rural youth, it can be pointed to research of Ghasemi (2009), that investigated the causes of immigration and its impact on sending and host societies. He concluded that young people migration has had two types of positive outcomes such as economic recovery, better education, and adverse

effects such as disruption of sex ratio in rural areas. Taghdisi and Ahmady (2013), according to a study in this field concluded that labor force migration from rural areas caused the aging of the agricultural labor population and instability of rural economy and culture. Since the majority of rural-urban migrants, especially in developing countries, are young, the pattern in the long run will be important for rural communities; because their migration changes the structure of economic, socio-cultural of rural communities, that knowing them could reduce the adverse effects of these consequences. Therefore, the present study is to examine the impact of migration of young people on economic and social structure of rural communities.

PROCEDURE

This paper attempts to investigate the effects of rural youth migration on the socio-economic structure of rural communities. In other words, the purpose of the research is to understand the economic, social, cultural and demographic changes resulting from young people migration on structure of rural areas. Methodology is descriptive- analytic, and the library method has been used for collection of information.

RESULTS

Although rural youth migration brings out the positive effects such as increasing incomes, better access to health and education facilities, awareness, social interaction and so on, but this process has several negative consequences for the rural community, that rural communities are faced with economic and social crises over time, and it threatens the survival of rural areas. The consequences of youth migration on rural

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communities in the economic and social-cultural dimensions are as follows:

Socio-cultural consequences of youth migration on rural communities: Rural youth migration effects on the size and growth of the rural community, and create changes in age and sex composition of the population. Also, it will be affected on the lifestyle, traditions and attitudes of the villagers (Table1).

Table1: Socio-cultural consequences of youth migration on the structure of rural communities

Impact	Result
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Imbalances in the age distribution and rural population aging. - Imbalances in the sex ratio and increasing the number of women. - Decreasing the probability of marriage for young women, Reduced fertility and reduction of reproduction. 	Reducing the number and growth of the rural population
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disconnect the youth with their families in the village and reduction of parental authority. - Decreasing role of the family in upbringing and transmission of religious and national values to children. - Decreasing social relationships and interaction with villagers and reduction of social integration. 	Breaking Social and family cohesion
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transfer new thoughts and attitudes in villages. - The gradual elimination of indigenous culture and acceptance of new culture. - Cultural conflict in the youth. - Disintegration of rural extended family due to separation from paternal family. 	Undermining rural culture and traditions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reducing investment for services and facilities in the village due to the lack of economic justification - The loss of Services and facilities available in rural areas. 	Reducing village's social welfare

Economical consequences of youth migration on rural communities: The young people are village's dynamic population and labor force, and migration of them will create profound changes in the economic structure of rural communities (Table 2).

Table2: economic consequences of youth migration on the structure of rural communities

Impact	Result
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decline of employment opportunities. - Reduction in investment in economic activities. 	Decline of employment diversity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aging and feminization of the agricultural workers. - Destruction of agricultural, livestock and horticulture activities. - The decline of rural production. 	Destruction of agricultural

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of the subsistence economy. - Conversion of agricultural land into wasteland. 	and rural economy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To become a consumerist society. - Increasing dependency ratio of villages to cities. 	Reducing economic self-reliance

DISCUSSION

The youth migration from villages have negative effects on the economic and social structure and function of the rural communities, and finally the rural communities will face a crisis; this not only has adverse impacts on rural communities, but also causes various urban abnormalities such as unemployment, the expansion of the informal sector of the economy, development of marginalization and so on. If it continues, adverse effects will occur in the region and country, which can be summarized as follows: Imbalance of population growth in rural and urban societies, the economic, political and social imbalance in the country, reduction of agricultural productions in rural areas and the country's dependency on food imports. Because of the increasing rural youth migration, recognition of characteristics of young immigrants and the factors affecting the migration of rural youth, is very important to understand the needs of rural youth and establish appropriate strategies for reduction of the migration of young people. If the policy exacerbates the inequality between rural and urban.

According to the above, to prevent irregular migration of rural youth to cities, strategies such as the development of economic activities (agriculture, industry, services) in rural communities; preserve local values; decentralization of services and the development of facilities and services across the country is required to reduce inequality between rural and urban communities.

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Thematic Line 2: 'KNOWLEDGES IN PROCESSES OF RURAL CHANGE'



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Working Group 13. Shaping methods,
shaping voices and the engagement of
discourses in an age of uneven rural change



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'When you leave, they will kill me'. Navigating politics in and of the field in northern Mozambique

K. Howell⁶⁸

Abstract – This paper explores the paradoxes of carrying out research into rural development, drawing on experiences of doing ethnography in Mozambique to highlight how the research process can both recreate, and hence provide valuable insights into, the unevenness of development for vulnerable communities.

Odetta was sick again. She had an ache that had started in her neck and moved through her shoulders, temples and now her back. My first thought was that it was likely malaria, but when my research assistant Tifa heard Odetta recount the symptoms, especially the fact that the pain had migrated – she knew at once that it was a 'traditional' illness, caused by witchcraft. Someone wished Odetta harm.

By now, I had been living with Odetta and her children for over ten months. On my first arrival in this rural neighbourhood in northern Mozambique a year before, I asked the farmers' association of which she was a member if I could stay and conduct research with them. I explained my plan to stay in a local household in order to experience the everyday life of smallholder farmers and their day to day food security challenges, and they nominated Odetta to be my host. At the time, the president of the association explained that they had chosen Odetta because she was a poor widow, someone who would benefit from my financial contributions to rent and food. Desperate to justify my white privileged presence in the community, I leapt at this apparent chance to help someone. Later, Odetta's sister-in-law Aurélia told me that she thought that the association had chosen Odetta because they were wary of me. She was vulnerable, had no family in the area, had no choice but to accept. As months passed and people realised that I was in the community *por bem*, for good, Aurélia told me, people changed their tune. They saw the benefits – to me modest, to Odetta significant – which my presence and rent money had brought to Odetta and her family: black plastic sheeting to waterproof our roof, for example. Some of the worst gossip about Odetta, which closely preceded this most recent illness, revolved around an evening when neighbours said that they had seen Odetta eating imported frozen mackerel, which she had refused to share with them.

Local people called this kind of response *ciume*, the Portuguese word for jealousy. Financial success or good fortune, such as making a large profit from the sale of cash crops, or even participating in a development project training day and being given a per diem, could provoke *ciume*. This was especially the case where people were seen not to be adequately sharing their

wealth, or seen to *gingar* (in Portuguese, literally to wiggle one's bottom), to show off their wealth by boasting or wearing new clothes. Odetta went to great lengths to avoid this perception, either sharing something with all her neighbours, or trying to keep it secret. *Ciume*, for some, was grounds for malicious gossip at best, at worst for procuring a *feitico* against the person of whom you were envious. 'When you leave, they will kill me,' Odetta told me one evening. I was horrified. I had few illusions about the benefits of my research for local people, but I had little idea that I could cause so much harm. Trying to act according to my own ethical principles, I recognised too late that these ethics belonged to a different moral ontology and more individualistic notions of fairness and generosity than those of my hosts. My ideas about how I could help the community did not align with those of community members. In exchanges like this I always offered to leave or to intervene. Odetta always refused, saying, 'It's not you, it's them. If it hadn't been you, it would have been something else.' When I left the village, so did she, moving to the nearby town.

Gossip and envy have been documented in societies around the world and can be understood as a means of negotiating the uneven impacts of development (Besnier, 2009). However, this case brings home the intensely political nature and ambivalent implications of fieldwork itself, raising pertinent questions about how and why academics do research in economically marginal rural settings, and who does that research. Misalignments of ethical codes and power relations can occur in any research context, as the act of research disrupts, intensifies or challenges existing community dynamics, but this is exacerbated by the intersection of different identities and axes of inequality (Sultana, 2007). A Mozambican researcher would have had a very different research experience but, depending on class and gender might still have encountered similar problems. This raises immediate questions: about the unpredictability and unruliness of how research participants view you, the researcher, and your behaviour; how these link to, reinforce and subvert colonial and other power asymmetries and structures; and, given these dynamics

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and their dynamism, how to navigate consent and ethics throughout the research process.

These questions draw us into more fundamental questions, beyond the methodology and processes of research, to the politics of ontology and epistemology, and the politics of our research institutions, and hence to the need to actively dismantle these power structures and decolonise research. I find alienating the way in which positionality is frequently reduced to a matter of data quality (do people trust you enough to answer interview questions fully?) rather than ethics (do you have a right to their trust?). Ethics become an issue to navigate in research praxis, without necessarily paying attention to the wider politics of the entire research project (Sultana, 2007). This perspective can also ignore the agency of participants in shaping the research project, the way positionality changes over time, and the meaning of consent within shifting and unequal power relations (Vermeylen and Clark, 2016).

It's not a new idea to point out the long and challenging history both of ethnography and 'overseas fieldwork' as tools of colonial knowledge production, but they continue to be a mainstay of qualitative social research (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). In part this has been facilitated by their incorporation of participatory methods and feminist and postcolonial critique (Simpson, 2011). In the case of ethnography, this has entailed moving away from the classic colonial model towards more diverse, though not unproblematic, models. Methods like ethnography, which pay attention to intra-community politics and the everyday and encourage longer-term researcher engagement with a particular place or community, continue to be valuable, especially in the context of very time-limited development research.

So the old model is still going strong. It was possible, in fact normal, for a reputable British university in 2014 to hire me, a white, wealthy postgraduate student who spoke no Portuguese and had never been to Mozambique, to study the impacts of a controversial development project, ProSAVANA, on smallholders. This is enabled by the continued, often unchecked whiteness of the academy (Faria and Mollett, 2012), and, within northern academic institutions, a colonial sense of entitlement to travel and do research anywhere in the world. It is also encouraged, paradoxically, by the social sciences' ongoing interest in studying marginalised peoples (cf. George, 1974). Long-term overseas fieldwork is by its nature restricted to privileged researcher with access to the financial resources, visas, physical and mental health, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation to do so safely. Ethnographic research can be made more participatory, but the kinds of projects and data ethnography produces may be low priority for rural communities. In-situ ethnographic research like mine also raises ethical issues which lie outside the formal research methods covered by institutional protocols and critical literature on reflexivity.

As Odeta told me of her fears for her life, it seemed that all my ethical fears about ethnographic fieldwork overseas had been realised. Despite my sincere wish to 'do no harm', to be kind and inclusive, and include 'local voices' in debates about ProSAVANA, I was causing problems for the people who had helped me most.

Paradoxically, however, this process, and my culpable positionality within it, gave me a powerful lens through which to understand *ciúme* and how interactions between development projects and local communities play out. Some of the most revealing insights into perceptions of rural change, and responses to the unevenness of development, came from observing the negative impacts my own presence and uneven generosity had on my hosts; the mismatch between my intentions, capabilities and impacts; the way my actions were perceived; and the similarities these social dynamics bore to those stemming from the inevitable inclusions and exclusions of development projects.

There is a wealth of literature we can draw on to minimise the negative impacts of research, particularly on making the *whole* research process more reflexive and participatory and achieving more egalitarian collaborations with local research institutions. I find helpful Coddington's (2017: 318) idea of 'proceeding' with research as 'not just [...] doing research and glossing over the uncomfortable decisions made along the way but conducting research by dwelling in those methodologically complex places, as well as the difficult practical considerations [...] that also shape decisions.' Auto-ethnography can play a crucial role here, enabling researchers to take the same critical examination of the dialectic between structural power inequalities and individual experiences that forms the basis of our analytical work, and apply it to the actual process of research.

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Using community engagement and co-design methods to address critical rural health issues

S. Morton, S-A. Muñoz

Abstract – Health issues in rural communities can be difficult to respond to in a way that is appropriate for their needs, which can in themselves be complex and challenging to define. However, by working with these communities it can be possible to access ‘expert’ opinion from within the communities, and to work with them, using co-design approaches, to develop a response that is useful and successful in meeting these needs. An issue of increasing health concern in Highland, Scotland, is the tick and Lyme disease issue. Using this as the context for our study we designed a mixed-method community engagement approach to explore and better understand the issue, and to co-design a response. Through our study we produced a package of awareness raising materials that were successfully received, and demonstrated the value of involving communities in developing a response to rural health issues.

INTRODUCTION

Rural communities can be complex, diverse and challenging to engage with, however they can also be innovative, resilient and resourceful (Weerts and Sandmann, 2008). By working with communities in the coproduction of research and knowledge, it can be possible to generate impactful and progressive responses to the contemporary challenges facing rural areas. Health and wellbeing issues within rural communities can be challenging to address (Strasser, 2003) and efforts implemented can sometimes be directed by those without an awareness of the complexities of rural areas. This approach has potential to result in poor uptake of the solution offered, and therefore limiting in terms of addressing the issue.

An issue of increasing health concern to rural communities in Highland is Lyme disease (Morton et al, 2016), with confirmed cases estimated to be an average of 44.1 per 100,000 of the population between 2008 to 2013 (Mavin et al, 2015). Using this as the context for our study, we designed and implemented a community engagement method that could be used to test the potential of using this approach to harness the qualities, and expertise of rural communities to co-design a solution that could be useful to mitigate the impact of Lyme disease.

METHODS

Taking a mixed-methods approach, firstly we used questionnaires to establish what people know about ticks and Lyme disease, the types of places they go to take part in outdoors activities – and the level of risk they anticipate to encounter when they are there (for example risks related to vegetation and terrain type), and to find out more about the types of behaviours they already implement in order to protect themselves, as well as understanding what types of

behaviours are considered not useful. Additionally, we conducted community engagement consultations using interactive materials that we specifically designed for the study. These included a persona activity – to help us understand the types of people who may need information and ticks and Lyme disease, a communication design activity – to allow study participants to ‘design’ a leaflet, poster, or smartphone application in the way that they thought the information should be presented to members of the public, and participatory mapping – to help us to understand, from a geographical and locational perspective, where people go, what activities they do when they are there, the level of tick risk in these areas, and where they think it would be appropriate to place awareness raising information. This allowed us to access the ‘expert’ voices of the very communities affected by the issue, and we used the findings to develop a draft package of materials. The communities who took part in the study were then engaged in a process of co-design, and were therefore involved at all stages of development of the materials intended to be used during the pilot phase of the study. The materials produced with the communities included a treasure (bug) hunt style game, a website, and pocket/wallet sized ‘tick check’ cards.

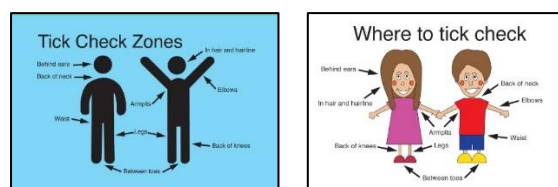


Figure 1. Pocket/wallet sized tick-check cards for adults and children

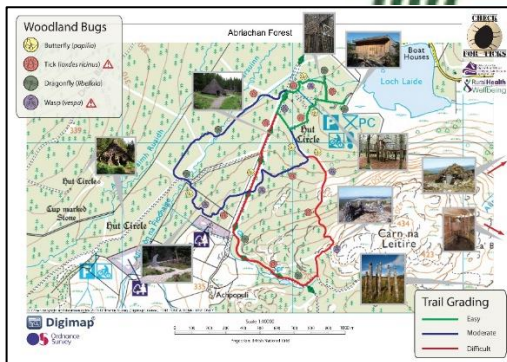


Figure 2. Bug treasure hunt map

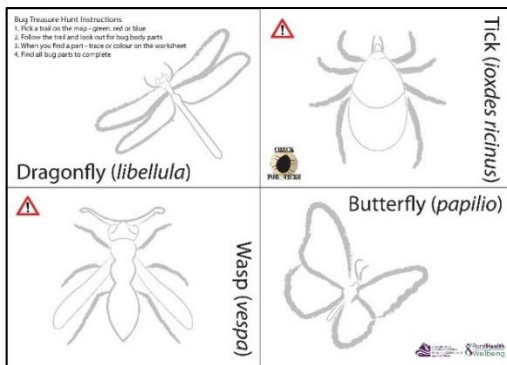


Figure 3. Bug treasure hunt worksheet



Figure 4. Example of bug treasure hunt in situ

RESULTS

Through our study, the knowledge we gained meant we were successful in co-designing a package of risk mitigation materials to raise awareness of the tick and Lyme disease issue in Highland. Those who used the materials indicated them to be appropriate for raising awareness, without causing alarm. The materials were described as family-friendly, encouraging (in terms of continuing to spend time outdoors), and provided multiple learning benefits. Additionally our study generated a 'ripple effect' whereby our initial engagement efforts produced unexpected engagement activity throughout the course of the study. This 'ripple effect' meant that we were able to identify critical concerns about those existing efforts already implemented to raise awareness about Lyme

disease. One specific concern was putting tourists off going to a particular area, because of a concern about getting Lyme disease. This was discussed as something that has potential to cause serious financial impact to a fragile local economy, which relies on an income from tourism to exist.

CONCLUSION

Findings from the study highlighted the importance and benefit of involving communities when developing solutions. Of equal importance, is the need to build relationships to maintain close alignment with evolving structures within rural communities - allowing research projects to adapt and be informed by the 'expert' voices from within the community, as well as addressing issues that communities feel are not being tackled and addressed by 'authoritative' sources. Of particular importance is the usefulness of this approach when considering an appropriate solution, we were able to identify 'other' factors that were imperative drivers in defining the final format of the solution. Had we not spent time with the communities we would not have been aware of the negative impact that could have been caused directly to the communities if we had designed a solution based on what we, and some literature, assumed to be the most appropriate solution.

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Researching the Rural

D. Strijker, G. Bosworth, S. Hillyard⁶⁹

Abstract - In this paper we make a plea for increasing the use of mixed method approaches in research projects in rural studies. The paper is an offshoot from a book project, aimed at producing a volume on rural research methods. Rural research is in many ways different from research in more densely populated areas, not only because of the topics (agriculture, nature, remoteness) and the distances, but also because of challenges relating to data collection, ethical issues, and diverse cultural representations of rural places.

INTRODUCTION

There are countless books available on doing social, economic and geographic research, and quite a few books on doing research in the urban context (Andranovich & Riposa, 1993; Ward, 2014; Thakuria et al, 2016) but to date, there is no dedicated volume on doing research in a rural context. The most recent that we identified (Hughes et al. 1999) focuses on rural ethnography. However, undertaking research in sparsely populated areas has many challenges. Maybe the least complicated aspect is overcoming the physical distances involved to reach the place, although lack of public transport, bad infrastructure and even lack of accommodation for dinner or spending the night may be frustrating. More challenging is finding, or even reaching, enough respondents, especially when it comes to quantitative research. Secondary datasets are often less suited to rural situations due to the lower number of cases and the heterogeneity of places if a number of rural areas are amalgamated. There are very valuable datasets that are appropriate for analysing rural demographics, agriculture and rural development at national and European levels (e.g. Eurostat) but these tend not to be available at a detailed level. Hence they only give the "bigger picture" perspective from which researchers need to dig deeper in their own, new research.

The rural can also provide a conceptual challenge for researchers. Such challenges arise in relation to the delineation or classification of rural areas, which varies between countries, and more fundamentally, when thinking about meanings of rurality for different groups of people (Bosworth & Somerville, 2013).

The research questions for rural areas often differ from those in urban areas. Land use (conflicts), the development of agriculture, food issues, (neo-)endogenous development, the role of citizens' initiatives are some of the prioritized themes. Power relations in rural areas can be quite different from the general picture too: historical developments, long memories, and relative policy independence should be taken into account. These can also lead to ethical

issues associated with small numbers and confidentiality.

There are a number of approaches that can be specifically attractive in rural circumstances: remote sensing, diary approaches, and application of visual means can be helpful in situations with fewer cases and longer distances. As shown in Table 1, research in rural sociology is dominated by qualitative research methods – perhaps partly in response to the sparsity of data for quantitative applications. However, qualitative findings are not easy to generalise, leading to criticisms from more quantitatively-minded researchers and research users.

Since it is often challenging to find enough cases, it can be attractive to choose a mixed or multi-method approach. Combining a number of observations about mixed methods, this could be described as: *to tackle a research question from any relevant angle, making use where appropriate of previous research and/or more than one type of investigative perspective*. In the remainder of this short paper we will show some first results of an analysis of the importance of mixed method approaches in the leading journal in rural research. It will be shown that these approaches are underrepresented, although gradually increasing in importance.

METHOD

In this paper we will analyse the number of qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches in the leading journals of rural studies. For this we classified all published research articles in two journals for the two years. In this short paper we use preliminary results from a quick scan; we restrict ourselves to two journals (*Sociologia Ruralis* and *Journal of Rural Studies*), and two years spanning the latest decade of research publications (2006 and 2016). In the full paper more detailed data from the same journals, and from *Rural Sociology* will be presented.

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MAJOR FINDINGS

From Table 1 it is apparent that SR is less inclined to accept papers using quantitative or mixed approaches, compared to JRS. Nevertheless, also in JRS most articles are of qualitative nature. It is also clear that the use of quantitative approaches is increasing but that mixed methods continue to be under-represented: In 2006 neither journal had a paper which could be labelled as mixed method; in 2016 JRS had 5, SR still none.

Table 1. The split of Qualitative and Quantitative/mixed methods papers in leading rural journals.

	Journal of Rural Studies			Sociologia Ruralis		
	Qual.	Quant	Mixed	Qual.	Quant	Mixed
2006	24	10	0	17	1	0
2016	52	22	5	24	5	0

INTERPRETATION

The above figures suggest that there is considerable scope for a broader application of mixed methods in rural research. Interdisciplinary and mixed methods approaches are strongly encouraged in funding calls for larger scale projects and increasingly, PhD students are applying a range of method too. In research methods teaching, we emphasise the importance of understanding a range of methods on the basis that these can enrich our understanding of all kinds of rural issues. Triangulation, investigating the same phenomena from different perspectives, often with different methods, can both enrich the researcher's understanding and serve as a check on the results of the first method.

One of the factors that perhaps precludes mixed methods in journal articles is the length restriction that sees research projects "sliced up" into a number of outputs. Such publication strategies are also driven by metrics that demand increasing numbers of outputs from projects alongside fears that reviewers will favour one methodological approach over another. In the Dutch system, where PhD promotion often requires a number of published articles, mixed methods approaches can be very effective, but to secure publications, the natural "slicing" of papers tends to follow methodological dividing lines.

While this is not a unique tension for rural studies, we argue that triangulation of different methods is more important in contexts with fewer people,

sparser networks and competing representations of rural places.

MOVING FORWARDS

The rural domain offers significant opportunities to test and refine new methodological approaches, without the "interference" of so many hard to disentangle networks, processes and activities that occur in urban spaces. Therefore, this research has prompted a call for chapters for a new edited collection with a working title of "researching the rural".

The book will aim to achieve two things. Firstly, to provide practical advice for researchers doing rural fieldwork with examples from leading researchers in the broad fields of rural studies. As well as the practicalities of doing the research, contributors will be encouraged to share challenges associated with analysis and interpretation as well as the positioning of their findings for publication. Secondly, a more ontological angle to each chapter will examine scenarios where rural research demands the researcher to reflect differently on his or her positionality, the purpose of the research and the knowledge it may yield. Research that is described as rural may simply apply generic tools to studying more remote places but in some cases it may concern issues that are considered innately rural and thus require alternative lenses for investigation and analysis.

Reflecting on the range of methods that contributors will present in each of the chapters will then allow the editors to reflect on the common challenges of rural research and hopefully some common strategies for smoothing the path to high quality data collection and analysis. A concluding chapter will also examine complementarities between distinctive methods and the potential for the promotion of more integrated mixed-methods approaches across the rural research discipline.

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Working Group 17. Social movements and citizens' initiatives: Geographies, power relations, and determinants of success and impact



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Disciplining the state: re-asserting marginalised narratives in resource governance processes

J. McCarthy⁷⁰

Abstract – In this paper I trace the emergence of Commonage Management Plans (CMPs) in the Republic of Ireland (ROI). CMPs seek to align practices on collectively owned farmland with the goals of Europe's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). However, the emergence of CMPs was accompanied by an oppositional farmer movement that sought to reassert marginalised narratives in the policy process. This paper emphasises the role of strategic alliances in that struggle. It thus contributes to debates on the production of governance regimes.

INTRODUCTION

The European Union has supported farmer incomes in various ways since the inception of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 1961. However, a confluence of environmental degradation and global trade regulations has seen a recalibration in how European farm incomes are supported (Shucksmith & Rønningen, 2011). Accordingly, agri-environment schemes have become a prominent stream of CAP funding to farmers since 1992. These schemes are implemented by national governments, primarily using centralised European funds, within the framework of regulations drafted through the legislative processes of the European Union (EU) (Batáry et al., 2015). This implementation allows the schemes to be tailored to the diverse agricultural conditions that exist throughout the EU (Batáry et al., 2015). In the Republic of Ireland (ROI), this has contributed to the differentiated regulation of collectively owned farmland, otherwise known as "commonage".

While commonage is generally marginal upland and coastal land, it tends to have high environmental value and accompanying strong environmental protections under EU Law. However, in 2014 the proposed introduction of formal collective Commonage Management Plans (CMPs) as part of the latest agri-environment scheme was met with strong opposition and mobilisation by commonage farmers. CMPs seek to formalise land management responsibilities among commonage shareholders as a requirement of their participation in the ROI's latest agri-environmental scheme.

Focusing on the emergence of CMPs, I show that the process of designing schemes to govern such areas is far from linear. Rather, I argue that there is an evolving power struggle and process of negotiation between many actors. I focus on the actions and

formation of strategic alliances through which commonage farmers navigate and reassert marginalised narratives in the policy process of designing a framework for CMPs. The productive role of alliances is under-theorised in the resource governance literature. I build upon recent efforts to address this shortfall (e.g. Forsyth & Walker, 2014) by illustrating how a movement emerged to influence the treatment of commonage under one CAP scheme in the ROI.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

This paper traces the process that gave rise to the design of CMPs. Accordingly, there are two primary elements involved in my analysis. First, building on a close reading of commonage policy developments since 1980, I trace the narratives and political exchanges through which CMPs emerge. Second, I examine how a farmer movement forms strategic alliances with other expert actors and the effectiveness of their actions.

To conduct this analysis, I created an archive of policy documents, government hearings and debates, newspaper articles, reports, and blogs from professional commonage advisory specialists. Specific sections of these documents were then identified, with focus given to passages discussing collective approaches to commonage management. I used these sections to create a descriptive timeline of the emergence of CMPs. By the same means I traced subsequent farmer mobilisation.

RESULTS

First, my analysis shows the prevalence of two primary narratives in government hearings that precede the initial scheme design. One narrative, espoused by government officials, argues that the focus should be on supporting active commonage

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farmers. This reveals the perception that only a fraction of shareholders may be putting livestock on a given commonage leading to a risk of undergrazing and thus excessive vegetation growth. Accordingly, this narrative argues that the scheme should allow active farmers to expand to make-up for inactive farmers. Additionally, officials emphasise a need to incorporate tacit farmer knowledges of commonage practice into the CMPs, as well as addressing any existing conflicts between farmers. Farm extension professionals are thus mandated in the scheme design to mediate this process so that a group may reach a consensus. In theory, the CMP addresses both of these issues by providing farmers with a space to negotiate while distributing responsibility for the outcomes among the group in question.

Second, my analysis shows that opposition to this scheme emerged due to a perceived structural discrimination against commonage farmers. Specifically, the claim emerged that forming a CMP prior to applying to the agri-environment scheme would inhibit commonage farmers from applying. There was also significant discontent that responsibility for the outcomes of the scheme would rest with participating farmers. The mobilised farmers' group sought redress for these two central issues.

By tracing the actions of the group between August and December 2014, I show that they formed strategic alliances with farm advisors, ecologists, and politicians. These alliances enabled them to take advantage of opportunities afforded by the multi-levelled governance structure of the European Union. This culminates with a group of commonage farmers allying with a Member of European Parliament, and meeting European Commission officials to seek clarity on whether the mandatory collective element of CMPs was driven by national or European decision-makers. They thus challenged the rhetoric of the ROI's Department of Agriculture. Following this development the CMP was no longer required *prior* to applying to GLAS, indicating that the government made some accessions to the demands of the farmers.

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Three main results emerged from my analysis. First, CMPs can be understood as a governing device designed to produce disciplinary spaces in pursuit of European policy goals. This design rests on the logic

that it will harness farmers' tacit knowledges and produce cooperation.

Second, by tracing their actions, I illustrate that strategic alliances formed by the commonage farmers' group allows them to navigate a multi-levelled governance structure to exert influence on key officials and institutions in the policy process. I thus contribute to understandings of the role of alliances can play in influencing multi-levelled governance processes (e.g. Forsyth & Walker, 2014).

Third, this farmers movement does not challenge the process of territorialisation. Rather, it seeks to influence that process to maintain access to current and future benefits derived from CAP schemes. As such, in this instance a multi-levelled governance structure affords actors with some opportunities, while restricting action on other elements. Indeed, the broader regulations that govern the scheme were decided at an earlier point in the policy process, meaning that those regulations cannot be challenged during national implementation. Moreover, the farmers' group *relies* on these regulations to mount their challenge against the ROI's Department of Agriculture.

Accordingly, while Forsyth and Walker (2014) illustrate how alliances in governance processes can marginalise certain discourses, this paper illustrates the role of alliances in reasserting such marginalised discourses in the policy process. However, it also acknowledges the structural opportunities and restrictions that such alliances must navigate.

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New social movements – rural NGOs after system transformation in Poland

A. Sitek

INTRODUCTION

The point of departure of these considerations is 1989 - the moment of change of social, economic and political system - a milestone in shaping Polish contemporary civil society. Political system transformation and the devolution of socialism have led to a reversal of the trend, resulting in a decline in the number of rural NGOs between 1993 and 1998, which just seemed to indicate a decline in civic activity in rural areas. The same period saw an increase in the number of foundations and associations active in rural development (Kłoczko-Gajewska, 2006).

METHODS

The empirical material used in the article comes from both the research carried out as well as own research carried out within the project of the Forum for the Animation of Rural Area (FAOW) and the Institute of Sociology of Nicolaus Copernicus University (IS UMK), entitled "Good Start. Centers for the promotion and information of NGOs in rural areas".

CONCLUSIONS

Taking into account the legal status of non-governmental organizations, associations dominate in the surveyed population (78.77%). Interestingly, foundations are poorly represented - 8.9% of the surveyed NGOs.

Research shows that associations remain the strongest representation. It is worth noting that, according to nationwide data, associations (foundations are just over one eighth of the sector) are dominant in the country (Przewłocka, 2013). In 2014 there were 86 thousand associations and 17,000 foundations in Poland (Adamiuk, 2016).

Considering the size of the organization (the number of members and the number of volunteers), the largest group in the survey population is represented by organizations with 16 to 30 members (38.1%). There is also a large share of non-governmental organizations with up to 15 members and between 30 and 60. In addition, the vast majority of surveyed organizations (46%) have no volunteers. The majority of organizations are dominated by those with 1 to 15 volunteers (38.8% of organizations). It is worth mentioning that the surveyed organizations almost reflect national data, according to which the

average organization consists of about 35 members and 8 volunteers (Przewłocka, 2013).

Interesting conclusions can also be drawn from the analysis of the percentage of active members. According to nationwide statistics, the average half of the members are completely passive and do not participate in the organization's activities (Przewłocka, 2013). This is also confirmed by studies conducted by IS UMK and FAOW, according to which in the vast majority of NGOs act up to 50% of all members - 59.4% of respondents answered this. Only 14% of surveyed organizations declared activities over 75% of all members.

Referring to the fields under which NGOs operate, the largest segment of the Polish non-governmental sector represent organizations with following profiles: sports and hobbies (55%), education and training (42%). Organizations active in the field of culture and art (33%), social services and social assistance (16%), local development (16%) and health (15%) are less numerous (Przewłocka, 2013). Taking into account only rural NGOs, we find that over half of them (54.7%) indicate the most important fields of activity of sport, recreation, tourism or hobbies [Kamiński, 2008: 63]. We can observe difference according to surveyed population, which is relatively heterogeneous in terms of activity profile. The surveyed organizations most often declared local development activities (37%) and social assistance (20%). There were relatively few organizations operating in the fields of international cooperation, science, economy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the last few decades we have had a third sector proliferation. The first significant increase in the number of non-governmental organizations came as a result of system transformation and liberalization, the second due to the accession of Poland to the European Union (availability of various funds). Nevertheless, despite the 25 years of civil society development, the NGO has many problems. Therefore, it is my sincere hope that the efforts of past-days and engaged individuals will continue to uphold the third sector as bridge between diverse actors of social life. Non-governmental organizations, to a certain extent, have always been indicative of healthy society. They have implemented what is now called civil society. Civil society and NGOs are



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essential features in the contemporary world. They allow continue to expand our understanding of each other, breaks down barriers

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Mass media as crucial accelerator for new social movements dealing with rural development: evidence from Lithuania

R. Vilké, D. Vidickienė⁷¹

Abstract – This study focuses on one of mass media forms - television broadcasts, concerned with rural development issues - and its potential to become an accelerator for the emergence of new social movements dealing with rural development or strengthening the existing platforms for collective action in the industrial cultural domain. Empirical study is based on Lithuanian data. Research results show that TV broadcasts related to rural issues may act as accelerator for the emergence and further enhancement of new social movements dealing with rural development in Lithuania. The potential of other forms of mass media needs further investigations.

INTRODUCTION

The advent of the post-industrial [economy](#) resulted in a new wave of social movements distinct from those social movements arising during the industrial economy (Buechler, 2016). The new social movements emerge with the aim to reach the best synergy from aligned views and interests of particular social groups for social and economic change which is necessary for the evolution of post-industrial society (e.g. Wieviorka, 2005; Inglehart, 2015; Touraine, 1971, 2016; Melucci, 2016; etc.).

Big group of social movements deals with rural development issues and most of them are new social movements tightly targeted to social and cultural changes, rather than economic or political considerations. Their activities covers various aspects, but usually they are focused on a single issue, or a limited range of issues which are related to a broader theme, e.g. protection of environment, changing lifestyle and activity in rural regions, etc.

Recent research more and more often gives evidence of the tremendous social impacts made by mass media on the emergence and power of new lifestyle and new social movements (Lopes, 2014; Romero, 2014; Castells, 2015; Vivian, 2012). The impact of mass media on the emergence of new social movements is measured using its forms separately (television, radio, newspapers, social networks), or systemically, i.e. using all forms together (Lopes, 2014; Romero, 2014).

Thus the type of information proposed through various mass media channels might act as crucial accelerator for the variety of new social movements. However, the impact of mass media on the emergence of new social movements dealing with rural development in any of its forms had not been found in scientific literature yet.

This study aims to answer the question “Does the mass media hold potential to become an accelerator for the emergence of new social movements dealing with rural development or strengthening the existing platforms for collective action in the postindustrial cultural domain?” More specifically, this study focuses on television (TV) broadcasts concerned with rural development issues.

DATA AND METHODS

Empirical data were collected in March-April 2017 on the Internet for the year 2016. The five main Lithuanian television channels were identified under the aggregated monthly TV audience research results (TNS, 2017), based on the two basic criteria: average channel accessibility per day and average television channel viewing time per day.

Research is based on **mixed methods** approach (Creswell, 2013) and includes identification of the scale of rural development issues, the intensity of spreading new ideas in Lithuanian TV broadcasts alongside its influence to the audience.

Content analysis method was applied to distinguish the TV broadcasts related to rural issues using titles and abstracts of TV programmes from the five main Lithuanian TV channels. Then inductive content analysis of abstracts was performed to identify the main themes of ideas for rural development which are spread through the television broadcasts concerned with rural issues. The latter analysis aggregated the main fields of ideas for rural development, which have a potential to become new social movement, dealing with rural development.

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RESEARCH RESULTS

Empirical research gave evidence, that 95 percent of Lithuanian inhabitants are keen on watching TV (TNS, 2017). Therefore information spread through TV broadcasts is considered to be crucial accelerator for spreading the ideas which might further give birth to any of the new social movement. The scale of rural development issues in Lithuanian TV was composed by listing the titles and abstracts of television broadcasts related to rural issues from the top five Lithuanian channels (4 commercial and 1 non-commercial). It should be stated, that most of TV broadcasts related to rural issues were found in commercial channels (71.4%), despite the fact that the majority of Lithuanian territory is classified as rural region (except the only one Vilnius county - predominantly urban region), there is relatively poor broadcasting time in national non-commercial channel (33.3%) devoted to discuss rural issues and raise social innovations. Content analysis of abstracts of TV broadcasts dealing with rural issues helped identify 3 broad fields of new ideas for rural development in Lithuanian TV (see Table 1).

Table 1. Content of new ideas for rural development spread through TV broadcasts and broadcasting time in 2016

Content of new ideas for rural development	Total broadcasting time, minutes	TV %
Industrial society-based	130	16.2
Postindustrial society-based	365	65.8
Rural cultural heritage	100	18.0
	555	100

Source: authors calculations using TNS (2017) data.

The latter findings are parallel with actual situation in Lithuania. In recent decade sharp increase of targeted new social movements had been spectated in Lithuania: ecovillages, urban-rural gardening, slow food, raw food and separate groups of local food market developers.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Lack of scientific evidence propose that the impact of mass media on the emergence of new social movement – either in separate forms or systemically - should be taken into special consideration both from theoretical and empirical point of view due to its

observed explosive power for transforming industrial society into post-industrial society.

Initial empirical data which was collected and aggregated in Lithuania propose that one form of mass media – TV broadcasts dealing with rural issues – might be considered as increasingly important accelerator for new social movements dealing with rural development: post-industrial society-based new ideas for rural development are dominant in Lithuanian TV broadcasts and already give evidence for its potential impact.

Limitations of this study are caused by incomplete picture of all forms of mass media, which restrain generalizing conclusions on the overall role of mass media as crucial accelerator for new social movements dealing with rural development - radio, newspapers and social networks are not included in this study. Nevertheless, analysis of TV broadcasts dealing with rural development adds to topical research in the field of new social movements and gives directions for future investigations.

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**Working Group 18. Plural knowledges for
AgriFood collectives: Making spaces for new
rural-urban connections**



Formats, outcomes and impacts of knowledge exchange in demonstration activities

A. Adamsone-Fiskovica, T. Tisenkopfs, M. Grivins⁷²

Abstract – Knowledge exchange in both formal and informal settings has been proven to be fundamental in boosting learning and innovation processes and development of social capital among farmers in the agricultural sector. Demonstration activities of various scales and formats represent an important mode of knowledge exchange. Having rather longstanding historical roots nowadays these activities are becoming more diverse and widespread and are increasingly being captured by social researchers as an object of studying the functioning and evolution of agricultural knowledge and innovation systems. The crucial role of practical knowledge exchange is becoming especially marked under conditions of increasingly complex and dynamic processes of change taking place in the agrifood sector and requiring new ways for boosting farmers' competitiveness. A particular focus area is related to peer-to-peer or farmer-to-farmer (as complementary to expert-practitioner) learning as part of demonstration activities that generate a whole range of direct and indirect effects on the involved individuals in terms of their work-related and social practices. The paper aims to contribute to setting out the formats and potential of knowledge exchange and learning and the multiple factors determining the outcomes and impacts of demonstration activities for individual farmers and other stakeholder groups along the dimensions of farms' productivity, competitiveness, and viability.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars of rural sociology have long been interested in the diverse social processes taking place in the agricultural sector at farmers' level, inter alia acknowledging the important role played by different forms of knowledge exchange as a source of innovation and capacity building of individual farmers, their households and wider rural communities (see e.g. Šūmane et al., 2017). The present paper addresses more specifically the role of agricultural demonstration activities with a focus on the formats, outcomes and impacts of the involved knowledge communication. Special attention is devoted to the criteria and key factors that can contribute to the success of demonstration events.

METHODS

The present study, which is work in progress, is primarily based on initial desk research reviewing former academic and practice-based (also advisory) publications on demonstration activities as well as evaluation of practices in this domain.

DEFINING AGRICULTURAL DEMONSTRATION

Generally, demonstration implies "an explanation, display, illustration, or experiment showing how something works" (Collins English Dictionary). In the domain of agriculture, demonstration covers diverse means for providing farmers with observable use of farming methods and technologies that can be subsequently applied in their own practices to bring about positive changes on the farm. Demonstrations

can be seen as an important part of agricultural extension that represents "the function of providing need- and demand-based knowledge in agronomic techniques and skills to rural communities in a systematic, participatory manner, with the objective of improving their production, income and (by implication) quality of life" (Haug, 1999 as cited in La Grange et al., 2010: 261).

The idea of farm demonstrations as a mode of instruction is by no means a new one. Their origins (at that time termed "model" or "pattern" farms) can be traced back to the end of the 18th century as part of the development of agricultural societies in Europe. Since the second half of the 19th century demo farms can also be seen as part of the agricultural extension service developed in the USA that aimed to provide systematic teaching by demonstrations or object lessons in the field as part of the new system of adult agricultural education (see Knapp, 1916; McDowell, 1929).

Since then the scope of demonstration activities has diversified and these have been recognised to serve not only as a means of unilateral knowledge transfer from advisors to practitioners but also as a valuable source of peer-to-peer learning among farmers (see e.g. Leeuwis, 2004). The present scope and formats of knowledge exchange through demonstration differ in terms of inputs (financial, technical, human resources), access (inclusiveness in geographical, social, and economic terms), and the very demonstration process (methods used,

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contents, interaction forms). Demonstration practices range from informal initiatives to highly institutionalised formats, organised by advisory services, research institutes, commercial companies or individual farmers; they can be both experimental and exemplary, taking either conventional forms of linear knowledge transfer or more reciprocal and engaging modes of interaction. These variations, in turn, largely determine the resulting immediate/direct and longer-term/broader effects (i.e. outputs, outcomes, impacts) of demonstration activities.

ASSESSING AGRICULTURAL DEMONSTRATION

When trying to grasp the diverse effects a demonstration can bring about we arrived at a classification of five key impact domains of demonstration activities vis-a-vis the farm/farmer, with knowledge and learning as underlying all of those – economic, social, and environmental – dimensions. These domains cover (i) productivity & profitability (efficiency of production; increased ability to make profit); (ii) resilience (improved capacity to adapt to changes), (iii) environmental sustainability (responsible use of and attitude towards environmental resources), (iv) quality of life (improved material/working/health/ safety/leisure conditions), and (v) empowerment (enhanced self-reliance, skills, social capital).

While many of the listed impacts can be difficult to identify and measure in practice and may have a rather diverse set of factors needed to bring those in effect, the review of selected pool of existing accounts (n=13) of actual demonstration practices from a wide range of countries and contexts allows to provisionally list 24 principles for a potentially successful agricultural demonstration: (1) clarity of the objective, (2) topicality of the subject, (3) appropriateness for the locality, (4) demand-orientation, (5) usefulness in farmer's work, (6) accessibility by diverse socio-economic groups, (7) engagement of farmers in the design and implementation, (8) publicity, (9) pertinence of the demo site for the specific demonstration, (10) restrictedness of the number of demonstrations per event, (11) proximity to the target groups, (12) realism of farming conditions and management, (13) alteration of host sites, (14) mediation, (15) competence of the advisor/demonstrator, (16) credibility of the demonstrator in the local community, (17) instruction for trainers, (18) rewarding of demonstrators, (19) adaptability to differing learning capacities, (20) interactivity, (21)

receptiveness to farmer's own knowledge, (22) visibility, (23) voluntarism of participation, (24) continuation through further activities.

Of course, not every practical demonstration should entail all factors in order to be successful, but this list can serve as a guidance regarding aspects that may require devoted attention in organising and assessing a demonstration activity.

DISCUSSION

Agricultural demonstrations present numerous opportunities for formal and informal knowledge exchange both between different stakeholder groups and among farmers. Given the rich, yet still under-researched experiences of various demonstration activities, there is still room for further evidence-based advancement of these practices to achieve more widespread positive outcomes and lasting impacts both for individual farmers and larger communities in terms of competitiveness and welfare.

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New opportunities for a sustainable food system through transformative learning in AFNs

C. Kropp, S. Stinner⁷³

Abstract – Alternative food networks are seen to foster a variety of the Sustainable Development Goals, mainly improving food sovereignty and justice, promoting well-being and place based sustainable innovations as well as favouring sustainable food practices in cities. At the same time, there is a critical discussion of their middle-class bias and their use for neoliberal interests of urban development and welfare production. Against this background, the variety of educational and empowerment strategies, which they pursue, are explored regarding their transformative impact and structural constraints.

INTRODUCTION

Alternative food networks (AFN), e.g. community supported agricultures, urban gardening, cooperative forms of producer and consumer connections, mobile kitchens etc., are seen to foster a variety of the Sustainable Development Goals, such as improving food quality, security, sovereignty and justice, promoting healthy lives and well-being, resilient supply and sustainable innovations as well as favouring sustainable food practices in cities together with fair and climate-friendly patterns of consumption, production and land use (SDG, 2013: 2, 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15). They have been considered as social innovations, which are transformative for those involved (Kirwan et al., 2013; Seyfang, 2006; Grasseni, Forno & Signori, 2015) and which can alter (unsustainable) practices in their surroundings (Sage, 2011; Marsden & Sonnino, 2012; Matarca, 2016). At the same time, they are discussed as a subtle (neoliberal) re-appropriation of solidarity, creativity and engagement to take care of common - or merely middle class - interests where state and markets do not feel responsible (Guthmann, 2008; Bean & Sharp, 2011; Kumnig et al., 2017).

In the project 'nascent' (www.nascent-transformativ.de/english/?noredirect=en_US) our focus of research and cooperation is on the transformative capacity of alternative food initiatives and their contribution to change food relations, food sovereignty and food perceptions for sustainable development. As one of their strategies for transformations towards a more sustainable food system we discuss the multifaceted kinds of educational offers and empowerment they have developed. They are convinced that knowledge has a productive power in the making of alternative worlds. Our interest is to explore the diversity, the objectives and constraints, which underlie these "politics of

knowing and framing" and to discuss what it means if there is even more (moral) symbol production than sustainable food production.

METHODS

We refer to case studies of 26 selected German food initiatives, which share an obvious aspiration to offer alternative spaces of learning and education. Empirically the paper is based on 29 guided interviews with the founders of 26 different food projects in 7 German cities and a one-day on-site study each, including short interviews with different persons involved. Moreover, we developed case files out of an analysis of the self-portrayals produced by the projects (flyers, brochures, websites, books) and the sighting of their different offers, in order to identify case specific development histories and potentially typical turning points.

RESULTS

We explored the huge variety of mutual, practical, experimental and innovative learning and enabling concepts taking place in both schools and extracurricular venues. Despite thematic differences all initiatives address food related issues of sustainability in a broader manner and try to initiate transformative learning processes for practical changes and sustainable action. Remarkable is a shared understanding of learning as a life-long and embedded process, consequential most of the initiatives don't limit their educational ambitions and offers to children. Many of the ventures conceive workshops and lectures, organize field trips and guidance to the places of their work and other important 'heterotopias' of the urban foodscape. Some of the project partners try to establish their own forms and systems of place-based learning and empowerment, e.g. one CSA-initiative runs its own

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educational program with its own forest kindergarten, progressive teaching school (in planning), a learning place "farm" ("Lernort Bauernhof") and offers courses for free professional education.

Most educational offers are cost-covering or costless, which shows once more the attempt of the alternative food networks to be inclusive and non-profit orientated. Much attention is given to practical learning and interactive learning. Learning by doing is combined with individual sensual experiences (participative working with the producers or farmers, "Mitmachtag").

It is a subject for debate whether these alternative concepts of learning and knowledge production have enabling, empowering and participative potentials for radical economic and social change processes. Therefore, we categorize strategies and constraints for the effectiveness of those concepts to touch and transform mainstream practices and lifestyles in relation to concepts of alternative spaces (Gibson-Graham 2006).

In order to encourage and strengthen game changing opportunities to alter the existing food regimes and supply structures, alternative food networks try to bring out *knowledge and competencies for*

- a) community-based, inclusive and action oriented *organizing* and fair business processes,
- b) alternative food evaluation schemes and *imagination*,
- c) sustainable urban food production and *processing* and
- d) a transformative *empowerment* of all those involved as initiators of alternative futures.

DISCUSSION

Each of the strategies needs to re-invent procedures and evaluation criteria in an ambivalent tension between the preservation of useful routines and dogma and others in need of substantial change. Both, too much experimentation and too much conservation may have as a result a lack of legitimacy in relevant audiences or a lack of reliable rule-setting for transformation. Thus, these "politics of knowing and framing" walk a fine line between social innovation, self-referential image management and unintended assimilation by the system.

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Agricultural innovation in Portuguese rural areas: results of a survey

P. Reis⁷⁴

The role of innovation in agricultural and rural development processes is undeniable but it is not usually captured in official statistics. An innovation survey was conducted in two Portuguese regions, both with low population density and high primary sector weight. There is a dynamic of innovation which is not completely perceived by the economic agents. The agrifood sector has a great capacity for innovation, with a profile similar to the other sectors of economic activity, though with some particularities. The results highlight the contribution of innovation to boost economic competitiveness, but also create new opportunities, attract new customers, and withstand adverse market situations.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between agricultural production and knowledge is a success story. Due to agricultural development it was possible to release agricultural workers for others activities, and reduce world hunger. This great increment on food production was mainly due to productivity growth. Research was crucial for this development with very high rates of return (Fruglie, 1996; Alston et al., 2000). Nowadays, clearly that research and innovation are the main drivers to increase productivity and growth (Alston, 2010; OECD, 2012). In a rural transition (Baptista, 2001; Marsden, 1999), strongly marked by urban consumption and profound changes in agricultural innovation systems, the innovation in farms and small-scale agro industries needs to be better understood. The contribution of innovation to agricultural and rural development is undeniable but it is not captured in official statistics (Madureira et al., 2013). In 2013 a survey with farmers and small agro industries was conducted aiming to better comprehend agricultural innovation and compare it with the others sector of economic activity (Reis, 2013).

METHODS

The study was based on a survey with farmers and small agro-industries, carried out in 2013 (Reis, 2013). The questionnaire was based on the Community Innovation Survey (CIS) questionnaire, adjusted to the specificities of the agricultural sector. Some questions were focusing on farm characteristics (e.g. number of employees, revenues, land area use, etc).

The survey was done in two regions with low population density and high primary sector weight: one in the south (*Litoral Alentejano* and *Baixo Alentejo*) and the other in the centre (*Viseu Dão Lafões*). The 32 respondents were selected from the universe of the Rural Development programme beneficiaries. Were selected the most innovative, with the help of the Ministry of Agriculture regional

services technicians. This work was done with the support of the technicians from the agricultural regional services. The sampling included ten fruit producers and eight olive growers (a very dynamic sector in Portugal in the past decade) and seven vegetables producers. Six out the 32 were using organic agriculture methods of production.

RESULTS

Most of the cases introduced technological innovations (87.5%) in the last five years. The main innovations were: i) new products (jams, type of wine, liquors, pickles, olive bottle, and herbs mixes); ii) plantation of new crops or varieties; iii) implementation or improvement of control or certification systems. Three cases had invested in renewable energy (solar or cogeneration). More than an half of the respondents developed the innovation by themselves.

Table 1. Innovations on the farms or firms.

Type of innovation	Innovation	Nr. of cases
Innovation in productive activity	Products, crops or varieties	24
	Profit activities non-agricultural	7
	Systems or modes of production	16
	Agriculture support services	14
	Control and certification	23
Organizational innovation	Processing farms' products	13
	Final products or inputs logistic	12
Marketing innovation	Internal organization	18
	Organising external relations	7
Marketing innovation	New media or techniques for product promotion	18
	New methods for product placement or sales channels	6

The main innovation activities were the investments on land improvements, buildings and plantations (on 97%), followed by advanced machinery and equipment (84%) and training for innovative activities (81%). More than an half did not undertaken research and development activities

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(69%). These results are aligned with the industry and services sectors, which main technological activities are the machinery, equipment and software acquisitions (DGEEC, 2012).

The main source of information for innovation purpose is within the enterprise or enterprise group (high for 84% of the cases). Others include inputs suppliers, clients or customers, internet sources, and others farms. The less important were the Ministry of Agriculture (MA) services, high education institutions, public units of research and local development associations. These results are also similar with those of the industrial and services sectors with two main differences. Farmers share more information than in others sectors of economy. In agricultural activities, the gains of scale are much more important than the competition due to the large number of small producer. The unexpected result was the low importance of MA services, universities and public research unities. This should be related with the farmers' perception and expectations.

The main objectives for innovation were: improve health and safety at work (83%); increase food quality and safety (79%); increase productivity (81%), production capacity (79%) and market share (80%). In CIS 2010, the main objective was to improve the products quality (DGEEC, 2012). Decreasing the environmental impact is more important in agriculture than in the other sectors of activity.

The results of organizational innovation and marketing innovation are similar in all sectors of economy. The main innovations with environmental benefits rely on reducing the use of pesticides for the plant protection (72%). The less frequent were the use of renewable energy (31%) and the use of reutilized packages (41%). It should be stressed that 81% of the respondents declared the voluntary adoption of the conservation of natural resources practices.

A relation between the farm/firm and the type of innovation was found. The machinery of technological development is associated with the big holdings, in cooperation with other entities (universities or industrial companies). On the family farms and micro enterprises, the occurrence of food processing innovation (wine, jams, teas, herbs mixtures, and sweets) was noticed.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

There exists a dynamic of innovation in agricultural sector and small food processing unit, though not well perceived by the farmers. The innovations are clearly oriented to the consumers' needs, preferences and pleasure. It is very important to promote the sharing and diffusion of knowledge.

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Towards an Edible City of Innsbruck- Knowledge Exchange on Agri-Food Practices

M. Schermer, C. Schütz⁷⁵

Abstract – While food and specifically urban food provision gain increasing importance globally, this discourse seems to be in its very beginning in the city of Innsbruck (Austria). Therefore, undergraduate students of sociology at the university of Innsbruck have surveyed in the frame of a course the challenges and opportunities for a relocalisation of food relations. This exercise involved analysis along the lines of transformation theory and transformatory research to change the current situation. The project should lead to increased knowledge about concrete possible steps and existing obstacles to bring social innovation from a niche level into the prevailing food regime.

INTRODUCTION

Food is gaining importance globally and becomes a key aspect for urban living. With an increasing urbanisation, issues of food security and especially food sovereignty come into the focus of attention. In some cities access to fresh and healthy food is getting limited, especially for lower income classes. Yet, a sustainable food system is of great importance for health systems and has implications for its long term financing. Furthermore, the growing share of urban population entails an alienation of consumers from food production processes. At the same time, the involvement of civil society initiatives into food issues and the interest in a relocation of food systems is increasing (Renting et al 2012). Urban food strategies are high on the policy agenda of cities like New York City, London, Amsterdam, Toronto, Manchester, San Francisco, Chicago or Vancouver (Sonnino 2016). At the EXPO 2015 133 cities around the globe signed an urban food policy pact.

Despite these global developments, it seems that the discourse on food and its implications for urban life and especially urban planning is only emerging recently in Innsbruck, the regional capital of the province of Tyrol/Austria. Upon request for instance the city health authorities felt not in charge in any respect for improving the provision with local food. This topic seems to be not yet seen as an issue of urban policy. The number of direct marketing farmers supplying concerned citizens with local products is not yet significant and the number of venues where local products are available is rather stagnant. While there are a number of civil society groups forming around the topic of food, food provision and food waste, their link to city administration and policy makers is still quite weak.

Therefore, during the academic year 2016/2017 a course (starting with the winter semester in October 2016 and lasting until the end of the summer

semester in June 2017) involved 25 bachelor students of sociology at the University of Innsbruck into a research project about opportunities and challenges for the relocalisation of food relations within the city of Innsbruck.

APPROACH AND METHODS

The students conducted various empirical projects to investigate supporting and hampering factors towards a transition to a sustainable food system. The overarching theoretical concept they used is the framework of transition theory (Geels, 2004). This concept distinguishes exogenous factors on the level of the 'landscape' from the dominating regime and niches where radical innovations are explored and developed. The students use this framework to examine the current situation of food supply and try to elicit transformative solutions. While the first semester was devoted to transformation analysis the second semester focussed on transformatory interventions (Schneidewind and Singer-Brodowski 2014).

In the first semester especially the discourses on landscape level and the current routines of producers and consumers were objects of analysis. The students explored the guiding discourses relevant for attempts to re-location at the 'landscape level' and looked how they translate into regulations on various levels of the current regime. Also lock-in effects for producers and the prevailing routines of various consumer groups and restaurant owners etc. were investigated on the level of the 'regime'.

The students broke into six groups, interviewed stakeholders and analysed relevant documents. The results formed research reports where they put their finding into a theoretical perspective. Main findings included a growing interest among gastronomy and final consumer. However especially actors in the hospitality business raised concerns that it is still too

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time consuming to trace and source local products directly from regional small-scale producers. Moreover the seasonality of product availability poses a challenge for restaurants to focus on this trend. A survey among students (in Innsbruck students make about 20% of the population) revealed that awareness of consumers about regionality is strongly connected to the educational status of their parents. Farmers complained about labour shortage in peak times and saw in this one crucial limitation for local marketing besides a number of bureaucratic regulations. The group dealing with supporting and hampering framework conditions concluded that at the moment regulations are scattered and touching different departments in the city administration, thus a food policy council would be a promising avenue to coordinate efforts.

At the end of the semester in February, the various student groups presented their results on posters during a public event to their interview partners, town planners and local policy makes. In general the results were received with great interest. The results provided a number of auspicious angles for transformative change.

During the summer semester the groups developed transition interventions based on the results of the winter semester. The students examined concrete transformative activities and tested possibilities to develop an agenda for transition towards an edible city Innsbruck. Each group designed a concrete activity, which was supposed to act as a social innovation developing in a niche. Then they proposed this activity to various stakeholder groups concerned for its implementation and investigated the options to put it into practice. One group looked for example into current endeavours to install apps to link better producers and consumers and evaluated the pros and cons of currently existing applications. A second group investigated options to reduce labour peaks in production by the integration of dedicated consumers. While there are already institutions, which facilitate the work of volunteers on farms as well as professional workers, the new idea is to connect consumers to farmers on a regular basis and on condition of compensation, financially of with products. A third group developed a holistic program

to educate producers and consumers on agri-food issues by linking up different already existing institutions for continuous education in order to provide a comprehensive offer. Two further groups worked on the option to install a food policy council. While one concentrated on bottom up initiatives of civil society, the other looked into the interests of different regime actors. The main challenge is expected to consolidate the different perceptions of food policy councils into a common framework. However, the establishment of a food policy council is envisaged to provide an overarching frame for the exemplary activities of the other groups

RESULTS

The main purpose of this participatory research project is to gain more knowledge about the concrete steps and obstacles to bring innovation from the niche level into the regime. Already the discussions with public actors in administration and policy on the level of the city and the region might have an aware raising effect. Moreover the presentation of the results to concerned stakeholders is expected to be crucial. Therefore, with the focus of putting research into practice, in autumn 2017 we will present the results of the student projects during a public workshop to all parties involved into the research and discuss the next steps for implementation with the city authorities.

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Working Group 20. Multiple knowledges and diversifying rural change

How to assess participation in rural tourism projects? Theory and practice in two case studies in Italy

L. Burighel, E. Pisani, D. Gallo⁷⁶

Abstract – The research proposes a framework for the evaluation of participation of local actors in rural tourism, based on indexes of participation by input, process, output and outcome. The evaluation framework is applied to two projects of rural tourism in the Veneto Region (Italy) and proposes useful insights and results in terms of trust and efficiency.

WHY PARTICIPATION IN RURAL TOURISM

Rural territories have become more and more attractive tourism destinations proposing alternative products, such as a slow pace, healthy food and environment, opportunities for leisure, sport and nature tourism (Garau, 2015). In this context, the participation of local actors from different sectors contributes to generate and spread socio-economic benefits more widely (OECD, 2016). Despite critics on the effectiveness of participation (Cooke & Kothari, 2001), several authors recognize that it allows (i) the creation of networks of actors that promote local development, (ii) processes of intersectorial governance in the rural economy (Sharpley & Roberts, 2004), and (iii) a shared vision of the territory, needed to plan the management of the destination (Presenza et al., 2005). But how is it possible to verify the effectiveness of participation in a concrete rural tourism project? To answer this question, the research proposes (i) a framework for monitoring and evaluation of participation in local development projects aimed at sustaining tourism activities in rural areas over the long run; and (ii) a comparison between participation and efficiency indexes in the project.

EVALUATION OF PARTICIPATION

The World Bank (1996) defines participation as “a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them” (World Bank, 1996, p. xi). Based on this definition, the evaluation framework aims to consider how different dimensions of participation relate to the logic of intervention of rural tourism projects, intended here as input, process, output and outcome. The research method proposes four indexes regarding each phase of the participatory cycle, subdivided into different dimensions and indicators (Table 1).

Table 1. *Indexes, dimensions and indicators of participation.*

Index	Dimension	Indicator
Input	A. Motivation	Aa. Motivation before the project
	B. Initial information	Ba. Access to the process due to new information
	C. Institutional Trust	Ca. Institutional trust
Process	D. Inclusiveness of the decision-making process	Da. Participation during project cycle phases
	E. Members Proactivity	Ea. Official meetings attended Eb. Interaction during official meetings
	F. Information flow	Fa. Out-degree centrality of the information
	G. Responsible leadership	Ga. Centralisation of strategic decision
Output	H. Sense of ownership at the end of the project	Ha. Sense of ownership at the end of the project
	I. New skills	Ia. Number of new skills acquired
	L. Cooperation	La. Cooperation out-degree after the project
Outcome	M. Respected Expectations	Ma. Respected expectation from the project
	N. Interpersonal Trust	Na. Weighted trust in-degree after the project

Source: own elaboration

The data collection draws from a structured survey based on 23 open and closed questions, and applied in two projects from the Veneto Region in Italy. Veneto represents the first Italian region in terms of

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arrivals. Project A is located in a coastal area. It includes a network of 10 actors aiming to develop a bike-club. Project B is located in a mountain area and it includes a network of 25 actors aiming to jointly promote their territory. The questionnaires were administered face-to-face between September and December 2014 and the data collected was elaborated through the social network analysis software *Gephi*, also used for the graphical representation (Fig. 2). The rate of response was 71.4% in Project A and 86.2% in Project B. The data was normalized using the formula $\frac{x - x_{min}}{x_{max} - x_{min}}$, so that all the indicators vary between 0 and 1, and higher values show better performance of participation in the project.

RESULTS OF PARTICIPATION INDEXES

Project A presents high indexes of participation in all phases, more specifically during process, while Project B presents lower indexes of participation, more prominently for the output.

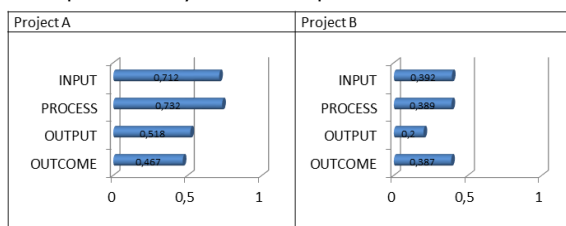


Figure 1. Participation indexes of input, process, output and outcome in projects A and B

Interpersonal trust indicators before and after project activities highlight the dynamic of the networks in both projects (Fig. 2).

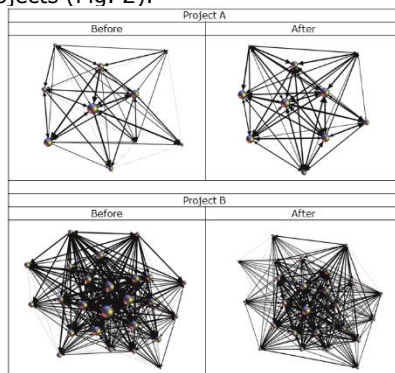


Figure 2. Interpersonal trust in projects A and B. With higher indexes of participation, members in Project A increased the average level of weighted trust in-degree (from 0.497 to 0.758), while in Project B interpersonal trust remained almost unchanged (from 0.472 to 0.488). To further investigate this dynamic, in the second part of the research, the indexes of participation were compared to the hours and euros invested in both projects by both networks of members. In Project A, the hours invested in the project over a year were on average higher (99

hours) and more equally distributed among the different actors than in Project B. In Project B, lower indexes of participation were matched by lower hours of participation in the project: the hours invested were mainly spent by a single node (63.4%) while on average each node devoted 44 hours/per year to the project. This shows that Project A better shared the costs incurred (in terms of time spent for the activities) to reach a common benefit (project goals), while in Project B, costs were mainly sustained by one node to the benefit of the others. By looking at resources invested, Project A showed on average a higher personal investment (1,554 euros), than in Project B, where the private contribution was limited to 600 euros.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In Project A, the higher values of participation indexes were influenced, for instance, by higher values of personal motivation (0.667), institutional trust (0.568) and a more inclusive decision-making process (0.829). Moreover, it had the best performance in terms of interpersonal trust among members in the before and after assessment. In Project B, the lower values of participation indexes were almost unchanged over the course of the project and matched similar results for interpersonal trust.

The project with higher participation indexes and a higher level of trust presented a better economic performance, and vice-versa. Additionally, the project with higher participation indexes was totally self-financed. This suggests that public financing *per se* may not ensure the participation of the stakeholders. Thus, the indexes proposed can be a useful instrument to monitor and evaluate participation within projects and to observe whether support for certain dimensions of participation inputs and processes can determine and in which way outputs and outcomes.

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The challenges of setting up operational groups in agriculture, the case of Slovenia

M. Černič Istenič

Abstract – This paper discusses the current situation and obstacles in the upcoming implementation of Operational Groups (OG) projects linked to the European Innovation Partnership for Agricultural Productivity and Sustainability (EIP-AGRI) faced by the scholars in Slovenia working in the field of agriculture.

INTRODUCTION

Recently, theoretical and empirical studies in the field of management and organization as well as in other social sciences thoroughly reconsidered the concepts of social conditionality of knowledge creation and problematized its linear - top down structuring (Jarzabkowski et al., 2010, Perkmann et al., 2013). "Traditional" mono-disciplinary frameworks of knowledge formation and application within universities and academic communities that generally contribute to the relatively homogeneous view on what is the "right" knowledge are substituted with new conceptual views that highlight the merits of knowledge formation in the frame of wider social practice that in addition to actors in academia takes into account also non-academic actors with different goals and needs of knowledge usage. The new conceptualisation of knowledge formation is mirrored in various social domains including the field of agriculture and rural development (Hermans et al., 2010).

Although innovations in rural areas have already been stimulated by the EU rural development policy in the past, the EIP-AGRI, whose aim is to build the bridges between researchers and farmers, forest owners, rural communities, businesses, non-governmental organizations and advisory service, is the new element in the rural development programming period 2014-2020. From this new form of partnership it is expected that the transfer and usage of agricultural knowledge generated through the interaction of academic and non-academic actors in the course of common projects aimed towards yielding tangible and practical results will be more rapid and will stimulate innovations and targeted research programmes responding to the needs of agricultural practice (*European Commission 2016*). However, it is also stressed that the creation and exchange of knowledge through these academic – non-academic networks is not an easy and unproblematic issue (e.g. Knights and Scarbrough, 2010). The empirical research that could shed light on this issue is still scarce. The aim of this paper is to show how the idea of partnership in creation and exchange of knowledge in agricultural system through OG is acknowledged and workable from the

point of view of the scholars and particularly what hinders its implementation.

METHODS

The data in this paper were obtained from targeted research project 'Design of Criteria for Assessing Knowledge Transfer and Innovation Potential of Operational Groups in the Field of Agriculture' carried out in 2014-2016 and subsidised by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food and Slovenian Research Agency. In the frame of this research the survey encompassing the sample of 179 scholars from the field of biotechnics was carried out in January 2016 and the focus group discussion (FGD) in July 2016 with five academic and five non-academic actors from the field of various biotechnical disciplines (agronomy, forestry, zootechnics).

FINDINGS

The first set of findings refers to the existent professional connections of researchers with other actors in the food chain. As regards to the transfer of knowledge the survey results revealed that researchers with their research outcomes primarily supply the academic institutions (74%) and to a minor extent the governmental agencies (48%), agri-food associations (44%), farmers (40%), extension service (38%) and agri-food businesses (36%). What's more, researchers share their knowledge with their end-users most frequently through scientific journal articles (73%), conferences (63%), lectures (63%), professional journal articles (57%), workshops and seminars (51%). Less frequent, but still significant form of knowledge transfer between researchers and other actors in the food-chain refers to personal on-site contacts (47%), consultations (40%) and announcement of research results through social networks (35%). Though, researchers rarely transfer their knowledge through field trials (24%), media (radio and TV) (22%), own websites (19%) and presentations at fairs (19%). Considering the involvement of researchers in projects leading to innovations the survey results show that half of the respondents participate in this field. However, so far



most of the innovations were created to meet the needs of public research organisations (72%) but to a minor extent to those of farmers (37%) and farm associations (37%) and governmental agricultural agencies (32%). According to researchers' opinion the informal contacts among academics as well as with industry and other organizations (65%) are the best way to achieve specific practical results while minor share of researchers believe that this could be achieved by setting up of common laboratories (42%) and spin-offs (20%). Furthermore, just 28% of researchers that participated in the survey reported that their research results obtained in the last five years lead to real practical problem solutions. According to their opinion the main reasons for this situation are poor funding (78%), lack of time (68%), insufficient information about the needs of end-users and their operation (64%), the absence of well thought strategy and common objectives set up by their faculty or institution (49%), poor communication among actors (different understanding of procedures, terminology, working goals, etc.)(37%), weak culture of collaboration (36%), different evaluation systems of work and career promotion (36%), different needs of knowledge (32%) and unclear formal procedures of cooperation (32%) and poor demand for applied projects among various stakeholders (28%).

The following results of FGD largely corroborate the survey results:

- Past experience of academics in participating in research projects that to some extent had the character of the OG, confirm the reasonableness of multi-actor approach enforcement;
- However, in addition to the positive past experience with projects similar to OG also problems were pointed out, particularly weak familiarity and understandings of the meaning and methods of other actors work;
- All potential actors are not equally/sufficiently informed about the nature and the possibilities of integration into OS. Consequently, so far the interests and willingness to cooperate have not been recognized by all;
- For successful operation of OG several conditions need to be fulfilled: 1. strategic plan of research priorities in agriculture and biotechnology, 2. "an intermediate link" setting to mediate academic and non-academic actors' communications, 3. competent

leader and 4. ensured principles of equal partnership created through contributions of all actors in all phases of the project duration according to their competencies.

- The initiators of OG should be farmers, extension service, cooperatives and industry. Therefore, when assessing the quality of proposals in setting up OG, scientific excellence should not be supreme evaluation criterion but primarily relevant topics, feasibility, project organization and the usability of the results should be taken into account.

DISCUSSION CONCLUSIONS

In current scientific and political debates (e.g. MacMillan and Benton, 2014) it is accentuated that the environmental and economic sustainability of the farming sector depends greatly on farmers' and land managers' capacity to develop activities and participate in networks with fellow farmers and other groups and entities that follow the philosophy of OG. In addition, it is emphasised that despite of the benefits of such approach farmers' involvement in them is in number of European countries low for various reasons. As results our research suggested the success or fails of OG do not depend only on capacities of farming sector but also on the responsiveness of academic sector and scientific policy on the given challenges that need to reconsider standards and conditions of scientific endeavour in each country, particularly its openness to the needs of its end-users.

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Innovative strategies for the development of inner rural areas in Italy

A. Corrado, S. Sivini, A. Vitale⁷⁷

Abstract – The paper focuses on the innovative contribution given by new Italian policies to development processes in rural areas. The study is carried on considering the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) and Protection System for Asylum seekers and Refugees (SPRAR). The aim is to discuss the integration of migrant people and community sustainability in development processes.

INTRODUCTION

Inner and rural areas often suffer problems of depopulation and ageing, abandonment and social and economic distress, in Italy and in Europe at large. However in recent years, and especially since the “migration crisis” have developed in 2015, new migration dynamics have involved rural and inner areas as new destinations. Scholars and policymakers are looking with attention to these processes, evaluating possible effects in terms of social innovation and development opportunities in a win-win perspective (Bloem, 2016; Bock, 2016; ENRD, 2016).

New populations are evaluated as crucial components for the development of inner areas and as an answer to depopulation problems. In particular the presence of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees represents an opportunity to avoid demographic and economic desertification and revitalize the local economy. Therefore immigration can be seen as a resource for development instead of a threat.

This paper discusses the possible integration of two policies at the moment implemented in Italy: the first one, the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI), is for the development of inner areas, the other one, the Protection System for Asylum seekers and Refugees (SPRAR), is for the reception Asylum seekers and Refugees. Both policies contemplate a multi-level governance.

The aim is to investigate the innovations, and limits as well, arising from some projects designed and implemented in the framework of the two policies.

METHODOLOGY

The contribution builds on the first results of an ongoing research, carried out with policies and territorial plan documents’ analysis, interviews, direct observation and participation in meetings.

INNOVATION IN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

The SNAI, intercepting and removing obstacles to social, institutional and economic innovation, has the aim of improving the quality of life and economic wellbeing of people living in inner areas and in the long term reversing and improving demographic trends by sustaining local development (Meloni, 2015; UVAL, 2014).

The policy is characterized by three innovation. First it is implemented in gradual terms and pilot project are initially realized in a limited number of areas that each Region, in agreement with the Centre, proposed.

Second, intervention actions are related either to guarantee adequate public provision, through a partnership among Municipalities, of essential services related to health, mobility and education that are considered ‘pre-conditions’ for territorial development; and to the promotion of local development projects. The set of interventions take the form of Area Projects and, following a multi-level governance logic, a Project Framework Agreement (PFA) is undersigned. At the moment seven Area Projects have been approved and 65 are still in the first phases of the process. Third, an ongoing monitoring and assessment process of outcomes is put in place. Finally, it should be underlined that this policy individuates in the presence of immigrant a way to counteract the de-population.

Since 2002, the SPRAR has been financed by the Italian Ministry for the Interior through the National Fund for Asylum Policy and Services. Local municipalities involved in the SPRAR, in partnership with no-profit organizations, set up and operate reception projects, applying SPRAR guidelines and standards, while taking into account local factors and conditions. The primary objective of SPRAR is to provide support for each individual in the reception system, through a programme aiming to regain a sense of independence, effective involvement in everyday life, in terms of employment and housing integration, access to local services, social interaction

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and scholastic integration for minor. The impact of SPRAR on local administrations is evaluated in terms of: a) prevention of social marginalisation, with consequent savings in expenditure on welfare services; b) strengthening of local services, and extension of their range; c) enrichment of the areas, from a cultural, economic and social viewpoint; d) revitalisation of areas characterized by small-scale farming and handcraft; e) maintaining control of the local area.

Following the "migration crisis" of last years, extraordinary reception centres (CAS) have been created but according to different criteria: they are authorized by prefectures, they can host a higher number of people than SPRAR, they can be run by profit organizations.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The SPRAR has revealed to be a very innovative strategy. It was inspired and institutionalized from the example of two small towns, Riace and Badolato, that at the end of '90s, spontaneously and innovatively, gave hospitalities to hundreds of refugees arrived by the sea, utilizing the many unused properties and promoting small handcraft activities. In 2016 the SPRAR hosted around 24.000 immigrants while the CAS system 96.700. The 30% of refugees is hosted in mountains areas. Despite its innovativeness, SPRAR presents some critical points: it benefits of few resources, it suffers delays in disbursement, insertion projects have a short period (in total 12 months at the most), a highly sectoral and low specialized as well as charity approach, first assistance service (housing, food, alphabetization) often predominate - especially in the South of Italy; there is a strong fragmentation of assistance and reception programs, without a general framework for cooperation and coordination of actions. The integrated character of problems and processes of inclusion is not taken into account, beneficiaries are not really involved, there is an high turn over, so that few people decide to stay after their refugee status is approved. However the situation in the CAS can be even more problematic, given the high number of hosted people, the lack of assistance and expertise, the uncontrolled condition of management, the involvement of profit organizations and entrepreneurs

interested just in business. Refugees in CAS often work irregularly, especially in southern agriculture, and in some case decide to leave the reception program then suffering very precarious conditions (Corrado, D'Agostino 2017).

In Northern regions key factors in reception programs are: forms of cooperation among municipalities or within a specific territorial area, in order to share the burden, avoiding emergency and promoting local governance; the integration of local inhabitants' needs in the development of integration practices; the participation of strong, from a cultural and economic point of view, actors able to develop long term activities; material and immaterial connections.

With regards to SNAI the major limits seems to be the that only few Area Projects are developing with specific attention to foreign migration issues, at least at this moment.

The respatialisation of migrations has progressively involved rural areas too, due also to resettlement and reception programs of asylum seekers and refugees, to work opportunities and low cost of living and housing. Scholars and policymakers have seen new opportunities for social innovation and local development. However, at local level experience in the field, governance capacity, cooperation processes are elements that can affect the efficacy of projects and programs addressing local development goals.

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How farmers deal with agroecological transition? Production and circulation of knowledge in 4 French farmers' groups

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INTRODUCTION

In 2012, the French Ministry of Agriculture has launched a new agricultural policy based on agroecology as a new pathway for agricultural development and aimed at fostering sustainable transitions in agriculture and agri-food systems. Within this national agroecological plan, several policy instruments have been set up, among which specific support for innovative farmers' groups. According to the literature [whether specific to agroecology (Glisseman, 2007; Francis et al., 2003; Altieri, 2002) or not (see Baars, 2011, Long, 1992; Kloppenburg, 1991)], the development of agroecology, and more generally sustainable agriculture, relies on practitioners and local situated knowledge.

In France, farmers' groups have been considered as a relevant scale and tool to foster agroecology.

In this context, the multi-stakeholder on-going research project COTRAE (COLlective TRansitions to AgroEcology) brings together social and agricultural scientists as well as agricultural institutions with the aim to investigate in a research-action perspective, the production and circulation of knowledge within a series of farmers' groups and how it contributes to agroecological transitions. This project aims to understand how these farm groups activities contribute to reconfiguring relationships with traditional actors of agricultural and rural development and to the emergence of new forms of knowledge useful for agroecology transition.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The COTRAE project is based on the analysis of 12 farm groups cases located in the "Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes" region (south-east). This paper is based on the comparison of 4 farm groups that have been followed for 1 to 2 years through direct or participating observation and comprehensive interviews.

To build the comparison, we produced a collective description grid which allowed us to characterize the composition and alliances of the group, describe its trajectory and activities, identify the diverse sources,

forms and expressions of knowledge that farmers produce, circulate and use in collective contexts. Since the beginning of the project (2015), several meetings were organized to allow researchers to discuss about the advancement of the investigation and to share about their case studies.

For this communication, we choose to work specifically on 4 cases that are i) illustrative of the diversity of farm groups organizations we met and ii) illustrative of different agricultural productions (dairy farming, vegetable farming and grain farming).

MAIN RESULTS

Based on the comparison of the 4 cases, we found out that the ways of producing, circulating and using knowledge depend on 1) the social configuration and collective organization of the groups (number of farmers involved in each group, date of existence, group facilitation, type of activities carried out, geographical perimeter) 2) the objects around which they decide to work together [in the ANT perspective developed by Latour and Callon (Akrich and al., 2006; Callon, 1986)] i.e., A) local seeds; B) farm equipment; C) soil management; D) a particular practice: conservation agriculture.

Table 1. Main characteristics of each farm group

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D
Number of Farmers	15	8	25	30
Advisor / facilitator	none	Private consultant firm (SCARA)	Agronomists (ISARA) and CA	Chamber of agriculture CA
Main goal	Strengthen autonomy (farm-seed production)	Share farm equipment	Experiment in soil management	Practice : conservation agriculture
Emergence of the group	2013	2015	2014	50 years ago



Indeed, the composition and alliances of the group - who are its members, contributors and partners - as well as its collective organization - how, where and how often these people interact - induce the co-presence of different sources and types of knowledge (e.g. science (i.e., group C) or experience based knowledge (i.e., group A).

Therefore, we observe specific processes of confrontation, hybridization, invention etc. According to the "common object" of their collective work, they call on external expertise (Group B, C and D) and/or produce their own expertise based for example on on-farm experimentations, adapted protocols (e.g. group A) and collective analysis of their outcomes. This comparison reveals a diversity of knowledge production modes among the 4 groups and also within each group.

DISCUSSION

Some of these farm groups contribute to the development of distributed expertise about agroecological systems grounded in local situations (mainly group A) or decide, as group B, to rely on private expertise. This situation leads to question the role of "traditional" actors of agricultural and rural development in the processes of knowledge circulation. For example, Group B's activities (sharing agricultural equipment) directly questions the role of a French major player of agricultural and rural development: the cooperatives created to buy and use shared agricultural equipment (called CUMA and created at the end of WWII to modernize the French agriculture). Moreover, this group is accompanied by a private consultant firm, which is very uncommon as the chambers of agriculture (CA) are still powerful in France and have long had a monopoly on farming support / advice).

Finally, these groups - very different in terms of objectives, size, location, organization - all demonstrate a strong will to change practices in the French context where agroecology is promoted by the government as a new pathway for agricultural sustainable development.

Even if their own definitions of agroecology to qualify what they do and how (through local-adapted-seeds, sharing farm equipment, soil management or conservation agriculture) are very diverse (and range from organic to conventional farming), the lack of formal and available knowledge about agroecological systems encourage them to look for their own solution, with or without experts. This situation also questions the role of scientists in those processes (methodological issue).

The fact that those who look for external expertise are turning to some new actors (private, consultant, trainers) to the detriment of more "classical" ones, represent, in our view, a significant shift within the

French institutional structure of rural and agricultural development.

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Education of rural population in Republic of Macedonia in the era of New Global Economy

J. Jakimovski⁷⁸

SUMMARY

Over long period of time there have been very few changes in the number and property structure of individual agricultural households in Macedonia.

In the Republic of Macedonia, the number of individual farms was symbolically reduced. For example, in 1981 the number of these farms was 172 293 and in 2013 it was 170 581 or decreased by 1%.

Table 1. Number of agricultural holdings by size classes of utilised agricultural land

	Structure of individual agricultural holdings							Total	Average ha
	< 1.0	1.0-3.0	3.0-5.0	5.0-8.0	8.0-10.0	>10.0	Total		
1981	448	345	122	53	14	14	1000	172293	2.05
2013	583	294	73	28	08	12	1000	170581	1.60
1981=100	130	85	65	53	57	86		99	88

Source: The 1981 Census of Population, Households, Dwellings and Agricultural Holdings, Republic of Macedonia, State statistical office, Skopje, and Typology and structure of agricultural holdings, 2013. Statistical review: Agriculture, 5.4.15.01/803, Republic of Macedonia, State statistical office, Skopje, April 2015, pp.94.

The average size of the property is small and in 2013 it reached only 1.6ha. The process of partializing has been increasing which made individual agricultural households the smallest of the kind in Europe.

The introduction of new knowledge and technology requires modification of the system of professional education of agricultural producers and adaption of the individual agricultural households for productive and economic usage of resources, higher level of social security and greater affection to the village. In the era of technological development and innovations there is a need of rural policy and rural development which will help the farmer in acquiring

knowledge and train him to use new technology. The key condition for development of vital individual agricultural households in Macedonia is the professionalization of farmers, and improvement of general and vocational education of rural population. The lack of these will lead to impossibility of the farmers to use resources, increase their production and ensure quality of life.

Data shows that educational structure of the Macedonian farmers and the rural population is far more unfavourable than that of other economic sectors and urban population.

The fact that the formal education of the rural population is low was confirmed by the Survey of the labor force in 2015. Up to 51.93% of the rural population aged over 15 are without education, with incomplete primary education and complete primary education.

There is an uneven distribution of educational groups between women and men. The rural women are significantly more without education incomplete primary and primary and lower secondary education (60%).

The average proportion of employed women is 23% lower than that of men, but that difference is significantly greater in the age groups from 40 to 59 years of age, where the concentration of the consequences of birth, the care and upbringing of children is the highest. Employment rates of those with college and university education are fairly similar (between 47.8% and 43.3% with college or 68.2% and 65.7% with university education), employment rates of those who do not have any education, or have primary education is 18.3 % and 26.6%. However, the difference in the employment rate is the highest among employed women with incomplete primary education and primary education and it is 18.8% i.e. 22.0% (situation in 2015).

Persons that completed undergraduate studies, starting from high school and beyond, are significantly seldom present in the population of the mountain villages as well as in the compactly backward regions, and participation of illiterate and population that hasn't completed elementary education prevails.

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People that have completed primary education are not able independently to run and to develop a modern agricultural or other production.

The educational structure of the members of individual agricultural households is mostly consisted of persons with no education, unfinished primary education and primary education (47.2% in 2013).

Research shows that only 4.9% of the members of the household who work on family farms have some degree of agricultural education (high school degree, 2-year university degree and 4-year

university degree). Undoubtedly, there is an improvement in the level of education and qualifications. However, there is still a need for continuous education and especially of older farmers with no degree or lower degree of education which will bring better integration in the labor market.

Table 2. Working age population by educational attainment and gender, 2015

Educational attainment	Urban areas			Rural areas		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Without education, incomplete primary and primary and lower secondary education	27.59	23.11	31.87	51.93	44.28	60.07
Secondary education	50.54	56.67	44.70	39.44	47.02	31.39
Higher vocational and university level education	21.86	20.22	23.43	8.63	8.70	8.54

Source: Labour Force Survey, 2015. 2016. Statistical review: Population and social statistics, 2.4.16.02/843, State statistical office, Republic of Macedonia, Skopje pp.99.



Community resilience and agency within the rural assemblage

M. Lendvay⁷⁹

Abstract – The dynamics of current trends of rural change have often been linked to the concept of 'rural community resilience'. The application of resilience frameworks to rural change have been associated with various aspects of society, many of which are tied to social capital, community initiatives, and various forms of governance. Existing conceptualisations do not provide sufficient answers to how deliberate and policy-orientated actions are intertwined with 'non-intentional' activities and natural processes embedded in daily rural life, however. The aim of this study is to explore how relational approaches may help us overcome a structure-agency division and so to better understand processes of rural change and resilience. More specifically, we aim to unravel how human and non-human agency is generated and provide the power required to withstand external pressures of change or become the source of transformation and development. The research is carried out by applying various actor-network and assemblage approaches to an agricultural community in order to understand how such theories may explain the emergence of agency and the power.

INTRODUCTION

The notion of resilience – often understood as a system's capacity to absorb disturbances and adversity so as to maintain its original level of functioning – emerged in the field of rural geography as a response to crises in the new millennium.

Recent work in rural geography [e.g. Dwiartama and Rosin (2014), Darnhofer et al. (2016), Lendvay (2016)] has questioned the usefulness of the traditional approaches to rural community resilience that either focus on social-ecological systems or are engaged with the active agency of communities and their resources. While the first approach is concerned with applying a scientific lens based on the rules of ecology to rurality it considers a system, the latter one is engaged with the questions of active agents, community networks, identity and values as community resources activated in processes in the course of a respond to change. However, in their recent work Darnhofer et al. (2016) propose the application of relational approaches to dissolve this binary.

In this paper we aim to further develop the existing debates on the potentials of relational approaches in developing our understanding on rural community resilience. In this article we focus on DeLanda's (2006) interpretation of assemblage theory originally developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). By following the principles of the theory we aim to put assemblage theory into work in a case-study both to prove its usefulness and to unfold its shortcomings. Our assumption was that assemblage theory serves as a tool to eradicate the structure-agency divide that characterized resilience-thinking in the past decades. Also, according to the theory, thinking in terms of assemblages may support our understanding about

how power to withstand change – become resilient – is generated by the agency of components building up the assemblage (Anderson et al. 2012). Resilience, therefore shall not be regarded here as a term imbued with normativity and as a neo-liberal project, but a system of processes and a phenomena constantly reproduced by rural communities (Lendvay 2016).

METHODS

The research - as part of a PhD project - is based on testing how assemblage theory may be applied to resilience thinking on the case of an Eastern European rural community. The paper illustrates rural development processes through a case study of the watermelon producing community of Medgyesegyháza, Hungary: a community that has been characterised by a very turbulent socio-economic environment in the past years. In the course of data collection 27 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted, mainly between July 2013 and February 2016, with farmers, traders, local politicians and decision-makers. Their accounts and opinions of the processes and phenomena they experience related to farming and community life were rendered according to how they may shape and be shaped by *relations* between people, the watermelon and the land.

RESULTS

Following the principles of assemblage theory, when applying the approach we extend our inquiry beyond humans building up the community to non-human components such as materials, technologies, discourses. The components may be 'unbuckled' from one assemblage and become constitutive parts of others, establishing new forms of rural assemblages. The primary components – humans, the land and agricultural products as non-human objects – are tied

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together by relations of exteriority. The material an expressive properties they have become enrolled when coming together in certain constellations. Assemblage theory provides a framework not only to how communities may adapt and change, but it very much concentrates on how they are stabilized. *Territorialization, materiality and coding*, key features of assemblages, stem from the properties of the assemblage that arise from the relations between component parts, and determine those 'attractors' that establish stable stages the assemblage returns to in case of a disturbance in the system.

Further, assemblage theory offers a solution to the question of how communities are able to transform. 'Lines of flight' denote those avenues and directions in which the assemblage is able to transform. Derived from the internal relations within the assemblage, some components are more prone to exit the assemblage than others through deterritorialization and decoding processes. When overstepping 'tipping-points', the community may lose its original identity and function, while gaining others.

The study has also shown that using rather essentialist concepts related to human activity – such as social capital, often cited in works on community resilience – remain insufficient when trying to understand why rural communities are changing in certain ways. What this paper suggests instead, is to consider the rural community as an assemblage, an outcome of the relations between both human and non-human components. Humans, the land and agricultural products do not simply add to the resilience of rural communities by stabilizing them and marking out the possible directions of change, however. They also have an unintentional and 'unpurposeful' agency in determining when and how changes happen or do not happen, and they also have spin off impacts on predominantly human realms, such as social capital and human relations emerging in the community.

In practice, watermelon production is a good example to how objects may play the role of a 'driver of change' in the community assemblage. Watermelon has a physical presence, a *materiality* that changes during its course of life and humans attach values to its physical properties: the watermelon as an agricultural product and as a commodity needs to fulfil certain roles and enter a community network via the food chain. During its development the watermelon plant and fruit comes into interaction with many different stakeholders (the

farmer, day-labour, traders, consumers etc.) but these interest groups all have different views on what 'a good watermelon fruit' is and how it shall be treated – even though some properties of watermelon production are *coded* by legislations. The interactions between community members themselves are often based on the relations between members and the agricultural products. Because of the hectic biological development and the different knowledges attached to the watermelon, we might say the watermelons act as driver of change.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study we observed that the resilience of the rural community assemblage is embedded primarily in daily practices as resilience emerges from relations between components: humans, objects and the land. We suggest these relations stem from lay and even traditional ecological knowledges that are often underrated or not taken into consideration at all when shaping rural policies. We propose further investigation in how resilience and sustainability oriented research and policy development may embrace relational approaches, such as assemblage thinking to unfold dynamics of rural change.

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Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno-UPM Foundation' Chair: collaboration between a public university and the private sector to meet challenges of rural entrepreneurship

R. Pastor, M. López, J.A. Navarro

Abstract – The role of University has been established during all this time between students and professors, seeking for knowledge and wisdom and adapting it to the emerging societal demands. Nowadays, certain universities are defined as “Research Universities” as new centres of progress. The main purpose of this research is based on defining the structural characteristic and measures needed to achieve this new mode. One of the tools used to carry out this research is the chair university-enterprise as an integrated view of relationship between university and society. The case study analyses the evolution of Fundación Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno – UPM Chair since 2014, when it was established. Findings are analysed in order to see how relationship between academia and society affects in the transformation process from a conventional university to a research one.

INTRODUCTION

University is one of the oldest institutions in our society and its presence in history is for more than nine centuries. Since the foundation of Bologna, Paris, Oxford or Salamanca Universities in the 12th and 13th centuries, to the contemporary universities, this institution has evolved guided by values and models of action that have conditioned their missions (Lenartowicz 2015, Maasen & Stensaker 2011, European Commission 2003, Clark 2003, Kerr 2001). In the bibliographic review, it is observed how these different models have marked the history of the universities and how each one of them has evolved until the present time. The changes taking place in the 21st century are marking a growing trend towards a new university, from a model focused on reaching the truth, reflecting on problems and seeking solutions through experience (Kristjánsson, 2014, Pedersen, 1997) to a model where teaching is linked to research to meet the demands of society (Pastor 2016, Mohrman 2007, Rip 2004). This trend is marked by the so-called "Research Universities", an adjective attached to certain universities that are recognized at the end of the twentieth century, identified by Whitehead (2011) as the new centres of progress. These universities create a new public and open space, where diversity of opinions, debate and social conflict, build a solid structure, indispensable in the generation of new knowledge (Kartashova et al 2015; Duderstadt 2012; Burt 2000; Müller 1995). Research Universities contribute to the development of society, in the regional and national economy, preparing people with more research training capable of developing new technologies, and attracting the most avant-garde industry (Hessels & Van Lente 2008).

One of the formulas used to carry out these collaborations is the University Chairs (Snizek 1995). Chairs are stable, strategic and lasting collaborations that contribute to intensify training and concentrate the activity, enhancing research in areas of common interest (Leeman et al., 2009; Elmuti, Abebe, & Nicolosi 2005; Benner & Sandström 2000). Chairs are a fast track for

companies, which request innovative solutions and technical assistance to universities, as well as human resources, and increasing their visibility in society (Sagawa & Segal 2000). This combination of factors translates into relevant research, making the results published in journals with global impact or their patents developed; an applied research to a quality teaching, where the postgraduate studies prevail; and the relevance of the university in society, who conceives it as a profitable institution of prestige and progress (Campillo 2015, Cazorla 2014, Philip 2007, Stuart & Ding 2006, Altbach 2001).

METHODS

In order to carry out this process of change, a planning effort is needed to articulate scientific and technical knowledge, and actions to link these processes (De los Rios et al. Al., 2010, Friedmann 1992). *Working With People model* uses bidirectional actions, where there is a continuous dialogue between the expert and the experienced. Results of this double perspective of seeing reality is translated into the conjunction of two types of measures: the first ones, of a top-down and institutional character; second ones, measures appropriate to the reality in which it operates, with a bottom-up approach (Cazorla, de los Ríos-Carmenado & Mendivil 2004). *Working With People planning model* establishes its bases in a participatory process with the reality in which it works, where it is possible to extract a new scientific knowledge from action.

The study case based in this research is Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno Foundation Chair emerges as a close collaboration between Tatiana Foundation and the Technical University of Madrid, looking for a more sustainable rural development, of 17 municipalities of the Province of Avila (Spain). The Foundation is a non-profit organization that pursues educational and scientific purposes through the development of concrete actions in the fields of youth training, scientific research and the environment. In order to carry out this work, the technical team of the GESPLAN research group, with more than 25 years of experience in the rural communities of Spain, Romania or Peru, is in close contact with this territory. In accordance with the values and the mission of each one, this Program is called Young



Entrepreneurs for the Sustainability of Rural Territories, with actions directed at young people, especially women, who live in rural areas and can develop new initiatives and projects. In this context, activities promote innovation and change from civil society.

FINDINGS

Results are focused through combination of research, high quality teaching and university results linked to society. Chairs play a fundamental role in *relevant research*, one of the characteristics of research universities. The results of this variable must be oriented to the publication of scientific results in journals of international impact and in the registration of patents. In this particular case, Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno Chair, communications of the research have been presented at different congresses (1. 7th World Conference on Educational Sciences, Athens 2) 19TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND ENGINEERING, Granada 3) The XXVI European Society for Rural Sociology Congress, Aberdeen 4) The 7th International Scientific Conference, Rural Development 2015, Kaunas, Lithuania; 5) 4th International Conference on Advances in Social Science, Management and Human Behaviour, Rome, Italy; 6) 21TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND ENGINEERING, Cádiz, Spain). In addition, PhDs and PhD students participating in this group have shared lines, where a system of continuous evaluations of research, teaching, academic management and links with society is articulated.

The second characteristic of research universities, directly related to *teaching with high quality standards*, addresses the formative aspect with the objective of responding to the new challenges and needs of society. It has been possible to include the case study Young Entrepreneurs for the Sustainability of the Rural Territories in the postgraduate studies (Masters of Planning of rural development and sustainable management). In addition, the technicians have also participated in these sessions, providing a more critical and direct vision to transmit to the students, being a starting point sharing knowledge.

Thirdly, the *link between the University and society* is consolidated by putting at your service people trained in the demands that are demanded for the current socio-economic development and giving solutions to the existing real problems. The knowledge generated within the university is transmitted through the provision of services in development programs such as the one mentioned above, also fulfilling the interests of the Tatiana Foundation, promoter of this chair. That is why the review of the programs, the establishment of new guidelines and maintaining the relationship, both with technicians and entrepreneurs is essential to improve day by day.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Changes taking place in the 21st century are marking a growing trend towards a new university model, where teaching is linked to research to meet the demands demanded by society. Encouraging the relationship between these three components, identified in the WWP model as the structural basis for change, contribute to the development of the human capital of a society and the production of scientific knowledge, consecrating research universities as the new centres of progress, being an attraction for Avant-grade industries. This research is aimed at validating a participatory planning model (WWP) that generates a new university structure where research is the motor of knowledge, and where the chairs are the tool that facilitates communication and

contact between the social sphere and the Educational sphere.

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New/old communities: Intergenerational knowledge transfer in study circles in the Transylvanian (North-Western Romania) rural space. Case-study in villages from Szeklerland (Eastern part of Transylvania)

E. Veress

Abstract – One of the great expectations of the Romanian and especially the Romanian rural society has been for the last 25 years the economic and social appraisal through new models of endogenous development. This way the local communities, especially in the more marginalised regions could use their local resources in a much more efficient way. Unfortunately in this period the previous, over-centralised model of development has perpetuated, this leading to the maintenance and even the extension of the previous regional cleavages. After 2007 (the year Romania has become member of the EU) new development strategies based on the use of endogenous resources and the 'bottom-up' approach Romania has tried to decrease the level of marginalization and the regional disparities. This until the moment of the analysis presented below has been only partly successful as there is no previously elaborated development pattern at the level of the EU. Romania of the 21st century has experienced during the last century a series of socio-economic transfers that have led to a re-modellation of the rural and urban space. As it has been considered by scholars the postsocialist period from Romania had led rather to a turnback to the precommunist rural society (with a massive in-migration of the losers of the transition) than to a society based on the free-market based capitalist economy. Characterised by premodern social and economical features, especially in the marginalised areas, rural communities have returned to the precommunist knowledge of the communities and their previously constructed cultural identity.

Keywords: *Knowledge, intergenerational transfer, endogenous resources, Transylvania*

Especially One of the main problems rural space in the former communist countries from Eastern Europe has experienced during the transitional period of the nineties was that of the inexistence of a transfer of knowledge, mainly the intergenerational one, this causing a lack of (non-economic) capital for the marginal rural areas. Inexistence of such a deliberate transfer can be explained both due to the social-economic status of the elderly who are the holders of the local knowledge, this stratum has being marginalised in the community in the first decade, being considered as the losers of the postcommunist transition. In the last decade as a result to a re-migration or establishment of younger population to the rural areas (interesting that it does not characterise only the peri-urban rural communities but also the more marginalised ones) who had no previous knowledge of the local culture have tried to integrate in the local community by „learning” the local cultural identity. The demand of the new-settlers for the transfer of the local culture from the endogenous population has led to a deliberate construction of sociability. This was not done in the first phase in order to create a resource for local development, rather a means for a better integration into the “old” community.

But even so the local knowledge (here we must include also the cultural knowledge-legends, ethnographical elements) has not been revitalised/transferred to younger generations until the late nineties, when local actors as well as regional actors have started to include in development strategies sources of capital (the re/construction of the local cultural identity) that can individualise communities and so increase their chances of sustainable local development. The paper wishes to present the modalities of intergenerational transfer (both conscious through courses and study cycles and in an unconscious way through personal behaviour) in marginal rural areas from the South-Western part of Romania, the Szeklerland as well as their transformation in endogenous resources for local development. The case-study includes two villages: Inlaceni-Énlaka (a more marginal one) and Zetea-Zetelaka (a peri-urban one).

The methodology of the comparative research has included both quantitative (demographical and socio-economic indicators) as well as qualitative methods (interviews with local actors, observation). Both villages have a specific ethnical structure, with an overwhelming population of Hungarian-speaking Szeklers (the local population has expressed several



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times this multiple ethnical identity) and a specific religious identity (Roman-Catholics in Zetelaka and Unitarian-protestants in Énlaka). The paper wishes to respond the primary research hypothesis that cultural

features (including ethnical and religious identity) largely influence the knowledge transfer in the local communities to the new-settlers.



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Working Group 21. Evaluation of 'innovation'
projects and partnerships: challenges,
practical experiences and methodological
innovations

Learning through on-going evaluation of EIP-Agri in Sweden

K. Eckerberg, T. Bjärstig⁸⁰

INTRODUCTION

EIP-Agri is part of a larger investment in innovations within the Europe 2020 growth strategy known as the *European Innovation Partnership*, hence the acronym EIP. The Government in Sweden has allocated about 44 million Euro for EIP-Agri in 2016-2021 through the EU Rural Development Programme to support so-called 'innovation groups' (i.e. Operational Groups Art. 61-61) within agriculture, horticulture and reindeer husbandry. The innovations should promote the competitiveness of rural areas and contribute to national environmental protection and climate goals. Entrepreneurs collaborate with counselors, researchers and representatives from other businesses in an innovation group to solve a problem or challenge. Through complementary skills and new perspectives in such partnerships the chances that an innovation can be launched are expected to increase. By close follow-up research of the process and outcome of EIP-Agri, our research team conducts ongoing evaluation of the organisation and implementation of EIP-Agri in Sweden during the period 2016-2021. Our research results are therefore to be regularly communicated with the relevant decision-makers with the aim to improve the process along the way (cf. Ahnberg et al. 2010; Svensson et al. 2009). We will also adapt our study to emerging issues in the ongoing implementation of the EIP-Agri in Sweden. Our mandate is thus to strike a healthy balance between our role as independent researchers and being constructive by assisting in improving the organisation of the policy-making process.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study builds upon collaborative governance theory (see e.g. Emerson et al. 2012) combined with insights from our previous evaluation research of similar government-funded programmes in nature protection and natural resource management. In particular, the nature of participation and engagement by public and private actors in the EIP-Agri partnerships, the use of different types of knowledge, as well as the level of trust and legitimacy in the decision-making processes are central to the analysis. Administrative support and set-up in the

EIP-Agri programme should provide a fair process for the applicants as well as relevant expertise to ensure innovative solutions with sufficient market potential to promote competitiveness and environmental and climate goals of EIP-Agri. We will further study the potential for learning and catalyst impact of EIP-Agri innovations on a larger societal scale in relation to both national goals and the common EU goals.

Different methods are applied in this evaluation, ranging from in-depth interviews with officials and participants, participant observation in decision-making meetings, analyses of documents (i.e. decision/meeting protocols, applications etc.), a web survey among the applicants in the fall of 2017, and a screening of EIP-Agri programmes in other European countries. So far, we have studied several rounds of applications, attended several meetings with the support and decision-making staff for the programme, and interviewed eighteen key individuals from those groups through semi-structured telephone conversations. Our monitoring and evaluation in this first stage focuses on perceived obstacles in the application process, the roles and assignments of different actors, how the actors interact, the need of information and support, potential tensions and challenges in the decision-making process, what can be learned from the process so far and how it might be improved. Our observations are regularly communicated to the responsible programme officers, and have already resulted in some adjustments regarding the organisation and implementation of EIP-Agri.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The administrative set-up of EIP-Agri took more time than was initially expected, primarily in terms of getting the online application forms working properly and setting up the two processes for the decision-making including funding criteria for group support and project support respectively. Decisions about innovation groups were made somewhat quicker, mainly since these receive only small money and the selection is made solely within the Agricultural Agency compared to the innovation projects which so far have no funding limit and go through a two-stage selection process. The innovation projects are first assessed by

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the Advisory Committee, consisting of an independent expert group headed by the responsible officer at the Agricultural Agency, which ranks the projects and makes evaluation statements. The final decision is then made by the head officer at the Agricultural Agency based on the Advisory Committee statements, but often complemented by further enquiries to the applicants. The quality of applications has improved, but many still need complementary information before decision-making is possible. In particular, three issues have frequently been in need for further clarification: the 'innovativeness' of the project as such, budgetary issues, and its market potential, raising questions about the way in which the application forms are designed. The deficiencies are especially the plan on how the innovation will become spread and generally put to use.

So far (in April 2017) some 30 projects have been proposed for funding, of which 9 already granted, and approximately 150 innovations groups have been granted. Any amendments to the funding criteria must soon be decided upon, and some changes have already been made concerning the weighting of the selection criteria by the Advisory Committee. As the remaining funding decreases, the competition will increase which might also lead to concerns about the distribution of projects between the different areas of agriculture, horticulture and reindeer husbandry. There is also some concern about the relationship between the group and project support since the two processes are running in parallel. The expectation from the group support is to enable the development of a project application at later stage, but this might become difficult if the funding is almost exhausted by that time. Whether the rather difficult application process for projects refrains less resourced applicants from engaging in EIP-Agri is an issue we will come back to later in the evaluation (in the planned web survey). We will then study the distributional effects across different types of innovation projects, geographical scales and with regard to gender aspects.

How experts are appointed and used has been brought up by our participant observations and interviews. This refers to how different kinds of knowledge contribute to the applications as such, as well as in the selection process. The role of the support group, consisting of six experts from a range of expert fields – is a case in point. In particular, the relations between the decision-making group in the Agricultural Agency, the Advisory Committee and the support group is being examined. A critical analysis is

also made of the division of authority between the Advisory Committee and the Agricultural Agency – including the larger rural development network.

Information on the Swedish EIP-Agri website has been updated, but could be further improved. There is a potential in providing examples of best cases and to develop tools for learning. The support group could also more frequently be used as support to the Advisory Committee, and not only in relation to the applicants. This would advance knowledge use, strengthen the learning among actors, further legitimate the decision making process and later also improve the follow up of granted projects.

COMPARISON ACROSS EUROPE ENVISAGED

As mentioned, our research has just started, and we want to take opportunity to network with European colleagues to discuss further about the pros and cons with our methodology, as well as to hopefully initiate some comparative research across countries. For instance, we have learned that Sweden applies a somewhat stricter definition of 'innovation' than other European countries, thus highlighting the difficulty in finding a coherent understanding of what innovation really means. There is also some variation in the level of funding across Europe and whether joint funding is required, which could be further examined as to how this affects the nature, content and sustainability of the innovation. The rules for funding and the administrative set-up for EIP-Agri also vary across Europe, which could bring further insights into critical factors for implementation success. We are particularly interested to make comparisons together with colleagues across Europe in how EIP-Agri is set up and functioning and the nature of monitoring and evaluation systems in the various country contexts, which could result in further in-depth research on the challenges of monitoring and evaluating innovation programmes.

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Measuring Capability of Rural Communities: Conceptual and Empirical Challenges

L. Paula⁸¹

Abstract – The paper is based on the results of the PhD research focusing on capability of rural communities. A theoretical model of capability analysis was developed and empirically tested in three rural municipalities in Latvia. One of the research questions focused on practical limitations and advantages of the model. It was approved that: (1) the model is useful to characterise dynamics of community capability, therefore it is appropriate for the longitudinal studies; (2) if the model is used for the purpose to compare different communities, the uniqueness of each community should be respected as well as the fact that the model is rather descriptive. Lack of respective quantitative data at municipal or community level sets limitations for capability analysis.

INTRODUCTION

The paper is based on the results of the PhD thesis which aimed to develop a theoretical model for the analysis of the community capability and to characterise capability of communities as well as their involvement in rural development in Latvia by using the theory of communities of practice and the case study methodology. In this study, the capability of a community is defined as interaction between the community's human capital, organizational resources and social capital which becomes apparent as the community's ability and capacity to recognize opportunities, mobilize its resources and skills, and to act purposefully according to the targets set by the community in order to carry out activities promoting and maintaining well-being of the community and its organizational elements (individuals, groups, organizations). A theoretical model of analysis was developed and empirically tested in three rural municipalities in Latvia. The model is based on theoretical considerations about communities as significant social agents in rural development in relation to their social, cultural, economic, environmental and political capability. It employs the theory of communities of practice (Wenger, 2003) in order to explain how rural communities perform in terms of their capability. During the case study the author analysed how formal and informal community sub-structures (non-governmental organizations, initiative groups) perform as communities of practice (CoP).

One of the research questions focused on practical limitations and advantages of the theoretical model.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The case study research methodology was chosen for the research (Yin, 2003). Three municipalities (Riebiņi municipality, Strenči municipality, and Rundāle

municipality) having both similar and specific characteristics were selected as three cases for the research representing different regions of the country. Within these cases other smaller cases - communities of practice (formal and informal community initiatives) were selected for the investigation. To ensure data validity and reliability, the author used a triangulation (Denzin, 1978). The author used document analysis, semi-structured interviews, expert interviews, direct and participatory observations, available statistics characterising aspects of community capability. The author used available statistics, research and report materials, the development strategies of the municipalities and other official sources. The advantage of the case study is that a phenomenon can be investigated deeply as a united and integrated entity. This approach is appropriate for developing new theories (Gagnon, 2010) therefore it is relevant to reach the aim of the thesis – to develop the theoretical model for the analysis of community capability and its approbation in particular communities. Alongside the case study research, the author conducted two expert interviews with experts who have significant experience in community work in Latvia. The author conducted also observations using the *windshield survey* method, which is widely accepted in the community studies.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Several limitations and advantages of the model were identified during the fieldwork and the data analysis. When the model was intended to employ, the issue was raised about where the community boundaries should be set. Is it correctly to focus on the entire municipality instead of analysing smaller units such as villages, towns or *pagasts* (territorial units of rural municipalities)? The research approved initial concerns that in some cases a municipality is a unit which is too large for the analysis; however, this

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problem can be tackled if a municipality is treated as the case within which smaller cases (like communities of practice in this study) are investigated.

Nevertheless, the model is appropriate to characterise the capability of a particular administrative unit and to study the extent to which social agents in rural areas are able and ready to seize opportunities offered by municipalities, regional and national policies. The model also helps to explain how external resources are accessed, how bridging and bonding relationships are developed, how mutually integrated are internal territorial units of the municipality, etc. The model requires obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data in order to ensure the methodological triangulation in the analysis of all capability dimensions. For this purpose many information sources are useful, e.g. national statistics, document analysis, community surveys, and experts' opinion. However, the lack of particular quantitative data is a challenge for getting the whole picture right. For example, there is no data about labour force migration within a municipality and between neighbouring administrative units. These data obtained in the surveys would be very useful in the analysis of the economic capability dimension. Similarly, there is a lack of quantitative data about participation in local activities, events, etc.

It was approved that the model is useful to characterise dynamics of community capability, therefore it is appropriate for the longitudinal studies. If the model is used for the purpose to compare different communities, the uniqueness of each community should be respected as well as the fact that the model is rather descriptive. Several limitations and advantages of the model were identified during the fieldwork and the data analysis. The model also helps to explain how external resources are accessed, how bridging and bonding relationships are developed, how mutually integrated are internal territorial units of the municipality, etc.

A significant factor influencing capability is external links of local development agents and performance outside a community which in turn ensures contribution, knowledge and experience in the local development and operation of communities of practice. From the methodological point of view, difficulties can arise with identifying communities of practice as they tend to be informal either by organizational structure or the nature being embedded in formal institutions. This challenge can

be resolved by interviewing key people or "snowballing".

CONCLUSIONS

The model for the analysis of the community capability is useful in order to compare community development and to analyse capability in long term. First of all, it is useful for the community itself to see the changes and improvements in the long run. Secondly, the model can be used in order to compare different communities. However, the author of the thesis notes that the model is descriptive; the specificity of each community, its unique history and experience should be considered. Administrative units (villages, towns, *pagasts*) within the same municipality also differ therefore qualitative aspects of the analysis as well as quantitative ones are significant. Before employing the model, the boundaries of a community should be defined even though in a rural context sometimes they might be blurred. The model requires obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data in order to ensure the methodological triangulation in the analysis of all capability dimensions. For this purpose many information sources are useful; however, the lack of useful locally obtained data is a challenge.

The theory of communities of practice is useful to explain how local people cooperate, share knowledge, use resources, involve in rural development processes. Capability analysis is useful for different social agents and stakeholders as all parties can contribute to local needs assessment and investigation in order to develop more clear strategies of local development.

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Co-constructing a new framework for evaluating social innovation in marginalised rural areas

L. Secco, E. Pisani, C. Burlando, R. Da Re, T. Kluvankova, D. Miller, M. Nijnik⁸²

Abstract – The EU funded H2020 project 'Social Innovation in Marginalised Rural Areas' (SIMRA; www.simra-h2020.eu) has the overall objective of advancing the state-of-the-art in social innovation. This paper outlines the process for co-developing an evaluation framework with stakeholders, drawn from across Europe and the Mediterranean area, in the fields of agriculture, forestry and rural development. Preliminary results show the importance of integrating process and outcome-oriented evaluations, and implementing participatory approaches in evaluation practice. They also raise critical issues related to the comparability of primary data in diverse regional contexts and highlight the need for mixed methods approaches in evaluation.

INTRODUCTION

Definitions and interpretations of the meaning of social innovation and its breadth of implementation are emerging (e.g. Mulgan, 2007; BEPA, 2011; Moulaert et al., 2013; Anderson et al., 2014; Cajaiba-Santana, 2014; Neumeier, 2017). The SIMRA consortium defines social innovation as: "The reconfiguring of social practices in response to societal challenges which seek to enhance the outcomes on well-being and necessarily include the engagement of civil society actors" (Polman et al., 2017). Based on this definition, this paper addresses the process for evaluating social innovation and its impacts in marginalised rural areas.

SIMRA convened a Social Innovation Think Tank (SITT), comprising approximately 30 stakeholders (practitioners, scientists and evaluators), in the fields of agriculture, forestry and rural development. They are drawn from Europe and the Mediterranean area, to co-develop the conceptual and evaluation frameworks, and to define the concept of marginalised rural areas.

METHODS

We first developed a database for collecting and analysing existing frameworks, approaches, methods and tools in the economic, social, environmental, and governance/institutional domains⁸³. The SIMRA consortium convened a consultation with SITT

members (Bratislava, 2016), for in-depth discussion on the concept and variables of social innovation, the definition of marginalised rural areas and, specific to the objectives of this paper: (1) identification of useful approaches, based on experience and expertise of stakeholders; and (2) outputs expected from an assessment of social innovation in marginalised rural areas. The world café participatory approach used, addressed four themes: A. outcome-oriented vs. process-oriented evaluation methods; B. participatory vs. experts-based evaluation methods; C. primary and secondary data; D. qualitative vs. quantitative methods.

RESULTS

Preliminary analysis of existing methods yielded a list of 103 frameworks, approaches and methods, and over 200 tools. 33% were applied in Europe and 28% in rural areas, with 23% specific to the assessment of social innovation. 42.3% proposed participatory approaches, 54.6% an external evaluation, and 24% their application for self-evaluation. 66.3% of frameworks and methods proposed adopted indicators, while 27.9% considered use of counterfactual analysis. Criteria for the evaluation included relevance (44.2%), efficiency (35.6%), effectiveness (48.1%) and impact (58.7%). Equity, capacity, and sustainability were also cited. A third of

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⁸³ Led by University of Padova, the first phase included: International Center for Research on the Environment and the Economy (Greece), University of Foggia (Italy), European Forest Institute (Finland), Agricultural Economics Research Institute (The Netherlands), James Hutton Institute, Rural Development Company (UK), Accademia Europea per la ricerca applicata ed il Perfezionamento Professionale Bolzano (Italy), Centre Technologic Forestal de Catalunya (Spain), University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences (Austria).



these methods adopted software tools for Social Network Analysis, mapping and others.

In discussions of **process-oriented vs. outcome-oriented evaluation methods**, the relationship between process and outcome was considered key for measuring tangible and intangible elements of SI, and identifying factors contributing to success or failure of initiatives. Ex-ante evaluation was considered in 16.5% of the methods analysed, yet stakeholders perceived its importance for the selection of case studies (Figure 1). It was recognised that: (i) different starting points for SI challenge assessment of outcomes and results; (ii) while different contexts mean that SI in one country may be standard practice somewhere else.

Discussions on **participatory vs. experts-based evaluation** supported the use of participatory processes (also led by experts) to legitimate, increase ownership, adoption and implementation. The use of participatory approaches was also seen as crucial for assessing the 'feeling' or intangible values of those involved in social innovation, through indicators for the measurement of trust, involvement of the community in innovative approaches, connection to other actors, and the level of acceptance and exchange of new practices. One risk anticipated was loss of stakeholder interest due to a lack of follow-up. Participants also highlighted the importance of evaluating the impacts of social innovation through actual changes in policy. The group suggested it was important to understand "how to follow a story", and look at long-term impacts.

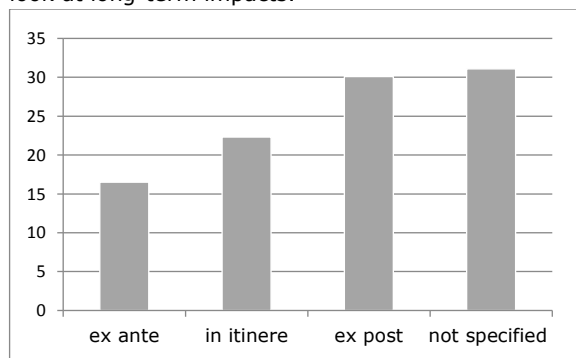


Figure 1. Evaluation typologies in the methods assessed.

In discussions about **primary vs. secondary data**, discussions highlighted the importance of primary data to identify the specific context of social innovation due to a lack of specific secondary data. Stakeholders suggested adopting: (i) focus groups and participatory methods; (ii) semi-structured interviews; (iii) long-term survey for studying pre- and post-conditions; (iv) stakeholder analysis, emphasising the importance for gathering soft data on interactions, attitudes, opinions and activities carried out. Emphasis was given to the adoption of critical approaches and capacity for reflection to address the role of subjectivity. Key conclusions were that: (i) data should be comparable; (ii) triangulation

should be used to verify quality of quantitative and qualitative data; (iii) data should be publicly available.

In discussions of **qualitative vs. quantitative methods**, SITT members agreed that evaluation methods and tools should be tailored to: (i) needs and purpose of the evaluation; (ii) type of project being evaluated; and (iii) object of measurement, e.g., whether it is a process or a result. Qualitative and quantitative approaches were identified as complementary and suitable for use in evaluations. Whilst qualitative methods are not always popular among evaluators, they provide in-depth information from the practitioners' level to policy makers and funders. Finally, it was noted that for small or new and innovative projects, it may be difficult to measure their long-term impacts.

CONCLUSIONS

These preliminary results show congruence between the methods analysed and the guidance provided by SITT members. More specific questions, related to how to measure the emergence of SI, its promotion and adoption, as well as its outcomes on wellbeing, are to be addressed in the next steps. The integration of results from the scientific analysis and the guidance provided by the SITT, will form the basis for the evaluation methods and tools adopted in the SIMRA case studies, which are scheduled to be analysed in 2018.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Strategies for empowering disadvantaged rural communities

A. Steiner

This paper explores a process meant to empower disadvantaged communities that have not previously engaged in government-instigated civic projects. Drawing on a large exploratory study of an empowerment project in seven Scottish rural communities, findings include that empowering communities should harness community development techniques that use both external actors and sources of support (i.e. exogenous practices), and those that utilise assets from within the community (i.e. endogenous practices).

INTRODUCTION

Economic, social and environmental aspects of rural life have undergone significant changes in recent years. Many rural communities are confronted with: population decline and ageing; unemployment and underemployment; insufficient access and quality of services; school closures; lack of transport services and affordable housing; and higher costs of living. The origins of these challenges lie with agricultural restructuring, globalisation trends, and economic efficiency policies – all leading to the withdrawal of public and private services. Global economic crises of recent years imposed additional pressures which (i) are manifested in public sector spending cuts threatening the quality of life in rural areas and (ii) can reduce financial viability of rural businesses causing a decline in social infrastructure and wellbeing of communities (Steiner and Atterton, 2015). Consequently, there is a need to find a better way of dealing with local affairs and enhancing the resilience of rural regions. This has been raised in both policy and academic arenas in many countries around the world. As such, many governmental, community and policy making stakeholders are looking for ways to help empower and encourage local residents to find local solutions to local problems.

While currently UK policies encourage the development of pro-active and engaged communities, it is not clear how a transition from the state-dependency of many communities to empowered and resilient communities should happen (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013). However, Herbert-Cheshire (2000) highlights that 'with increased devolution of ownership and responsibility for rural development to local people likely, it can only be expected that community-based strategies for self-help will increase the division and inequality in rural towns by empowering a small, fairly powerful minority who are better positioned to mobilise themselves' (p.213). Hence, the empowering effect of the community development process is unevenly distributed along the lines of social status or class with a tendency for high status groups to participate to a greater extent

than lower status groups. The latter can lead some communities to being disadvantaged as strong communities get stronger and weaker communities miss out on essential support (Steiner and Markantoni, 2014). It should be recognised that the level of empowerment and internal capacities differs across communities. Therefore, and in relation to communities that do not engage, the question that arise is: *How are processes of empowerment understood and realised at the community level?*

METHODS

Findings presented in this article derive from a study that evaluated one of the LEADER community development programmes called Capacity for Change (C4C) implemented in six villages in rural Scotland over the course of 24-months. The study used community resilience framework developed by Steiner et al (2016) and it involved a longitudinal three-stage research process that involved conducting 345 face-to-face interviews with project stakeholders and qualitative and quantitative data analysis. To observe changes over time, selected community members were interviewed twice – before and after the community intervention (Stage 1 and Stage 3), with an additional qualitative sub-sample of interviews (Stage 2) to assess in more detail the complexities of process.

FINDINGS

Findings of the study identified both causes and outcomes of empowerment brought by the C4C community development programme. These relate to the aspects associated with community engagement, supported community action, community participation, social capital, community confidence levels, knowledge and utilisation of resources, community resilience and added value. While some of the factors were brought about by external facilitators, others expanded from exogenous into endogenous empowerment (see Table 1).



Table 1. Engagement, Participation and Empowerment (EPE)

Observed Empowerment Practices	Observed Community Empowerment causes and outcomes	Progression from engagement and participation to empowerment (EPE)	Key actor/s
Exogenous	<i>Funding source as a platform for community engagement</i>	Engagement (E)	Project manager
	<i>Supported community action and work of a project manager</i>		
Exogenous with endogenous	<i>Being part of a regional programme as a trigger of community participation</i>	Participation (P)	Project manager with increasing power of community members
	<i>Confidence as an essential component building community empowerment</i>		
Endogenous with exogenous	<i>Development of social capital through community involvement</i>		
Endogenous	<i>Development of new and appreciation of existing resources</i>	Empowerment (E)	Community members
	<i>Knock-on effect and added value</i>		

Our study observed that funding and the support of a project manager acted as an enabler with both elements being essential when empowering communities that do not engage. Initially the project manager represents a crucial figure in introducing and engaging community members with the development programme. This **engagement** represents a form of exogenous empowerment practices in which communities remain largely passive; they observe, assess and verify whether or not to become 'engaged'. As soon as a sufficient number of community members take a decision to **participate** (note: this number depends on the size of the project and support needed to implement it), it is possible to see a gradual process of transferring powers and responsibilities from a project manager to participating communities. It is possible to observe that the exogenous practices start incorporating elements of endogenous involvement which then transforms into endogenous empowerment that combines exogenous support. In the final stage of the community empowerment process, it is important to enable community members to take the responsibility for and ownership of the project. Taking responsibility of the project implementation and running community development activities independently without the support of an external actor (e.g. project manager) are signs of endogenous **empowerment** (Table 1).

Hence, there is a process that leads from **Engagement** and **Participation** to **Empowerment** (EPE). The community empowerment process begins

with sufficient engagement. Importantly, engagement is not equivalent to empowerment but, as presented, it is an integral component of empowerment practices. Engagement itself is not sufficient in empowering communities. Rather, it is an ability to develop and deliver a project by a unified group of people with appropriate skills and integrated leadership. Generated participation can transform into empowerment. For this to happen, community members must be willing to take the responsibility for developing community resources. Their ongoing involvement in community affairs and independent decision-making influencing community life are evidence of a community being empowered.

CONCLUSIONS

Findings suggest that - to reach endogenous empowerment - exogenous empowerment practices are useful and effective for some communities. The paper presents the **Engagement-Participation-Empowerment Model (EPE)** showing stages in transferring power from external actors to local communities. It highlights that the process of community empowerment starts with engagement and follows with participation - both representing a precondition of community empowerment. Finally, the paper indicates that there are limits to which community members are capable of embracing current community empowerment policies and showing that even targeted 'well-tailored' community empowerment programmes might fail.

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'Drawing' the countryside: freehand sketches as representation of rurality in Poland

P. Tobiasz-Lis, M. Wojcik⁸⁴

Abstract – Framed as part of relatively few studies on representations of rurality in Poland, this paper analyses how the image of the countryside is remembered in the consciousness of inhabitants and represented in the form of freehand sketches.

INTRODUCTION

Work on spatial representations originated in urban contexts, with relatively little attention paid to rural areas. Following the 'cultural turn' in rural geographical studies more detailed attention has been paid to the importance of representations in shaping the dimensions and definitions of 'rurality'. The aim of this paper is to interpret the image of the contemporary Polish countryside remembered in the consciousness of inhabitants and reproduced in the form of freehand sketches.

In the following paper we utilise Halfacree's (2004, 2006) three-fold model of rural space. Using H. Lefebvre's (1991) seminal 'conceptual triad' for understanding space, Halfacree's model sees rural space as having three facets: rural locality, representations of the rural and lives of the rural. Thus, he brings together material, imaginative and practiced ruralities and sees them as intertwined. As Merrifield (2000, p. 175) argues, 'the spatial triad must always be embodied with actual flesh and blood and culture, with real life relationships and events'.

In Poland, just like in other European countries, the debate about changing nature of rural space takes place within the international context of ongoing rural and urban changes, outlying two key interrelated dynamics, i.e.: globalization and the increasing consumptive importance of rural places. Consequently, with the growth of the market economy in the 1990s, we observe in Poland the emergence of a multifunctional rural regime which influences the rural landscape, with new non-productive functions in local economies and new lifestyles emerging. However, despite the dynamic changes to rural spaces and rural lives, many elements remain stable, permanently inscribed into the rural landscape and social relationships.

METHODS

This paper presents an attempt at analysing and interpreting freehand sketches of rural areas invoking

the image elements distinguished by K. Lynch (1960) and, due to the scale of the settlement units under analysis, classification of neighbourhood sketches proposed by F. C. Ladd (1970). The method of freehand sketches were part of semi-structured interviews which focused on images of particular villages, the most significant elements of their structures, contemporary changes in their landscape and their social evaluation.

The research was conducted in twelve villages located in Lodz central Poland, Mazovia and Greater Poland provinces. In this paper, the three villages of Sacin, Rzurow and Sulmierzyce - differing with regard to their size, historical development and dominant economic functions - were chosen as case studies. Participants were selected to retain proportions of elementary socio-demographic features of the population of individual settlements, such as: age, sex and education. People were asked to prepare freehand sketches of their village including what they felt were the most important elements of space and their broader surroundings.

RESULTS

Irrespective of the character and specific features of particular villages, and the socio-demographic features of participants, the freehand sketches varied and can be classified along all the types distinguished and described by F. C. Ladd (1970) - starting from pictorial, presenting only the most important parts of settlements, and moving towards maps with orientation points, which reflected the whole villages, indicating and naming neighbouring areas at the same time (Fig. 1).

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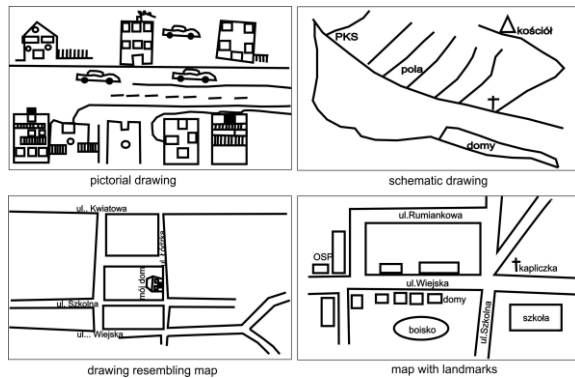


Figure 1. Types of sketch maps of neighbourhoods
Source: F. C. Ladd (1970).

Types of village sketches, their shape, structure and content can be interpreted in the context of two fundamental issues: 1) size, character of development and contemporary functions of the village, especially the quality of social infrastructure and 2) strategy for making sketches adapted by individual people participating in the research.

Sketches of all villages, irrespective of the represented type, were started from the main road, along which the settlement was developing. Depending on the size of the village, one or several streets were taken into account, but primarily concentrating on objects with important social functions, i.e.: churches, wayside shrines, cemeteries, schools, bus stops, fire stations. It was these elements that predominated in all images of villages. Besides the network of roads and significant nodes, sketches included also living areas, often highlighting respondents' own place of living or houses belonging to relatives. Interestingly, especially in the context of contemporary socio-economic changes of the Polish countryside, it seems rather rare to draw farmland, which appeared only in every tenth sketch and mostly served the function of 'filling' the empty space on the checker. Only the village of Sacin, with very strong agricultural functions was an exception in this regard. In other areas, it was only farmers who drew farmlands in their sketches.

CONCLUSIONS

Freehand sketches of the countryside presented and interpreted in the paper are examples of representations of the countryside, expressing contemporary multi-dimensional understandings of 'countryside' and 'rurality'. Space in the perspective of spatial representations is full of symbols, presents meanings and values attributed by people to specific places and enables a deeper insight into the multiple experiences of rural social life.

As forms of the world structured in the mind, they fulfil many cognitive and practical functions – broadening the nature of research which focuses on space as socially constructed. Sketches of rural settlements allow us to determine not only the character of images, but also to describe the contemporary nature of 'rural areas' and 'rurality' thanks to their contents. They not only reflect, but also (re)create attitudes towards the countryside and rural lives and are intertwined with social practices.

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What innovation biographies reveal: international experiences and local obstacles to cooperative innovation in the food sector

G. Tuitjer

Abstract – Under the current endogenous paradigm, rural social and economic development shall be fostered via local cooperation and networking to unleash local innovative potential and activate resources. However, this paradigm is challenged more and more by low growth and cohesion rates, uneven territorial development and ideas such as “nexogenous” (Bock 2016) growth. Nexogenous growth calls for greater attention to the manifold relations *between* places, be they rural or urban, in contrast to a solely inward-focused development strategy. Against this backdrop, the paper wants to tackle the potential of regional and extra-regional cooperation theoretically and sketches the benefits extra-regional connections can have for innovation processes. Data stem from three case studies of small-scale craft manufacturing (food and cosmetics).

INTRODUCTION

The paper focusses on the entrepreneur as the nexus of regional networks and extra-regional knowledge. The endogenous growth paradigm is under increasing pressure and scholars are focusing more and more on so-far overlooked potentials which stem from extra-local influence and connections, such as nexogenous perspectives on rural growth. Economic geographers likewise point to the importance of extra-regional connections (Dubois, 2016; Bathelt et al., 2004) and the dangers of ‘over-embeddedness’, lock-in (Grabher, 1993) and the manifold hindrances to local (agri-)business cooperation (Warlow and Kasabov, 2014; Ortiz-Miranda et al., 2010). The role of extra-local connections, even of small rural enterprises, is of importance in the context of innovation processes. Various forms and the right balance of proximity are relevant for both networking and innovation processes (Boschma 2005). Spatial proximity, as it is found in place-based networks, might not suffice to foster innovation. Cognitive proximity however can transcend space and ICT grants access even to ‘tacit’ knowledge. The innovation process behind food-products in small-scale manufacturing businesses serves as an ideal example for the concomitant relevance of embeddedness within local networks and extra-local flows of knowledge to produce product innovations. I want to point out how this relatedness to extra-local knowledge and discourses is relevant for innovative entrepreneurship and which connections are relevant at which stages of the innovation process.

DATA AND METHODS

Following Schumpeter, innovation is understood as the new combination or organization of resources to create something new – be it entirely new to the

market or simply new to the company, region, or group of actors. Furthermore, an ‘innovation’ in the full sense of the meaning is a solution or a product that is beneficial to its users and marketable/applicable. This definition calls for an ex-post study of successful innovation processes. To analyze the processes behind successful innovations in rural areas I use the method of innovation biographies (Butzin et al., 2012). This is a tool suited to the ex-post, reconstructive analysis of the processes, agents and practices behind innovation. Employing narrative interviews which stem from biographical research, the entire history of the innovative product can be captured, knowledge flows retraced, relevant agents identified and further factors influencing decision-making and project development isolated. Most importantly, the innovation biographies reflect hindrances, failure and changes along the path.

Data stem from a recent pilot programme targeting cooperative (social and economic) innovation to foster growth in 13 among the most peripheral German regions. Three ongoing case studies (comprising a total of 14 semi-structured interviews) are used for this paper. Craft-foods are produced in two of the case studies and the third produces herbal cosmetics.

RESULTS

The biography of a fish-canning factory, of an herbal cosmetics company and a rare herbs & vegetables farm are used to illustrate the three development stages from seed-idea via prototyping to craft business and the difficulties and supporting factors along the route. The three case-studies of innovative craft businesses reveal a process of unsuccessful local cooperation which eventually led towards individual entrepreneurship and the development of craft businesses. Because the biographical account of the



innovation dates back to the very early seed-idea, it can be revealed how the development of these craft businesses benefitted greatly from international experiences and knowledge. The key person in each of the case studies is firmly embedded within the local community and the business sector, nevertheless differing aspirations, production methods and concepts of quality of product, together with severe problems arising from different company sizes, make local innovative cooperation unfeasible. Instead, business relations are established along procurement of produce. The seed-idea for the product in all three cases stems from extra-local knowledge flows, accessible both via prior personal experience and ICT. For example, machinery and recipes for the production of pickled vegetable specialties stem from the US and Japan, made available online via YouTube. The embeddedness of the entrepreneur into very specific *communities of practices* (Lave & Wenger 1991) and YouTube videos make aspatial knowledge accessible. In contrast, his local network of horticultural businesses provides him with produce but further cooperative production so far has not been possible. The further development of the craft-business along consolidated market position and eventually differentiation and growth will be followed as well.

As a tentative result of this ongoing research one can deduct the relevance of local embeddedness and extra-local relatedness *at different stages* of the innovation process. While extra-local knowledge is important in fostering the seed innovative idea (by definition new, at least to the context) and the marketing of the final craft-product, local ties are relevant in the actual production process. The case studies reveal however that local cooperation along the production chain is difficult to achieve. These difficulties led to the establishment of small-scale manufacturing businesses.

CONCLUSION

The first results suggest that a focus of development schemes on regional cooperation (between agriculture and food industry) might not be the only way to local development. This is due to cooperation difficulties arising by size, margins or production standards of the different companies, as has been

pointed out before. Further, especially innovative ideas, i.e., new approaches, might be best developed in small scale, microbusinesses which can manoeuvre more flexibly. Last, fostering extra-regional cooperation and participation in international knowledge flows might bring innovative ideas to peripheral areas and overcome lock-in situations. Employing biographical accounts of the innovation reveals the importance of different resources at different times – an important asset to improve rural SME funding, tailored to the biographical stage.

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Working Group 22. Animals in a changing landscape

True cowmen and commercial farmers: Exploring vets' and dairy farmers' contrasting constructions of "good farming" in relation to biosecurity in England

O. Shortall, L-A. Sutherland, A. Ruston, J. Kaler⁸⁵

Abstract – Biosecurity is defined as stopping the spread of disease onto or out of areas where farm animals are present. The government in England have devolved more responsibility for biosecurity in recent years to the farming industry, with a greater emphasis on the veterinarian (vet)-farmer relationship. Previous research has shown that farmers see care for animals and stock keeping skills as a key part of good farming. Biosecurity is widely seen as needing improvement in the dairy sector however and the vet-farmer relationship is not seen as working as well as it should. How then are we to understand claims both that biosecurity is poor but care for animals is part of good farming? This research uses the concept of the "good farmer" to explore how veterinarians (vets) and farmers understand good biosecurity, from interviews with 28 farm animal vets and 15 dairy farmers in England.

The results show that the vets and farmers have different understandings of what a good farmer is in relation to biosecurity. According to the majority of vets interviewed a good farmer is a large, commercial farmer who has the economic and cultural capital to invest in biosecurity and see the vet regularly. Some of the practices which enhance social capital and normally seen by farmers as good farming were viewed by the vets as the opposite: doing a favour for a neighbour or buying an animal based on knowledge of the seller farmer were seen by the vet as characteristics of the traditional farmer habitus which undermined good biosecurity. In contrast, farmers discussed their relationship with their animals and their knowledge of the animals as an integral part of biosecurity – being able to recognise changes in the animals' behaviour and appearance and having the stock keeping skills to address problems. Farmers may be reluctant to use the vet regularly because they see the ability to manage animal health problems themselves as an important part of the good farmer identity.

The vets' view of biosecurity is dominant within wider debates about biosecurity, and largely excludes the importance of the human-animal relationships to biosecurity. These differences between how farmers and vets see good biosecurity would need to be addressed to improve the vet-farmer relationship, as well as wider discussions about what counts as "good biosecurity" in the dairy sector.

INTRODUCTION

Biosecurity means stopping the spread of disease on to or off areas where farm animals are present (Defra et al., 2004). Biosecurity is commonly framed as needing improvement in the dairy sector in England, with endemic diseases present and farmers not adopting recommended practices (Brennan & Christley, 2013).

Yet, social science research has shown that carrying out biosecurity practices is part of what it means to be a "good farmer" (Burton, 2004; Higgins et al., 2016; Naylor et al., 2016). How then can we make sense of claims that biosecurity needs to be improved in the dairy sector if it seen to be part of farmers' norms and identity?

The relationship between the vet and the farmer is seen as key to improving biosecurity as vets are trusted by farmers and often the main point of contact in relation to disease control (Ruston et al., 2016). The concept of the good farmer explores the farming

norms which farmers hold themselves and others up to and which influence their behaviour (Burton, 2004). This paper explores vets' and farmers' views of good farming in relation to biosecurity in order to shed light on challenges to a shared understanding of biosecurity in the dairy sector in England.

METHODS

Interviews were carried out with 28 farm animal vets and 14 dairy farmers in England in 2014. Purposive sampling was used to access vets from practices that had a Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons farm animal accreditation as it was contended that these vets would have more interest in biosecurity. Vets from areas of high, medium and low dairy farm density were also chosen to access a range of views. A number of vets were asked to nominate a farmer who was interested in biosecurity and a farmer who was less interested for interview. Thematic analysis was used and was inductive in nature.

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RESULTS

Different conceptions of what it means to be a good farmer in relation to biosecurity were found. On one hand interviewees reiterated what has been found in the literature that being a good farmer means having skills in visually assessing the health and wellbeing of animals (Burton, 2004; Wilkie, 2005). Good farmers are able to tell by subtle tacit signs in the appearance and behaviour or their own and other people's animals if the animal is healthy or not. Good farmers also maintain a tidy and clean farm. This view was predominantly put forward by the farmers interviewed, with only a small number of vets describing good farming in this way.

Farmers also described good farming for biosecurity in terms of reputation and responsibility. They often based decisions on buying in animals on their knowledge of the seller farmer and their judgment that the farmer was unlikely to sell a diseased animal, rather than on disease tests of the animal itself.

Many vets in contrast refuted the view that skills in judging animals by eye and reputation denoted good farming. As vets move from a model of treating individual sick animals to acting as disease prevention consultants (Ruston et al., 2016), they wish to prevent disease problems and treat them before animals are symptomatic.

In contrast to the majority of farmers interviewed, many vets maintained that good farming for biosecurity was the domain of larger, commercial farmers who had the resources to invest in biosecurity – improving their infrastructure and could afford to have regular contact with the vet and use them in a disease prevention advisory role. These farmers may not be deeply embedded in farming milieu meaning minimal contact with other farmers as contact involves the risk of disease spread. Good farmers were more business minded and may have larger herds so they were heavily invested and had more to lose so had an incentive to invest in biosecurity. According to vets good farmers bought into the vets' ways of viewing disease – using disease tests and potentially certification schemes when buying in animals rather than judging them by or on their knowledge of the seller farmer.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research sheds light on the apparent contradiction that managing health and disease is part of "good farming" yet biosecurity is seen as suboptimal in the dairy sector. The vets and farmers interviewed had different views of what it means to be a good farmer in relation to biosecurity: with farmers emphasising visual skills and reputation and vets emphasising business skills, economic ability to employ the vets' services and separation from the traditional farming community.

This may explain the perception that dairy farmers are not implementing biosecurity well enough – vets' views of good biosecurity do not endorse farmers' tacit skills and the intricate social relations animals and disease exist within for farmers. Conceptions of good biosecurity need to take into account what this means for farmers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Working Group 23. Doing art in the Country

The heritage of cultural opposition under the socialist era: the role of art in local memory and identity building

B. Csurgó, E. Kovács⁸⁶

Abstract – The heritage of cultural opposition under socialism is regarded rather differently in different localities. The paper examines local representations, history and reuse of local cultural opposition through two case study analysis. Arts and artists are in the focus of the analysis. The paper explores how the heritage of cultural opposition including artists and artefacts contribute to the production and shaping of the memory of past at the local level, and how and why the cultural opposition under socialism can or cannot be integrated into local memory and identity.

INTRODUCTION

Heritage of cultural opposition became more and more important in the relationship with the past in post-socialist countries at both national and local levels. Cultural opposition is conceptualized as an individual act carried out by individual actors or communities against the totalitarian system. Cultural opposition agents chiefly were the non-conformist artists, who for ideological, political or aesthetic reasons did not accept the rules set by the authorities (Falk, 2011). Furthermore, all the documents, objects of the cultural opposition became artefacts during the transition to democracy (Killingsworth, 2012) and might become local or national heritage and symbols. There is an increasing interest in the heritage of localities in rural Hungary resulted by the development of the culture based rural tourism and also by the cultural turn in rural development (Csurgó, 2016). Culture and cultural heritage have been regarded as a significant resource in local development policy. There is an increasing demand for rural authenticity including the past and memory. It is deeply embedded in the process that is designated as the desire for memory in contemporary society by Dickinson (1997): "The shift of identity from traditional familial, community and work structures to "lifestyle" along with the fragmentation and globalization of postmodern culture engenders in many a profoundly felt need for the past" (Dickinson, 1997, p. 1). Nevertheless, the heritage of cultural opposition under the socialist period is regarded rather differently in different localities (Kovács, 2010). The paper examines local representations in the history and reuse of local cultural opposition through two case study analysis. Arts and artists are in the focus of the analysis. The paper explores how the heritage of cultural opposition including artists and artefacts contribute to the production and shaping of the memory of past at the local level and

how and why the cultural opposition under socialism can or cannot be integrated into local memory and identity.

CASE STUDIES

Pottery art subculture in Mezőtúr

The first case study from Mezőtúr - a small rural town in the Eastern part of Hungary - presents the role of an important subgroup of Nomadic Generation art movement worked in Hungary in the 70s and 80s in local community and identity. Nomadic generation was an art based youth and folk-art movement. Its Pottery-Art subgroup in Mezőtúr had both national and local importance and impacts on art production and youth culture during the socialism. A prosperity of folk-art started in the socialist period. The Pottery Cooperative of Mezőtúr was established in 1951. The masters certified by the Co-operative, renewed pottery art on the basis of reinvented tradition. Pottery artist of Mezőtúr created an important alternative art subculture during the socialist era. The Pottery Cooperative of Mezőtúr was an important centre and school of pottery art in that time in Hungary. Folklore including pottery art became part of the recovery of national themes, with a significant effect on cultural and political discourse and provide an alternative thinking for youth and rural societies. Pottery strengthened the symbolic role in the local place making and what is especially important it had also a significant economic potential. Pottery Museum was established in 1983 to collect and present the history of pottery making of Mezőtúr. The place identity was intensified and vitalised by the pottery art and artists. After the change of political system, pottery art lost its significant economic role in local economy and society. Meanwhile, the symbolic meaning of pottery tradition is currently increasing. All the local brochures and webpages use and present traditional pottery. Traditional pottery of Mezőtúr has been placed on the List of National Cultural Heritage

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from 2009. The town received the title of 'the capital of pottery' in 2010. Mezőtúr appears as the place of pottery in a discursive sense. Nevertheless, the role of local pottery artists changed dramatically in local culture and society, i.e. they lost their economic stability. The market demand especially at the local level is very low for their products. All artists and artisans provide their products in different tourism events like rural festivals and fairs. The role of pottery art as cultural opposition during the socialism is excluded from the local memory. Artists are not involved in the pottery art based local symbolisation process.

The border forest in Rótfalva

In the Hungarian borderland of Kőszeg, one can reach the small Austrian village Rattersdorf (in Hungarian: Rótfalva). On the border, a sad and ruinous watch-tower faces the empty border station decorated by socialist-style mosaics. They represent a dead scenery of everyday border crossing in the Schengen zone, a dirty legacy of the old regime.

After WWI, the small village became part of Austria, meanwhile the forest and the hill surrounding the village remained in Hungary. After WWII, wherever one looked, he/she saw a no man's land with mine fields and the iron curtain – and a wonderful but inaccessible forest. It was only the Hungarian border guards who could enter the woods and only during service. Controlling the border was a lengthy and tiresome work, in the course of which engraving the old, metalgrey, sleeky beech trees offered some entertainment to the young soldiers. As a result hundreds of other tags/messages were decorating the forest. As time passed, the engravings became – as the trees grew – bigger and bigger.

An Austrian artist, Fred Misik discovered the forest in the 2000s. First, he made a photo documentary of the engravings; later on he invented two artistic methods for "touching on" the past. On the one hand, he produced shadings on a white paper with carbon, on the other, with a plate he got a muster from the engravings and moulded plaster copies from them. The former can be understood as Veronica's veil, the latter as a death mask. An irony of fate, an Austrian artist – who does not speak Hungarian – deals with the common past of the Austrian-Hungarian locality while the trees and the whole forest, that is part of the Austrian-Hungarian Írott-kő Nature Reserve, has been gradually cut down. It might have been an important heritage of cultural dissent and resilience under the socialism, however both regional and local authorities and also local people regarded this heritage valueless.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Integration of the heritage of cultural opposition during socialism into the local memory and identity is a challenging process for local communities. Despite the fundamental differences such as the role and form

of cultural opposition during the socialist period and its relationship with local society, both cases demonstrate the barriers of integration and transmission of the heritage of socialism into contemporary life. The demand for division between socialism and present times blocked the reinterpretation and involvement of the heritage of socialism into local heritage even if they were in opposition. The lack of a currently valid strategy of local heritage of cultural opposition for local society means that the heritage was archived in both cases. The Museum in Mezőtúr and the artworks of an outsider artist in Rótfalva preserve the heritage and may provide chance and possibilities for rediscovery in later times.

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Shifts in Education in Remote Islands: Social Dreaming as a Catalyst for Change

F. J. MacLellan⁸⁷

Abstract – This paper investigates a novel approach to exploring emerging phenomena through collaboratively built artefacts. The study is based across the islands in the northwest Scotland, working with school users and providers to construct new ideas for schooling that support geographical diversity. This brings the role of design into question and contributes to an on-going discussion around the potential of speculative design to involve service users in matters of reform.

PERIPHERIES IN FOCUS

The Outer Hebrides is an archipelago off the west coast of Scotland, a diverse and breathtaking landscape. The locals, both indigenous and newcomers, are committed to a life that is divergent in many ways to that of the mainland Britain.

On the islands there is a trend of depopulation, specifically to school age population. As a result recent rationalisation of educational services is particularly visible: from forty-nine schools in 2005 to twenty-nine in 2017, of which only four are secondary (Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, 2016). This leaves many of the old school foundations to crumble, along with the ideology of small-scale local schooling.

In August 2016 to supplement such rationalisation, the local authority and Education Scotland launched an educational pilot, called e-Sgoil. The project team's aim was to launch a new model of learning for senior phase school pupils based in island communities. E-Sgoil provides a very different form of education, with learning and teaching opportunities via virtual classrooms. It boasts an enhanced range of subject choice and language, in particular through Gaelic Medium Education. There is potential for wider rollout indicated in the pilot aims. E-Sgoil has attracted considerable attention, interest that is not restricted to remote islands.

Here we have an example of innovation from the edge, where communities in rural contexts are pioneering new products and services built on their distinct needs (McAra-McWilliam, 2014). This phenomenon of testing innovation at a small scale is using the geographical boundaries of islands as a Petri dish for larger scale change. As such, this informs a contemporary understanding of the peripheries. Digital cultures challenging tradition notions of distance and the centre.

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical backdrop to the study is a phenomenological stance, with a focus on tracing experiential moments. The research sets out to build a dataset rich with tacit interpretations, with Grounded Theory to analyse the qualitative data. This approach is constructed to foster a robust analytic

framework that is responsive to the complex nature of social phenomena (Glaser & Strauss 1967). This is followed by continual cycles of analysis with participant engagement.

PHASED APPROACH

E-Sgoil was selected for a longitudinal and qualitative study because of its innovative ambition. The researcher became a participant in the project team over one year as the design researcher. This involved three phases. During *phase one* the task was to discreetly record the project development through documentary filming, becoming familiar and building a close working relationship with participants. *Phase two* followed a more active practice-led approach to interpret the experiences. This involved the researcher capturing ideas and thoughts with participants through collectively made artefacts. *Phase three* would go on to disseminate such outputs. The three phases are described in more detail in the full paper but for brevity here we focus on the second.

PHASE TWO: CREATIVE WORKSHOPS

Collectively made artefacts were constructed over a series of five bespoke design workshops held in five schools across the Outer Hebrides. The workshops ran at periods of one-hour to two full days, depending on pupil availability. The participants and researcher adopted a speculative a mind-set and creative outputs came together to form an account of the impact that changes in schooling has on the wider community in a remote island setting.

The aims of the workshops were to build future worlds as a way to critique the status quo. This involved creating characters, scenarios and visualising such scenes through story telling, animation and prop development. Future mind-sets harnessed the imagination to construct visions for new ideas. Other examples of social dreaming include sci-fi stories and manifestos. Here we work with Clement Bezold, founder of The Institute for Alternative Futures introduced the Futures Cone in 1978; the framework defined a space between possible and preferable futures and utilised future forecasting to propagate new ideas. Moreover

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Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby, designers and educators, go on to adopt this metaphor for shedding light on the spectrum of possibilities. Dunne and Raby express the role of speculation in futurology, and the potential impact of social dreaming (Dunne and Raby, 2013). These became phenomenological acts of creation and called upon others to interpret their outputs.

TRACING PERSPECTIVES

The futures that were offered by participants prompted discussion and shaped new ideas, something that *phase three* hopes to continue to nurture. Ideas were sometimes 'far-fetched', sometimes situated in the unevenly spread commodities of current day. In other words, this could be described as sketches. Such ideas, while in a malleable form, are not fixed or solid, but porous. Moreover they are open to engaged critique and act as artefacts of correspondents (Ingold, 2013). Such discussions are described in further detail in the full paper.

The workshop session allowed for informal interviews and participatory observation. Attention was paid to the process of the imaginary exercises over the final outputs. Following on from Dewey's idea of creative practice as a process of making and doing. Field notes and photography were used to document the workshop process and illustrations were produced after a period of reflection in action (Dewey: 1938, Schön: 1983). The researcher's illustrations depicted more than just the visual data, but also the ambiance of interactions. These served as conversation tools with participant and researcher, as Ingold refers to as 'tools for corresponding'. The act of designing served to make ideas visible and tangible through prototyping techniques from a user-centric perspective. Co-designed artefacts opened up the dialogue and built a scenario for new questions. Drawing on the ideas of design theorist Klaus Krippendorff (2006), the designers make sense through material culture and share such

understandings through the tangible experience of the artefact.

CONCLUSION

The artefacts hold evidence of the participant's visions for alternative futures. Ultimately it is difficult to measure the wider impact speculations can have however the subsequence dissemination evidences the artefacts ability to host engaged dialogue around such visions. This builds evidence of a disparity between the aspirations of social dreaming and the reality around the process of politicalised agendas. Discussions that are central in drawing attention to those currently underrepresented in the process of consultation.

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Poetry, Painting and Change on the Edge of England

H. Tarlo, J.Tucker⁸⁸

Abstract – This is a jointly authored paper by Dr Harriet Tarlo, a poet and academic, and Dr Judith Tucker, an artist and academic, who have been collaborating, since 2011, in producing work based on slow-walking practices and engagement with people and place. We employ polyvalent research practices drawing on concepts of deep mapping, (Biggs 2010) psychogeography (Richardson 2015), and contemporary walking practices (Heddon and Turner 2012). Tucker produces painting and drawings and Tarlo writes in the Anglo-American open form style of poetry in which words are arranged across the page organically rather than in traditional versification and lineation. Her often minimalist texts are then displayed in juxtaposition to Tucker’s images in exhibition and artist book form.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we discuss and show our work on and with a contested coastal community on one of the U.K.’s last existing plotlands, the Humberston Fitties in North East Lincolnshire. Colin Ward in *Arcadia for All: The Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape* (1984) notes that “unofficial settlements are seen as a threat to wildlife, which is sacrosanct. The planning system is the vehicle that supports four-wheel-drive Range Rovers, but not the local economy, and certainly not those travellers and settlers seeking their own modest place in the sun” - he tells the story of how, in post-war Britain planning regulations and some compulsory purchase orders meant the demise of most plotlands. These places are then remnants of an almost lost way of life. The Fitties were, like much of the low-lying land around the mouth of the Humber estuary, carved out of saltmarsh. They lie low in all senses: as remnants of a wider vernacular, counter-cultural movement, and in literal terms, behind marshy beach and dunes, land always liable to flood, to a return to its former state.

Our work looks at the energy politics of this area on big and small scales, looking out from the Fitties and back to the community and questioning what the relationship of the place is to energy and environment. Finally, we enquire how the effects of radical open form text and dense monochrome and painted images presented innovatively together in page and exhibition spaces challenges audiences’ assumptions in these areas, whether local people respond to “their” rural places differently after engaging with such work and associated workshops and discussions and whether this might contribute to wider shifts in temporal and spatial relations with place and greater recognition of the interrelation of human and non-human effects, thus offering a greater understanding of “naturecultures” (Casey 1997, Haraway 2003)?



Figure 1. Judith Tucker, *Once Was Holiday*, oil on canvas, 2015, 12” x 16”

METHODOLOGY

Our cross-disciplinary collaborative practice between poetry and visual art explores more open, environmentally-aware engagements with landscape and place. We eschew polemical responses, preferring to make work that attempts more subtle adjustments to established assumptions and sensibilities by focused engagement with places, their human inhabitants and non-human elements, in particular water, marsh and flood. This project also responds to and extension of the current theoretical context of ecocritical, ecopoetic, posthumanist and new materialist thinking (Bennett 2010, Barad 2003, Garrard 2004, Haraway 2003, Morton 2007).

Since 2012 we have made repeated fieldwork visits to the Fitties and surrounding area and held several exhibitions there, as well as showing this work further afield. Some of earlier work focused on exploring the complexity of the ecology of this post-industrial semi-wilderness, including the dominance of certain species, the non-human life on and above the beaches and marshes, and the constantly changing movements of the water as well as the threat of flooding. Over time spent at the Fitties and surrounding area, we also became increasingly interested in environmental, political and economic

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changes on the Fitties and responded to these through our creative practice, our ecocritical and ecological research and our work with local people.

FINDINGS

From the Fitties, and particularly from the raised path walking out over the saltmarsh, we see tankers off the coast in the estuary offloading crude oil at the Tetney monobuoy. Oil is pumped by a largely underground and undersea pipeline, to tastefully painted green tanks at the Tetney oil terminal, before being piped over to South Killingham refinery for processing. In turn these products might be exported from Immingham dock or transported inland by road, rail and pipeline. Close by we see windmills, which have increased in number over our time there, turning and producing power both on land and out to sea. Beyond them, well over the horizon, over forty miles into the North Sea, are gas platforms but only just down the coast next to the ancient dunes at Saltfleetby Theddlethorpe there's a direct connection to the gas fields bringing in 10% of the UK's gas requirement every single day.

Many of the Fitties people have links with the energy industry too. Cleethorpes has long links with Yorkshire, especially around Sheffield going back to the days when tourism for most was curbed to the times when mills and mines were closed for weeks and whole communities made for the seaside. After the mines closed, a significant number of miners, the human waste products of our old now unpopular energy sources, moved permanently to the Fitties, relying on friends and family for accommodation in the closed season. Some of them joined the closed season community, staying on in secret, employing blackout techniques and moving on and off site under cover of darkness. An estimated 20% of people on the Fitties are doing this. The Fitties itself offers relatively simple living. The Fitties is actually not on mains gas, calor gas bottles stand next to the chalets and are delivered and exchanged by lorries. The council, backing away from their responsibilities for this area, which currently extend to energy and environmental concerns, are acting in line with the history of local authorities in relation to plotlands, which was, for many years to ignore them. On the Fitties it took until 1938, before sewers were introduced, replacing the cart collecting the soil, electricity installed and they constructed a road system based on the informal mud paths already

established. Before then, as the memories of older people who have stayed on the Fitties since they were children attest, people fetched water from standpipes and used oil lamps for lighting, they would have had to petition the council for help and most likely contribute themselves. We incorporate reference to these memories in our work.

RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE

We have produced original art and poetry in relation to this work which are in themselves significant results. These have been displayed in exhibition in local places, allowing us to further explore people's responses to the work in person, through workshops and seminars and in the form of questionnaires. Findings have been drawn from our website www.projectfitties.com and associated facebook page. Our presentation will share this material with conference participants so that they will be able to see images of exhibitions and see and hear poetry constructed from the project.

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Thematic Line 3: 'AGRI-FOOD SYSTEMS AND THE RURAL'



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Working Group 24. Small farms, local and global markets, and food for all: where are the connections and disconnects, and the potentials – what do we know?



Challenges and opportunities in farmers markets: the case of Lithuania

V. Atkočiūnienė⁸⁹

Abstract – The paper explores the behaviour of farmers and consumers, their potential to participate in the farmers' markets, forms, types and characteristics, which are common to food supply chains, and challenges and opportunities in farmers' markets of Lithuania.

INTRODUCTION

Farmers markets are one of the type's alternative food supply chains "Face-to-Face", where the consumer interacts directly with the producer or processor. Authenticity, trust, and social/geographical context of production is generated through personal interaction (Marsden et al., 2000). Research on the food supply chain until 2008 has been devoted to multi-national collaborations or the supply chain for large businesses and industries (Abatekassa, Peterson, 2008). Farmers markets can play a significant role in developing a local food system and are receiving an increasing attention by both food chains actors and social scientists (Benedek, Balázs, 2015; Aubert, Enjolras, 2016; Augère-Granier, 2016). Food chain actors, adapting continuously to a changing environment, establish relations with a multiplicity of other actors for a variety of reasons and animate multiple chain configurations (Brunori et al., 2016). Food market is becoming more differentiated due to consumer requirements for food quality as well. The low-cost and mass food markets are being substituted by a high-quality food market. Demand for high quality products is increasing, but only a small part of Lithuanian farmers is considering this and are prepared for such changes.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the main characteristics, challenges and opportunities of the farmers markets in Lithuania. To evaluate the farmers' markets, three groups of experts selected (311 experts: 98 experts-professionals, 82 experts-farmers and 131 consumers). Experts-professionals represented all of the major Lithuanian institutions involved in the agricultural sector in science, education and consulting, rural development administration. An interactive questionnaire available on the web used for the data collection. The experts opinions enabled the comparison of assumptions regarding the behaviour of farmers and consumers, their participation in the market, and development of farmers' markets. The research made during the EU ERA-NET RETHINK project. The research based on the positive research paradigm, content and descriptive

analysis, empirical study methods, logical and systematically reasoning, graphic presentation, abstracts and other methods. The empirical research data collected for all claims assessment averages, standard deviation, median, mode, and the sums calculated, made their analysis.

RESULTS

The small-sized farms represent most of the farms in Lithuania. Lithuanian farms predominantly supply raw products and only 12% of farmers are engaged in the on-farm processing of agricultural products. Application of the direct marketing of agricultural products and direct sales strategy is the fifth within the farms. The reasons why farmers do not process agricultural production and are not engaged in the direct sales of production are the lack of knowledge in technologies and marketing communication. Moreover, there is a lack of institutional mechanisms that help to create organizational structures and spaces, where farmers could sell their products directly to consumers.

The farmers' markets, promoting the consumption of local products, are becoming more and more popular in Lithuania since 2006. They offer the products close to major shopping centres and other places in big cities, i.e. the agricultural cooperative "Lithuanian Farm Quality" unites two and a half hundreds of farmers and small companies that grow, process and sell a range of products in farmers' markets in Lithuania. However, mobile markets (i.e., outdoor farmers' markets) reach only 0.1% of supermarket foodstuffs turnover in Lithuania. Meanwhile, in the Western European countries, farmers sell directly to consumers about 5% of their agricultural and food products.

The strongest informal cooperation relationships, compared with the other rural development actors, are among farmers (44.9%), farms and agricultural enterprises (40.7%), farmers and consumers (36.25%). Informal sales of agricultural products exist in all regions of Lithuania on the basis of personal contacts, trust and communication. So far, the relationship between small-scale agricultural

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producers and individual consumers is not formalized making the issues, connected to agricultural product sales, most often to be addressed individually.

According to the study, in order better to meet the needs of the customers, the farmers should sell agricultural products by introducing short food supply chains in the markets (96%), in mobile fairs (90%), directly in their farms (86%), through an online network (40%). The most important fact for experts-professionals is that product is would be non-GMO (94%), safe and healthy (94%), organic (89%), fairly sold (89%). So far, the least important attributes of food is free grazing of livestock (32%), integration (43%), and the typicality of the product (26%). The use of traditional production methods and recipes is not important aspect in the domestic market. But organic, exceptional-quality, national heritage and similar products are sold exclusively to the domestic market. The purchasing power of domestic consumers is not high and as a result prices are not high.

The majority of consumers (62%) evaluating goods from agricultural sector are interested in food and non-food production, made in Lithuanian farms. According to customers the features that products can gain only through the short food supply chains are: the relationship between producers and consumers by highlighting the origin of the product; to relate the product with a specific area, where it was produced; to relate the product with a particular farm, where it was produced.

There is an increasing interest in the possibilities to move food production from industrial production (especially from the farmers' self-government organizations), i.e., a long food supply chains to short chains in Lithuania. Few initiatives exist where producers develop relationships with customers through direct communication in short food supply chains. Food at mobile markets and Tymas market in Capital city associated with the Lithuanian countryside, particular rural areas, or even farms where the products produced. Qualitative foodstuffs help to enhance the image of the farms and the area as a good food source. Producers and consumers can create a higher agricultural value and sense by applying this image rather than only type of product itself (e.g., organic berries, apple juice, maple syrup are both a food and a medicine).

CONCLUSION

Various forms of direct sales have recently spread in Lithuania (i.e., stationary and mobile farmers' markets), but the direct sales of farmers' production

are still not sufficiently developed in Lithuania. A small part of the agricultural and food products sold in the farmers markets. Therefore, almost all of the profits go to the wholesalers, retail chains and other stakeholders. As a result, farms are focusing their actions not on the consumer needs but on the state financial support.

The growing demand for fresh, natural high-quality food, produced in the consumers' places of residence, encourage farmers, especially small and medium-sized, to produce higher added-value agricultural and food products, sell them directly to the consumers, and thereby to increase their income. More resilient cooperation between farmers, scientists and advisers within the chain of production and realization should be implemented, as well as the state's support should be more active. Collective action needs good facilitation, and can stimulate innovation in ways that contribute to smallholder market integration and poverty reduction.

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Family farming between dominance and resilience: Romania's alternative food networks

T. Capota⁹⁰

Abstract – If it were to write a caption to accompany the illustration of Romania's rural landscape, it would be narrowed down to the notion of small peasant family farming. Now, Romania has 3.6 million family farms, one third of the total number of family farms in the European Union; this indicator places it first among the member states. However, in terms of size, the average surface of a Romanian family farm is four and a half times smaller than its average European counterpart. These conditions shape the character of farming structures' activities, making them suitable principally for subsistence and semi-subsistence and only to a small extent for commercial purposes. On the other hand, the dominance of family farming is far from being absolute. Among the economic challenges, the main ones are the limited access to financial capital, to mainstream markets and the insufficient power within the conventional food supply chain. Given this, the agricultural products of rural household farms are forced into exile, finding residency in the (nowadays) called alternative food networks. In fact, Romania's foodscape is still characterized by a resilient food consumption behaviour that favours the principles of the alternative systems. It is the residual tradition-driven pattern regarding food provisioning, healthiness and security that feeds the permanence of peasant markets, short food supply chains, the consumption of non-certified and non-labelled ecological agricultural products based on word-of-mouth recommendation or directly from the farm. The present paper aims at analysing the complex role of family farming in Romania's alternative food system's expressions, questioning the sustainability of present practices.

INTRODUCTION - THE EVERGREEN RURAL ISSUE

Currently Romania has a large number of rural small farms⁹¹ (subsistence and semi-subsistence) which use a significant share of the agricultural area and in which an appreciable part of the workforce is employed. These farms still apply traditional farming practices and have a poor technical endowment, encountering difficulties in adapting to new technologies (PNDR, 2016). Seen from a conventional agricultural productivity perspective, the Romanian small farms have low economic performances and limited prospects of improvement. Furthermore, the fact that the farms are often affected by a high degree of fragmentation is considered to be a vulnerable point. All these question the economic sustainability of small farms and thus demand a policy-driven support. In addition, regarding the farms' legal form of organization, of the approximately 3.6 million family farms, only 30.698 have a legal status. The remaining 99.2% are organized as individual agricultural holdings, authorized individuals or family businesses without legal personality (GAC, 2010). This blocks to a certain extent the access of small farmers to the conventional food networks.

A habit concerning food provisioning which has its origins in the traditional society and which has survived in the communist period up until the present time acts as a safety net for small producers and is

called today AFN. In the Romanian foodscape, the main drivers in this respect are the urban consumers and their perceptions about local (countryside) products. These perceptions are based on the trust they have in the good practices of the farmers.

The complex research problem of AFNs was treated in numerous scientific works, as it is a central issue of the Western countries foodwise. Some of these (Sage, 2003; Eden et al, 2008; Zagata and Lostak, 2012; Thorsøe and Kjeldsen, 2016) discuss the issue of trust within the frame of the producer-consumer relationships, but only a few works investigate the Romanian food realities from this point of view (Stroe, 2015; Nistor, 2016).

A central aim of this paper is to analyze the role of Romanian family farms within the context of local alternative food networks. Two research questions shape this approach: 1) Which are the individual strategies of farmers regarding their presence on the market? and 2) What is the consumer's behaviour in relation to these strategies?

METHODS

To answer these questions, empirical data was collected using qualitative methods. The fieldwork involved two phases consisting of: 1) In-depth interviews with rural small farmers that produce and (in a few cases) process meat, fish, bee products, milk, fruits and vegetables, cereals and aromatic

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⁹¹ Given the nature of the *small farms* in Romania, their definition overlaps the semantics of *family farms*.



plants. 19 interviews were conducted with farmers of both sexes, aged between 19 and 65, that are active in various rural areas of Transylvania. 2) Interviews with urban consumers from Cluj-Napoca, the main city of Transylvania: a) 8 semistructured interviews were conducted with male and female consumers aged between 43 and 65; b) one focus group with 9 urban consumers took place. To supplement the picture of the small farmers' complex issues, a number of media speeches by representatives of various government agencies and NGOs were analyzed. In addition, participant observations were held in the principal food events of the region.

RESULTS AND TALKING POINTS

One of the major findings that emerged from the data analysis is that, since in most cases their production is conditioned by the cycles of the nature, the farmers' economical behaviour is intermittent. As such, in order to be economically sustainable, they often avoid single-channel strategies. Therefore, two types of market approaches were observed: 1) *the mixed-networks strategy*, characterized by the fact that the farmers are active both in the conventional food supply chains and in the alternative food networks. This is the case with farmers who sell the majority of their products as raw materials for big food processing companies, keeping a small amount for non-conventional commercial activities; 2) *the multiform alternative practices' strategy*, where farmers combine a) *formal* and b) *informal* alternative schemes. In this case, the division into formal and informal schemes was done taking into account mainly the degree of bureaucratization of various forms of food supply. Therefore, the alternative scheme palette stretches from the most formal expressions (certification schemes such as: organic product, traditional product; producer cooperatives; Internet-mediated food marketing schemes, box schemes) to the most informal ones (traditional trade-off, commerce based on word-of-mouth recommendations).

Urban consumers' food provisioning behaviour is focused in part on the permanent search for local (authentic) countryside products. Consumers' knowledge about the small farmers and their products coincides with their image of the Romanian peasant and the traditional food. It is taken for granted that

farmers are present, almost exclusively, in the alternative food networks (especially in permanent or flea farmers' markets). For consumers supply through alternative networks is a common practice. Lately, given the Romanian consumer's preferences for these products, fake small producers have emerged within alternative networks. Consequently, the main aspect of the consumer's strategy for identifying authentic local products is to find the distinctive character that embodies the farmer's defining features (the trustable seller). Moreover, another technique applied by the consumers - where possible - is the direct verification of the product's qualities: the appearance, the smell and the unique taste. From the consumers' point of view, certifications and labels do not necessarily represent the ultimate guarantors of quality and food security, but rather of less affordable prices.

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The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Potentials and Limitations of Regional Organic Food Supply: A Qualitative Analysis of Two Food Chain Types in the Berlin Metropolitan Region

A. Doernberg, I. Zasada, K. Bruszezwska, B. Skoczowski, A. Piorr⁹²

Abstract – Regionalized food systems and organic agriculture are both considered more sustainable than the conventional, globalized food system they provide an alternative to. The emergence and expansion of alternative forms of food supply are influenced by various factors. Based on the literature, we developed an analytical framework and identified determinants for regional organic food supply. Then, we examined a qualitative case study for two different types of alternative food networks: (A) organic community supported agriculture (CSA) and (B) organic retail trade and studied potentials and limitations of regional organic food supply in the Berlin metropolitan region (BMR). The results show that the main constraints are associated with agricultural production (access to land and land prices) and insufficient processing capacities.

INTRODUCTION

The globalized, conventional food system (with intensive agriculture and long supply chains) has enhanced productivity, increased food security and safety, but it is also responsible for negative environmental and social effects as well as economic uncertainties. Critics call for alternative approaches of food supply, as production is increasingly disconnected from consumption and highly dependent on non-renewable resources (Wiskerke 2009; Spaargaren 2012). In response, concepts like Alternative Food Networks (AFN) gain more interest in research, policy and practice as they are associated with a variety of social, economic and ecologic benefits, such as improved transparency for consumers, reduced income risks for farmers and shorter transport distances (Jarosz 2008; Committee of the Regions 2011; Kneafsey et al. 2013). Although many authors and practitioners share the perception of the potential contribution of AFN to more sustainable food systems, comprehensive empirical evidence on benefits and possible drawbacks is lacking (Kneafsey et al. 2013). One reason for the difficulty to assess the benefits of AFN is the variety and complexity of different models, which are adapted to specific regional contexts (Doernberg et al. 2016). Beside the questions about benefits and potentials to change the food system, little is known

about the factors that influence the development, diffusion and up-scaling of AFN which usually involve small-scale farmers. Therefore the aim of the paper is to identify hindering and fostering factors for regional food supply in the Berlin metropolitan region (BMR).

CASE STUDY AREA

With its population size of 3.5 million Berlin represents one of the largest markets for organic food in Europe. There is a growing demand and significant willingness-to-pay for regional and organic food. Agriculture in the BMR is characterized by sandy soils with low fertility and large-scale farm structures (average farm size of 238 ha). A comparatively high share of land (10.5%) is cultivated according to organic standards (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2014).

METHODS AND MATERIAL

For analysing the potentials and limitations of regional organic food supply, we conducted a SWOT analysis for a case study of two distinct food chain types: A) CSA, a model that fundamentally change roles and relationships between producers and consumers and aims at gaining independence from market and B) organic retail trade that makes use of

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traditional food-chain infrastructure and market relations.

The data were collected from semi-structured interviews with eight actors involved in CSA (farmers, consumers, consultant, NGO) and eleven experts from retailing companies (purchasing and sales managers) in 2013 and 2014. In the case of CSA, the interview information were discussed and completed by practitioners and experts in a workshop.

MAIN RESULTS

Although there is a growing demand for regional organic food on the market, which could offer a good income possibility, small-scale organic farmers and food producers, the actors in the two studied food chain types, are confronted with several constraints. For CSA and organic retail trade land is the main limiting factor in the case study region. The insufficient production and processing capacities as well as difficulties with the market entrance for small-scale producer affect the food supply in the retail chain. Beside this, the political environment for organic agriculture in the region is not very supportive.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

AFN needs to overcome several obstacles in order to deploy their potential benefits for a more sustainable food system and make relevant contribution to food provision. Especially the factor land becomes in the case study a serious barrier to the emergence and diffusion of alternative food networks and finally for regional value adding and rural development. The existing market structures and mechanisms are not very feasible to match regional demand and supply. Therefore policy intervention is required. The steering approaches needs to be adapted to regional conditions and could be part of a cross-sectorial food policy that acknowledges the diversity of food producers, processors, distributors and consumers as well as the social value of the different food chain types. Targeted measures may include supporting structures and institutions that enable small-scale regional producers to gain better access to farmland, regional markets and regional networks.

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Estimation of potential production provided by small family farms: a case study in Portugal

A. M. Fonseca, C. I. Fonseca, M. E. Almeida, N. R. Guiomar, T. A. Pinto-Correia

Abstract – Despite the widespread dissemination of the agro-industrial production model in Europe, small family farming continues to play a key role on food supply (FAO 2014). European and national statistics have been insufficient in accounting small family farms production. In this paper, we present a methodological approach applied to one municipality in Portugal - Montemor-o-Novo – to estimate the potential production provided by small farms. This methodology includes direct inquiry to people making vegetable gardens as well as some strategies to make this work less time consuming and applicable in other European countries

INTRODUCTION

The 2013 Report by the High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition provides a first indication of the potentially (in some regions) very significant role of small farms (HLPE 2013, pp.11-12): "Smallholder agriculture is the foundation of food security in many countries and an important part of the socio/economic/ecological landscape in all countries. (...) The contribution that smallholder agriculture makes to world food security and nutrition is both direct, in as far as it links production and consumption for many rural households, and indirect (...)".

This paper will focus on the question of the quantities of food produced by small farms and how best assess them. Food production is one of the main contributions to food availability and potential accessibility within a certain region and one of the dimensions of food and nutrition security, according to what has been defined in the 1996 World Food Summit (FAO 1996), reaffirmed in the 2009 Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security (FAO 2009).

The Portuguese official statistics (INE 2011) point out that 304 farms are producing vegetables in the municipality of Montemor-o-Novo. The next farms survey will take place in 2019 and we have no idea how they evolved until 2017. But the definition of food strategies at the county level requires a more up-to-date knowledge about the availability of locally produced food, even providing from small farms, which is the one that most often is not fully captured by statistics.

Therefore, we adopted as methodology, direct inquiry to people producing food in areas below 5 ha, to estimate the potential horticultural production in this municipality. This approach, being more direct and therefore more labour demanding, can be a robust way of filling this gap in the statistical data. At the same time, it gives greater visibility to this type of production. Some strategies are suggested to make this work less time consuming and applicable in other European countries.

METHODS

From the eight parishes (LAU1 level) of the municipality, two were selected for this study (the one including the city centre and the most remote one) and 116 inquiries were applied by one inquirer between March and May 2014: 39 in the rural parish and 77 in the urban parish. These inquiries were carried out in plots between 12 and 30 000 m². In order to facilitate the quantification of production, some statistical steps were made. First, creating a conversion table between daily measures used by the farmers and reference measures.

Second, crossing several cartographic data in order to know the potential area available for vegetable production.

In addition to the difficulty in accounting for products, a large part of the respondents was also unaware of the size of the cultivated area. Estimates (of the respondents) were made at the time, sometimes accounting for what was sown. Other times they resulted from averages between the opinions of two or more people (usually the two elements of the couple that make up the family nucleus, the sons, the neighbours). Some inquiries were answered by persons other than who does the farming, which may influence the quality of the data.

RESULTS

The data collected in the 116 surveys - covering not only the sown and/or quantities harvested, but also the total cultivated areas and, in some cases, the correspondence between sowing and harvesting - allowed the estimation of production values for each product by total area cultivated. The values obtained were used to estimate the productive potential at the municipality scale using auxiliary geographic information, such as land occupation cartography (1990 and 2007) and land ownership data.

In a first step, reference values (estimated) were established based on the data provided by the respondents, bibliography (Barroso et al., 2007; Cermeño, 1988; Garde et al., 1988; INE, 2002; Soares et al. 2001), weighing of some products and information collected from the president of the Portuguese Seeds' Association (Table 1). To the initial basket were added three other products indicated by the respondents as usual production on their farms: cucumbers, peppers and courgettes, in a total of 18 products. The different varieties of each product were estimated at a mean total weight.

At the same time, the potential area of vegetable gardens or similar farms in the municipality was established using auxiliary geographic information (1990 and 2007 land occupation cartography and property register), accounting only for fractions of less than 5 ha. Six hypothetical scenarios have been developed, averaging about 486.36 hectares of probable (and potential) area of horticultural production, that is, about 0.4% of the total territory of the municipality.



The XXVII ESRS Congress Poland, Krakow July 24-27 2017

Table 1 - Reference values used (approximate average values), estimated from the quantity sown or from other units of measurement.

Product	Sowing	Reference values	Other unities referred
Pumpkin		5 kg/unity	
Garlic	1 kg	10 kg	0,125kg/plant; 1 head of garlic = ~60 gr
Potato	1 kg	16,25 kg	
Carrot	1 pack of seeds	20 kg	
Courgette		2,975 kg/plant	Unity = ~0,299 kg
Cabbage		1,75 kg/plant	1L=0,650kg; ~9 pods/plant; ~5 favas/pod; average weight/grain=0,0015 kg
Fava	1 kg	7,45 kg	1L=0,798 (10 weighings); 0,209 kg/plant
Dry beans	1 kg	7,50 kg	
Green bean	1kg	16,44 kg	1,714 kg/plant
Fig		13,89 kg /tree	
Grain		0,372 kg/plant 20 kg/tree (too conservative estimate)	1L=0,891 (10 weighings)
Orange		1,92 kg/unity	1 gentry=4 plants
Melon		2,95 kg/plant	1 gentry=2 plants
Cucumber		0,53 kg/plant	1 fruit = 132,5 gr
Pepper		2,8 kg/pant	
Tomato		13,75 kg/plant	
Grape		(high variability)	

With the reference values and the six potential area scenarios, estimates of the production of each product, in tonnes/year (excluding eggs, which were counted in units), were estimated for these areas through mathematical calculation. It should be noted that these data correspond to quantities proportional to the production of each food item in the total production area and not productivities.

Table 2 - Production estimates in tones / year (eggs - units / year) for total potential area of vegetables:

	Quantity	Product	Quantity
Pumpkin	1154,71	Fig	106,01
Lettuce	738,6	Grain	6,59
Potato	2829,62	Orange	1120,04
Onion	2224,57	Melon	134,61
Carrot	78,58	Cucumber	353,11
Courgette	141,96	Pepper	254,66
Cabbage	2303,44	Tomato	2082,07
Fava	223,44	Grape	2101,6
Dry beans	64,29		
Green bean	428,35	eggs	14 285 un.

Regarding the destiny of the vegetable production, the majority of respondents (111 responses) stated that the production is for self-consumption either by the family nucleus as well by sons and other relatives; 22 people reported giving and/or exchanging with neighbors and acquaintances (and also giving to social welfare institutions and nursing homes); And 16 sell it. Among those who sell, 11 do it in the municipal market, 4 sell to individuals and one sells in a store in Lisbon. It should also be noted that some of the respondents who market their products sell only one (eg only eggs, peppers or potatoes). In the second part of the survey, respondents were asked about their willingness

and willingness to sell and/or sell their products further if they did not do so. Of the respondents' universe, 73 responded that they did not want to sell at all, or sell more if they already did, and only 11 responded yes.

The main reasons indicated by those who do not want to sell or sell more are: lack of time or having another occupation; Control of the ASAE, the food safety authority, the obligation of billing and registration in the financial services or the bureaucracy in general; but also the lack of land or poor soil, the fact that people do not value or buy because it is expensive; because they prefer to exchange with other people; the age or state of health.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Some of the respondents do not count the products sown and harvested, since farm products are in most cases of daily use and/or for animal feeding; and several people use their own seeds, which makes it difficult or even impossible to quantify. The fact that we asked for the identification of the respondent was also counterproductive. Hence, we stopped doing so shortly after the first inquiries.

If we consider, for example, that the average national potato consumption per year is 93kg per person (GPP, 2013), potential potato production in Montemor-o-Novo would feed about 30,000 people. Given that the population of the municipality is 17 437 inhabitants, this production would be enough, and even surplus, to cover the needs of provision of the municipality.

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The XXVII
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Role of Small farming in food security and sustainability: a case study for Tuscany(IT)

F. Galli, L. Fastelli, S. Grando, G. Brunori, F. Di Iacovo⁹³

Abstract – The paper seeks to explore how and in what ways small farms bring a distinctive contribution to food systems, by focusing on food and nutrition security and environmental and socio-economic outcomes. The study is performed with reference to Lucca province in Tuscany (Italy). Combining quantitative and qualitative research, we adopt a double perspective: from the regional food system considering small farming and, conversely, from (selected) small farms looking out to the wider (regional) food system.

INTRODUCTION

The debate on the size of farming, and its relevance for policy purposes, has come back to the fore in recent years. The “International Year of Family Farming and Smallholder Farming”, held by FAO in 2014, aimed to raise the profile of family and smallholder farming worldwide”. During EXPO 2015, a debate followed on structural developments in agriculture and the implications for the competitiveness and sustainability of the agri-food sector and rural areas. Despite a declining number of agricultural holdings and a gradual increase in average farm size, the agricultural sector is largely composed by farms with less than 5 ha of agricultural land and a standard output below 4 000 euro per year. Beyond economic size and value of production, other criteria (e.g. labour units and family involvement can be adopted), alone or in combination, to define size of farming. Academic literature provides a mixed picture on whether a declining number of farms, and a gradual increase in size should be welcomed or contrasted. Oppositional arguments contrasting smaller and larger farm structures with respect to sustainability and food and nutrition security, are nourished by the lack of sufficient or unambiguous scientific evidence. A first line of thought stresses the distinctiveness of smaller farms in delivering food security and sustainability (Rabinowicz, 2014) and the capacity of small farms to mobilize resources additional to those procured through market exchange (van der Ploeg, 2013). A second line of thought considers size as a non-relevant criterion to assess the performance on food security and sustainability (OECD, 2005), supporting the view on steering behaviours oriented towards improved sustainability, regardless of size. Dualistic debates often focus on some aspects of sustainability and neglect others (Kirwan et al. 2017) or overlook the importance of complementarity between complex agro-food systems and territoriality, as local context

largely affects what structural change is desirable at territorial level (Darnhofer et al. 2010). This contribution presents the conceptual and analytical framework adopted in a research project named SALSA, “Small farms, small food businesses and sustainable food and nutrition security (FNS)”, and provides an illustration on one of the 35 reference regions selected. The analysis considers Lucca province in Tuscany and aims at generating preliminary insights in relation to the role of small farms in food and nutrition security.

CONCEPTS METHODOLOGY

To understand the contribution of small farms to food system outcomes we adopt a double perspective: i) *From the regionalized food system into small farms.* The research on complex systems studies the dynamics and patterns of systems consisting of interacting elements. System thinking means “taking a position which allows to see the whole picture and to avoid getting lost in too many details” (Balmann, 2016: 10) going beyond analytical approaches and dealing with interdependent sets of variables. We follow the conceptualization of food systems as the organization of production, processing, distribution and consumption of food (Ericksen 2008). ii) *From small farms into the food system.* This perspective leads to understanding the connections of (selected) small farms to the regional food system flows and outcomes, considering that farms need to be understood as a system in themselves. The analytical steps entail assessing food system outcomes in the reference region and the role of small farming and understanding small farming typologies and contribution to food system outcomes.

RESULTS

The province of Lucca (Tuscany, central Italy) spans across three distinguished areas and covers an

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area of 1773 km², populated by over 390 thousand people. The farming sector comprises 6543 holdings of an average size of 3.72 ha, of which 86% below 5 ha, producing cereals, olive groves, fruit, vineyards, vegetables and potatoes. A balance sheet comparing estimated agricultural production (based on surfaces and yields) and estimated consumption (based on EFSA survey and population by age class) was constructed. It shows that across all farming sectors, local production is insufficient to satisfy the potential demand. Hence, the contribution of small holdings (considering those with less than 5 ha of UAA) was calculated, indicating that smaller farms contribute relatively more to producing vegetables and olive oil (Figure 1).

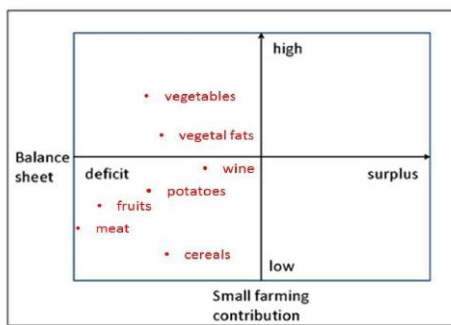


Figure 1 – Role of small farming in Lucca production and consumption balance.

Based on key informants' interviews for selected relevant commodities, we mapped upstream and downstream food system connections, considering smaller and larger farmers (Figure 2 provides an example for fruit and vegetables). Concerning typologies, it can be asserted that, in the province of Lucca, small farms are relatively more oriented to mixed cropping and self-consume more than larger farms (53% of small farms versus 2% of larger farms consume all farm production) and that prevalently sell directly to consumers (74% of small farms adopt on farm and off farm direct sale).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This preliminary overview of a territorialized food system illustrates the framework applied to one of the reference regions studied within the Salsa project. To understand the impact of small farms on FNS, the role that small farms play into given food systems must be addressed. By framing small farms in the context of the food production and consumption, results will account for the different strategies for subsistence and sustainability that the small farm households engage with.

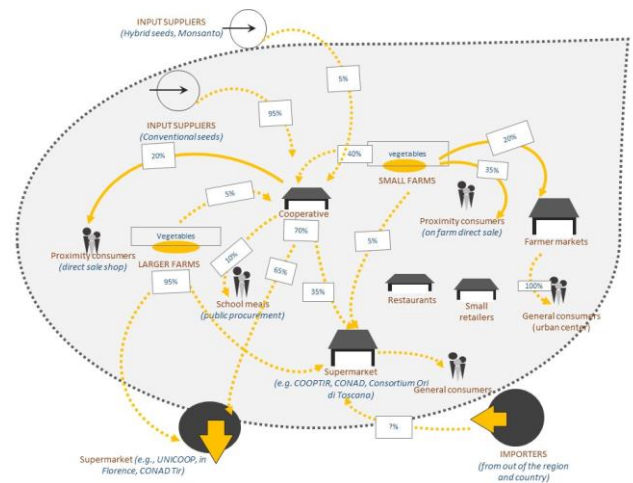


Figure 2 – Food system mapping: example for vegetables

Further research in this direction will allow to understand how different system configurations can affect the intensity of FNS outcomes.

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Local food systems in rural North America: findings from Missouri and Nebraska

M. K. Hendrickson, S. Hultine Massengale⁹⁴

Abstract – Local food systems are more apparent and more fully developed in urban or peri-urban areas of the United States suggesting better opportunities for food and farm businesses in those regions than in remote rural areas. However, much of the North American scholarship on local food systems is biased towards urban food systems, with rural often only assumed in the inclusion of small or alternative farmers. Through a series of 10 focus groups in the Midwest, we found that rural consumers participate in local food systems in distinctive ways that may bypass formal economic channels, such as self-provisioning; sharing and reciprocity; or informal arrangements. Some of these forms of participation might constrain expansion of more fully developed formal markets in rural areas. Many of them depend upon inclusion in social networks. We raise questions about the nature of food systems in rural areas and how they can potentially contribute to rural development.

INTRODUCTION

Local food systems are often envisioned as an economic development strategy: by consuming locally-produced foods residents will keep more dollars in their community. The reality is dependent on the economics of local food production and the linkages between local producers and the rest of the local economy. From the limited data available, local food systems in the US are more apparent and more fully developed in urban or peri-urban areas. This raises an important question: Do remote rural communities in these regions benefit from local food system development? To answer that question, we must first understand how local food systems operate in rural areas, which is the focus of this paper.

In previous research, we found that local food systems had net positive effects on associated local economies in rural areas even though those effects were often small due to the overall development of local food systems (Rossi, et al forthcoming). What emerged from this research however, is that rural consumers participated in local food systems in ways which might limit their rural development potential.

Scholarship on local food systems in the US is often biased towards urban food systems, with exceptions like Morton et al (2008), Biermacher et al. (2007), and Gasteyer et al (2008). The lack of attention to rural is not surprising, given that rural counties are underrepresented in local food sales, with sales highest in counties with higher population densities and median incomes (Malone and Whitacre, 2012).

We build on work by McEntee (2010), who conceptualizes differing forms of localism, contemporary and traditional, in rural areas that may influence participation channels in local food systems. Hinrichs and Charles (2012:164) remind us that "local food initiatives can also build social capital, empower groups and individuals, strengthen networks and encourage community action" even when spaces are small or less economically robust.

METHODS

As part of a larger project studying local food systems in rural Midwestern US, our team conducted 17 focus groups with rural and urban consumers in areas of Missouri and

Nebraska that explored the idea of "local food," how accessible it was and perceived benefits and challenges of it. For this paper, we separated out 10 focus groups that took place in rural areas.

Table 1: Carsey Institute Typology of Rural Regions

Declining Resource Dependent	Chronically Poor
<p><i>Southeast Nebraska</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3,200 farms (3% DTC farms) • 9.3 - 18.1% Poverty • \$38,462 to \$51,316 Median Income 	<p><i>Northern Ozarks (Missouri)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4,400 Farms (5% DTC farms) • 19.3% - 23.2% Poverty • \$33,583 - \$41,942 Median Income
<p>Amenity Driven Growth with Resource Base Decline</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5,000 Farms (5% DTC farms) • 10.7-19.1% Poverty • \$39,027 to \$51,585 Median Income 	<p><i>Not included</i></p> <p>*DTC refers to the percentage of farmers selling directly to consumers.</p>

Focus groups generally had 8-12 participants and lasted for 90 minutes. Half of the 10 groups were conducted with "local" shoppers and half with "conventional" shoppers. Participants in both groups were asked to describe what they considered "local" food and where they acquired it.

RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

Participants believed 'local food is good' and defined it by proximity, method of production, and support for the community (Hendrickson et al 2015). Here our focus is to show how rural consumers participate in local food systems. Rural "conventional" and "local" shoppers acquire significant amounts of food through self-provisioning, sharing with friends, family and neighbors, and through informal arrangements. While rural conventional shoppers did not often use farmers' markets or other formal market channels to acquire local foods, they did frequently participate in local food systems through 'traditional localism' (McEntee, 2010).

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Self-Provisioning: Participants in all groups obtained local food through gardening, hunting and fishing, e.g. "A lot of people do rely on wild food - hunting, blackberries, walnuts, mushrooms...." Self-provisioning can mean higher quality food, but it can also be an important method of self-reliance and reducing food costs. One participant said "I know there are a number of families in [Dale] Co. that if they don't get their deer during deer season, they don't have a protein source of food. That is there main source of protein for the year."

Sharing and Reciprocity: Rural consumers sourced fresh, local produce as well as meat, eggs and occasionally milk through friends and family. We often heard comments like "my brother grows beef ...takes them to be butchered then I get part of that" or "I took green peppers and eggplant and tomatoes to neighbors last night...." Sharing food is frequently reciprocal: "I might have an overabundance of peaches and my friend might have pears, so we share and that's local." Sharing and reciprocity often grows out of acts of self-provisioning such as "my mother-in-law does [garden] and then we can all of that stuff and then we split it amongst the family." It can cross into informal economic arrangements like barter as a strategy for reducing costs, e.g. "...that's where it becomes cheaper, too, because you don't have to buy it if you know the guy. You swap them something."

Informal Arrangements and Networks: Local foods flow through social networks. We heard in every group that "people bring stuff to work" and will distribute produce for free but also for money. Many participants bought eggs or made arrangements for meat to be supplied by co-workers. These informal arrangements also take place in social institutions: e.g. one participant gets local food "at church. It doesn't just get brought and everybody throws it on a table, but we just bring things for swapping out for different things." In one conventional shoppers group, nearly all raised their hands when asked if they were given locally produced food; it came from neighbors, co-workers, parents, 'church people', or as one person said "anyone with a tomato plant."

Networks matter as a means of procuring locally produced food. In one *conventional* shoppers group, 10 of 12 participants had wide experiences with procuring locally produced food. One who didn't was a newcomer from an urban area in California and was actively seeking locally produced food without much success. Participants in another group mentioned the importance of knowing the network: "But a lot of time...you've got to have connections to get your local meat."

CONCLUSIONS

Participation in rural local food systems is much more nuanced than many have acknowledged. One participant spoke directly to the imposition of outsider understandings of "local" when she pointed out that while researchers might overlook it, swapping foods at church "is local. That is getting into my kitchen. No money exchanged hands, no bartering took place. But it's still local produce. It's neighbor helping neighbor,... It's beyond the food, agriculture spectrum that you're looking for, but it's all that local market."

Our research offers support for McEntee's (2010) argument that urban bias in local food system research and

practice often obscures how they operate in rural communities. Sharing, reciprocity and bartering go unreported in formal statistics, even though real value moves through these transactions. Many of these forms of food system participation might constrain expansion of more fully developed formal markets in rural areas. These forms of participation may depend upon specialized knowledge or inclusion in social networks which may be inaccessible by all residents of a community.

Further research that documents the nature and extent of rural residents' participation in using and procuring locally produced foods could provide evidence for new strategies that would strengthen their local food systems. Documenting and describing the economic value that moves through informal transactions within these networks could help scholars understand the potential for rural wealth creation in all its forms. Our findings illustrate the need to refine our understanding of the nature of food systems in rural areas, and to develop new ways of thinking about how informal market arrangements can potentially contribute to rural development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Small farms' contribution to Food and Nutrition Security: Evidence from Greece

P. Karanikolas, D. Theocharidis, T. Tsiligiridis, K. Tsiboukas⁹⁵

INTRODUCTION

A growing literature has been developed during the last years concerning Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) in relation to food systems functions, within both the academia and international organizations (FAO, 2013; Lamine, 2015). In this context, the multi-scale and multi-dimensional concept of *resilience* is used as a powerful analytical tool (Pelletier et al., 2016).

This study aims at examining small farms' (SFs) contribution to FNS in a Southern European context. More specifically, by adopting a systems perspective we try to identify the contribution of SFs to the four dimensions of FNS, emphasizing: the dynamics between production and consumption systems; the system's ability to cope with uncertainties and shocks; and how SFs can reduce the food system's vulnerability making it more persistent, adaptive, and transformative.

The study concerns both the whole agri-food system and a more detailed survey of the sub-system of citrus SFs in the NUTS3 region of Ileia in Southwestern Greece.

METHODS

In pursuing the aim of the study we draw on the concepts of *food system*, the *resilience* at the farm/household and system levels (Darnhofer et al., 2010; Béné et al., 2016), as well as *consumption patterns* (Colonna et al., 2013).

The data are derived from three sources: (a) a desk research concerning the agri-food system of Ileia over a long period, (b) interviews with 10 key informants of the region conducted in April 2017, and (c) a field survey in a representative sample of 56 farms, drawn from all farms of the region specialized in citrus fruit production (687 farms); in this survey, detailed farm-level data with face-to-face interviews have been collected from August 2016 through October 2016.

RESULTS

After the construction of large-scale public infrastructure projects in 1960s, Ileias' agri-food system entered the 'modernization' era, while retaining its small-scale character. Citrus fruits are integrated mainly into two different multi-cropping farming systems of SFs, comprising: (a) olive-oil, outdoor vegetables and citrus fruits, or (b) olive-oil, Corinthian currants, citrus fruits and vegetable gardens. The regional food system is a dynamic one, with food production by far exceeding consumption.

Forty-three of the sample farms are small (with utilized agricultural area up to 5 ha); the production mix of small sample farms (SSFs) involves three main products in various combinations: oranges, mandarins and olive-oil. Self-consumption concerns the bulk of olive-oil and negligible quantities of citrus fruits. Therefore, SSFs have a *high degree of market integration* along with a *low level of self-sufficiency* of farm households.

As for the contribution of SSFs to the dimensions of FNS, high-quality olive-oil is produced primarily in hilly/mountain and dry areas, while citrus fruits are cultivated in plain irrigated areas. SSFs cover their needs in olive-oil and citrus fruits from their own-production. Also, SSFs have a significant contribution to the creation of jobs, as, on average they employ 0.90 annual work units (AWUs) which are provided equally from family- and non-family labour. One-third of SSFs' farm holders are over 65 years of age, while two-thirds are up to 65 years, with average on-farm employment 0.67 AWUs and 1.02 AWUs, respectively.

Each of the main products of SSFs is integrated into different domestic and foreign markets. SSFs are associated with hybrid forms of food systems/consumption patterns (domestic, local, regional, agri-industrial, differentiated quality), rather than pure 'ideal types'.

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Although SSFs seem to be secure from a food and nutrition point of view, possible food insecurity problems could exist in farms/households which fall below the poverty line (7 out of 43), but this issue needs further research.

DISCUSSION-CONCLUSIONS

Ileias' agri-food system is exposed to *stresses* arising e.g. from the current economic crisis that has been going on for seven years, as well as an unequal integration of citrus SFs into the agri-food chain, and the abolition of informal marketing channels for SSFs, in the context of an increasing consolidation of the system. Moreover, major disturbances *shock* the system, such as the loss of the Russian market for citrus fruits exports due to the EU sanctions to Russia since 2014, as well as a drop in the price of oranges for one-third of SSFs, owing to the insect outbreak.

Diverse forms of food production and distribution are encountered in Ileia, including 20,434 SFs and hundreds of processing, marketing and distributing small units sourcing their inputs locally, as well as direct marketing from SFs, open-air markets, and exchanges within kinship and neighborhood. There's also a striking *diversity* of landscape types, of farm structures, as well as of *livelihood strategies*. In all but 4 SSFs, farming is a supplementary source of income. On-farm *diversification*, with new citrus fruits plantations installed from late 1960's up to now, is accompanied with the renewal of olive groves and new investments in mechanical equipment. This process indicates a *capacity for adaptation and transformation*, as SSFs reconfigure their resources.

In addition to diversification, some processes have strengthened the system, ensuring its *persistence*: low dependence of SSFs on subsidies (12% of their total revenue in 2015); the significant role of some co-ops in the concentration of production and collective bargaining of prices; the existence of well-established marketing channels allowing access to domestic and foreign markets; macroeconomic stability and low unemployment rates up to 2010.

Adversely, a series of mechanisms make the system more *vulnerable*, undermining its adaptive and transformative capacities: (a) intensification of production has resulted in adverse consequences, such as groundwater pollution from nitrates due to excess use of fertilizers; (b) overuse of insecticides on behalf of one-third of SSFs decimated beneficial insects, causing an outbreak of 'Dialeurodes Citri' disease during the last 3 years; this caused a rapid fall in the price of oranges, thus jeopardizing the long-

term sustainability of these farms. Thus, major *challenges* for the system are, inter alia, the sustainability of SFs, the opening of new export markets in Northern Europe, and the upgrading of farmers' co-ops within the broader agri-food chain.

The effective response to these challenges requires actions such as: (a) the cultivation of new citrus varieties, i.e. a *reorganization of the system* through new investments, which is hindered by the unfavorable environment of hard austerity macroeconomic policies applied to the Greek economy since 2010; (b) the creation of a *learning environment* among farmers, which will favor the dissemination of existing practices of some SSFs that integrate scientific with traditional knowledge, such as site-specific fertilization after thorough soil analysis, the targeted-differentiated pruning of trees and an effective plant protection.

In conclusion, over a long time period, SFs in Ileia, through on- and off-farm diversification strategies and other mechanisms, have survived and taken advantage of new opportunities, thus supporting a dynamic food system and contributing to FNS. Although some processes enhancing the system are still at work, the on-going crisis and a series of internal and external stressors and shocks, question the adaptive and transformative capacity of the regional food system.

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Small farms according to new directions of diversification in agricultural production

W. Knapik, M. Czekaj

Keywords: *Small farms, social agriculture, diversification*

Farms in Poland, their number, kind of activity, average area, economic efficiency and their importance for the country or for a region, change dynamically. Last Agricultural Census which was done in Poland in 2010 deliver important data for the presented paper. The most numerous groups of farms (in Poland, but also in voivodeships) are those with the area from 1 to 5 ha of utilized agricultural area. The share of economically active households engaged in agricultural activity in the area group increases as the area of farms grow.

Economic efficiency of agricultural activity is very low in Polish farms. Only 22,6% farms in Poland declare that their income came mainly from agricultural production. For 40,2% of farms income from agriculture provides no more than 9% of the hole profits obtained in agriculture. Farms which acquire income mainly from non agricultural sources are mainly located in south of Poland in: malopolskie, slaskie and podkarpackie voivodeships. In that area more than half of farms 90% of income achieve from non agricultural sources. In the same voivodeships pensions represent only 1% of farms income. It implicates that farms owners are able to maintain agricultural production (even if the farms do not bring them high income). There is also a lot of people in working age if we consider low share of pensions in family income. Non-agricultural business activity is also quite important source of additional income for farms in these voivodeships – in malpolskie voivodeship 13% of incomes come from such activity. It suggests, that farmers in these areas are entrepreneurs.

Farms differentiation determine kind of activity undertaken by the farmers. It affects necessity to start additional activities which would provide appropriate level of income for farms. Such situation is typical for small farms. That model of their functioning can take many forms. First – non agricultural sources of income can complement agricultural income. Second – agricultural production is mostly additional form of farm activity. For those farms basic sources of income are not related to agricultural production. Small farms are disposers of significant labor resources, which usually are not used in efficient way. The effort put into the work done on the farm in combination with little involvement of mechanical workforce is not reflected in financial results. Alternative for those two forms is another one

– obtaining income by exploiting the potential of a small farm. The last one form is widening current agricultural production by joining non-agricultural activities in the place of residence, with new services. Authors focused on the last forms referring to the new prospects for small rural households and small farms operations.

Type of activity undertaken by small farms owners depends on their individual features, ingenuity and creativity. In Polish farms, new and not very popular form of diversification is social agriculture. Social agriculture can operate in symbiosis with the primary purpose of the existence of small farms – ensuring the farmer and his family members the supply of basic food products, and generating additional revenues from the implementation of various social tasks.

Social agriculture connects rural and municipal environments thanks to utilising the potential of agricultural farms to provide social services for local communities. This type of agriculture fosters social integration; as a business activity and a method of farm management in rural areas, it contributes to strengthening the relations between rural inhabitants, while at the same time allowing for strengthening of the relationships among various entities involved in social agriculture. This is where new social relations – bonding and bridging – are formed, connecting farmers, rural area inhabitants and beneficiaries of social services. It is an opportunity to obtain additional sources of income for farming families and an alternative way of rural area management in the Małopolskie voivodeship, characterised by agricultural fragmentation.

The purpose of the study is to present social agriculture as a social mission on the background of the concept of multifunctional and sustainable development of rural areas. The development dynamics of these farms will be illustrated by the example of the leading Western European countries, and the authors will present the beginnings of that business activity in Poland based on the "Oaza Pod Lasem" social farm in Daleszyn. The study will discuss the structure of farm management in the rural areas of Małopolska in terms of the existing economic potential and the possibility of expanding the farmers' operations with selected functions of social agriculture.



Neo-liberal globalisation and the restructuring of the agro-food system in Lazio region, Italy

L. Salvia

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1980s, the Lazio region's agriculture, in central Italy, and Italian agriculture in general, has undergone a deep process of restructuring and a major reorganization in the production and distribution modalities of agricultural products, pretty much in line with the neoliberal doctrine emphasising integration into the world market as the only winning development strategy. The profound changes that the Italian agricultural sector is currently experiencing will be shown through the case study of the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable (FFV) production in the south area of Lazio Region, by examining not only the most significant quantitative data but above all the findings gathered from a field research carried out between September 2015 and August 2016 and consisting of 20 semi-structured interviews with farmers, agricultural cooperatives' workers, supermarket buying agents and representatives of the agricultural organisations CIA and Coldiretti.

This is part of broader research on the formation of agri-food chains in Italy, specifically in the fresh produce sector of Lazio Region, and their impact on labour relations and labour exploitation. The whole research has found that the re-organisation of the Italian FFV production has had as one of the main effect for producers to look for new strategies in order to resolve their problems of integration into the value chains, such as the decentralisation of labour management to labour contractors, that often relay on unfree labour force. In this paper it will be analysed in a much deeper way how the FFV value chain has been reorganised in the Lazio Region, in an attempt to understand which are those factors that influence the local strategy pursued by farmers in order to remain integrated into the agro-food chain, which, apparently, has come to represent the only game in town for farmers to reproduce themselves through a strict subordination and control via tied contracting with corporate capital, that has the power to influence the planning of production with strict requirements (specialisation of production, quality, timing of delivery).

FRESH FRUIT AND VEGETABLE SUPPLY CHAIN IN LAZIO REGION, ITALY

The Fruit and Vegetable production has recently become Lazio agriculture's great asset (strength), with a production value which represented approximately 8 percent of the total national horticultural output value in 2013.⁹⁶

Following Friedland's work (1994), this paper looks at three of the nodes that make up the FFV chain: distribution, processing and marketing, and production.

Modern distribution channel, which consists of supermarkets, hypermarkets and discounters, otherwise known as large-scale retail distribution, is something quite new in the Italian context. Until very recently, roughly up to the beginning of the new millennium, the main distribution channel for agricultural products was local markets and traditional food stores, which were supplied by wholesale markets. In this new scenario, where food trade has shifted away from a kind of spontaneous organisation to a considerably more planned one, wholesale markets are readjusting towards new roles and functions. With the end of traditional distribution channels, integration into the agro-food chain has come to represent the only game in town for farmers to reproduce themselves, although through a strict subordination and control via tied contracting with corporate capital, that has the power to influence production processes, as we can see in the following sections.

As mentioned earlier, one of the most apparent implications of the transition from wholesale market to the increasing hegemony of super and hypermarket chains in food distribution, specifically in fresh produce distribution, has been the forming of a new type of relationship between modern retailers and farmers, namely the so-called contract farming. This new form of relation is characterised by a series of obligations and requirements that farmers have to fulfil to meet the needs of buyers. It is a kind of vertical coordination, otherwise known as 'vertical integration' between the production and the distribution nodes, as the buyer intervenes decisively

⁹⁶<http://www.freshplaza.it/article/71695/Lazio-ortofrutta-punta-di-diamante-del-settore-agroalimentareregionale>;
http://www.latina.coldiretti.it/expo-coldiretti-lazio-e-a-milano-per-la-giornata-dellortofrutta.aspx?KeyPub=GP_CD_LAZIO_INFO%7CPAGINA_CD_LAZIO_NCS&Cod_Oggetto=72878662&subskintype=Detail



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on the production process, by making decisions that normally should be taken by farmers.

Farmers and growers, up the supply chain, continue to play their central role of raw material producers and suppliers, however the conditions under which this happens have changed enormously following the restructuring of the agricultural sector. As confirmed in several interviews done during the field research, there are four levels where the retailers' power is exercised and allows them to offload risks and costs onto the production base: production planning; quality; delivery times and methods.

CONCLUSION

As shown through the case study of Fresh Fruit and Vegetable production in the Lazio region, the changes under way are involving, among other things, the formation of the so-called value chains, with new strategies of sourcing by corporate capital through forms of vertical integration of farmers into their circuits. This new form of organisation has come to represent the only game in town for farmers to reproduce themselves, but this has meant a strict subordination and control via tied contracting with corporate capital, that has the power to influence the planning of production with strict requirements.



Innovation Platform – a tool to enhance small-scale farmer potential and women empowerment?

M. Sell, H. Vihinen, G. Gabiso, K. Lindström⁹⁷

Abstract – Innovation Platforms can be a tool for developing sustainable local solutions in a participatory manner. We established and IP to integrate new technology in Ethiopia. We found that the IP had a positive impact on the participants, both in terms of improved farming practices, but also through the skills, sense of empowerment and new role in the community it provided.

INTRODUCTION

Small-scale farmers play a key role in developing sustainable local practices, in which both humans and the environment can thrive. In Africa they also represent the most vulnerable groups, constrained by poverty, limitations in inputs, education and market access. Women farmers tend to have additional gender-specific constraints.

Supporting these farmers to sustainably intensify their production will require innovation processes involving different stakeholders, in order to find locally relevant solutions. Innovation Platforms (IP) have in recent years become a popular tool to facilitate such innovation processes, in contrast to the top-down approach of more traditional extension systems. When successful, IPs can create connections and networks between various actors, providing a space for exchange and innovation to identify and create local solutions to local problems (Davies et al., 2016; Pham, 2015; Adjei-Nsiah, 2013).

As part of our empirical study in Ethiopia we set up an IP to develop ways of integrating a new technology, namely inoculating legumes with rhizobia biofertilizers, into the local farming system. The IP process included participatory field testing and feedback loops, to identify context specific solutions. The new networks and modes of communication created through the IP were expected to positively influence also other aspects of the community, e.g. women empowerment.

This paper looks at how well the IP methodology supported this goal and how it was experienced by the participants. We specifically look at the role of women in the innovation processes and in spreading information in the community. We also discuss how IP participation influences women empowerment. The paper contributes knowledge on how IPs can be used

as tools for communication, learning and empowerment.

DATA AND METHODS

The study area of our project is located in the rift valley in Ethiopia, close to the city of Hawassa. The area is characterised by semi-highland with very small farm plots. Legumes are a central part of the local diet, filling an important nutritional function, as few animal proteins are accessible. Legumes are also known to fix nitrogen, which improves plant growth and conserves soil fertility, when inoculated with rhizobia bacteria (Franche et al. 2009), and is therefore an alternative to chemical nitrogen fertilizer.

The SOILMAN project started with a formative research phase, where baseline data were collected from 60 farms in two *Kebeles*, through a comprehensive household survey. Four focus group discussions were conducted with a group of women. The IP was then set up and 12 household invited to join (in the second year an additional eight joined). One criterion for participation was that both the spouses take part in all meetings. Also local extension agents were members. The IP was facilitated by an extension expert from Hawassa University and met approximately once a month. The meetings included discussions on problems and suggestions raised by IP members, as well as demonstrations, farm visits, visits by experts, and workshops, e.g. soybean cooking workshop and nutrition training.

The participants of the IP were given seed, both common bean which was one of their staple crops and soybean which was new to the area, and biofertilizers. At the end of the two year implementation, the 60 households took part in a post-intervention survey, and five interviews with key informants were conducted. The household survey focused on the IP activity, how it was experienced by the members as

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well as by the community as a whole, what changes it had brought and how the members now viewed their future.

RESULTS

The biomass in the farmers' field was not measured, but based on farmers responses the inoculant proved very effective⁹⁸. In the post-intervention survey, 42% reported smaller yields compared to two years before, the main reason being drought. However, 60% of IP members reported higher yields.

This suggests the biofertilizer was effective, but it also reflects the attitudes associated with the IP. All participants of the IP were very positive. The respondents said their role in the community had changed due to their IP participation. Both male and female respondents reported having become model farmers or otherwise given the chance to share information with the community.

In the post-intervention survey 34% of respondents reported changes in the crops they grew. The largest group (22%) had started planting soybean. Interestingly three household not part of the IP also reported growing soybean. This indicates that the information from the IP has spread in the community, as soybean was not previously used or available.

The results from the key informant interviews show the same pattern. Two of the key informants were women and both of them reported sharing information, but also seed and inoculants with their friends and neighbours.

The most important aspects of being part of the IP reported where the knowledge, experience and advice the participants gained, as well as the concrete technology - the biofertilizer - they were given. All of the IP members said they were optimistic about the future and felt their capacity had greatly improved. They now felt better equipped to deal with future challenges and expected their income to increase over the coming years.

According to the key informants community members tend to be quite risk averse. Networks and relationships are important for sharing information. The IP activity bridged these challenges.

The key informant interviews highlighted the importance of the IP activity for empowerment. During the two year process the group acquired new technical skills, but as important were the communication and cooperation skills. The difference was especially pronounced for the women, who became much more active also in other community activity.

Both through the initial focus group discussions and the surveys it became clear that the role of women in the community is going through a change process. There is awareness of the importance of equality and women having opportunities. In reality, however, both farming and decision-making is very male dominated. Women generally do not have own plots, but may farm in between the rows on the man's plot, mostly for home consumption. Therefore, it is very encouraging that taking part in the IP gave women a new sense of empowerment, through the knowledge and skills they felt they had acquired and the new role as communicators in the community.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The goal of the project was to look at the IP as a tool for farmer engagement and empowerment. Our results show that farmers participating in the IP felt they had gotten significant benefit from the project. We can confidently say that IPs can be promising tools of the innovation system, especially for engaging women. As Davies et al. we also recognise that good facilitation is key. Setting up IPs successfully in communities that are quite risk averse, will require a good understanding of local social networks and communication patterns. Having a specific issue around which to engage, as in our case with biofertilizers, is likely an effective way to motivate people to participate. As a policy recommendation we suggest training local extension agents to facilitate thematic IPs in their communities. IPs will certainly have a role also in the future, both as part of development projects, but hopefully also as an integral part of local extension activities.

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The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

From the quasi peasant to the new peasants: new social identities of farmers cooperating with Civic Food Networks in Poland

R. Śpiewak⁹⁹

Abstract – For two decades ne peasants (van der Ploeg, 2008) have been establishing alternative food markets as a response to the global markets. Many characteristics of farmers who deliver food to the consumer cooperatives in Poland match those described by the Dutch scholar. They differ in every respect from the social group described by Halamska (Halamska, 2013) as the quasi-peasants in Poland- owners of smallholdings up to 5 ha. The proposal to partake in establishing alternative food networks and by this means creating a more sustainable food system doesn't hold an appeal to quasi-peasants.

INTRODUCTION

Peasants don't belong to the past. According to Dutch researcher van der Ploeg (2008, 2010) and members of the international organization via Campesina (an international peasant movement) we can observe the re-emergence of this social group. Van der Ploeg place great hopes in peasant farming in relation to the food system and social and environmental issues. He describes the condition of the new peasant through several categories: co-production, autonomy, resistance. In Poland the issue of existence and the role of this social group excites a lot of debate among scholars (see Mokrzycki 2001, Goriach, 1995, Halamska, 2013), however, most of them have predicted an approaching end of this social class. Halamska described a group which she called quasi-peasants – the owners of holdings up to 5 hectares. She estimates that there is 1.5 million people in total connected with them, which represents over 2/5 of all working in agriculture. As she points out, they can be characterized by smaller participation in social life of their community, a weaker generalized trust, and a lower level of tolerance when compared to other inhabitants of rural areas. Only for a small number of smallholders the farm is the main source of income and they don't make an effort to enlarge it.

The aim of this article is to answer the following questions: might quasi-peasants have a chance to participate in the formation of a more sustainable food system, for example, by taking part in alternative food networks (AFNs)? Might the farmers who already take part in establishing AFNs be considered new peasants.

ALTERNATIVE FOOD NETWORKS AND NEW PEASANTS

As van der Ploeg observes on the question of peasant autonomy, for two decades now peasants have been

establishing alternative food markets as a response to the global markets. The term to describe these networks, in literature referred to as 'alternative food networks' (AFNs) or 'civic food networks' (Renting et al., 2003, Marsden, 2004). Consumer cooperatives are one type of this network.

I have conducted 18 structured interviews with farmers supplying food to consumer cooperatives in Warsaw and Krakow in order to find out whether current suppliers to consumer cooperatives are representatives of quasi-peasants or new peasantries, and whether the activities within these networks could be an attractive proposal for smallholders. There are two types of farmers cooperating with these cooperatives. One consists of people with a rural background who continue farming traditions in the next generation; the other one includes people without a rural background who decided in their adult life to move to the country and live mainly off agricultural production. The median of the size of the farms supplying the consumer cooperatives is five hectares. The average distance between the farm and the cooperative is 80 kilometers. (see table 1).

DISCUSSION

The new peasantry as described by van der Ploeg is a kind of ideal model. Nonetheless, many characteristics of farmers who deliver food to the consumer cooperatives match those described by the Dutch scholar. Particularly those who have taken a decision in their adult life to move out of the city and engage in the development of high quality farming represent the qualities listed by Van der Ploeg. It can justly be said they are the new peasants. They differ in every respect from the social group described by Halamska as the quasi-peasants.

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

The farms of those who cooperate with consumer cooperatives are multifunctional to a larger extent than the quasi-peasant farms, as well as the entrepreneurial and capitalist ones, as the Dutch researcher names them. They also have a greater share in establishing food sovereignty than the other farming models. Drawing on the available data, one has to acknowledge that, in fact, quasi-peasant farms' contribution to a more sustainable food system is insignificant. They hardly satisfy their own food needs.

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The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

(No subject) From Butter Mountains to Food Deserts, Forests and Wild-things – exploring post-European futures for small farms in Wales

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Keywords: *Farm support, sustainable rural development, upland farming, Welsh governance, Common Agricultural Policy*

For more than half a century, farming in Wales, along with the rest of the United Kingdom, has been driven by policy and funding from the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) along a winding (and by now a contradictory) path. Initially, this was towards modernisation and intensification - delivering food for local, European and global markets. Subsequently, post-productivist policy steered farms towards agri-environmental stewardship with habitat, access and landscape protection aims, all within a governance context dominated by severe penalties for non-compliance or missed administrative deadlines.

Smaller than the UK average, Welsh family farms have, over the last two decades since devolution, often had to draw upon entrepreneurship and innovation to ensure their livelihoods, and have been encouraged into (and widely criticised for) a dependence on public support for delivering desired food or environmental goods and services. Such farms, often benefitting from scenic, more extensively farmed landscapes, are also marginalised by contemporary globalised, mainstream farming supply chains, and are increasingly being 'policy-ed' out of producing food needed for local consumption. This has contributed to growing numbers and areas of rural food deserts being reported, along with a substantial rise in the numbers of people accessing emergency sources of food, such as food banks. Many small farms are already playing their part in addressing future challenges, by re-localising food production through diversified examples of on-farm and off-farm innovation, such as marketing through online box schemes, or at local producer markets. However, with the United Kingdom's (UK), and thus Wales', changing relationship with Europe and the wider world, specifically the UK's withdrawal from the European Union ('Brexit'), new global trade and pricing regimes are likely to affect the production of and markets for many farm- and wider countryside-

related goods and services. These include wildlife habitat and species protection (perhaps through 'High Nature Value' farming or even 'rewilding'), clean water and energy production, and, importantly, local provenance, quality foods - the development of which is locally valuable for new rural food tourism opportunities.

The unique sustainable development goals and legislation established with the devolved governance in Wales provides an alternative policy context within which the future desired outcomes of Welsh farming should be explored. Debates about new upland landscapes, post CAP, must be concerned about the exposure of small farms to unknown eco-imperialist and possibly inequitable future horizons, which will certainly challenge the livelihoods of not only small farms, but also the resilience of many communities in peripheral and extensively farmed regions.

This paper explores the vulnerabilities and opportunities that Welsh farms face in a time of changing policy, as Welsh Government decides on the scale, system and scope of farm support, and negotiates between competing claims regarding the future of the agriculturally marginal uplands, in particular. Illustrations of upland land uses are discussed, along with reflection and points made during recent focus group engagement by upland farmers in a recent workshop exploring the future for the uplands beyond the CAP. This includes discussions and concerns expressed during the one-day conference held in March 2017, specifically looking at the opportunities and threats that may emerge from the UK's departure from the European Union. At the conference, several presentations were made, including economic projections, creating a common voice for the uplands, and the future roles of government and environmental agencies, along with practical examples of projects where farming is undertaken to the benefit of wildlife. Some of the

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

questions raised by these were how to place a value on wildlife species and habitats and other ecosystem services, and how such attributes could be assessed or measured as part of appreciating the true worth of agriculture. These issues could then feed into how markets for the variety of potential goods and services could be accessed. Whilst acknowledging the value of upland areas in delivering health and wellbeing services, including farm family resilience, focus groups discussed the urgency of establishing measures to address these challenges, especially in relation to the appropriateness, implementation and consequences of possible payment for ecosystem services as a means of rural support.

For the future, it may be necessary to establish a new foundation of support for agriculture; one which offers options for all. This could include a new form of Glastir - Wales' current sustainable land management scheme, which offers financial support

to farmers and land managers, but one that is more equitable, less prescriptive and based more on facilitation than policing. The future for the uplands in Wales in the absence of the CAP could begin with new guidelines starting from the farmers' perspective and building new partnerships based on practical compromise rather than restrictive regulation. It was generally agreed that there is a need to develop a new common understanding and a renewed spirit of cooperation in the uplands of Wales.

The post-productive rural visions embodied in agri-environmental designations and broader rural development instruments have yet to persuade many stakeholders that future beyond and outside the Europe Union will be fair and sustainable for many families striving to remain farming the Welsh uplands. Thus, this research is especially pertinent in exploring emerging power relations, relationships and other connections across the farming industry and wider society in Britain.



Small farms typology and contribution to food and nutrition security

**T. Tisenkopfs, S. Sumane, A. Adamsone-Fiskovica,
M. Grivins¹⁰¹**

Abstract – The future of food and nutrition security (FNS) greatly depends on the viability of small farms which form a durable fabric for food production, as well as rural employment and family livelihoods. Small farms' contribution to FNS is directly related to their chosen development strategies within their particular structural conditions. This paper explores typological groupings of small farms in Latgale region of Latvia and analyses how each farm type contributes to FNS. The paper identifies five types of small farms and positions them upon the models of domestic, proximity and agro-industrial food provisioning. We characterise particular activities in each of the farm types by which these farms contribute to and enhance food availability, access, utilisation, stability and nutritional value. Our study finds that not only economic functioning of small farms measured as their production capacity, market integration and self-provision are relevant to deliver FNS outcomes, but also their social embeddedness and territorial fitting play an important role.

INTRODUCTION: SMALL FARMS AND FNS

Recent studies show the manifold contribution of small farms to FNS. The importance of small farms to FNS is foremost linked to the fact that they produce considerable quantities of nutritious food which feed farming families, rural communities, and urban dwellers. Small farms have a pivotal role in maintaining the genetic diversity of food supply and, as follows, food diversity and nutrient adequacy (Herrero et al., 2017). They contribute to food access, as they make it accessible in diverse ways, including conventional food chains, alternative local short food chains, and informal networks to extended family, friends or neighbours (Gorton et al., 2014; Sumane et al., 2015). They improve mainly local and regional food access as their food distribution area is mainly local and regional. Indirectly, small farms contribute to local FNS also by generating employment and income for farming families and rural residents (Davidova and Bailey, 2014).

METHODS

The present study is work in progress carried out in the framework of the EU Horizon 2020 SALSAs project. It is based on a preliminary assessment of the food system represented as interfaces between producers, middlemen/distributors, wholesalers, retailers, processors and consumers in Latgale region in Latvia with an emphasis on the place of small farms. The methods of data collection and analysis included interviews with smallholders and agricultural experts, statistical analysis of selected staple foods' flows (wheat, milk, potatoes, honey) in the regional food system, quantitative and qualitative assessment of small farm types. and assessment of their specific contributions to FNS.

SMALL FARMS IN THE REGION

Agricultural production in Latgale region is fragmented and dominated by small-scale farming. Latgale is Latvia's region with the biggest share of small farms. There are 19 077 agricultural holdings registered in Latgale, of which 55% or 10 422 are small farms (less than 5ha). Most of small farms practice diversified production and have developed multiple branches: milk, meat, vegetables, fruit, honey, grain, etc. Often these 'full spectrum farms' in the first place fulfil the subsistence needs of the household – grow and provide food for self-consumption.

However, a recent tendency among Latgale's small farms is the decrease of the scope and spectrum of production diversity and increasing specialisation. Experts relate this trend to two-fold influences of demographic and socio-political processes: on the one hand, the ageing of small farmers leads to abandonment of certain branches (due to workload, health problems, inability to maintain production and marketing logistics, etc.); on the other hand, politically driven technological modernisation of farms stipulates specialisation and farm concentration.

TPOLOGY OF SMALL FARMS

According to SALSAs analytical framework, small farms' typology in the context of FNS is built along two criteria: (1) the level of a farm's market integration (proportion of sold production), and (2) the degree of farm's self-sufficiency (the share of self-consumption of the farm's produce). On the basis of this typology, we distinguish five types of small farms in Latgale region.

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Type 1: Leisure/hobby farms: This kind of farms typically are small holdings or inherited peasant farms only marginally involved in economic activity. Farms might be owned and inhabited by rural residents or be second homes for urban dwellers. Main activities are growing food for own consumption, ornamental gardening and landscape maintenance.

Type 2: Subsistence farms: This kind of farms are typically engaged with low-input-low-output agriculture. Practices are mostly oriented towards self-provision of food, feed, energy, fertilisers. A part of produce might be exchanged with the extended family members or neighbours through social networks. Farms operate in a community and within a sharing economy framework. Main activities include domestic production, self-consumption, food exchange, barter, food gifts, home processing.

Type 2.1: Semi-subsistence partially market-integrated farms: This is a sub-category of Type 2 – a section of small farms that operate on the fringe of household/community and market economies. These farms provide a substantial proportion of food for family needs but their production volumes allow them to sell surpluses for cash. The selling might be organised either directly or through intermediaries. Main activities are small-scale cooperation, moderate specialisation, diversification in rural tourism and on-farm processing, direct sales on local markets and off-farm employment.

Type 3: Market-oriented specialised small farms: These farms practice specialisation in a limited number of products, and produce mainly for the market, generate substantial monetary income and may apply both intensive technologies and less intensive agro-ecological approaches. These farms are typically involved with extensive cattle breeding, organic farming (in particular, milk and vegetables), sheep farming, specialisation in other branches.

Type 4: Mostly market-oriented small farms with a function of self-provision: This group consists of agricultural units that still fulfil the function of self-provision but whose main activity is producing for the market. Farms might be quite specialised and technologically advanced in some branches. They may actively seek niches of specialisation and therefore be quite innovative. Diversification and multifunctionality are the main strategies adopted. Main activities are similar to those in Type 2 and 3, incl. various forms of diversification (rural tourism, artisanal production, home processing, craftsmanship).

DISCUSSION

From a food system perspective, it is possible to position the identified five types of small farms according to domestic, proximity and agro-industrial models of food provisioning. This positioning is mostly informed by an economic approach which emphasises the share of market integration of farms and their role in household or community self-provision. However, our analysis suggests that for a nuanced and complete assessment of the contribution of various small farm types to FNS it is important to consider also two other dimensions of their engagement in regional food systems – social embeddedness and territorial fitting.

By social embeddedness we presume small farms' reliance on social relations, community ties, cultural resources in the process of food production and consumption; by territorial fitting (or territorial belonging, territorial integration) we understand an anchoring of small farm practices in local resources, territorial assets, ecological and natural conditions of a place. Analysis suggests that the dimensions of social embeddedness and territorial fitting are important to understand the scope of small farms' functions and contributions to FNS in the domestic and proximity models.

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Production and economic potential of small farms in Poland

D. Żmija, M. Czekaj, K. Żmija¹⁰²

Abstract – The paper analyzes the production and economic potential of small farms (SF) in Poland. It focuses on their equipping with basic production factors and their economic situation. Then the strengths and weaknesses of Polish small farms were shown in the context of their contribution to sustainable development of agriculture and sustainable food production.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of small farms is a subject of discussion concerning practical possibilities of implementation of the concept of sustainable development of agriculture and rural areas. The views on the importance of small farms for shaping sustainable development are very different. Proponents of SF support point that SF bring many benefits on the economic, social and environmental levels. On the other hand, many authors indicate disadvantages of SF functioning, which could cause several negative consequences.

The aim of the study is to analyse the production and economic potential of SF in Poland and to identify their strengths and weaknesses in the context of their contribution to sustainable development of agriculture and sustainable food production.

In the paper the following hypothesis was verified: from the point of view of the concept of sustainable development, SF in Poland do not achieve satisfactory economic results and do not sufficiently meet the food needs of the society, which would be adequate to the resources of agricultural land and other resources they possess. However, their functioning is very important because of their social and environmental functions.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

To describe economic and production potential of SF in Poland authors focus on data on agricultural holdings with an area of 1 to 5 ha of agricultural land, relating to agricultural land area, area of crops, animal stock density, work outlay in AWU, equipment of SF in fixed assets, economic size of holdings.

Indicated data about SF were compared with the same category of data concerning big farms (those with more than 5 ha of agricultural land), to illustrate their potential compared to bigger farms. The analysis was based on data from the statistics of Agricultural Census from the years 2002 and 2010, containing the most detailed and current data on this group of holdings. Based on the presented statistical data and

on the literature studies referred to farms condition in Poland, the authors indicate strengths and weaknesses of SF in Poland in terms of the concept of sustainable development of agriculture and sustainable food production.

RESULTS

The classification of SF in Poland and in the European Union (EU) is made according to different criteria, so the category of small farm is not clearly defined (Narayanan and Gulati, 2002; European Commission, 2011; Zegar, 2012). In Poland it is also difficult to point out clearly the main parameters for SF, however, the most common criteria are area of agricultural land and economic size of farm (Wilkin 2013; Dzun 2013).

Statistical data concerning characteristic of farms in Poland over the period of 2002-2010 indicated decrease in the number of farms and their area, wherein this tendency is stronger among SF. The decline in the number of farms is mainly due to the liquidation of small, usually unprofitable farms, where the production is entirely consumed by the farmer's household. In the same time the share of SF in the total number of farms in Poland is still very high and their average area is only slightly increasing. Big farms possess bigger economic potential, represented by land resources and this strength is systematically increasing.

In SF there is a tendency observed of systematic decreasing level of plant production. Increasingly less agricultural land is allocated for crops, and the area of fallow land grows. The scale of these processes among big farms is not so significant. The contribution of SF in plant production is much smaller than that of big farms, what results from smaller land resources, but also often from lower yields obtained in majority of SF. They are also more likely to resign from harvesting due to lack of profitability of production.

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Another tendency observed in SF is cessation of animal production, what is reflected in the decline in the number of SF with animal production and decreasing number of animals. In 2010 animal production declared 45,7% of SF and 74,0% farms with more than 5 ha of agricultural land. In addition, large farms held much larger herds than small farms.

SF are well equipped with agricultural machines, and they are disposers of a relatively high number of fixed assets. However the use of these fixed assets is relatively small compared to farms with more than 5 ha. In the sphere of labor resources, it should be noted, that in Polish SF there is a problem of over-employment, what is connected with low work efficiency, which affects the income SF receive. The very unfavorable phenomenon which affects SF is hidden unemployment. The distorted relationships between production factors are one of the reasons for the low economic viability of SF in Poland.

An important factor in the development of farms is also the entrepreneurship of farmers. It is very important whether the farmers want to engage in the development of their farms and whether they see such opportunities. A large part of small farmers in Poland do not see the prospects for their farms and are looking for incomes in non-agricultural sectors.

The functioning of small farms in Poland brings a lot of benefits. These benefits correspond very well with the concept of sustainable development of agriculture and rural areas. Basic economic benefits are: food production for SF needs, obtained income from agricultural production, creation of workplaces for farmers' family members, possibility to use resources of SF in non-agricultural activities, possibility of obtaining other benefits such as ground rents. Regarding social aspect, SF protect from exclusion from labor market, reduce the need for social assistance, prevent poverty, promote the preservation of national traditions and culture, and contribute to increasing social capital in the local environment. In the ecological dimension, SF provide public goods by maintaining biodiversity and diversifying rural landscapes, conduct environmentally friendly farming activities, care especially about animal welfare, and sustain the viability of problem areas such as mountain or remote areas.

On the other hand, functioning of SF in Poland is connected with many disadvantages, for example: small scale of production, low level of incomes, low ability to compete in the market, low economic efficiency of land and labor resources, reluctance to land consolidation, lack of motivation for developing and modernization of the farm, not cultivating the rural way of life and the ethos of the farmer's work, and a low degree of fulfillment of environmental functions such as maintaining the productive potential of the soil or participating in agri-environmental programs.

CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of statistical data confirmed hypothesis presented at the beginning of the research. It needs to be highlighted, that SF in Poland are not a uniform collectivity. Part of them should be liquidated because as they do not fulfill production, social and ecological function (or do it in a not sufficient scale). Support for small farms in Poland should have stronger links with functions performed by them in the economic, social or environmental area. It should therefore be more selective and based, for example, on individual contracts with individual small farms. Such actions may contribute more to the implementation of the concept of sustainable development of agriculture and sustainable food production.

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**Working Group 25. RC40 Mini-Conference:
Exploring the richness of diversity in
alternative agrifood movements**



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How could lessons from Norway be used to strengthen the assumed transition from a central state controlled agriculture to family farming in Cuba?

R. Almås¹⁰³

Abstract – In Northern Europe, and especially in the Nordic countries, agricultural cooperatives were important when family farmers organised to get access to the quickly developing markets during industrialisation. These cooperatives were organised both as credit, insurance, processing, and marketing cooperatives. Farmers' cooperatives soon became a key element in private farming in market economies. As many cooperatives became large companies in the capitalist economies, they either became ordinary share companies, or retained their farmer-owned cooperative status like in Norway. However, also new forms of cooperation emerged, some of them organised by members of the new food movements. While it is assumed that family farming and food markets will play a more important role in the Cuban food economy in the future, it will be interesting to see if small farmers and consumers could develop short and sustainable supply food chains which could be competitive against state socialist and multinational capitalist agriculture.

INTRODUCTION

This paper discuss how could lessons from cooperatives and alternative food movements in Norway be used to strengthen the knowledge base of the assumed transition from a central state controlled socialist agriculture to family farming in Cuba. After Marxist inspired revolutions in Russia, China, Eastern Europe and later Vietnam and Cuba, state organised and government controlled cooperatives were set up in socialist countries (Bergmann 1985).

In Cuba, the traditional family farming sector was diminished by political force after the revolution in 1959. The large-scale plantations, major tobacco, and coffee production units were taken over by the state, and eventually just above ten percent of the agricultural land was farmed by family farmers owning their own land. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Cuba lost its barter trade market for sugar with the former Eastern Bloc, which was a large shock to the Cuban economy. Imports from the former Soviet Union of oil, cars, tractors, machines and spare parts in exchange for Cuban sugar vanished. Because the sugar industry had problems competing at the world market with low prices dumped by the EU and the US, Cuba had to rely more on their own resources.

After many years of hardships and adaptation to the new situation, the Cuban economy recovered slowly. In 2007-2008, further market reforms of the command economy were undertaken in order to open up for more markets mechanisms in the economy. Private farmers were allowed to rent land in order to

produce and sell food products, both to the state and to consumers. Today more than 60 percent of land is farmed, either by family farmers or by producer cooperatives based on ten-year land lease contracts.

Former workers of sugar plantations mostly run producer cooperatives on abandoned sugar land. Crops may be all grains, grasses for their milk or meat animals and fruits and vegetables. Family farmers are also allowed to form purchasing cooperatives that support the farmers with seeds, machines and fertilizers. The cooperatives are not allowed to form national associations on the side of the state controlled system.

APPROACH

Recent experiences on how Norwegian farmers are building competence and networks to develop market channels of local foods and foods with special origin could provide useful knowledge to Cuban farmers. Based on experiences from fieldwork in Cuba in the spring of 2017, I imagine that Cuban agriculture could have a lot to learn from the Norwegian experiences when it comes to how family farmers started to cooperate along the value chain in the late 1800s and first half of the 1900s. Also experiences from recent development of value chains of local, regional and organic food production may be helpful in the present modernisation of Cuban agriculture.

However, it is too early to say if this goal will be realised. The greatest obstacle for the time being is the stalemate of the reform process, which has come to a standstill because everyone in power position is

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waiting for the "election" of a new Congress in February and the announced resignation of Raoul Castro and his generation.

FINDINGS

The distribution system of food in Cuba is mostly local and quite unmodern, based on transport by horse. There is no cooling chain from producer to consumer and the logistics are hampered by lack of storing facilities and transport. There are no wholesale dealers and the retail sector is mostly run by the state or private dealers selling what they produce themselves on the street (Bye and Hoel 2014).

Today Cuba is importing 30% of the total consumption (Anuario Estadístico de Cuba 2016), but according to a calculation by the French rural development economist Rene Dumont he assumed that from Cuban natural resources it should be possible to feed four times the present population of 11 million people (Bergmann 1975).

The major part of the agricultural production in Cuba may be called organic (Carolan 2016), mostly because fertilizers and pesticides are in short supply. However, Cuban consumers do not appreciate the social status of organic food, only segments of foreign eco-tourist do. All kinds of tourism have increased rapidly in Cuba during the last years, and experience and eco-tourism to rural mountainous and coastal areas are no exceptions.

DISCUSSION

In the Nordic countries, agricultural cooperatives became important when family farmers organised to get access to the quickly developing markets during industrialisation in the late 1800s and early 1900s. These cooperatives were organised both as credit, insurance, processing, and marketing cooperatives with education and political organisation of the farmers with their own class identity as building blocks (Bergmann and Ogura 1985). Spreading at first from Denmark to Norway and the rest of Northern Europe and later reaching the new settler state in North America, farmers' cooperatives soon became a key element of family farming in market economies.

As many cooperatives became large companies in the capitalist economies, they either became ordinary

share companies, or retained their farmer-owned cooperative status like in Norway. However, also new forms of cooperation emerged, some of them organised by members of the new food movements.

Family farming and local food markets play an important role in the Cuban food economy today, and it will be interesting to see if the government allow the small farmers to develop sustainable supply food chains together with urban consumers. However the state socialist sector is still given most of the investment opportunities and the government controls all food import.

The government also decides internal consumer prices in local Cuban peso (CUP). Many necessary staple foods, like milk and grains, are rationed and the consumer prices on these products are set to a low, subsidised price. Most products from private farmers must be sold to the state to a fixed price. However, the farmers may sell surplus out of a fixed quota directly to consumers in Cuban convertible peso (CUC), which is twenty times more valuable than the CUP.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on a field work in Cuba in the spring of 2017, family farming is going to play an important role in the Cuban food production in the years to come. Small farmers are developing organic farming, local processing and short supply food chains at a slow pace, mostly because they lack capital for their investments and a reliable logistics and a well-functioning cold chain.

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The Paradox of the Apple as a Rare Fruit. Study on the Redefinition of "Normal Food" in the Context of Alternative Food Movements

T. Capota, H. Simon¹⁰⁴

Abstract – When it comes to food, the national context of Romania is almost a perfect sum of subsistence and semi-subsistence rural farms owned by families that use family labour based on family values in order to assure auto-consumption and sometimes to start a small, but sustainable business. Basically, this represents the permanence of an immutable pattern that followed the Romanian peasant through the Communist era characterized by forced industrialization and intensive agriculture. In terms of food, this pattern, anchored in profound traditional lifestyles, was defined, above all, by *common sense* or *normal* practices and activities. If *normal* is a difficult to define notion, *common sense* food-related practices should be the ones that provide the basic elements and functions of aliments: nutritional benefits/ healthiness and sensorial pleasure/ tastefulness. Nowadays, the urban leading role of the food supply chain is played by the supermarket that suffocates local producers and especially peasant non-certified agricultural products. The only products that penetrate the new conventional foodscape are those that comply with established quality schemes that are not easily affordable for the average consumer. Given this, the emergence of alternative food movements seems imminent. But in a country that still retains peasant markets, short food supply chains, the consumption of non-certified and non-labeled ecological agricultural products based on word-of-mouth recommendation or directly from the farm, can we call it "alternative"? The present paper aims to redefine the concept of *normal food* in the light of Romania's national context of alternative food movements and practices and focusing on the sector of food service units in Transylvania.

INTRODUCTION

On the Romanian public agenda, agriculture and related issues have been present continuously, regardless of the historical period. As in the case of all states in the Soviet bloc, Romania's timeline has two stages: the communist epoch, dubbed 'The Golden Age', and post-communism. The key signature of the former is represented by the forced industrialization- collectivization of the agriculture binomial. As for the latter, one of the great expectations of the post-communist period was the transition to the market economy, which in the public discourse is conditioned by the so-called liberalization of the industry or de-industrialization. The parallel restructuring, operated in agriculture, was the decollectivization, which came down to the restoration of property. What ensued was defined as 'the new rural issue' that dealt mainly with the fragmentation of agricultural lots, the massive return to subsistence agricultural holdings, and the severing of the rural economy from the general economy (Bădescu, 2009; Mihăilescu, 2015a).

Compromising the access of small (but numerous by now) farmers to the markets led to the adoption of a host of individual survival strategies and gave shape to today's various forms of the AFNs. The literature on AFNs treats the subject in a complex manner, capturing from various angles the realities of the agri-food landscape. A significant part deals with AFNs as a research problem that challenges sustainable rural development in Western countries

(Renting et al, 2003; Goodman, 2004; Sonnino and Marsden, 2006). Only a few approaches address the problem against the background of the rather homogeneous development model of the East European countries. Moreover, Spilkova and Perlin (2013) show that in post-communist countries what AFNs embed has not been labeled as alternative at all.

This paper focuses on the hypothesis that in the case of the Romanian agri-food reality the concept of AFN can only be considered as a form. Based on this, our purpose is to provide evidence to actually substantiate the concept of *normal food*.

METHODS

In order to achieve this theoretical objective, we have confronted the concept of *normal food*, adapted after the model of descriptive and prescriptive norms proposed by Bear and Knobe (2016), with empirical evidence.

Data was collected between September 2016 and February 2017 and the process involved two phases. The first consisted in mapping the practices of AFN found in the Transylvanian region. In the second phase, a number of qualitative methods were used, that is: 1) 23 *semi-structured interviews* were carried out with a) representatives of small urban enterprises that have the production base in rural areas and rural areas' producers (small farmers) of dairy, meat, vegetables, fruits, bakery and apiculture products from different counties of Romania's North Western

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Region; b) managers of two food service units that follow the Slow Food philosophy; c) the representative of an organic certification body; 2) one *focus group* was held with urban consumers in which a blind tasting with conventional and organic farming products was carried out; 3) 5 *participative observations* were held in culinary heritage events such as local food fairs, farmer's markets and traditional food festivals.

MAJOR FINDINGS

As a result of mapping Transylvania's food landscape, the following emerged: Most agricultural producers in the region are small farmers who live and work in rural areas. The greatest number of agricultural holdings do not have a legal status (621,720 out of 628,613). Only a small part has legal personality (1,1%). Given that their production is small¹⁰⁵ and that almost all forms of association are absent, their presence on the conventional market is reduced. Thus, most local products are sold mainly in permanent or flea agri-food farmer's markets, in traditional products' fairs, by means of recommendations or over stands placed on the road in front of the households. To sum up, in terms of their market presence, approaching alternative networks is the predominant strategy of small farmers.

Evidence from the interviewed farmers that were active both in the communist era and in the following period shows that these practices do not represent an element of novelty. During the communist period the peasant's work was divided between the time spent on the collective farming activities imposed by the regime and the time spent on the activities in their individual households, for which they used traditional methods. Since setting up a business was forbidden by the state, selling agricultural products from their own households in alternative ways (mostly based on word-of-mouth recommendations) represented the farmers' chance of supplementing their income.

Further on the continuity of these types of practices is supported in particular by urban consumers. Group interviews with middle-aged consumers showed that the countryside agricultural products bought through these networks constituted the completion of the daily and often insufficient food

quota imposed by the regime. In addition, from the consumers' perspective, they were and still are of great quality: nutritious, tasty and healthy. In their opinion, this is the *normal* standard for food and their provisioning strategy is based on this particular definition. Proven quality through certification schemes is not necessarily a criterion for choosing a quality local product.

As far as Romania is concerned, foodwise, the *alternative* did not appear following the conventional, but they co-existed. When considering the temporal dimension or the degree of using practices of one type or another, the alternative as a minority cannot be determined. Not even in the consumers' representations of these practices. Instead, one can talk about a continuous search for *normality*.

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¹⁰⁵ The average agricultural area used by an agricultural holding without legal status in Transylvania is 2.6 hectares. 91.02% of that use more than 50% of the agricultural production for their own consumption.



The XXVII
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Permaculture, regeneration and AAFMs discussion shift

I. Ibarra¹⁰⁶

Abstract – The main goal of this article is to present regenerative agriculture as an alternative agri-food production approach that contributes new meanings to the concept of sustainability and can help in the discussion of the Alternative Agri-food Movements from a new perspective. These are under the banner of sustainability, and yet there are no agreements about the concept, much less about the forms of relationship between productive activities and the ecosystemic processes of nature.

INTRODUCTION

Regenerative agriculture has functioned as a model of food production since the 1950s, yet its potential has largely gone unnoticed by academics dedicated to think about these movements, who have focused on more specific organizational processes such as certifications, production chains and major political opposition movements.

Today we face an environmental crisis that is not new. Since the beginning of the twentieth century we have witnessed the modern consequences of industrial development. Movements have arisen that, in the face of concerns about the impacts of human activity on nature, and how these affect human health itself, have proposed alternative ways of producing food. Talking about these movements involves embracing a very wide spectrum of visions, strategies, positions, and meanings. Urban agriculture, organic agriculture, fair trade, slow food, community supported agriculture, among many others, are the object of study within the so-called alternative agri-food movements, each having specific views on the hegemonic production model, and proposing action strategies that are located in the spectrum between the opposition and the alternative (Williams, 1973), the latter being understood as reformist or progressive.

Alternative movements adapt to the hegemonic neoliberal economics, opening market niches, making use of a complex labelling system that informs consumers, feeding the offer – demand market logic.

On the other hand, there are some AAMs that represent radical critiques to the mainstream agriculture and global economic system, aiming to transform society from its roots.

It is perhaps a simplistic, binary reading of these movements to try to locate them in a two-tone spectrum, opposition and alternative, as well as urban and rural, public and private, etc. The different expressions of the organic movement, for example, are lived differently, at the political, social or subjective level, in Cuba, Zimbabwe, Sweden or the United States, just to name some countries. The context conditions differ widely, the logics of capitalist globalization operate in one form or another, political institutions, beliefs, education, and

economics are radically different. This would imply higher or lower degrees of institutional transformation from the same alternative form of production.

Thinking about alternative agri-food movements requires taking into account the complex constellation that shapes their different forms of expression, and at the same time consider the myriad of blind spots that we face from the academy when we try to understand the different ways of working the land, conceive nature, human relations, including commercial relations, and political positions about the hegemonic model, that inhabit these movements. However, one common denominator is the question of sustainability, a kind of flag that flies each one of them, endowing the concept with different meanings.

THE PROBLEM OF SUSTAINABILITY

If we analyse political, corporative, scientific and social discourses, three different meanings of the term sustainability can be identified. It can be understood as the search for sufficiency of resources, as functional integrity, or as a social movement (Thompson, 2007). Each of these meanings represents conceptual challenges that can lead to bad practices, normative manipulations, and meaninglessness.

There is one important element to consider within these three meanings. When one speaks of sustainability from the look of functional integrity, Thompson refers to the self-regenerating capacity of a system. This aspect is key in the view of regenerative agriculture, but it places human activity primarily as a factor of regeneration of that system, rather than a metered resource extractor.

REGENERATIVE AGRICULTURE

Regenerative agriculture starts from a simple slogan, increase and improve the production capacity of ecosystems from soil regeneration strategies, achieving greater infiltration and retention of water, and increasing biodiversity by replicating the process of natural succession. However, it includes, from the incorporation of holistic management approaches, the decision-making process from an emotional and horizontal perspective. Permaculture, too, from its ethical principle of "caring for

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the people" determines the need to establish forms of community participation from direct democracy, assertive communication, and education.

Permaculture is defined as "an integrated and evolutionary system of plant species and self-perpetuating animals useful to man." (Mollison and Holmgren 1978: 7), and it is a contraction of Permanent Agriculture¹⁰⁷.

The aim is to improve agricultural practices characterized by a high energy input either in machinery or in overexploited labour. "We believe that a highly productive and energy-intensive agriculture is a possible goal to achieve in the whole world, and that only human energy and intelligence are necessary for this." (Ibid.) The methods and dynamics of conventional agriculture are considered as hunger and scarcity generators, rather than a response to it, eroding and desertifying soils by poisoning nature, and rapidly depleting finite energy resources.

There are criticisms of the hegemonic model, but there is not, nor in the bibliography, or in the spaces of knowledge transmission, a stance of direct confrontation against the extractivist practices, nor are there strategies to influence public policies. On the other hand, although there is no direct rejection of certifications, these are avoided and instead direct communication with the local community is encouraged. This is done in various establishments such as Ridgedale in Sweden or Polyface Farm in the USA, where the doors are open to anyone who wants to observe the food production processes, thus building a bond based on trust, which legitimizes the producer and empowers the consumer. In that sense, local production and short chains are preferred, arguing that the carbon footprint of food transport is inconsistent with a regenerative look.

If we consider the regenerative approach as a way of determining sustainability, then we would find a more precise way of assessing what goes into the concept. Under a standard of increasing plant and animal biodiversity (micro and macro organisms) as well as an improvement in the scale of friability through increased infiltration of water into the soil, real sustainability could be ensured by increasing the productive capacity of an Ecosystem, without jeopardizing the regeneration of its resources, thanks to the active participation of those who produce food in the process of systemic equilibrium.

The regenerative approach allows us to visualize a path of action that includes a new way of measuring the impact of agri-food production, such as carbon capture, as well as a set of strategies and techniques that start from an ethical stance and propose positive action within ecosystems, the increase and improvement of natural resources, especially soil as a fundamental part of the ecosystem network. Permaculture, as one of the main models of regenerative agriculture and main ethical compass, as well as holistic livestock management and keyline design seek to meet this goal. The regenerative approach also adopts alternative forms to organic certifications from the search to strengthen social relations, especially between who produces and who

consumes, horizontal decision-making strategies, and a reevaluation of one's own desire when planning the productive project as a holistic life project.

CONCLUSIONS

The contributions of this way of approaching food production could lead to a re-signification of the concept of sustainability, introducing the human being as an element of balance rather than systemic feedback, integrated, symbolically and materially, to nature, from a carefully management of resources instead of a measured extractivism.

As the debates about AAFMs evidence, the dichotomies in the discussion of alternative agri-food movements are difficult to overcome (Allen, 2014, Renard, 2014, Constance et Al. 2014), but we have witnessed the co-optation of what once emerged as an alternative, certifications are the clear example of bureaucratization and hegemonization of movements. Regenerative agriculture may, represent a new horizon for advancing discussion towards a more radical transformation and real sustainability.

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¹⁰⁷ Nowadays it's also considered as Permanent Culture, since its scope has been widened to other social aspects, such as education, community building, architecture, etc.

The diversity of organic box schemes in Europe

S. Kummer, R. Milestad¹⁰⁸

Abstract – Box schemes provide an opportunity to scale up local organic food systems by aggregating products from multiple producers and efficiently delivering them to a large number of consumers. However, there is limited knowledge about the overall box scheme landscape and how it develops. This paper explores the current status of organic box schemes in five European countries in respect of growth, communication with consumers and values. We conclude that there is a broad diversity among box schemes at the same time as they represent large potential for expanding the organic market.

INTRODUCTION

Box schemes represent a type of distribution (bringing produce in boxes to the doors of consumers) and range from Community Supported Agriculture farms to enterprises serving thousands of consumers. A specificity of box schemes is that they provide an opportunity to scale up direct marketing strategies by aggregating products from multiple producers and efficiently delivering them to a large number of consumers. The first organic vegetable box schemes emerged in the 1980's, but the development took off in the 1990's and since then there has been a steady growth of the phenomenon as well as the size of companies and the number of boxes sold per week (Kilcher et al., 2011). The biggest box scheme companies in Europe are placed in England, selling up to 50,000 boxes per week (Blankenhorn et al., 2016).

Box schemes attract consumers based on distinctive values associated with the food. These can include proximity (local production), high/organic quality of food, convenience and solidarity with farmers. However, there is limited knowledge about the overall box scheme landscape and how it develops. Since the interaction between producers and consumers is what produces many of the qualities and legitimacy in local organic food systems, scaling-up is not only a matter of increased volume, since interaction may not be safeguarded in such systems (Mount, 2012). Scaling up local organic food systems is complex and contains issues of logistics, communication, organisation, flexibility, etc. (Kummer et al., 2015).

This paper explores the current status of organic box schemes in five European countries in respect of growth, communication with consumers and values, and it aims to contribute to the understanding of emerging local organic food systems.

METHODS

Involving students in data collection during a university course, we investigated the current status of organic box schemes in five European countries, and explored how these box schemes managed growth while obtaining goals and values important to them such as local production or communication between producers and consumers (Blankenhorn et al., 2016). Fully, or partly organic box schemes in Austria, UK, France, Belgium and Croatia were investigated on the Internet, contacted via e-mail, and invited to participate in an online survey. Of 420 contacted box schemes, 61 responded (response rate: 15%). The online survey was performed using LimeSurvey. Data was analysed in Excel and SPSS using descriptive quantitative statistics.

RESULTS

The 61 box schemes had existed between 2 and 26 years, and delivered between 4 and 7,500 boxes per week in 2015. All surveyed box schemes offered local products. Asked for the maximum distance to define a product as "local", respondents indicated distances from 10 to 400 kilometres. Half of the surveyed box schemes (48%) stated that they did not sell imported products. The percentage of certified organic products in the boxes was highest in Austria (99%) and Croatia (98%) (Table 1).

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Table 1. Sample size and characteristics investigated box schemes per country (n=61).

	Austria	Belgium	Croatia	France	UK
Nr. of cases	15	5	6	17	18
Operating years (arit. mean)	11	6	7	7	14
Share of certified organic produce in boxes (arit. mean)	99%	76%	98%	70%	85%

For communication with consumers, 94% of the box schemes used e-mails, 48% offered electronic newsletters, and 40% used printed leaflets added to the boxes. Asked about the importance of 15 pre-defined values, box scheme representatives rated quality production as the most important value (arithmetic mean of 4.81 on a 5-point Likert scale), followed by organic production (4.76), local production (4.66), support for small-scale farmers (4.66) and sustainability (4.65). Traditional agriculture (3.58) and community building (3.69) were rated as least important values.

In all five countries, the investigated box schemes had grown considerably. Highest growth rates, based on mean values, can be observed in Austria (Table 2). 74% of the box schemes wanted to continue to grow.

Table 2. Arithmetic mean of boxes sold per week in first year and in 2015, per country (n=61).

Country	Box sales first year	Box sales 2015
Austria	75	1078
UK	91	438
Belgium	31	95
Croatia	15	70
France	29	58
All countries	57	425

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Within the organic box scheme family, there are examples of long and short supply chains and many of them are hybrids of the two. Most of the box schemes in this study wanted to continue to grow in size/volume. Since they were very different from the outset (their size ranging from 4 to 7,500 boxes/week) this means very different things in terms of logistics, interaction with consumers and supply. Digital and social media was important when communicating with consumers. Thus, there was communication but a lack of personal interaction (Mount, 2012). Whether social media can substitute

for personal interaction is an issue that needs to be explored further.

High quality (organic) local production supporting small-scale farmers and sustainable development were cherished values by the box schemes in the study. Thus, they compete with hegemonic retailers in two ways: by pushing for specific values in food production and by offering a distribution model (supposedly) beneficial for both consumers and farmers. Since retailers are prone to appropriate successful strategies developed by smaller actors, these box schemes will have to continue to find unique selling points in order to stay prosperous (Schermer, 2015). One way could be to maintain producer-consumer relationships, which is hard to copy by retailers. This will be successful if box schemes take care to grow both in terms of volumes and in terms of values important to them.

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Beer from the mountains–Value creation through bridging rural/urban and local/global

H. Moschitz, B. Oehen¹⁰⁹

Abstract – This paper presents a case study of a farmers' cooperative, Gran Alpin, selling mountain cereal products to mainly urban consumers. It employs and constantly reproduces values of local and place while marketing to mostly extra-local consumers. High levels of trust are maintained through multiple relations in the local network and decisive for successfully transporting the cooperative's values from the local to the global, from the rural to the urban.

INTRODUCTION

In reaction to an increasingly difficult economic environment for agriculture in mountain areas in Switzerland, in 1987, a group of two organic farmers and a veterinary founded the cooperative Gran Alpin (GA) in the canton of Grisons. Its goals are:

- Support of mountain arable farming
- Maintaining the cultural/traditional landscape
- Reasonable prices for farmers – better than usual prices for organic produce
- Additional income for farmers, contribution to the resilience of farms
- Supply of the region with cereal products

Currently there are 95 farmer members producing around 500t of cereal on 160ha land. Processing of the grains is done as much as possible in the canton, while the end products, such as grains, flour, bread and beer can be found in markets of one large retailer all over Switzerland. Local/regional restaurants, hotels, and bakeries play a secondary role, as do specialty shops in larger cities across the country.

Over the years, GA has continuously grown, and although it still operates in a limited market, it has established its niche creating economic value in the canton. This is achieved by building on cultural values of tradition and localness that are successfully communicated and sold to consumers outside the region. We were interested in how this combination of local and extra-local is put into practice: how cultural and economic value is created, and how these values are successfully transported in the supply chain; bridging across local and global food supply chains, as well as across the 'rural' and the 'urban'.

METHODS

We collected and analysed information from four different sources: 1) scientific literature; 2) grey literature and information from websites; 3) the movie "Biobergackerbau hat Zukunft" ("Organic mountain cereal production has a future") from Wissensmanagement Umwelt GmbH (2013); 4) interviews with key experts. Altogether, we

conducted nine interviews: 3 with current and previous general managers and board members from GA, 3 farmers (of which one is also a board member), one miller, one brewer, and one baker. They were spread across different valleys in the canton of Grisons. The interviews were carried out by one or two researchers in March 2016, lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and were partly transcribed. The content was analysed to answer the research questions.

FINDINGS

The supply chain of GA consists of a very locally oriented one, and one involving the globally operating retailer (see fig. 1); both are connected. E.g. the cooperative both collaborates with a small local mill in a very remote village in Grisons and with a large mill that is a subsidiary of the group of the retailer. For the local mill, GA cereals constitute 70% of its annual production of 200t; for the large mill the processed 200t of GA cereals equal 1/100 of the annual turnover (200.000t). The values involved in GA are multiple: In its name, the cooperative GA carries the notion of mountain origin ("alpin"), and slightly more hidden, the relation to the canton of Grisons: "Gran" is an artificial word, derived from the different variations of the regional Rhaeto-Romanic language, meaning cereal. This illustrates the strong identification with the region and its characteristics of mountains, tradition, and heritage. "Tradition" goes beyond the place of production to also include landscape and production and processing methods. All interviewed persons referred to their contribution and cherishing of tradition: "We're not here to produce as much as possible, but to practice agriculture and take care that the landscape stays intact" (farmer in the movie "Bergackerbau"). Aesthetics thus also plays a role, connected to what people referred to as historical picture of the landscape (in German: "Kulturlandschaft").

All interviewees mentioned the importance of maintaining local networks, and producing a local

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product. Local identity seems to be re-produced continuously through personal ties between different market partners, often in very limited (village/valley) perimeters, and in these relationships, local knowledge is exchanged and further built up, e.g. when the baker visits the farmer to discuss possibilities for producing a particular type of cereal for a specialty product. As a baker told: "[...] We can present this here. If it's about the oats or the eggs – I can show you. I can tell you from which farmer. We know where the raw products come from." Local knowledge is also involved in processing – be it as miller dealing with non-standardized specialty produce or as a baker dealing with raw material in varying qualities, and not pre-prepared. So the network of specific local knowledge creates a particular (high) quality within GA, and marketing GA products contributes to maintaining local knowledge and infrastructure.

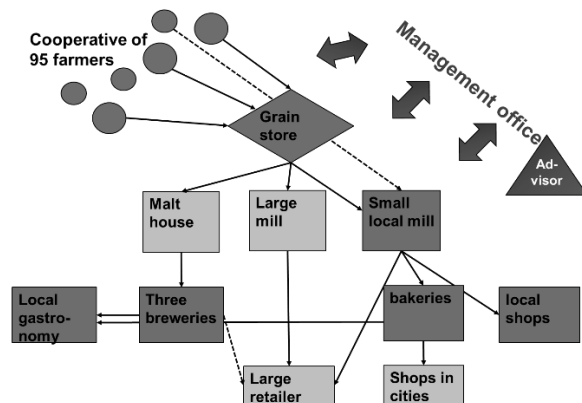


Figure 1. Supply chains of Gran Alpin
dark colour: local actors; light colour: extra-local actors

The strong sense of local and place is also important for bridging between the local and the global when marketing GA products through a large retailer's market chain. Ultimately, it leads to high levels of trust, which are critical for the longstanding marketing relations of local actors with partners outside the region. The following quote from the local brewer on how he first met the responsible person from COOP illustrates this: "...It took a while until I found the right building, it was so huge. Then I

entered, and then [the responsible from COOP] came to greet me, and when I saw that he wore this [typical traditional] belt, I knew that I would get along with him. And that's how it was..."

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

GA links up with the organic movement, and (partly) uses established marketing structures, so we can conclude that this is an example of a 'real utopia' for transforming the food system (Cucco and Fonte 2015). The market chain is strongly integrated by the values embedded in the product(s); the strong identification with "place" (i.e. Grisons and mountains) is reflected in communication to consumers. Local structures are pivotal to maintain this identity and the specific knowledge attached to it. Small entities are well-suited for processing small quantities while ensuring high quality, and allow direct communication between market actors. The local knowledge is inherent to the product's quality and a functioning local supply chain contributes to maintaining knowledge and infrastructure in the region. Its success rests on enabling experiential local learning in connection with the use of (partly extra-local) expert knowledge.

In conclusion, GA contributes to "fixing the placeless foodscape" by utilizing both ideas of place and local (Hinrichs 2015). The high level of trust in the relationships between the actors, be it local or beyond, is decisive for successfully transporting the cooperative's values from the local to the global, from the rural to the urban.

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Exploring cultural heritage de-valorized in national projects: The case of Bogatepe Village

D. Nizam¹¹⁰

Abstract – There is at present a great need to understand globalization as a phenomenon in which local actors use cultures, i.e. traditions and identities, as a vital element of their product differentiation strategies. This study examines how the “local” has been reformulated as a product differentiation strategy in the village of Bogatepe, in northeastern Turkey. The local initiative, Boğatepe Environment and Life Association, recently obtained voluntary certification for two “local-artisanal” cheeses: 1) a geographical indication for a local-“national” artisanal cheese (Kars Kasar) and 2) a presidium label for a local-Swiss artisanal cheese (Kars Gravyer). Based on data drawn from 30 in-depth interviews with the village residents in 2016, this study aims to understand the rationale for obtaining these two voluntary labels: what are the opportunities presented by these labels, especially in meeting mixed consumer demands? As a border region, the village can be said to have a “comparative advantage of being disadvantaged or marginalized”. This is because the local geography, and its characteristics, which were largely de-valued/de-valorized as inefficient and unproductive practices in the previously modernist-nationalist spheres of agriculture practice, now, in turn, constitute the advantage of being “untouched”. This advantage has been emphasized by the ongoing structural dislocation of nationally-designated markets. In the context of the alternative agrifood movements, this locality and its place-specific cultural and ecological characteristics; have become an important site not only for product differentiation strategies, but also for a critical dialogue on promoting (the past as) cultural heritage.

INTRODUCTION

There is at present a great need to understand globalization as a phenomenon in which local actors use cultures, i.e. traditions and identities, as a vital element of their product differentiation strategies. Globalization indeed opens a new space for livelihood strategies within which localities, cultures, traditions, and identities become more marked, reinvented, and fragmented in the market (De Haan 2000:357).

De Haan (2000:353) argues that locals and their place-specific natural resources (ecosystems) have become an important site for livelihood strategies. Accordingly, livelihoods strategies (fields of action) are increasingly “multiple” and “multi-local” in this process (De Haan, 2000).

Local cultures are gradually being appropriated within a particular definition of scale and circulation of capital (Harvey, 2001:403). Particularly with the global policies of market liberalization, national levels of scale are losing ground as the highest levels of scale. The nation state is no longer a naturalized container, since ‘the place’ and ‘the local’ have been reformulated as new social and political arrangements (Feagen, 2007:30).

The paradigm shift from modernism to post-modernism also contributed to this re-formulation of place. In the modernist discourse, the nation state is perceived as a “utilitarian, rational, democratic, and progressive” entity, where “the concept of place was largely disappeared,” and “the local” was “dismissed in the search for the universal and the general”

(Feagen 2007:30). Moreover, traditional characteristics of place, people, and community were devalued and labeled as ‘irrational’, ‘inefficient’ and ‘unproductive’.

Within this theoretical framework, this study focuses on some place based labels strategies in a specific local setting in order to discuss 1) the potentials offered by place-based labels for product differentiation strategies, and 2) the comparative advantage of particular localities (territories) that can be identified as either “latecomers to industrial development”, or the regions undergoing “social and economic marginalization” (Fonte, 2008).

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

With the increasing popularity of place-based labels in Turkey, local actors become interested in “geographical indication” or “presidium” for their production differentiation strategies. This study examines how the “local” has been reformulated as a product differentiation strategy in the village of *Bogatepe*, in north-eastern Turkey. This region was chosen for case study as one of the most “under-developed”, “marginalized” and depopulated regions of Turkey’s national developmental trajectory. In recent years, however, there has been a small growth in demand for local artisanal cheeses produced in the region as consumers in Turkey are increasingly in search of authentic, artisan and wholesome foods.

Data are drawn from 30 in-depth interviews conducted with the village residents in 2016. The

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research interviews included a set of questions about the rationale for obtaining these two voluntary labels; the perceived benefits presented by these labels, narratives of the forms and cultures of the local cheeses (history, local know how, taste, knowledge, identity, its commodity culture), and differentiation strategies that have been designed to meet a range of consumer demands.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATION VERSUS PRESIDIUM

The local initiative, Boğatepe Environment and Life Association, recently obtained two voluntary certifications for traditional locally produced cheeses: 1) a geographical indication for a local-national artisanal cheese (*Kars Kasar*), and 2) a presidium label for a local-Swiss artisanal cheese (*Kars Gravyer*). Neither are “true” indigenous cheeses, being European recipes adapted to local taste and local ecology; nevertheless the former has been appropriated as a “national” cheese.

Kars is a border region with a rich cultural and ethnic diversity-as a result of assimilation and acculturation of Caucasus and Anatolian cultures. After the Russia-Ottoman War (1877-1879), the region of Kars (province) passed into the control of Tsarist Russia. During the 40-year Russian settler-colonial administration from 1878 to 1918, Swiss and German cheese artisans/entrepreneurs, who ran dairy farms in Transcaucasia, introduced *Gravyer* (Gruyere) cheese to the local population in Kars (Tatari, 2014).

Table 1. Comparison of the production differentiation strategies for *Kars Kasari* and *Bogatepe Gravyer*.

	Bogatepe Gravyer	Kars Kasari
Cheese Origin	Swiss	Balkan
Local History	Colonization	Nationalization
Certification/Labels	Presidium	GI
Target consumers	Upper Class	Middle Class
Production scale	Small scale (214 ton)	Middle scale (9354 ton)
Industrialization rate	Low	Moderate

By the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917, non-Muslim groups began to leave the region and Muslim immigrants resettled from Caucasus. *Kasar* cheese began to be produced in the region as a part

of new social and economic development policies implemented by the Republic of Turkey (1923). The cheese masters from North-Western Turkey (east Thrace) were tasked by the central state to teach the basics of *Kasar* cheese-making to the local population of Kars. However, the state-directed industrialization of dairy farming in the region never reached the expected level due to the societal factors making the region “unattractive” for capitalist penetration, (a periphery region along the closed Turkish-Armenian border).

DISCUSSION

The regional cheese types are not limited to these two, many others are still produced and consumed by the local communities. However, these two types have been certified and reinvented (re-appropriated) as a common heritage, as memories and reminders the history of people and communities forced to leave their lands, either exiled or massacred: these now disappeared communities include Swiss, Germans, Karapapakhs, the Doukhobors, Molokans, Armenians and Greeks (Tatari, 2014).

As a border region, the locality can be said to have a “comparative advantage of being disadvantaged or marginalized”. This is because the local geography, and its characteristics, which were largely de-valued/de-valorized as inefficient and unproductive practices in the previous modernist-nationalist spheres of agriculture practice, now, in turn, constitutes the advantage of being “untouched”. This advantage has been emphasized by ongoing structural dislocation of nationally-designated markets. In the context of the alternative agrifood movements, due to its place-specific cultural and ecological characteristics, this locality has become an important site not only for product differentiation strategies, but also for a critical dialogue on promoting (the past as) cultural heritage.

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Seeds networks in Europe: innovative approaches of biodiversity management

Y. Piersante, A. Corrado¹¹¹

Abstract – In the last two decades new practices in recovering, reproducing and exchanging seeds have emerged in Europe. They are born with the common goal of developing biodiversity management systems, which allow producers to diversify their farming practices, reduce production costs and enhance control over their resources. The organizations sustaining agri-food alternatives are structured in networks at national and international level. This paper aims to discuss innovative elements emerging from the collaboration and confrontation among organizations composing this movement and research institutes, in order to find solutions to problems affecting the agri-food system, to promote food sovereignty and to influence national and supranational regulations.

INTRODUCTION

In the last few decades several practices and projects for biodiversity management at farm level are born in the South as well in the North of the world. Several scholars associate these experiences with the agro-ecological transition and a repeasantisation process: peasants try to reduce their dependency from the market and to manage resources autonomously (Corrado 2010; Da Via, 2012; Van de Ploeg, 2010). The interest in seed autonomy involves a plurality of actors (peasants, movements of farmers, researchers, agronomists, non-governmental organizations, gardeners, consumers, etc.) cooperating in order to answer to the multiple crises in the agro-industrial model. In Europe, in more recent times these agri-food alternative movements have scaled up their strategy, developing a more structured organization as national networks (*Réseau Semences Paysannes*, *Rete Semi Rurali*, *Red des Semillas*, etc.) and coordination at the European level (*Let's Liberate Diversity!* – EC LLD).

The local actions for biodiversity management by these movements is recently recalling the alliance of the scientific world and influencing national and supranational regulations.

THE METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The analysis builds on a comparative research about practices and projects of re-appropriation and management of biodiversity of *Réseau Semences Paysannes* - RSP (France) and the *Rete Semi Rurali* - RSR (Italy): national organizations engaged in the promotion of cultivated biodiversity and farmers' rights to manage, produce and reproduce biodiversity on farm. Partial results of an ongoing analysis by participatory action research on and with seed networks will be presented. Participation in meetings

and working groups, direct observation, interviews and cooperation activities, together with the analysis of information materials and documents, have been useful to access information and to participate in the discussion and projects implementation.

A COLLECTIVE BIODIVERSITY MANAGEMENT: THE FRENCH ET ITALIAN CASES

Collective biodiversity management represents the main strategy in order to save and dynamically manage biodiversity on farm. Two innovative practices introduced to pursue this goal are Seeds Houses (SH) and Participatory Plant Breeding (PPB).

The first experiences of the SH have been promoted in Brazil in early 1990s by a 350 civil society organizations' project in order to face food security problems (FAO 2014). Their purpose is to create a place for collective seeds management (storage, conservation, seeds exchange, etc.), for spreading seed selection practices.

In France, SH have been introduced at the beginning of 2000, to cope with climate change and economic problems. Today, RSP (founded in 2003 and gathers 77 organizations) supports over 35 experiences of SH. They do not represent just a physical place where to store seeds, rather they reflect a dynamic model for collective seeds management: research process for the re-introduction of old varieties (by field trips abroad, prospecting with elderly local farmers, access to germplasm banks, national and trans-national seed exchanges); management and multiplication work of different varieties of plants (vegetables, forage, cereals, corn, fruit, grapevine); actors implicated in management activities (farmers, gardeners, manufacturing agricultural, producers' and peasants'

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association, volunteers); internal rules for seeds management (diffusion and multiplication models, social contract among different implicated actors, seeds sale and exchange; etc.).

Differently, in Italy, in 2009 RSR (founded in 2007 and gathers more than 35 organizations) has promoted the first experience of SH, which today hosts a collection of wheat and barley old landraces and mixed populations. The research of genetic material took place through exchange with the French and Spanish Networks (with the support of European programs by the EC-LLD) and through the access to national and international germplasm banks. The distributions of small quantities of seeds have addressed the need of farmers (today about 40). A centralized management model characterizes the Italian case. Only recently, the Organizations members of RSR are systematizing their work of dynamic biodiversity management according to this model.

The national and transnational exchanges organized by the Networks have thus increased the knowledge and the capacity of seed selection for a growing number of farmers. Rapidly, they have specialized their practices, adopting the innovative selection approach of the PPB. The PPB is a "set of breeding methods characterised by many different forms of interaction between farmers and breeders all designed to shift the locus to the local level by directly involving the end user in the breeding process" (Morris et Bellon, 2004). In France, the RSP promoted the first PPB projects at the beginning of the 2000s in Brittany through the collaboration of researchers at the Moulain centre of INRA. Today, the RSP engages more than 80 farmers in PPB programs, also by the funding of European programs (e.g.: SOLIBAM, DIVERSIFOOD, etc.). Furthermore, the European Farm Seed Opportunities project (2007-2010) took into account PPB experiences for organic or low-input agriculture with the aim of supporting the implementation of regulation scenarios that recognize and encourage on-farm varietal innovation and selection. In Italy, the institutional research has not been as in the vanguard as in the French case. Only thanks to the positive results achieved through the European PPB programs carried out by RSR, national research centres and germplasm banks have recently turned their attention to this innovative research method. Today, RSR includes an increasing number of producers interested in experimenting with the PPB method on cereals and vegetables, also within partnership programs with national research centres.

CONCLUSIONS

The ongoing comparative analysis have noticed some differences concerning the organization of activities

and the internal governance between the French and the Italian case, just as the national context of institutional research.

In general, we can affirm that the strategy of the agri-food alternative movements to organise in national networks has strengthened and legitimized their political actions and their practices of on-farm research and selection (cfr. Demeulenaere, 2014). These results have been reached also by the coordination of European programmes and the positive influence of the French experience on the Italian case.

Furthermore, the methods of collective biodiversity management promoted by the networks are useful to propose innovative solutions for promoting diversity in agro-food systems and restoring varieties, old landraces and mixed populations. The interest of research centres and public and private germplasm banks to collaborate with peasants networks in order to decentralize the conservation work of the genetic material, before accessible only for breeders, confirms this result. So, if during the XX century the industrial seed system produced a deep division between agricultural production and seed production and between genetic science and selection practices in the fields, nowadays the work by the seed networks marks goals for peasants' autonomy and against the seeds control regime.

Finally, further achievement concerns the openings about seeds regulation. Nonetheless, in-depth analysis on the political strategy by the networks' advocacy campaign will tell us more about this process.

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Reshaping local food systems: The case of Territorial Short Food Supply Chains

L. Reina-Usuga, T. de-Haro-Giménez, C. Parra-López¹¹²

Abstract – The reconfiguration of links between the rural and urban areas along with a production and consumption more aware of the right to adequate food and food governance, have led to the development of alternative food distribution systems. This communication provides an in-depth examination of the different forms of Territorial Short Food Supply Chains emerged in Córdoba (Spain) and Bogotá (Colombia). The results reveal four main schemes, each of them being able to be channeled through direct selling or extended market, depending on the territorial features. Also, they suggest that TSFSCs strengthen linkages among urban and rural sides, and promote environmentally friendly practices and fairer social relationships.

INTRODUCTION

The alternative food networks arise in response to the dissatisfaction for the modern food circuit, from both producers' and consumers' sides (Holloway y Kneafsey, 2004). One of these networks, the Territorial Short Food Supply Chains (TSFSCs), is characterized by the minimisation of links in the chain (Ilbery et al., 2004) and is closely linked to the territory where they are developed since it gives them unique features (González et al., 2012). Here, the term territory is used to mean a complex system and not just a geographical area. Thus the territory contains a topographic metric space, actors and institutional agreements (Pecqueur, 2001; Sánchez-Zamora et al., 2014). As a consequence, TSFSCs may be considered as a way of interaction among producers, consumers, and other stakeholders weaving a specific food territory, with goals around sustainable values (Sonnino et al., 2014) and a shared perspective of agri-food governance (Fabrizzi et al., 2014). TSFSCs are social innovations, whose roots are in collective action, which suggests the importance of relational capital and embeddedness for its emergence.

This communication provides an in-depth examination of different forms of TSFSCs emerged in two cities: Córdoba (Spain) and Bogotá (Colombia).

METHODS

A descriptive and exploratory research was performed for the case studies of Bogotá (Colombia) and Córdoba (Spain). Data were collected from 1) Participatory observations and 2) Semi-structured interviews with 29 representatives of TSFSC initiatives; both techniques were implemented in 2016-2017.

FINDINGS

The results show that farmers that belong to TSFSCs are multi-chain farmers, i.e. they sell simultaneously through various short supply chains. Two types of TSFSC were identified in the two case studies: 1) Direct selling and 2) extended market channel. Within these types, four schemes are found, being dependent on the specific territorial conditions. Table 1 shows these particular features.

Table 1. Schemes of TSFSC in the case studies

	Bogotá	Córdoba
Type of TSFSC	Direct selling	- Farmer's markets - Box schemes
	Extended	- Specialized shops - Internet ordering system

It is remarkable the variation of box schemes: in Córdoba, it is a direct selling form, whereby the farmer sends products directly to the homes of participating consumers; whilst in Bogotá, it is an extended form, since there is an intermediate agent who coordinates logistic activities. In both cases, the frequency is weekly, but in Bogotá, the boxes offer a greater variety of food because they are from different farms and climates; whilst in Córdoba, the boxes are originated in a farmer and depending on the season.

TSFSCs promote organic, natural, local and healthy foods. Nevertheless, it depends on the particularities of the production systems and food miles from producers to consumers. Table 2 shows

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that peasant economy production does prevail in Bogotá, while ecological production does in Córdoba. This point is important because in the first case there are not certification systems adopted. However, in the second, ecological certifications predominate. Despite this, it is important to mention the wide use of Participatory Guarantee Systems in both cities, based on common trust and knowledge between farmers and consumers.

Table 2. Type of production systems

		Type of production system		
		Peasant economy	Agroecology	Organic production
Farmer's markets	Bogotá	X	X	
	Córdoba		X	X
Box schemes	Bogotá	X	X	
	Córdoba			X
Specialized shops	Bogotá		X	
	Córdoba			X
Internet ordering systems	Bogotá	X	X	
	Córdoba		X	X

The farmers' markets have wide support from civil society. Thus, processes of crowdfunding mobilized financial resources needed to start these initiatives. However, farmers', retailers' and consumers' organizations promote TSFSC schemes in Córdoba, while government and NGOs played a key role in Bogotá. This can be explained by the peasant economy characteristics in Colombia. Both cases point to the TSF-SCs as an endogenous territorial development strategy.

Table 3. TSFSC and alternative economies

		Alternative economies		
		Social	Common good	Fair-trade
Farmer's markets	Bogotá	X		
	Córdoba	X	X	X
Box schemes	Bogotá	X		
	Córdoba			
Specialized shops	Bogotá	X		X
	Córdoba	X	X	X
Internet ordering systems	Bogotá	X		
	Córdoba	X		

On the other hand, TSFSC initiatives, in both case studies are close to alternative economies, that is,

they are linked to other values for food and social relationships. As shown in Table 3, the social is the most important alternative economy for them. However, the fair-trade is promoted in initiatives that combined fresh and processed products. Finally, in Córdoba, some TSFSCs promote the economy for the common good, and one of them has a standard certification.

CONCLUSIONS

TSFSCs are blooming in different territories as examples of alternative food governance. The analyzed case studies show four main schemes to provide food and each of them can be channeled through direct selling or extended market, depending on the territorial features. The production system and the relationship with alternative economies are important issues for TSFSCs. The results suggest that TSFSCs promote participatory guarantee systems, relationships based on trust and proximity, and make visible values and symbols of territorial identity around the food. TSFSCs strengthen linkages among urban and rural sides and promote environmentally friendly practices and fairer social relationships.

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Innovative forms of communicating values between producers and consumers

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Abstract – Starting from the basic difference between producer consumer interactions in direct and indirect marketing relations, we want to highlight innovative ways of communication. Core elements of direct marketing include feedback from consumers and a high degree of trust, credibility and loyalty. In indirect marketing channels these features have to be substituted by various communication efforts. We use the experiences of Bioalpin, a federated cooperative, which takes the role of a broker within a mid-scale values based food chain to examine the possibilities and limitations of innovative forms of communication to achieve a mediation of various economic and non-economic values through the chain from producer to consumer.

INTRODUCTION

When organic marketing moves beyond the niche of direct marketing, mainstream large-scale market chains have inherent problems in securing and advancing organic values. Thus, we observe that large players of these food chains can effectively handle sizeable volumes, but their capacity (and interest) to transmit information about the organic values that are connected to the products and production conditions, tends to be limited to basic generic standards and regulations. This conventionalisation of organic food chains can create problems with maintaining integrity and consumer trust. Local food marketing initiatives, based on short food supply chains and consumer-producer cooperation tend to function through close and trust-based relationships between producers and consumers, which ensure a high level of integrity (e.g. Lamine 2005). The direct feedback of consumers fosters identification with the product and motivates producers to maintain and improve on quality, which is associated to values. Furthermore, consumer trust, credibility, authenticity and loyalty is strongly connected with knowledge about processes of production and processing. Here, often already the potentiality of personal direct contact seems to be sufficient for consumer trust.

Communication processes play a crucial role to retain the values associated with organic production in indirect marketing channels. The specific tasks of communication are:

- To mediate values from producer to consumer
- To allow feedback loops
- To foster personal relations (trust, loyalty, mutual understanding and identification)
- To support the transfer of knowledge and mutual requirements

In part, each of these roles can be standardized and depersonalized, but some features require personal interaction. The current standard efforts of ensuring traceability and proof through certification systems are not able to substitute personal trust completely.

APPROACH

We use the experiences the case study on Bioalpin, conducted within the HealthyGrowth project (Core organic II, for details see the project homepage: <http://projects.au.dk/healthygrowth/>). Bioalpin is a federated cooperative located in Tyrol/Austria, which takes the role of a broker within a "mid-scale values based food chain" (Stevenson and Pirog 2012). The cooperative connects about 600 farmers organized in local dairy cooperatives or producer groups, as well as artisanal processors with a regional family owned supermarket chain. While local and regional products play a great role in Austrian supermarkets, the provision of a full range of organic products under a producer owned brand ("Bio vom Berg" - organic from the mountain) is unique. Furthermore the mountain environment limits growth of farms and part time farming limits their scope for direct marketing. Thus the cooperative offers a third way between direct marketing and anonymous sales of multiple retail chains. The contribution highlights various ways and means of communication used by Bioalpin to mediate values attached to organic artisanal food products from the producer to the consumer.

Like Cooley and Mead (Schubert 2006) we understand communication as an exchange between persons, which is transmitted by equal-meaning symbols. According to them, only communication allows interpersonal relationship and identity building. Collective symbolic knowledge background is the base for a successful communication relationship.

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RESULTS

It is the central task of Bioalpin to communicate the values attached to the products through the supply chain to the consumer. This fosters mutual understanding and identification, which are both prerequisites for economic and social benefits for the members. Bioalpin is not only strengthening communication downstream to the retail partner and upstream to the farmer/processor, but furthermore also aims to reach all members of the chain from the producer to the consumer, including processors, packagers, logistics, retail chain owners and executives, shop managers, sales personnel etc. Communication in this respect is closely related to coordination of the entire supply chain. Bioalpin strives to coordinate producers and processors, logistics and retail both horizontally in producer groups and vertically. By building long term relationships based on a similar understanding of the quality aspects and values attached to the products sold under the cooperative brand *Bio vom Berg*, much of the communication processes can be routinized. However there is still an important task to familiarize new entrants among the producers as well as new partners along the chain with the core values of Bioalpin. This requires constant processes of re-negotiation.

Three promising innovative communication strategies are applied by BioAlpin in addition to standard commercial communication:

a) Informal meeting spaces have a strong potential for establishing, fostering and maintaining identification with the value chain as well as for building trust. Such meeting spaces are provided internally to members and partners in the network and externally to stakeholders outside the initiative including the general public. For instance, BioAlpin organizes field visits for farmers, cooperative employees, and consumers, as well as a yearly farmer's market where producers, partners and consumers meet in a public event including regional politicians. The responsible partner in the retail chain and the cooperative manager meet over lunch or even on cycling tours, where the lines between the private leisure time and business get blurred. Within the staff of the cooperative an open and regular communication prevails. Besides informal coffee, cigarette or snack breaks, an annual internal workshop for staff of the cooperative provides a forum for strategy discussions on eye level. Other possibilities for informal exchange are attached to

formal meetings, i.e. when BioAlpin initiates and organizes joint excursions of farmers and retail employees or of farmers and advisory staff on appropriate grain varieties and technical improvements.

b) Web 2.0-based applications and above all especially social media like Facebook seem to display a promising tool to close the gap between producers and consumers. Furthermore, they have the potential to foster vertical links between actors along the supply chain as well as horizontally between actor groups. Farmers are indirectly put in touch with the consumers by the cooperative promoting them, as well as food related issues, in order to inform and raise the consumer awareness. BioAlpin's Facebook page informs about the traditional processing steps and techniques used, shows pictures of production sites and informs about upcoming events, current activities or posts links to respective articles.

c) Food ambassadors: The personal presence of farmers in supermarkets and at events as well as shop assistants as intermediaries or pupils, teachers, relatives and friends as regular dedicated consumers can function as conveyors, vectors and/or representatives of values. This may foster identification with the value chain. Such food ambassadors have the potential to substitute former face-to-face relations between producer and consumer on a representative scale as examples from the fair-trade movement underpin (Brown 2011).

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**Working Group 26. Conditions for just
sustainability transitions within agrifood
systems: comparative approaches**



Insights from the trajectories of organic farming in Austria, Italy, and France

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INTRODUCTION

Organic farming is dominant in the public discourse, although it covers only 6.2% of the total Utilized Agricultural Area (UAA) in the EU-28. It is summoned in various contexts, be it as food that is free of pesticide-residues, as promoting animal welfare, as protecting the water from nitrates, as preserving biodiversity, as a way to support traditional farming, and as protecting the climate through lower energy-use.

Of all the 'alternatives' in agriculture, it is also the only one that has a dedicated regulation at EU-level, where Action Plans have been drafted by the Commission and by the Member States, and where dedicated measures to support its development are included in the agri-environment programmes of many Member States. Yet, despite the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and an EU-wide regulation for organic farming since 1991, it is striking that the share of UAA that is certified organic is very different in the EU: in 2015 it ranged from 1.5% in Ireland, to 20.3% in Austria.

In this contribution we review the literature that has analysed the causes of these differences. We then focus on three countries: Austria (20.3% of UAA certified organic), Italy (with 12.3% UAA certified organic) and France (with 4.8% UAA certified organic). In analysing the trajectory of the organic sector in these three countries, we focus on three relational dynamics: the national discourses around organic, i.e. how it is framed and how it evolved in the general political and agri-food discourses; how organic actors managed to enrol other actors and thus secure resources to further develop the sector; and how the trajectory was shaped by dynamics internal to the organic movement and the relationship between the movement and conventional farming. We close by discussing the relevance of the insights derived from the three organic trajectories, to understand transitions to sustainable agro-food systems.

STATE OF THE ART

In the early 1990s, the Council Regulation (EEC) 2019/91 was issued primarily to protect consumers

from fraud and to ensure a fair competition between producers. Yet, by defining what can be certified as 'organic', the Regulation also enabled direct payments within the Second Pillar of the CAP (Regulation (EEC) 2078/92). Numerous studies have shown that there is a wide variation in how Member States have implemented Reg. 2078/92, highlighting that the development of the area of certified organic farming was influenced e.g. by the level of payments, the design and funding of accompanying measures (research, training, extension services), and the consistency in the policy commitment to organic farming in consecutive CAP programming periods.

Other studies show that organic farming had a stronger development where the supply and the demand-side were tackled simultaneously. Here too public policies played an important role, through legislation enabling direct marketing, funding for information and promotional campaigns, as well as through public procurement policies, e.g. mandating a minimum share of organic food in public kitchens. The demand-side was also strengthened in those countries, where organic farming built alliances with retail chains, thus reaching more consumers than would be possible through direct marketing alone.

Further studies focus on the regional spread of organic farms, pointing out that organic farming is often most widespread in 'less favoured areas' where extensive production practices and traditional farming structures dominate. Indeed, these are less amenable to productivity gains through the use of 'modern' production practices and thus more likely to adopt 'alternatives'.

While the above approaches focus on structural aspects, some studies take a discourse analytic approach. Discourses are socially-shared frames that allow to give meaning to 'facts'. They re-order understandings, define what is a valid statement, and thus how problems, their causes and acceptable solutions can be formulated. How organic farming is framed by various actors thus has an important influence on which alliances between are feasible, and how political support can be justified. This is a sensitive issue, as agricultural policy is deeply involved in the support for modernised, intensive

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conventional agriculture, and organic farming was initially developed in overt criticism to this productivist agriculture. The challenge for policy makers was thus to support organic farming without this support implicitly or explicitly being construed as a critique of conventional agriculture.

RELATIONAL DYNAMICS

Taking a relational approach to understanding the trajectory of organic farming in Austria, Italy, and France, we analyse how various aspects relate to each other over time. We focus on three main dynamics: i) national discourses around agriculture generally and how organic was framed by the mainstream policy actors, i.e. which linkages were (not) made to rural development, food quality, and environmental protection; ii) the extent to which the organic movement was able to capture resources to further the development of organic farming, e.g. through direct payments for organic farmers, but also funds for research, education, and extension services; iii) the internal dynamics of the organic movement, its relationship with key actors of conventional farming and its ability to build linkage with actors along the food chain.

RESULTS

In Austria organic farming saw its largest development in the years before EU accession (in 1995). Policy support for organic farming was framed as a way to continue supporting traditional farms in remote mountain areas. These farms were seen as 'almost organic anyway'. The Federal Ministry of Agriculture linked organic farming with rural development, thereby downplaying the difference between extensive conventional farming and organic farming. This enabled the policy to be supported by the key players of conventional agriculture (i.e. the dominant farmers' union and the Chamber of Agriculture). The demand for organic food was tackled by Länder requiring a share of organic food in public kitchens, justifying this support in terms of environmental protection. Demand was also strengthened by an early collaboration with a major retail chain, which positioned organic food as 'Austrian' and thus appealed to consumers patriotism against 'cheap' imports after the borders were opened upon EU accession. Since the early 2000s the share of organic UAA has grown slowly but steadily, building on well-established marketing chains, strong demand

by consumers, and a continued, steady support from agricultural policy.

In Italy, a major impediment to policy support in the late 1990s, was lack of concerted action. For ex., while the national government earmarked funds for organic farming in national and regional parks, they were not used due to a lack of legislation at regional level. At the same time some regional governments issued laws to support of organic farming, but they were not enforced due to lack of funds. Moreover, the organic movement was internally divided, with several regions having their own organic standards. Since the 2000s, organic farming developed, as it was seen as a way to valorise regional foods, to develop bio-districts, and it received support e.g. through inclusion in school meals.

In France, the strong commitment to a productivist agriculture curtailed effective policy support for organic farming. Institutionalisation was weak and only limited funds were made available. The organic movement was marked by internal conflicts, which contributed to organic farming being marginalized in national debates. While some conflicts could be overcome, tensions remain, e.g. regarding the strategies and cooperation that are seen as suitable to promote organic farming.

CONCLUSION

The trajectories of organic farming are the results of a complex interplay of many factors. To understand a trajectory, it is key to acknowledge that 'organic farming' is construed differently by different actors, and the key question is whether these discourses can be aligned. This may be most effective if the difference between organic and conventional farming is downplayed, as this enables organic farming to be positioned alongside conventional farming, rather than in opposition to it. However, it might undermine the transformative potential of organic farming. Indeed, organic farming is a holistic approach, fundamentally building on the notion that the health of the soil, plants, animals and humans are interdependent. Taking this understanding seriously would deeply transform the agrofood system.

The trajectories of organic farming show that it is very difficult to overcome path dependencies, esp. the strongly sectoral organisation of agriculture, with at best weak linkages between agricultural production, environmental protection, and healthy nutrition. To be able to capture resources and thus grow, alternatives must present a novel narrative enabling them to build new alliances.

For references see full paper



Addressing ecological and health dimensions in agrifood systems transitions: an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective

C. Lamine, D. Magda, M.-J. Amiot¹¹⁵

INTRODUCTION

The environmental, social and health impacts of the current global food system as well as the need to rethink agrifood system transitions are acknowledged at all scales, from local civil societies to global policymaking, and call for a reconnection of agriculture, food, environment and health (AFEH) in the conceptual and practical approaches. However, these questions are most often tackled at the scale of the global food system or at the other end of the spectrum, at the local scale of specific alternative food networks, and most often through approaches that either overlook social processes when they stem from food or agricultural sciences, or overlook the ecological and health dimensions when they stem from social sciences. Our objective is to show that the territorial scale might be appropriate to tackle these dimensions in an interdisciplinary perspective.

STATE OF THE ART

In the social sciences, critical approaches have concentrated on the environmental, health and social negative effects of the global food systems, such as in the food regime theories (Friedmann and McMichael 1989). On the other hand, the development of alternative food networks has led to more optimistic analyses regarding current and possible future transition pathways and their capacity to reconnect AFEH (Goodman et al., 2011). These approaches, mainly carried out at the local scale in line with the "relocalisation paradigm", tend to overlook the actual scale of production and consumption flows, the territorial inequalities but also the materiality of ecological and health processes.

In the food sciences, the concept of "sustainable diets" was introduced as early as in the 1980s, based on the realisation that the health of humans and that of ecosystems are inextricably linked and that these links have to be central to our conceptions of food (Gussow & Clancy 1986). However, this holistic approach to diets was later neglected, due to the focus on food security, until it was recently revived in parallel to the emergence of rights-based, participatory and access-to-resource approaches (FAO, 2015). Its "mirror-concept", that of "nutrition-

sensitive agriculture", has been introduced more recently and refer to improving or at least avoiding of harm to the underlying and basic causes of malnutrition. However, it appears more as a political term than as an "actionable concept" (Balz, et al. 2015), and overlooks ecological and social dimensions.

LIMITATIONS OF SYSTEMS APPROACHES

Whether they adopt these frameworks or others, most food, natural and agricultural scientists advocate for the development of (complex) "systems approaches" that are mostly thought at the "global" scale (eg. Hammond and Dubé 2012), and based on principles and methods of assessment (of measurable impacts) and modelisation (of future/possible states, impacts etc.). Most of these approaches tackle agricultural and food practices separately, with rare exceptions (Vallejo-Rojas et al. 2015) and address ecological dimensions mainly in terms of environmental impacts, thus ignoring the role of ecological processes, their uncertainty, as well as the role of the relative heterogeneity and diversity of patterns (of agricultural productions in a given region, of the types of farms and of plot sizes, but also of food items within a diet etc.). Social mechanisms such as interdependencies and power relations, but also the diversity of knowledge and visions within the agrifood system, are also overlooked. Despite their quest for refinement and precision, most complex system approaches thus appear to neglect ecological processes, diversity, heterogeneity, knowledge, interdependencies and power relations.

RESULTS

Based on two research projects which started respectively from the food sciences and from the social sciences, and on the reflexive analysis of the questions that arose along the research processes (over a few years), we show that the territorial scale might be relevant to better address the inter-relations between AFEH and thus the health and ecological dimensions of agrifood systems transitions.

The first project is the Medina project (Promoting sustainable Mediterranean food systems for good

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nutrition and health). It gathered a multidisciplinary expertise in nutrition, food science, agronomy and economy. Its objective was to build scenarios and propose solutions to maximize agro-food chains' contribution to human health and nutrition in a sustainable way. Based on consumption surveys in Southern France and Tunisia, the project combined modelling tools (linear programming and computable general equilibrium models) to integrate collected data and generate scenarios that could lead to improved nutrition, health and environment. In a later phase, policy action options were proposed and analyzed by a participatory appraisal with policy makers and agro-food chain stakeholders at national and regional scales, in order to test their acceptability and feasibility. If these approaches and methods appeared useful to provide a basis to discuss possible changes in food diets, they did not allow to imagine and discuss the *pathway* from current patterns of agricultural production, agro-food chain organization and food diets towards the future scenarios. Indeed, these pathways depend on a diversity of ecological and social processes and mechanisms that cannot not be addressed through a modelisation approach.

The second project is a reflexion that progressively took form among a network of researchers and actors of a rural territory in Southern France. It emerged at the crossroads of local stakeholders' questions (and practices) about ecological transition pathways for their territorial agrifood system, and researchers' interest for transition mechanisms. The research work, primarily anchored in sociological approaches, aimed at analyzing the past transitions based on a socio-historical and ethnographical analysis. It showed that the regional agroecological transition resulted from mechanisms that involve the agrifood system's different components (farmers, advisory systems, cooperatives, private actors, local policies) and combine private action and public action, individual and collective one through specific governance innovations. It also showed that the attachment of local stakeholders and also "simple" farmers or consumers to local products (and the identity they carry) but also to local landscapes and the resilience of family farming, is a key motivation for actors to change their practices. However, in contrast to the previous one, this approach did not lead to build any scenario for the future.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of the respective potential and limitations of these two approaches, we suggest that the territorial scale (that of 'living areas') is adapted to empirically address the reconnection of AFEH. It allows to identify the relevant actors to include in the analysis and to tackle ecological and health processes that cannot be addressed at the global food system scale, through the analysis of (i) processes and dynamics (and not only impacts); (ii) the effects of the diversity/ heterogeneity of different key components of the food systems, whether they are material or social (agricultural productions, food circuits, food diets, public policies etc.); (iii) the diversity of knowledge and visions as well as the power relationships in which the actors are caught. We contend that contextualized (past or future) trajectories might be more useful than models in order to address ecological and health dimensions of agrifood systems transition

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Regenerative farming practices: on the collaboration, collective action, and knowledge generation of people engaging in places in different governance contexts

P. Swagemakers, M.D. Domínguez García, P. Milone, F. Ventura¹¹⁶

Abstract – Currently we see adjustments in land-use and farm practices—in some respects these are contested and may endanger family farms and livelihoods—that promote sustainable agriculture, generate knowledge and innovation, and empower family farms to change and adapt to new societal and environmental needs. This paper aims to capture the emerging complex array of institutions and multi-level governance issues that relate to those adjustments. The paper aims to increase understanding of the socio-economic and policy practices through which (versions or representations of) sustainability transitions are produced, maintained, imposed and contested.

INTRODUCTION

Global challenges linked to food scarcity, environmental degradation and climate change call for empirical research on how to reorganize the food system effectively.

The question how to achieve long-term social and ecological resilience in sustainability transitions calls for the exploration of the links between agency, institutions and innovation (Westley et al., 2011) and in particular the position of viable shadow alternatives and niche regimes in the context of globalisation (Jongerden et al., 2014). The shape and performance of responses to the negative effects of globalisation consist of a local turn to production and consumption patterns in which a progressive understanding of the 'local' in terms of connectivity points to the idea that food systems are not external to its users but created in practice (Jongerden et al., 2014; McDonagh et al., 2015).

In this short paper we aim to explore the successful implementation of innovative entrepreneurial business models (Brunori and Galli, 2016) by means of adjustments in land-use and farm practice in relation to value-generation.

In case study research in the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain we reflect on how knowledge and resources unfold within land-use and farm practices that represent evolving networks as arenas in which actors with different networks and resources meet, interact and influence each other, and in which localities and regions are—rather than conceived as bounded

territories—studied from a relational approach to space.

The Netherlands

In Frisia, in the northern part of the Netherlands, farmers are organised in the territorial cooperative 'the Noardelike Fryske Wâlden' (literally: the Northern Frisian Woodlands), which mediates between interests of farmers (dairy production) and the general public (preservation of the cultural landscape and its intrinsic values). Longer grass (fewer frequency of cutting the fields) and the preservation of endangered bird species are key features of improved biodiversity performance in the area. The cooperative maintains 50,000 ha of agrarian landscape and has about 1000 members among which 850 farmers (about 90% of the farmers in the area), and plays a role in the negotiations on landscape and biodiversity measures (rules and regulations) and the financial awards for the related values that are produced by the farmers. In a 'Gebiedscontract' (Regional contract) various parties support the objective of strengthening regional qualities in relation to guaranteeing economic viability of farm enterprises and—related to landscape qualities—other local small-scaled businesses like tourism facilities.

Italy

In Emilia Romagna, Italy, farmers are organised in the small dairy cooperative 'Il Consorzio Vacche Rosse' (CVR), which processes the milk of the 'Vacche

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Rosse di razza Reggiana' into a specific type of Parmigiano-Reggiano cheese. Farmers improved the connection between the food chain and biodiversity conservation (i.e. the location-specific production features for agricultural production in the area) and developed the successful marketing of the cheese in collaboration with the Centro Ricerche Produzioni Animali (CRPA, Research Center for Animal Production in Emilia Romagna) and with financial support of the Italian Ministry of Agriculture. The diet of this local breed consists of qualitative inferior grass quality. Its relatively low milk production (in average just below 6.000 kg per cow per year) remains stable during numerous lactations, and in comparison to the Frisian-Holstein breed performs slightly better in terms of fat and protein contents. Its cheese ages between 12 and 36 months, has an outstanding organoleptic quality (flavour and aroma), a high content of calcium, phosphorus, protein, and essential amino acids, and aged over 24 months is characterised by the absence of lactose. These product characteristics allow for a significant higher milk price (78 cent per kg) in comparison to what is paid by the regular Parmigiano-Reggiano Consorzio (in 2013 53 cent per kg) (Menghi et al., 2015). 'Distanced' consumers (besides locally the cheese is sold around the globe) pay for a distinctive quality cheese and sustain this farm strategy from economic viewpoint and enable the preservation of this indigenous cow breed which was in danger of extinction.

Spain

Galicia, an autonomous region in the northwestern corner of Spain, is characterized by ongoing depopulation of rural areas, ageing of those who remain, and, consequently, low economic development, and a sincere level—at least 20 per cent—of land abandonment, especially in mountain areas. Farm sizes in general remain limited and turn into intensive livestock production systems. Galician farmers depend relatively heavily on the purchase of animal feed which due to extreme fluctuations in feed prices on the world market brings vulnerabilities to individual farmers. Small-scaled individual initiatives are taken mainly in organic production and processing of milk and direct selling of cheese and yoghurt. Spin-off at higher aggregation levels develops slowly. Beef cattle breeders with indigenous cattle breeds, often located in mountain areas, sell under regional quality labels but with limited price increase for farmers.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

We exhibited how regenerative farm practices (can) contribute to sustainability transitions: how through private and public payment schemes farmers, government representatives, researchers, and semi-governmental innovation intermediaries can transform the agro-food system and contribute to biodiversity, increase environmental learning, and increased sense-of-place and stewardship. In the Dutch and Italian cases the perception of locality shifts on a gradual scale from local to global actor networks. At the local level these include next to humans also farmland birds and farm animal breeds. Farm development however seems no longer territorially fixed but to interrelate actors in global space.

Governance support turns out crucial for developing sustainability adjustments in land-use and farm practices especially in the initial stage. In relation to value generation (monetary returns for the provisioning of public goods) continuity and success of the Dutch case anchors in public payment schemes whilst the Italian and Spanish cases are rather based on private initiatives (i.e. markets).

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What supports effective participation and voice? Preconditions for social justice in urban agriculture

C. Prové, J. Chappell, J. Dessein, M. de Krom¹¹⁷

Abstract - This paper explores the issue of participation in the governance of urban agriculture. It analyses urban agriculture practitioners' perspectives on participation and political engagement, with the aim to reflect on potential sites and strategies that increase social justice in the governance of urban agriculture.

INTRODUCTION

Urban agriculture (UA) can be considered as one form of alternative food initiatives (AFIs) that have emerged in response to the limits and side effects of the globalized industrial agri-food system (McClintock, 2013). Academic literature and public discourse are strong on underscoring the potential of UA in terms of providing more inclusive and just food systems. However, a growing academic scholarship also warns among others for celebrating the inclusiveness of UA as its inherent quality (Born and Purcell, 2006). Without proper consideration of the transformative potential of UA, local inequalities, exclusionary mechanisms and injustices within city-level social and political structures can be easily overlooked (DeLind, 2010; Dupuis and Goodman, 2005).

In response to that critique, academics have shifted the focus toward conceptualizing UA as a governance issue, making explicit the complexity, multi-purpose, multi-actor and multi-locational processes (McClintock, 2013). It is argued that by paying explicit attention to the political processes underlying UA governance, we make visible the new power relations and the inclusionary and exclusionary processes in the development and support of UA. A related fundamental concern in governance is that of participation (Ganuza et al. 2016). Indeed, it is observed that the lack of participation in official governance mechanisms is often referred to as a key problem in the successful governance of UA. This paper aims to deepen insights into the lack of civic participation by conducting a case study of participatory governance of UA in Ghent, Belgium.

LITERATURE REVIEW ON PARTICIPATION

Increasing citizen voice is considered as a precondition to deal with elite power and bureaucratic rationality (Lee et al., 2015). Remarkable consensus

around the desirability of increasing citizen voice has resulted in the creation of many unprecedented opportunities in local governments for citizens to engage in the co-production of services and goods (Fung and Fagotto, 2006). Literature on the effect and outcome of increased participation is more ambiguous. While some authors praise increased participation (Ganuza et al., 2016; Fung and Wright, 2001), others are more critical. Critics of increased participation claim that the impact on public policies is limited (Lee et al. 2015), issues with power imbalances and domination inevitably return, expectations from participants are unrealistic, and participation is difficult to sustain (Fung and Wright 2001).

Despite different positions on the reasons for and effects of increased participation, we observe that analyses on participation are mostly conducted from the point of view of local governments. This has two major consequences. First, studies and conceptualizations of participative governance conclude with a formulation of recommendations for local governments and formal institutions on how to create an enabling environment for participation and deliberation. Although important contributions to the academic and public debates, these studies remain unclear on explanations for the lack of participation or quality of participation in participatory governance mechanisms. A second consequence is that many analyses are rather policy centred, meaning that participation is only considered in the official policy making processes. In alignment with Bruckmeier (2016), we argue that participation in the political process can also be effective outside official policy-making spheres.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

In order to deal with these important gaps in academic literature, the paper addresses the question: What supports effective participation and

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voice in the governance of UA? Therefore, we use the case of participatory governance of UA in Ghent, Belgium. We use various data sources such as field notes from participant observation, document analysis, focus groups and in-depth interviews that have been collected between 2013-2017. The in-depth interviews with key UA stakeholders have been conducted in three periods: 20 interviews in 2013, 12 in 2014 and ongoing in 2017. Both stakeholders that participate and do not participate in official governance mechanisms such as the food council are consulted. Key questions revolve around: (1) their perspectives on UA and their view on participation in the governance process, (2) where and how they see their involvement in UA as having impact on the political process of UA governance.

RESULTS

Preliminary results show (1) that the link between the UA practice, and the governance of UA at the city scale is poorly understood. (2) Some UA practitioners deliberately refuse participation because of negative attitudes toward participatory governance mechanisms and specific public officers. (3) Some respondents refrain from participation out of fear of appropriation or assimilation of the UA practice by other actors. (4) Impacts on the direct beneficiaries of the UA practice and the immediate neighbourhood are more clearly communicated, indicating that political engagement is more easily envisioned in the direct neighbourhood and that there are multiple sites where alternative visions on sustainable food systems are envisioned.

DISCUSSION

The insights generated in this paper will be interpreted in terms of whether and how participatory governance can help to advance social justice in UA, and AFIs more broadly. Insights into the perspectives and motivations on participation in UA governance form the basis to formulate more inclusive and responsive strategies in participatory governance. Additionally, the insights will help us to conceive of participation as having multiple locations, thereby also effectuating a more inclusive approach in participatory governance strategies. By analysing the results from the perspective of social justice, we respond to the call for analyses that help to overcome local inequalities, exclusionary mechanisms and injustices within UA governance. The paper contributes to the debate by sketching a more

comprehensive and complex view on participation by reflecting on the preconditions for effective participation, empowerment and voice in the governance of UA. The value of the paper is that more complex processes of knowledge creation and empowerment are taken into account (1) by providing insights from the perspective of those that are expected to participate, and (2) by including other processes of political action that do not or cannot adopt political forms or become part of public policies, but are nevertheless crucial in making sustainability transformations in the food system possible (Bruckmeier 2016).

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Charitable food redistribution: a consensus frame

S. Arcuri

Abstract – This paper argues that charitable food assistance has been successfully framed as the primary policy instrument to deal with food poverty and food waste and might be interpreted as a consensus frame.

INTRODUCTION

Food poverty and food waste are two major problems of contemporary food systems. Food poverty has been strongly re-emerging as a matter of concern in rich countries since 2007-8, owing to the economic downturn, austerity policies, growing income inequalities and economic uncertainty (Caraher & Cavicchi, 2014). On the other hand, the combination of different dynamics including global food crises, increasing food prices, environmental pressures and energy concerns (Morgan & Sonnino, 2010) has also led to a shift in the position assigned to waste in the food regime, moving from the invisibility of the Post-WWII period to a “new visibility” (Evans et al., 2013:17) as a severe and unacceptable issue affecting the food system (Alexander et al., 2017). In this context, charitable food assistance has come to play a significant role in framing the policy debate in affluent societies, prevailing among other instruments as it offers a win-win solution to the problems of food waste and food poverty (Midgley, 2014). Yet, these two issues are rather ambiguous. On one side, the absence of clear entitlement-based instruments against (food) poverty (Lambie-Mumford & Dowler, 2014) and its typification as hunger (Poppendieck, 1998), on the other the representation of food wastage as a food system inefficiency (Lorenz, 2012) and the opportunity of a moral and “politically correct” solution (Silvasti & Kortetmäki, 2017) have paved the way to the broad public consensus on charitable redistribution of surplus food. This paper argues that charitable food assistance has been successfully framed as the primary policy instrument to deal with food poverty and food waste and it might be interpreted as a consensus frame, according to the definition of Mooney and Hunt (2009). Yet, I argue that, both at the institutional level and at the level of practices, different and competing claims, interests and objectives might be identified. The aim of this paper is to identify, in the Italian institutional discourse, at least two different framings lying behind the consensus summarised by catch-phrases such as “fighting hunger and food waste”. The research questions for this paper are: 1) How has a consensus been formulated on the perception that charitable food assistance is the primary policy instrument to

rectify both food poverty and food waste in affluent societies? and 2) What are the interests and positions – framings with relative keys – behind this consensus and consequent policy implications?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

Frames are mechanisms through which to organise experience and guide action. The notion of frame provides a conceptual tool that helps to establish a boundary within which interactions take place and appropriate courses of action are taken (Kirwan & Maye, 2013:92). Studies on frames often deal with ambiguous concepts, as in the seminal study by Mooney and Hunt (2009), which conceptualises food security as a “consensus frame”, that is as a specific type of frame, widely accepted in terms of values and with a big resonance. Nonetheless, consensus frames may engender diverse framings on how the goals might best be achieved or actioned, as they may encompass many different – and sometimes diverging – meanings and claims (Mooney & Hunt, 2009). Internal normative variations might also be identified: a flat(ened) keying of a framing reinforces the extant dominant interpretations and practices, while a sharp(ened) keying offers critical alternatives. Bridging mechanisms between boundaries of otherwise distinct frames are possible through the conscious alignment of normative keys (Kirwan & Maye, 2013). To identify and analyse the roles of key institutions and actors in framing the discourses regarding charitable food assistance and the set of interests and positions behind the consensus frame, this paper addresses policy documents and publications (reports, press releases, web pages and position papers) from public and private stakeholders involved in the framing process in the Italian context. Documents have been collected, read and classified by type of actor, then coded referring to previous academic research for the initial set of coding categories. This study is to be intended as a part of a broader research, entailing as next step an exploratory case study on local practices of food assistance. It thus also draws into data collected through semi-structured interviews to place discourses into practitioners’ daily experience.



FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Consistently with most studies on framings, charitable assistance through surplus food redistribution to the poor is a contested topic (Vlaholias et al., 2015), reasons being linked both to the problem and solutions' side. The first is the lack of agreed definitions of food poverty, food (in)security and hunger or, where agreed, the lack of adequate measurement instruments (Lambie-Mumford & Dowler, 2014). Second, it is not clear who should take the responsibility to deal with the problem of food poverty and how (Lambie-Mumford & Dowler, 2014). On the other side, food waste has gained momentum in the last years (Evans et al., 2013) and several studies have been carried out to provide a quantification (Stenmark et al., 2016), but EU level data remain insufficient. In addition, there are no agreed definitions on what constitutes food surplus and food waste at the EU level (EU Parliament Resolution, 2012). According to Brunori et al. (2013:24) "the strength of a consensus frame is the capacity to respond to emerging societal problems with solutions that resolve possible conflicts". In Italy, food poverty symptoms have typically been addressed through an emergency approach by charitable organisations, supported through the creation of a donation-friendly environment by the Good Samaritan Law (L. n. 155/2003) and the more recent "Gadda Law" (L. n. 116/2016). Nonetheless, findings indicate that these, as well as other institutions analysed (ex. PEAD/FEAD), do not engage in an in-depth assessment of structural causes of food waste and/or food insecurity (interestingly, the last is barely mentioned in the documents, for example). Therefore, at least two framings have been identified, respectively linked to the more specific goals of improving food provision and reducing food wastage. Nonetheless, this paper suggests that the commonalities shared by the flat keys of the framings identified have contributed to maintain the consensus frame of charitable food redistribution as win-win solution to both food poverty and food waste. Recognising the framings is important because they have the potential to impact processes of policy formation and institutionalisation (Candel et al., 2014). In this case, there is the risk that policy instruments addressing contested and unmeasured problems, such as food poverty and food waste, may not be well-targeted and thus ineffective, especially if

grounded into general and ambiguous consensus frames.

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Fair Prices to achieve a Living Income

R. Bronkhorst¹¹⁸

Abstract – Based on the Living Income concept for the peasant, a methodology has been developed how to calculate 'fair' prices for different crops. Application of this method can guide both policy makers and companies in their development of 'ethical' policies.

INTRODUCTION

An ethical aspect in food production that has not yet received the attention it deserves, is the living condition of the small farmer. There is broad agreement that small farmers have a larger output/ha than large farms (IFPRI). Yet these small farmers and their difficult living conditions are not sufficiently taken into consideration. A result of these difficult living conditions is that young farmers abandon rural areas for already overcrowded cities.

In industry the Living Wage concept has been developed, implying that every worker has a right to a decent income, sufficient for him/her and his family. In agriculture a similar concept has been developed, the Living Income. When a farmer works full-time, he should be able to earn a Living Income. In order to achieve this, the price he receives for his products should be such that this is possible.

The solution of Fair Trade Int. to fair prices is prices consisting of a price floor combined with a premium (FLO). This approach does not define fair prices in an exact way however. Therefore a methodology has been developed to calculate a so-called 'fair' price for each crop in order to enable the farmer to earn a living income, as well as to have financial resources for sustainable investments.

This fair price is the minimum price the farmer should receive in order to attain a living income and food security. This methodology takes as its point of departure the real local costs of living and the real production costs, and thus leads to different fair prices in different places.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied consists of the development of a theoretical model that then is applied to a real case. Starting from the definition of Living Wages as the minimum amount wage-earners should earn, a concept of Living Income for the peasant is developed. The Living Income concept takes into account the same basic needs for the farmer as for the wage-earner (a decent standard of living for the worker and her or his family, meaning sufficient nutritious food, water, housing, education, health care, transport, clothing, and other essential needs, including provision for unexpected events), and adds

to this an additional amount for investments in agricultural tools. In order to achieve this income on a given surface, with climate, crops that can be grown and other circumstances given, the crops must have a certain sales price.

This price that the producer should receive in order to attain a Living Income, is called the 'fair' price. This price is based on the assumption of full-employment on the specific crop.

'Fair' means here that any price below this fair price is not sufficient, so this is the absolute minimum price the producer must receive. The methodology how to calculate such 'fair' prices has been applied on food crops in Burkina Faso, in the Boucle du Mouhoun (maize, sorghum and millet), and then compared to market prices.

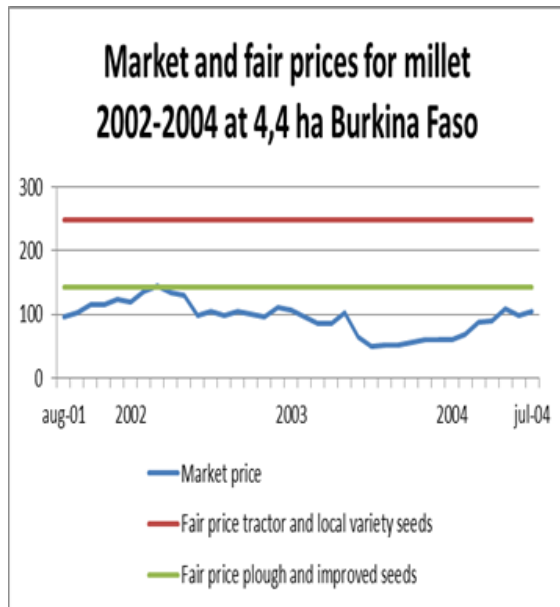
RESULTS

The graph below shows the difference between the calculated fair prices for two different production methods for millet and the market price in the Boucle du Mouhoun region in Burkina Faso, a region with a Sudano-Sahelian climate. The graph shows the difference between the market price and the calculated fair prices for two cases, namely the case that the farmer uses a tractor combined with local variety seeds, and the case that a plough is used in combination with improved seeds. Not shown in the graph are the combination of tractor and improved seeds, and plough with local variety seeds. The fair prices for these two cases are located in between the two shown in the graph. So it appears that the combination plough and improved seeds is in the present circumstances, most beneficial for the farmer.

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GRAPH



These calculated fair prices can be used by governments as a guideline to decide whether there is a need to intervene in the food market. In the case of food assistance e.g. the effects of food aid on prices at the local markets should be examined in more detail, and in the case of local purchase for food aid this fair price can be a guide as to what prices should be paid to producers in order to have optimal positive development effects on the region where food is bought (Bronkhorst 2011).

For companies it provides a guideline as to how to pay minimum ethical prices. For a detailed description of how to calculate fair prices, see Bronkhorst 2016.

CONCLUSION

A paradigm change from the use of prices decided by the market with all its imperfections, to an approach founded on ethics is needed. 'Ethical' here implies that any worker receives a decent income for full-time, sustainable work.

Fair prices are an important solution, but not the only solution for the farmers' problems. The Living Income / Fair Price methodology can be used in combination with other approaches, like sustainable agricultural practices such as ecological agriculture or FAO's Commodity Chain Analysis (FAO, Bronkhorst 2014). Combined it will provide a boost for a decent life and food security for the farmer and his family and stimulate sustainable agricultural practices.

Attention should also be paid to the effects on others, such as food consumers. As conditions are different in each country, more research is needed to analyse the consequences of the payment of fair prices on several groups of the population and advise local governments on adequate accompanying measures.

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Governance of sustainability transitions: key values and features derived from Belgian initiatives aiming at introducing local products on supermarket shelves

S. Bui, I. da Costa, O. de Schutter, T. Dedeurwaerdere

Abstract – Despite their importance in the dominant agri-food system, the role that food retail corporations can play in transition processes has received little attention from scholars. We study three initiatives aiming at introducing local products on supermarkets' shelves in Belgium, to analyse how the development of local sourcing in supermarkets impacts the broader agri-food system. Hybrid governance arrangements which bring together small producers, large retailers, CSOs and local authorities produce hybrid ethical framings. Enabling higher diversity within the dominant food system, these could be a first step towards a transition process.

INTRODUCTION

Food retail corporations are powerful actors of the dominant food system, accounting for more than 95% of food market share in Belgium. Driven by motives of profit maximisation, they exert strong lock-in effects that hinder the transition towards a more sustainable food system. The criteria they impose on the upstream part of the food chain (e.g. homogeneity standards, volume and uninterrupted supply requirements) and their marketing practices (e.g. back margins) exclude a significant part of sustainable food products from their shelves which makes them lowly available for consumers.

Recently, several initiatives aiming at enabling the introduction of local, low-input, small farmers' products on supermarket shelves have emerged in Belgium. These initiatives mainly take the form of logistic platforms, that have been launched by local authorities and/or civil society organisations (CSOs). As supermarkets seek to improve their image, these are becoming a flourishing activity. This raises the following question: is the development of local sourcing in supermarkets an opportunity for a transition towards more sustainable food systems (i.e., for sustainable farming and food practices and for fair marketing practices to be broadly adopted), and if so, under which conditions?

METHOD

To answer this question, we analyse three initiatives which aim at introducing local products on supermarket shelves. We chose these initiatives because they are the ones that first emerged in Belgium and they are located in different provinces,

thus embedded in distinct agricultural and political backgrounds¹¹⁹.

In order to assess their impact on the broader food system, we take into account all the actors involved (producers, processors, the main retail corporations in Belgium, alternative retailers, public authorities, CSOs, consumers), and for each one of them, we jointly analyse: the key ethical issues and professed values and their evolution over time; the implementation (or absence) of related practices; the coordination and governance features they participate in and their evolution over time.

For this research, we conducted 32 interviews of actors involved in these initiatives, we realized 6 observations of situations where these actors interact, and we gathered complementary data from a diversity of documents (press articles, annual account of retailers, public authorities and CSOs).

RESULTS

The studied initiatives rely on specific governance arrangements and produce different impacts on the agri-food system.

The introduction of local products in supermarkets was impelled in the early 2010's by Carrefour, in response to increasing criticism of the agro-industrial food system. Initially, Carrefour contacted the officer in charge of agricultural diversification inside the main farmers' union, to propose the project. Together with about 20 producers, they gathered several times to identify the barriers for small producers to supply supermarkets and to work out solutions. At the end

¹¹⁹ In Belgium, Provinces have jurisdiction in agriculture and provide farmers with extension services.



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July 24-27 2017**

of the process, Carrefour elaborated a charter and a simplified contract reflecting the main outcomes, so that local producers don't have to work with Carrefour's central purchasing group and therefore are not submitted to price negotiation (the producer defines the price), back margins, payments for supply disruption, and other practices with disadvantages.

The first two provinces to work with Carrefour were Hainaut and Liège. In both cases, the objective for the Province was to increase producers' income and outlets. Hainaut's Province engaged in an informal partnership with retail companies (other retailers later engaged in similar projects): the Province contacts the producers and markets the local products in the stores - e.g. providing posters with local producers' pictures and addresses and organising promotional events -, as long as the retailers comply with Carrefour's charter and provide monitoring data. The Province helps producers to calculate cost-prices so that they can define an appropriate selling price. In Hainaut, this project now gathers around 130 producers and generates a turnover of several million euros.

In Liège, the Province decided to create a logistic platform via Promogest, one of its semi-public organisation. Promogest offers logistic solutions for producers and supermarkets, as it takes in charge deliveries, orders, invoicing, payments, and also marketing (as Hainaut's Province, but it also makes available staff for promotional events). It also searches for new producers and carries out regular monitoring to solve farmers' and stores' problems. Promogest's board is composed of elected officials and mainstream farmers. It works with approximately 75 producers and its annual turnover reaches 2 million euros.

In Hainaut and Liège, these initiatives have allowed the continuity and development of small farms and processing units, with many cases of job creation. As local products represent less than 1% of retailers' sales, the impact on food practices is marginal. However, the fact that these products benefit from a large dedicated shelf contributes to raise consumers' awareness. Indeed, many producers involved in the project observe that customers from supermarkets come to their on-farm store to experience the extensive range of products and therefore notice a growing on-farm activity. Moreover, promotional activities encourage networking and thereby local sourcing for small processors.

The third initiative we studied is located in Brabant-Wallon, and results from the conjunction of two projects. On the one hand, the one of the

Province which wished to answer Carrefour's proposition to develop local sourcing in order to help local producers, and on the other hand, the one of one LEADER LAG which had led for 5 years a box-scheme project but, considering that one of its mission was to raise consumers' awareness, wanted to reach supermarkets' consumers and therefore create a logistic platform to supply stores in the whole province. Together the Province and the LAG decided to create a CSO combining their projects. Its board is composed of elected officials from the Province, small producers' representatives, and the LAG. Its objective is to work with supermarkets to reach a broader customer base, whose awareness is not yet raised. It is also to reach economic viability, in order to propose a logistic tool for more emerging and alternative stores. This CSO has commercial relations with a diversity of stores, including a citizens' cooperative supermarket and other emerging breakthrough initiatives. The Province has adapted its training program, which was initially oriented towards mainstream ag. issues, and is now proposing a variety of workshops related to short food chains.

DISCUSSION

Hybrid governance arrangements which bring together producers, large retailers, CSOs and/or local authorities produce hybrid ethical framings. Depending on the ethical framing, actors are stimulated to adopt or develop more or less sustainable farming, processing, marketing and food practices. At first, the coordination between the farmers' union and Carrefour helped combining the retailer's and the farmers' interest and resulted in fairer prices and marketing conditions for small producers. Then, in the cases of Hainaut and Liège, the involvement of the Provinces allowed to extend them to all supermarkets. In the case of Brabant-Wallon, the governance of the initiative is shared among the Province, small farmers and the LAG. This governance feature allows the LAG to uphold its values of regional enhancement and raising consumers' awareness, to enrol the Province's training services and thereby favour the development of ethical values within the local dominant food system and facilitate the emergence and scaling up of alternative subsystems. Although its impact is still extremely limited, it could be a first step in a transition process, as it enables higher diversity within the dominant system.

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Analysing dynamics of food assistance through system archetypes

F. Galli, G. Brunori¹²⁰

Abstract – This contribution addresses food surplus generation and recovery for social purposes, by adopting a system approach. The connections among variables and the critical mechanisms within the food system can be described through system archetypes. The “shifting the burden” archetype provides insights into the tensions between the call for food waste reduction and the requirements expressed by third sector organizations dealing with food poverty. The observation of dynamic interactions provide direction for action, to be held by policy makers and other system actors.

INTRODUCTION

The contradiction between food poverty affecting a large section of the global population and the everyday wastage of food has become a relevant topic in both academic and public debates. At the EU level, there is a pressing need to prevent and reduce food waste, in view of improving resource efficiency: all actors in the food chain have a role to play, from those who produce and process foods (farmers, food manufacturers and processors) to those who make foods available for consumption (hospitality sector, retailers) and ultimately consumers themselves. The emergence of Last Minute Markets initiatives and political action, that led to the approval of the Italian law for food waste recovery in 2016, are both in line with the struggle to reduce waste.

Food donation is considered by many as a win-win solution for food poverty mitigation and food waste reduction across Europe, as indicated by the 265 food banks from 23 member countries, distributing food to 5.7 million people spread over Europe (European Economic and Social Committee, 2014). Food assistance can be interpreted as a system itself, consisting of a network of companies and organisations that provide for the supply, storage, processing and distribution in safety conditions of food surpluses through various channels. The system relies on resources of public and private origin and represents a gateway to social services (and vice versa), in a continuous among public, private and third sector actors. The literature provides a contested portrait of food assistance, on one side interpreted as an “extension of the welfare state” (Livingstone, 2015), while others criticize it as a “failure of the state” (Tarasuk et al. 2014). The dilemma between meeting emergency food needs and investing in long term solutions to address the root causes of (food) poverty challenges food assistance actors to engaging with more innovative practices, and rethinking their role in a dynamic

context of change (Elmes, 2016). The food assistance system is vulnerable to several emerging challenges, such as increased demand for food aid, immigration flows, new vulnerable group’s needs, political change (i.e. the transition from PEAD to FEAD funding at the European levels). Other issues derive from instability of resources, and inadequate food surplus recovery processes.

There is a fundamental difference between “surplus food” and “waste food”, the latter being food discarded and lost, the former being defined as edible and “safe food that for several reasons, at any stage of supply chain, is not sold to or consumed by the intended customer” (Garrone 2014). It should be recalled that a share of surplus food occurring at different stages of the food chain, as a result of marketing strategies, product and packaging deterioration or errors in forecasting demand, is considered to be inevitable (BCFN 2012; Garrone et al. 2014).

METHODOLOGY

This paper builds upon a case study developed within Tuscany Region (Italy, years 2015 and 2016), during which in-depth interviews to third sector actors, charities, food system stakeholders and policy makers have been carried out, together with workshops and seminars (Arcuri et al. 2016). The aim was to understand the contribution of food assistance to food and nutrition security and vulnerabilities, by adopting a systemic perspective. Here, we make a reflection specifically focusing on the tension between food waste reduction and food surplus recovery for social purposes, based on the work previously done. By using system archetypes, we interpret the food recovery- food poverty nexus as a “shifting the burden” mechanism (Braun, 2002) with the aim of highlighting the unintended consequences deriving

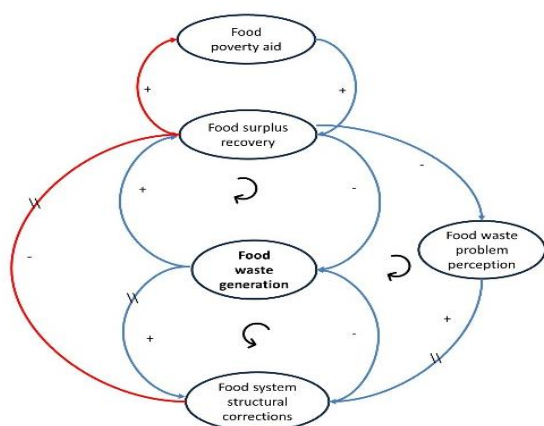
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from the emphasis on food waste reduction on one side and food poverty reduction on the other.

DISCUSSION

This archetype "shifting the burden" (Braun, 2002, p. 4) hypothesizes that once a symptomatic solution is used, in the short term, it alleviates the problem symptom and reduces pressure to implement a longer-term solution, a side effect that may undermine fundamental solutions.



In our case the archetype has at its centre the problem of food waste reduction, which is mitigated by food surplus recovery for social purposes. Surplus food is in turn transferred to third sector organizations, to alleviate food poverty. This mechanism of reduction of food surplus reinforces the perception that the problem of food waste is (partly) solved, thus reducing the pressure on food system stakeholders to search for and apply other structural corrections to reduce the root causes of waste. The red arrows indicate what happens if other "corrections" are put into place. For example, as observed in a case study in Tuscany (Italy) a retailer, who used to deliver fresh food surpluses to charities, changed its internal policy and started to sell half price the fresh food that was about to expire. This led to a reduction in resources available to the charities (which was compensated by a monetary donation, as a onetime fix). This simple example reveals a tension between the two different but apparently aligned aims. Food aid actors are then encouraged to look for other sources of support (e.g. ad hoc projects, fundraising, etc..) and to diversify their supply to reduce dependency on specific food system actors.

FINAL REMARKS

The need to tackle the problem of waste within the food system has increased the emphasis on surplus recovery for social purposes. However, this way of framing the issue as a win-win solution may lead to overlooking unexpected consequences, related to the tensions between food surplus recovery for food aid and food waste reduction for other purposes (i.e. market), as described by the mechanisms of the system archetype "shifting the burden" and illustrated by the example from Tuscany. Policy makers are encouraged to consider these mechanisms in addressing the food poverty issue, especially to avoid excessive reliance of third sector which may undermine their precious role.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Access to land and urban food values: towards a urban food centrality with care for land, jobs and social relations

S. Grando, L. Colombo

Abstract – The paper describes the characters of the recent mobilisation for access to land in the metropolitan area of Rome, focusing on the values underpinning the mobilisation, and feeding the ongoing activities of new and would-be farmers. Regarded as seeds of a more radical socio-political transition, urban space recovery, revitalisation of social relations and local food provision come together, with synergic potential, as key ambitions.

INTRODUCTION

Rome is characterised by the coexistence of built and green areas, where various forms of peri-urban agriculture take place. Despite the urban sprawl, large portions of non-farmed land suitable for agriculture are still available, most of them held in public hands. This creates opportunities for the utilisation of such spaces, partially abandoned or used for illegal waste disposal, offering job opportunities to young unemployed people. With regard to food consumption patterns, even in the context of a modern metropolitan area, Rome is rich of local street markets and corner shops, keeping relevance in terms of market share and social life. More recently, alternative modes of food provisioning and short chains have multiplied, revitalising urban-rural networks (Fonte 2013).

In the last years grassroots initiatives developed in Rome, aimed at pushing local authorities (Municipality, Province, Region) towards the distribution of public land to young farmers. The CRAT (Roman network for access to land), promoted by a group of young would-be farmers, gathered various organizations and activists, engaging them in various public initiatives and lobbying efforts. A first result was achieved in 2014, with the publication of two tenders assigning 10 farmland units to young (would-be) farmers.

The paper explores the ethical values underpinning the mobilisation, in the aim to identify:

- the values used to raise attention by policy-makers, media and the wider public;
- the values activists want to rely upon to attract future consumers;
- the possible twists and mimicry between ethical and political tensions in the mobilisation.

In a broader perspective, the aim is also to understand which future for urban farming the various actors envisage, and if these visions converge or diverge.

METHODS

The research has been conducted with a case-study methodology enriched by a scenario workshop.

First, we scrutinised policy documents, media articles and scientific literature related to land access and urban farming, with focus on the Roman area.

Second, the mobilization for land access and its achievements have been explored through media articles and other pertinent sources, integrated by exploratory interviews with activists and experts.

Then, a scenario workshop has been organised with various actors, experts and stakeholders, who have been engaged in a process of joint reflection on current challenges and foreseeable futures for land access and urban agriculture in Rome.

Finally, outcomes have been elaborated and tested through some additional interviews in which previous steps outcomes have been discussed.

RESULTS

The mobilisation was kicked-off by some highly committed would-be farmers, who were able to engage other actors (existing farms, no-profit organizations, individual experts and stakeholders) in a range of public initiatives: from flash mobs to meetings with local authorities. The values underpinning the initiative were clearly stated in a document (the *Vertenza*, literally "dispute"), which became the flagship document of the mobilisation.

The research, focused on land access effects on food security, highlighted the ethical values expressed in the *Vertenza* and more generally by the mobilisation.

The key element promoted during the initiatives was the opportunity to recover abandoned land in an era of public budget cuts, with valorisation of peripheries and outskirts otherwise at risk of abandonment and deterioration. The establishment of new small-scale multifunctional farms is presented by activists as a way to safeguard landscapes, historical



environments and ecosystems which characterise the periurban areas of Rome

This valorisation is not only seen in terms of physical refurbishing, but also in terms of social capital increase. The presence of small farms scattered throughout the territory and the more direct and structured producers-consumers relations these farms aim to establish are seen as elements of a vibrant social fabric and levers of trust building.

At the same time, granting land access to young farmers offers job opportunities for unemployed people in a time of long-standing occupational crisis. This aim is reinforced by the solidarity among youngsters and farmers and between the two groups, witnessed by their participation to CRAT network and initiatives.

In this perspective, the provision of affordable and nutritious local food is certainly present as an ethical message, but it does not emerge as the most crucial value, at least in the mobilisation phase, despite current rhetoric on 0-km food. The *Vertenza* devoted limited emphasis to this topic (the full name itself of the document is "Dispute for the safeguard of Roman countryside"), which is considered a prominent value when associated to the farms' activities once the businesses is established. In this perspective, food localness is certainly a key value to be communicated to potential customers.

If we enlarge the focus on broader social and political views expressed by the mobilisation, the presence of another key endeavour must be noticed. The activists regard their initiatives as elements of a wider struggle for the promotion of a transition towards an integrated decentralised food system at urban level with valorisation of small-scale players. This vision is shared by experts and stakeholders external to the mobilisation, as observed during the scenario workshop activities. An image was proposed by a participant, eventually discussed and endorsed by the others: the vision of the new farms (together with some of the existing ones) as bunkers or outposts of a different vision of both citizenship and food-territory relationship, based on small scale initiatives, proximity and sustainability. The bunker metaphor indicates the contrast of these initiatives with a hostile context characterised by de-territorialised mainstream market forces on one side and social fabric degradation on the other.

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The need for an urban planning of food-related activities, in connection to the more classic land planning tools, is widely investigated, triggered by an increasing social interest in these issues (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 1999; Sonnino 2009).

Our research highlighted the values underpinning the access to land mobilisation, as expressed by the activists. The work revealed a commitment to a coherent set of values, and the capacity to communicate them, expressed by reflexive activists fully aware of the importance of a clear communication. The convergence of urban activists and farmers probably ensured both credibility and outreach to the mobilisation, merging values and goals of heterogeneous origin and nature.

At the same time, different visions emerge among activists with regard to the link between small-scale urban farming and the overall development of a sustainable and inclusive urban food system. According to some, mobilisations should be part of a radical political transformation, not excluding a conflictual relation with mainstream actors and local authorities. According to others, these can be a long-term indirect perspectives, but focus should remain on the day-to-day challenges, which are seen as innovative, and to a certain extent transformative, by themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Cultural turn in school meals: Reassembling food and nutritional security of schoolgoers

M. Grivins, T. Tisenkopfs, T. Silvasti, V. Tikka

Abstract – The paper analyses two cases of school meal provisioning in Latvia and Finland and explores how policy interventions intersect with value negotiations around food and nutrition security (FNS) of children. The paper offers a theoretical frame which illuminates three main directions of policies dealing with publicly subsidised school meals (public procurement, food quality and entitlement to food) and looks how these policies interact with value discussions among various stakeholders (farmers, municipalities, regulatory institutions, school caterers, parent associations, nutritionists and children themselves). The findings show that the failure to recognise the complexity of issues and inability to agree on common values and practices can reduce the efficiency of well-intended policies and investments.

INTRODUCTION

Young generation is an important agent towards food systems sustainability and improved food and nutrition security (FNS). Increasing body of literature on school meals and sustainable development conflates in several streams reflecting societal concerns and research ideas: political and institutional arrangements and governance of school meal provisioning; public procurement, standardisation and regulative procedures; relevance for local economy and farming community; markets for local and organic products; nutritional value of meals; social justice and integration; more recently – waste and circular economy issues. It is evident that no “one size fits it all” solutions are feasible to ensure improvement of nutrition of schoolgoers. Solutions have to be context sensitive and targeted towards specific sustainability objectives and respect the interests and values of actors involved. Organisation of school meal provisioning increasingly requires multi-actor involvement and collaboration to facilitate change. Two processes are inherent for this: (1) reframing and reassembling the interfaces between policies involved, such as public procurement, health, agricultural, local development, welfare, food safety, educational policies, and (2) appreciating and possibly aligning around certain food values represented by the stakeholders individually or collectively. The latter process of food values negotiation and organisation of meal delivery according to these values we interpret as a cultural turn in school meals. This process of cultural reframing should ideally coincide with political intervention.

METHODOLOGY

A range of methods of data collection and analysis have been used in two cases. In the first step media articles related to FNS as well as research publications and policy documents were analysed and multiple sources of secondary data were accessed – data from national statistical bureaus, information of governing

organisations (such as Ministry of Education and Ministry of Agriculture) and data collected by controlling bodies (such as national departments of food quality and monitoring of public procurement).

The Finnish case relies significantly more on the use of secondary data. For the Latvian case study 24 in-depth interviews were conducted. In Latvia an important part of the research was two scenario workshops whose participants further elaborated on the initial findings of the case study and discussed the future of the school catering. The research was carried out to address all key aspects of practice and to incorporate opinions of all major stakeholder groups.

RESULTS

To analyse results the paper uses a model (Figure 1) integrating FNS dimensions with the main fields of policy intervention identified in literature and during the case studies. Figure 1 represents both the political discussions as well as the practical issues emerging in stakeholder discussions and interaction. Each of the corners of triangle embraces certain policy claims, intervention points, interests and value based arguments and there are conflicts arising among the three corners of the triangle.

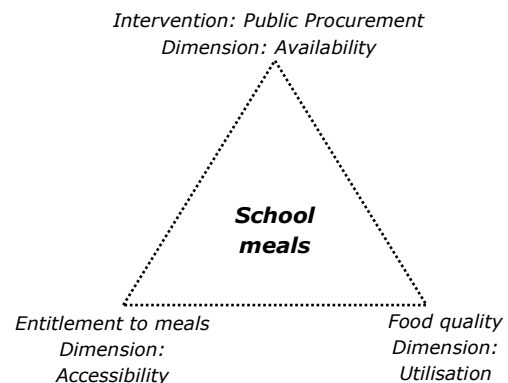


Figure 1. FNS dimensions and common intervention fields



Public procurement

Public procurement (PP) is seen as a central tool that can help to make a difference in improving the quality of food available in schools, to support local actors, to improve sustainability performance of the served meals. During the last PP has been identified as one of the central instruments that governing actors have access to in order to promote their goals and to change the behaviour of market actors. As an instrument for change, procurement has attracted the interest of all stakeholders in public meals system.

In the recent years the European Union has introduced regulations to facilitate green PP (GPP). For GPP to be successful it has to incorporate decentralization. In Finland and Latvia municipalities can choose different principles for defining and selecting the 'green'. However, local level actors might have different goals when or simply lack competence to make the necessary arrangements needed for practical implementation of GPP.

Entitlement to meals

Free meals in Latvia and Finland are seen as a pathway to equity, welfare and improved nutritional security and health of children. The Latvian government has set that all pupils from grade 1 to grade 4 and all pupils who's family qualifies to receive welfare support receive subsidized meals (1.42 Euro for standard lunch). Meanwhile the catering process is organized by municipalities which may decide to offer free meals to a wider group of pupils. This has exposed regional differences and economic inequalities among municipalities to ensure children access to free meals. Both in Finland and Latvia the actual consumption of school meals is influenced by children food habits and preferences which very much depend on media, advertising and food education at schools and in families. The Finnish case illustrates how children, cooks and municipalities can be involved in initiatives dealing with waste from school meals.

Food quality

Nutritional quality of school meals is another key intervention point in both countries. The Ministry of

Health in Latvia aims to ensure that in publicly funded canteens people receive nutritious and qualitative meals. Improved quality of school meals is seen by academics, nutritionists, parent organisations, public health authorities as a pathway to a healthier society as the presence of unhealthy eating habits is rising. The cases demonstrate that even with egalitarian approach to school meals and enforcement of standards for healthy meals, some groups of children are more exposed to the threats of unhealthy nutrition than other as an effect of social inequality of the society which is more salient in Latvia. Introduction of GPP and centralised school catering in Latvia has improved the quality of school meals, according to experts.

DISCUSSION

Comparison of two cases suggests that school meals are a rather conflicting policy arena where diversity of interests and values intersect. GPP is a powerful tool to make broader changes towards improved FNS yet this instrument may fail due to stakeholders conflicting visions. The efficiency of national level policies might be limited by the priorities and financial and human capacity deficit at municipal level. Coherent interactions among stakeholders are difficult or come as learning as stakeholders tend to stick to their own visions (e.g. farmers promote local products, nutritionists stand for healthy diets, environmentalists focus on food waste, etc.). In the meantime cases demonstrate that there are initiatives undertaken by stakeholders on a more grounded and informal level such as improved management of food waste in schools in Finland or reintroduction of school gardens in Latvia which have a significant potential to improve the school meals system. Finally, the policies discussing school meals often forget to include in the process the subject they are working for – the children and youth.

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Ethics in agri-food governance: responsibility, transparency and unintended consequences

D. Maye, J. Kirwan, G. Brunori¹²¹

This paper argues that ethics needs to be built more explicitly into food chain sustainability assessments. This is no easy task because of the tendency to frame ethics in simplistic ways using dichotomies that delineate between global (bad) and local (good), fast (bad) and slow (good), etc. In reality, discourses, knowledges, representations and norms of food chain performance are highly contested. This demands an approach to food chain governance that works with, rather than against, complexity and methodologies that legitimise and give voice to multiple stakeholder perspectives in order to develop shared understandings of ethics in relation to food chain sustainability (Brunori et al., 2016; Kirwan et al., 2017a). As Pereira and Ruysenaar (2012, p. 51) put it, “any ‘ethical’ systemic intervention... need[s] to involve as many perspectives as possible in order to be legitimate”.

We argue that one way to do this is through the identification of ‘ethical attributes’. Attributes are characteristics associated with the performance of particular food chains that are reflected in common discourses and can be assessed (Kirwan et al., 2017b). There are two ways that we can think about ethical attributes in this regard (Kirwan et al., 2017a): first, ‘*problematised*’ attributes, which signify commonly identified ethical dilemmas routinely discussed yet open to debate and subject to refinement and change; and second, ‘*procedural*’ attributes, which describe actions that encourage actors in the food chain to organise and structure themselves so as to more explicitly embody ethical considerations in their activities. Procedural attributes are particularly important from a governance perspective as mechanisms that can ‘action ethics’, with responsibility a key part of this. Building on two recent papers we have had published, the rest of the paper considers more explicitly what we mean by responsibility in this context and how it can link to transparency, and more broadly to the notion of ‘unintended consequences’ as articulated through Chandler’s (2013) conceptualisation of ‘resilience ethics’. In this respect, there may not be obvious transparency, yet this does not negate the significance of taking / encouraging responsibility (Young, 2003). This in turn raises important wider

questions about strategies of responsabilisation, governance and governmentality.

CONCEPTUALISATION AND METHODS

We start this section with a review of how responsibility is conceptualised in sustainability research and policy, drawing on Evans et al.’s (2017) recent analysis of sustainable consumption and food waste. This work – and earlier work by Barnett et al., (2011) – usefully highlights the way intermediaries use mechanisms (food waste reduction projects, fair trade labels, etc.) to ‘responsibilise’ the consumer. This work shows, for instance, evidence for the responsabilisation of the consumer and, more recently, a *distributed responsibility*, shifting the politics of blame away from the consumer, with the responsibilities of other actors, especially supermarkets, more evident in relation to food waste. Another important aspect of responsibility is the firm-level application of responsibility practices and the corporate social responsibility (CSR) behaviour of food companies. Transparency is crucial in this context. For example, Dubbink et al. (2008) examine how transparency policy should be organised and strategies used. They argue that *informational intermediate organisations* are vital.

In the paper, we use these recent studies of responsibility (one consumer focused, one firm-level focused) to review how responsibility is framed using findings from a recently completed EC-funded project (GLAMUR - *Global and local food chain assessment: a multidimensional performance-based approach*), which examined actors’ perceptions of food chain performance in 12 different countries and across four spheres of debate (public, market, scientific and policy). The wider analysis of these discourses is reported elsewhere (Kirwan et al 2017a/b; Brunori et al., 2016).

RESULTS

In general terms, the GLAMUR data suggest there is evidence of the presence of ethical debates and questions in national discourses, especially in the public sphere about, for example, fairer prices, animal welfare rights, labour relations, global food security, and protecting local heritage and traditions. These

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examples are illustrative of 'ethical dilemmas' and a key feature that characterises them is their presence in the public sphere as a common good that is the object of discussion and debate. The identification of key issues that raise ethical dilemmas (such as animal welfare or labour conditions) is a common approach in work of this nature and it helps to enable assessment of the ethical responsibility of actors; however, we argue that procedural ethics are more important as drivers of change when assessing food chain performance. Examples identified include the transparency of information flows, the acknowledgement and organisation of responsibility, and governance patterns that can help develop new practices, norms, frames and policies. The outcome of which is a more pragmatic and dynamic ethics.

We argue that strategies of responsabilization can be delineated in two main ways (Kirwan et al., 2017a). Firstly, at a firm-level in terms of: a) the presence of a firm's procedures to account for specific attributes; and b) the range of attributes for which firms are accountable. In this sense it is about ensuring that food chains maintain standards of responsible business conduct (see OECD-FAO 2016).

Secondly, it extends to consumers and policy stakeholders. At a policy level, the neoliberalisation of

'responsibility' through cost and responsibility sharing, evident in the way livestock diseases are governed (Maye et al., 2014), is one obvious expression. From a consumer perspective, debates about 'sustainable diet' and moral questions related to 'choice editing', 'nudging' and the role of retailers in influencing consumer choice through the wider retail environment, raise important questions about sustainable consumption governance and the responsibility of retailers to positively influence behavior in relation to sustainability.

DISCUSSION

This paper addresses the potential role of procedural ethics (via mechanisms, intermediaries, etc) as a means to create more sustainable food production and consumption. To what extent do they offer the potential to make consumers and food companies more aware of the unintended consequences of practices / behavior, or do we need to be more critical of their governmental intention and what they eventually deliver? This in turn has implications in terms of how we assess pragmatic actions as procedural ethics in relation to wider questions about the neoliberalisation of responsibility and the responsabilisation of neoliberalism.



Establishing ethical organic poultry production: a question of successful cooperation management?

M. Schäfer, B. Nölting¹²²

Abstract – The paper presents findings of an empirical analysis of the potentials and challenges of cooperation in ethical organic poultry production. The analysis is organised according to a cooperation management tool that was developed in the ginkoo-project. Its central categories are the goals of the cooperation, the actors involved, the distribution of costs and benefits as well as operational cooperation and knowledge management. Analysing the existing cooperation with the developed tool reveals possibilities for improving cooperation management but also clarifies the limits in an environment which is dominated by the paradigm of specialisation, economies of scale and cost reduction.

INTRODUCTION

Brunori et al. (2008) argue that the pace and intensity of transitions in agriculture and rural areas indicate a 'second order change', which is challenging widely shared assumptions by reframing agricultural and rural relations. Dealing with this type of change requires 'second order' or 'radical' innovations which often are the outcome of collaborative networks (Knickel et al., 2009).

Based on these findings we assume that innovation in sustainable food production often depends on cooperation along and beyond value added chains. On the one hand, cooperation ensures a multi-dimensional sustainability approach, on the other hand it may help to finance and to compensate for extra efforts of generating sustainability benefits (often public goods) which allows to establish innovations on the market or in society.

The authors developed an analytical framework for cooperation management with the following main categories: cooperation goals, the actors involved, the distribution of costs and benefits as well as operational aspects of knowledge and cooperation management (Nölting & Schäfer, 2016). The tool will be improved iteratively by testing it in practice.

This paper analyses cooperation in one case study of sustainable agriculture and food production. The case study is dealing with ethical organic poultry production based on a dual purpose breed that allows for an integrated egg and meat production by small multifunctional farms in the Berlin-Brandenburg region.

METHODS

The analysis is mainly based on nine qualitative interviews with actors along the value added chain

(farmers, responsible persons at the organic farmers' and marketing association, wholesale trader, director of an organic supermarket chain). Since ginkoo is a transdisciplinary project, there is a continuous exchange with the coordinators of the organic poultry project (based at the organic marketing and agriculture association) and participative observation is possible. The analysis was discussed with the coordinators of the project, adding feedback and further information.

RESULTS

The project of a dual-purpose breed was initiated as an innovation in organic poultry production in 2011. The 'normal' form of chicken husbandry, including the killing of male chicks in egg production, was increasingly taken up critically by the media, damaging especially the image of organic animal husbandry, which is supposed to serve animal welfare. The project was initiated by organic farmers, an organic agriculture and market association, and a regional wholesale trader. By now it includes seven farmers and produces around half a million eggs, 3000 hens and 3000 broilers per year – a low number even in organic chicken husbandry. The breed "Les Bleues" is known for its good meat quality.

Cooperation goal: Core cooperation partners have a high intrinsic motivation to establish ethical poultry production and aim for being pioneers in this field. The partners have chosen a holistic approach based on dual-purpose breed and keeping poultry mainly in mobile stables preventing environmental damage for the soil. They also aim for keeping the value chain as regional as possible in small mixed farms. So far no written agreement exists about the cooperation goals and responsibilities of the involved partners.

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Actors: The core partners of the cooperation are the farmers, the organic agriculture and marketing association and the regional wholesale trader. The products are marketed to small organic stores and organic supermarkets. So far, marketing partners who have direct access to the consumers are not involved closely in the cooperation resulting in only sporadic consumer communication. Therefore, their products compete with 'normal' organic eggs and meat on the shelves. Prices for the organic stores are determined by the wholesale trader, based on estimates 'what the consumers are willing to pay', but not on surveys or tests. While it is possible to reach a premium price for the eggs, marketing of the very expensive meat remains a challenge.

Distribution of costs and benefits: So far, the project is not able to cover its full costs, because the output of eggs and meat is significantly below specialised conventional and organic poultry production that is based on specific breeds for egg or meat production only and economies of scale. The alternative production is still subject to optimisation along the value added chain, resulting in comparatively high prices. So far there is no meat processing; hens and chicken are sold as entire animals (fresh and frozen). Marketing the meat is unprofitable.

The deficits are covered by the organic marketing association and the regional wholesale trader. The farmers only have minor monetary benefits. However, since cultivation of this poultry breed still is in an experimental phase, production costs are not very transparent yet. Some of the small farmers are not accustomed to calculate production costs in detail, which makes it difficult to identify the 'real' costs. Besides monetary benefits image is an important point. By now, the initiative is quite well known due to media reports resulting in a better image of the marketing association, the wholesale trader and the organic shops and supermarkets.

Cooperation and knowledge management is taking place at a rather low level. Strategic planning is lacking and the core team does not have regular meetings. Since there is no written agreement, it is not always clear who is responsible e.g. for communicating with the organic stores or consumers. The coordination with the farmers sometimes fails to align data for slaughtering and the number of chicken to be marketed.

DISCUSSION

The project successfully generates sustainability qualities in ethical chicken husbandry. These pioneers produce organically with a dual purpose breed in small scale mixed farms. This comes close to idealistic conceptions of consumers what animal husbandry should be like. However, the marketing of the products is not profitable so far. The analysis of the cooperation sheds light on some of the problems and challenges. A written agreement and a definition of *goals* of the project are lacking which hampers coordination management. *Actors* are highly committed but store managers and consumers are not yet involved in the cooperation. Therefore, sustainability qualities of the products cannot be explained adequately to them, they do not accept high prices and irregular provision of fresh meat. The biggest challenge is the *distribution of costs and benefits*. Optimisation along the value added chain may reduce costs but the project can only be established at the market if consumers are willing to pay premium prices - or alternative forms of financing can be established. Models of personal sponsorship could involve consumers as 'prosumers'. *Cooperation management* can be improved through strategic planning, regular meetings and communication.

Altogether, the analysis shows room for improvement of the cooperation. At the same time it reveals the underlying tension between the logic of a sustainable project and market structures that tend to externalise costs. Cooperation reaches its limits when the logic of the market is dominant and new practices cannot be established. Therefore, diffusion of the innovation on a greater scale does not seem realistic without altered framework conditions

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Faith based organizations and charitable food assistance in the context of food system in Finland

T. Silvasti, A. S. Salonen

Abstract –Food charity is a social innovation that aims to bring together and thereby solve the problems of overproduction of food in the prevalent food system and the problems of people that do not have enough food. Food charity is promoted throughout Europe as a solution to both food insecurity and food waste, as it utilizes excess from food system and turns it into means of last resort assistance. As a country that is generally considered as an affluent Nordic welfare state, Finland provides an interesting case to study charitable responses to hunger and waste.

INTRODUCTION

In Finland, food assistance first appeared as a temporary emergency assistance during a deep recession in the early 1990s, and it was by and large discussed in a framework of poverty. Recently, as the need for and supply of charity food has persisted, the idea of fighting food waste produced in the food system has gained ground in public discussions alongside poverty.

In Finland, the Evangelical Lutheran Church has taken an active role in advocating on behalf of the poor. It has been one of the leading agents in the hands-on assistance work. Food charity can be considered as a win-win-win-solution that combines the fight against poverty and the fight against waste in a way that enables the Church to practice both their ecological and social gospel at once.

This paper problematizes this perception by discussing the puzzles behind the seemingly propitious arrangement. We argue that food charity is an indication, rather than an effective solution to the problems of persisting poverty and food waste. As food charity providers, faith-based organizations (FBO's) become actors in *charity economy* that actually relies on persistent poverty and constant flow of excess produced in food systems. Thus, FBO's participate in institutionalization and entrenchment of such secondary market for non-consumers that in fact rests upon what the food charity system proclaims to fight against.

Charity economy means an alternative distribution system where excessive elementary goods are donated to the people in need. The distribution system is based on donations. The basic idea is that unwanted consumer goods, which might be interpreted as waste, are redistributed from consumers to non-consumers. In this process, necessities that are already used or cannot be sold, are collected from private actors and, then, delivered by voluntary or low-paid workers to the recipients.

Reducing food waste is necessary on grounds of environmental reasons but also ethically, and the

same applies of course to reducing hunger (Kortetmäki & Silvasti 2017).

However, the substantial question here is whether charitable food assistance can be accepted as a means to reduce waste and poverty. Such a linkage might be supported by prevailing neo-liberal economic thinking, but what kind of human or social message is signaled by such (eco)social policy, and to what degree does it align with the social and ecological values and pursuits of the FBO's?

METHODOLOGY

The paper is based on desktop work informed by participatory observation in FBO's conducted by A. S. Salonen (2016). The aim is to apply an emerging concept of charity economy to the academic discussion of charitable food assistance delivered by the FBO's in the context of First World hunger.

RESULTS

Food assistance as a part of the solution:

- Food charity as a part of solution to the problem of poverty and hunger.
- Food charity seems to provide a way to tackle the problem of food waste.
- Through the aims of fighting poverty and waste, food charity allows FBO's to practice their social gospel and maintain their image as socially and ecologically responsible public actors.

Food assistance as a part of the problem:

- FBO's as actors in charity economy
- FBO's as players in the last resort end of the chain of social protection, although informally and without being assigned an official role or responsibilities.
- FBO's as layers in the disposal end of the food markets and participate in the redistribution of the assets of the food system.



REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Hunger still persists as one of the gravest manifestations of absolute poverty in contemporary European societies. With food aid, this problem has been framed as an issue that ought to be fought against via charitable solutions and hands-on food donations, and churches and other FBO's have been mobilized into this action. In this article we have sought to disclose some of the pressing critical arguments that challenge food aid as a win-win-win – solution to social and ecological problems. Food aid is a sign rather than solution to hunger, and it indicates but does not overcome the problems of poverty or waste.

Instead, we argue that food charity illustrates the emergence of charity economy. Food charity conveys some of the key features of charity economy, namely, that the charitable system we witness today operates on the facts that there is a group of constantly poor people in need of charity and a constant flow of surplus food that is not consumed through primary food markets.

The persisting need for material assistance and the continuing flow of excess that materializes in food aid provides a site where theological claims concerning ecological sustainability and social justice are intertwined, yet not explicitly connected. Instead, as food charity providers, faith-based organizations become actors in charity economy that actually relies on persistent poverty and constant flow of excess.

Thus, FBO's participate in institutionalization and entrenchment of such secondary market for non-consumers that rests upon what the food charity system proclaims to fight against. This aligns with a critical remark that religious organizations and communities have had a tendency to address economic disparity with charity instead of confronting structural causes of inequality (Cox, 2003:25). Institutionalized practices and structures that instill the excess-based poor relief as the suitable way for churches to practice their social calling makes it ever more difficult to address the root causes of poverty and waste.

Further, food charity is a site where environmental policy overlaps with social and poverty policies, often without careful reasoning about fundamental questions of social justice and equality. However, the

prevailing food system is socially, morally and environmentally questionable. It produces huge amounts of edible food which is not purchased and consumed and, which is hence regarded as 'waste'. Consequently, environmental impacts are huge and food security is not fully guaranteed even in the richest countries of the world (Riches and Silvasti, 2014). Nevertheless, food security should be the main outcome and the principal policy objective of the functioning food system (Ericksen et al., 2010). In the food charity context the assertion of 'waste' as a solution to 'hunger' is seldom challenged.

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**Working Group 28. Finance, institutions and
the governance of European agriculture -
Implications for sustainable farming practices
and food security**



Legitimation by innovation: a critical analysis of premises and assumptions of the CAP 2014-2020

M. Dudek¹²³

Abstract – The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EU can be interpreted as a result of conflict and cooperation of various actors such as EU institutions, Member States, political parties, associations, farmers and businesses. This paper aims to analyse and assess critically the main premises and assumptions of this policy in relation to innovation. The study shows that in its current form the CAP 2014-2020 strongly emphasises *innovationism*, i.e. a type of discourse offering ways to manage and respond to the economic and social challenges, changes or problems, often regarded as unprecedented. Moreover, the *innovationism* motive in the CAP is interpreted here from the perspective of political economy as a way of reaching a compromise between various interest groups in favour of different level of financing this policy. In the paper the method of critical discourse analysis was used. The material underpinning the analysis is drawn from EU official documents.

INTRODUCTION

The CAP is one of the most important policies of the EU. Its final shape is thus a result not only of historically established solutions, but also of various, often different interests, expressed by Member States, EU bodies, trade unions, international NGOs and third countries. On the one hand, postulates of budget cuts and liberalisation of the CAP are formulated by the EU's trading partners and Member States which are net contributors. At the same time, it is raised to maintain the importance of agricultural interventionism and production growth, as advocated by agricultural producer organisations or by countries with economies where the agricultural sector plays an important role.

Policy postulates are clearly presented during debates on CAP reforms which go hand in hand with designing multiannual financial plans within the EU. Interests represented by parties to CAP budget negotiations take the form of arguments which can be treated as specific discourses. Studies revealed that the main discourses used in the past debates were: agricultural productivism, multifunctional agriculture and neoliberalism (Erjavec and Erjavec, 2015). The CAP for 2014-2020 was designed in a response to the critique of certain instruments of this policy, as well as the last economic and food crises. Importantly, the discussions on policy reform were held in the context of implementation of a key EU strategy, i.e. Europe 2020, which was launched to create conditions for smart (based on knowledge and innovations) growth.

The aim of the research was to determine the importance and function of the *innovationism* discourse for the shape of the CAP 2014-2020¹²⁴.

DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

The study was based on the official documents of EU institutions (strategies and speeches of Commissioners responsible for Agriculture and Rural Development from 2010-2016). The method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used in the paper. This method is useful for identifying different ideologies in political texts and for diagnosing how the presence of certain terms or arguments legitimises political decisions (Fairclough 2013). The argument presented here referred to the term *innovationism*¹²⁵ (Valaskivi, 2014).

RESULTS

A very important role in strategic and legal documents shaping the CAP 2014-2020 was assigned to innovation. The CAP was intended to concern innovation more than ever before which, according to policy makers, would result in exploiting the potential of and developing the EU agricultural sector (The CAP towards 2020; Regulation No 1305/2011).

In the analysed documents and speeches innovation was perceived as a chance to achieve the EU strategic objectives (Ciolos, 2010). At the same time, innovation addressed diagnosed economic, environmental and social challenges. As a result, it

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¹²⁴ It was hypothesised that innovationism influenced the current shape of the CAP, as it allowed for justifying significant support for agricultural production and rural areas, and – at the same time – enabled CAP actors to reach a compromise.

¹²⁵ Innovationism is perceived as a manifestation of quasi-religious thinking where innovations appear to be one possible solution of all current socio-economic problems and challenges. The important terms of this discourse used by politicians, journalists, academics and experts are for example: growth, competitiveness or linear progress.



concerned three different areas of activity, but also brought together views on the CAP postulated by various groups of interests (Hogan, 2016).

It should be noted that analysed documents and speeches used the term innovation by and large. No definitions were provided. There was also a general lack of detailed information on how to generate, implement or promote innovation. This was striking in relation to the declared important role of innovation within the CAP. Nevertheless, the decision makers believed that the great challenges the EU is facing, and the set objectives and methods of achieving them, in particular innovations, required significant public funding (The CAP towards 2020, Hogan, 2016).

DISCUSSION

In CAP strategic documents and speeches of Commissioners, innovation was one of the key themes. Its special role in achieving the most important objectives and in adapting to unprecedented external challenges was declared. Such an approach fits in with a discourse proclaiming the advent of an innovation era, emphasising the importance of novelty and authenticity of innovation, i.e. *innovationism*. Regardless of its declared weight, the often-quoted term innovation was considered broadly as a somewhat undefined policy instrument. However, its function could be interpreted as hidden. Innovation was primarily a motive justifying decisions made during negotiations on the shape of the policy¹²⁶. Depending on their interests, Member States opted for maintaining the *status quo*, limiting and simplifying support or steering the CAP towards rural development, pro-environmental actions. It is believed that CAP amendments proposed by the Commission were minor and barely adequate for the overall development objectives set by the EU (Grochowska, 2017). In this context, *innovationism* was one of important argument supporting high agricultural funding from the EU budget, what was advocated by productivism and multifunctionality discourse. The reference to the *innovationism* discourse in the CAP 2014-2020 was due to the lack of a uniform vision of this policy, misalignment

between interests, but also the need for maintaining the *status quo* in this area (Bureau and Mahe, 2015). As a result, the final shape of the CAP was more about adapting it to expectations of most different decision-making actors than reflecting a real turn in agricultural policy towards innovation. This situation is evidenced by an analysis of specific CAP instruments and their budget¹²⁷. As a result, innovation has become a comfortable concept bringing together different visions of agricultural policy, enabling to maintain its significant role in the EU.

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¹²⁶ The discussion on the post-2013 CAP focused on food security, environmental challenges, and optimum and fair support for agricultural producers.

¹²⁷ For instance, the share of expenditures allocated to Knowledge transfer and innovation actions within RDP 2014-2020 in the EU countries amounted on average to 1.17% (Wieliczko, et al., 2015).



The XXVII
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Poland, Krakow
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National food self-sufficiency following EU accession: Finland and Sweden compared

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Abstract – During the Cold War era, the overarching goal for agricultural policy in both Finland and Sweden was to achieve national food self-sufficiency as a means to be prepared for war. To achieve this, agricultural production was protected by fixed guaranteed prices, import tolls and export subsidies. For Finnish as well as Swedish agriculture, deregulation and exposure to competition on the Single Market following EU accession in 1995 has resulted in an increased share of imported food, with a decreasing national self-sufficiency rate as a consequence. While Finnish politicians have taken measures to secure national production, self-sufficiency and advocating the EU's agricultural budget to achieve such targets, Swedish right-wing and Social Democrat governments alike have advocated budget cuts and pushing for deregulation in the EU's agricultural policy process ever since joining the union. In this paper we compare the policy development in Finland and Sweden in respect to food security as a geopolitical issue.

INTRODUCTION

Due to a tense security situation around the Baltic Sea, national food security, a policy arena that has largely been forgotten for decades (Candel, 2014) has resurfaced on the national agendas in northern Europe. In Sweden, the harsher security situation led up to a new Defence Act in 2015 with an increased budget for military spending as well as an instruction to resume civil defence planning, which includes food security, that has been inactive since the late 1990s. In Germany, Estonia and Norway similar measures are taken or discussed in news media. In Finland the discussions regarding whether or not to join NATO have been more active than in years and the discussions to move into more selective mandatory military service similar to what Sweden have had, have quieted down. At the same time the emphasis on national supply security has strengthened in several policy fields, including food.

In both Sweden and Finland, agricultural policy has historically been used as an instrument to fulfil a geopolitical goal of being nationally self-sufficient in food as part of preparations for times of crisis and war. Sweden and Finland are both militarily independent nations outside of NATO, however with several bilateral agreements and cooperation within the military sphere. In this paper, we focus on how food security policies are framed in Finland and Sweden since the Cold War. Our overarching aim is to contrast Finland's and Sweden's policies regarding food security and analyse why their respective policies have diverged since EU accession. We do this through analysing key policy documents produced since the Cold War period.

1990S: NEOLIBERALISM AND DEREGULATION

To favour national agricultural production at the expense of free trade has been labelled economic protectionism, a term that became synonymous with ineffective waste of taxpayers' money in agricultural policy debates during the 1980s. In Sweden, this debate was initiated by economists who argued that the costs for agricultural policy was so high that society as a whole would gain from deregulation of fixed prices, import tolls and export subsidies (Bolin *et al.* 1984, Hedlund & Lundahl 1985). The debate that followed led up to a decision to deregulate Swedish agriculture in 1990, following the example of New Zealand where deregulation was completed in the early 1980s.

The deregulation was to be carried out in several steps until 1996, with direct payments made to farmers for various compensation measures. At the time, Swedish policymakers foresaw that many countries would follow and that agricultural markets would become deregulated, which proved not to be the case. In Finland, the development in Sweden caused discussions and criticism about the expenses and inefficiency of the food system but it did not lead to any substantial policy changes until the EU membership.

EU ACCESSION AND NATIONAL FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Finland and Sweden joined the European Union (EU) simultaneously in 1995. Along with EU accession followed replacing national agricultural policies with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). For Sweden, this meant that agriculture was re-regulated after a brief period of deregulation. For both countries, CAP accession has effectively brought increased international competition in food products on the

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Single Market as well as through the EU's trade agreements with WTO.

The national production levels have dropped and prices of foodstuff decreased dramatically, especially in Finland where the average price drop for farmers was 45 % (Laurila 2004, 351;364). Finland has pushed a proactive policy agenda arguing that the CAP can and should be used to upkeep national food security (Rannikko 2000). One example is how Finland initiated an EESC statement in 2010 as an input to the CAP 2014-2020 negotiations on the "Security of Supply in agriculture and in the food sector in the European Union". The goals for self-sufficiency in Finland is set by the Minister of Agriculture. Finland is to be self-sufficient in food, and storages of grain, seeds and other inputs are kept to upkeep this ability. Sweden abandoned similar policies in the late 1990s and bureaucrats high in the hierarchy claims that this is because it is impossible to maintain such policies while being a member of the EU.

In Finland, supply security in times of crisis is an important and rarely challenged policy field. This reflects general policy differences between Finland and Sweden. Sweden has been one of the most active supporters of free trade agreements and actively pushed to deregulate or terminate the CAP (Eriksson 2016).

However, the ongoing discussions on national security and the importance of security of supplies within various arenas including food has recently resulted in a new agenda in Sweden. In the national food strategy from 2017 increasing national food self-sufficiency is included as an explicit overarching goal, for the first time in over twenty-five years.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

While the reasons for the increased emphasis on national security and national defence are troubling as they result from perceived geopolitical uncertainties and risk of military conflict, the consequences of the re-establishment of the civil defence could also bring about positive change. The liberal representative democracy is currently under threat from populist movements that create pressure for replacing open societies with an essentialist idea of a united popular will, as has been described by Urbinati (2014). This coincides with a period in which

politicians are delegating more and more power to bureaucrats and instead focusing their attention on handling media coverage of various issues, Urbinati (2014) claims that the real power today lies with media experts and bureaucrats and concludes that the threat of totalitarian regimes replacing liberal democracies should be taken seriously.

In this regard, the re-establishing of civil defence in Sweden and strengthening of civil defence in Finland points to a different development that could be seen as a turning point for how citizens as well as politicians and bureaucrats relates to, and speak of, the state, democracy and the importance of public institutions and services.

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Socio-organisational strategies of farmers: comparison of milk and grain sectors in Latvia

M. Grivins, A. Adamsone-Fiskovica, T. Tisenkopfs¹²⁹

Abstract – The paper compares socio-organisational strategies and interpretations dominating two major agricultural sectors in Latvia – the dairy and grain sector. The paper argues that contradictory interpretations and interests among farmers can reduce the efficiency of well-functioning social structures (such cooperatives, farmers' organisations, agreements, etc.) that support the sector.

INTRODUCTION

Grain and milk are two of the most visible staple food items produced by farmers in Latvia. In 2015, these products together accounted for more than half of the total agricultural output. Both sectors claim to have a historical significance in the territory, they share a similar development history and currently - similar problems. Also, both sectors have chosen to pursue the intensification route and any operational alternatives are weak and marginalised. According to experts, both sectors face similar policy and social conditions (the aspects defining the characteristics of the socio-political environment the sectors operate within) influencing farmers' possibilities.

Still, despite these similarities, the two sectors demonstrate contrasting results in terms of their competitiveness in global markets. The importance of the grain sector has been growing and the sector has witnessed a rapid increase of productivity and the overall output during the last years. Meanwhile, productivity in the dairy sector is low and has shown only minor improvements in this regard over the last decade. Thus the sector has been losing its significance. Furthermore, although there are success stories even among dairy farmers, the overall dominating interpretation claims that the competitiveness of the sector is low.

This paper compares the two sectors to illuminate crucial interpretative differences transforming the meaning stakeholders attach to some of the key sectors' institutional and organisational structures. The transformations significantly change the role these institutions and organisations play and create new ways the sectors interact with the present socio-economic context and challenges.

METHODS

The paper is based on in-depth interviews, four focus group discussions (two with dairy farmers and two with grain farmers) and two stakeholders' workshops (one per sector). During these activities the following themes were covered: conditions influencing the

sectors, strategies (set of actions taken to achieve specific goals) used by farmers, and the resulting performance, as well as interpretations related to these conditions, strategies and performances.

This paper is an attempt to move beyond an analysis of causes (conditions) and consequences (strategies and performances) to discuss the logic guiding implementation and to explain the dominance of specific practices in the sector. It is suggested that the closeness of the two sectors has forced them to adapt similar professional language in describing and reflecting on their activities. Yet the underlying interpretations farmers' have explaining have developed differently.

As a methodological comment it should be noted that differences between the two sectors became evident during the fieldwork, especially during the discussions among the stakeholders (focus group discussions and workshops). Stakeholders representing the grain sector appeared to be open and freely engaged in the discussions willing to challenge their own views. Meanwhile, representatives of the dairy sector were less flexible in terms of engagement in the debate and were less willing to discuss new issues and novel solutions.

RESULTS

From a farming perspective, dairy farming and grain farming are very different endeavours. Clearly, these inherent differences partly account for the successes, failures and common solutions dominating the sectors. However, there are also common conditions, common history and other structural linkages connecting the sectors.

The two sectors are therefore strongly interlinked and there is dynamic information exchange among them. Partly this is because of the high number of stakeholders (including farmers, controlling actors, farmers' organisations, etc.) operating simultaneously in both sectors. Accordingly a superficial glance at the two sectors might reveal their similarity in terms of the processes they are going

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through. However, the deeper meaning of the same practices differs. Although in the public domain same recipe is offered as an optimal route to achieve success, the study illustrates that in reality even farmers operating in both sectors opt for different beliefs and consequently - strategies depending on the represented sector. For example, a farmer being a founding member of a grain cooperative might choose to remain unintegrated in farmers' groups in the dairy sector.

Farmers' experience

The two sectors feature rather different perceptions of what is a 'normal' development. Among the grain farmers this means trying to negotiate maximum income each year. Meanwhile, dairy farmers, although they are searching for the highest milk prices, often claim that the development of the dairy sector is cyclical, with periods of prosperity and periods of low prices. Thus prices are perceived as predetermined aspects of the sectoral development that cannot be solved by farmers through collective bargaining. These differences in interpretations predetermine ways how farmers are trying to solve the problems sector have faced.

Cooperation

Both sectors have declared that cooperation is the optimal route towards success. However, while the grain sector has functioning cooperatives which are among Latvia's biggest enterprises, dairy farmers have constantly been struggling to introduce a functional model of cooperation and the sector is saturated with small competing cooperatives. This is often presented as the key factor inhibiting sector's development. However, even despite the often overlooked fact that the role cooperatives play in one sector will differ from the role they fulfil in the other, the discussion misses an important question about trust in cooperation and understanding of the benefits brought by cooperatives. Furthermore, detachment and distrust is more apparent among smaller farmers that make a higher share in the dairy sector. The same distrust, yet to a lesser extent can be found among grain farmers as well.

Finally, in the dairy sector interpretation dominates that in order to be successful cooperative should be involved in processing.

Farmers' organisations

Most of the farmers' organisations in Latvia claim to represent both grain and dairy farmers. And in many ways these organisations certainly work with issues of relevance for both sectors. However, grain farmers are much more integrated and represented in leading roles in these organisations. Meanwhile, dairy farmers are represented indirectly and often through organisations whose true interest in farmers' wellbeing might be questioned (for example, through an organisation uniting private dairy processors). Consequently needs of the grain farmers are communicated more clearly while the interests of dairy sector often remain vague and unclear.

CONCLUSIONS

The paper suggests that similar institutional and organisational structures can behave differently depending on the dominating interpretations the stakeholders hold about the sector. Dairy farmers perceive challenges sector faces as a part of sector's natural development. Dairy farmers are suspicious of cooperation and in general are less involved in the farmers' organisations. On the other hand, grain farmers are more inclined to believe that they can change the way sector operates and are more open towards cooperation and farmers organisations. Authors are inclined to suggest that the differences observed in focus group discussions and workshops are another manifestation of the same embedded interpretative differences.

The overall interpretations dominating in the dairy sector legitimises reactive problem solving. Meanwhile, interpretations dominating in grain sector presuppose proactive involvement. The two perspectives facilitate two different ways how farmers approach resources available to them.

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Sustainable Farming and Food Security Issues in the Outermost Regions of the EU: The case of the Azores in Portugal

P. A. Hernández¹³⁰

Abstract – This paper explores current concerns on sustainable farming and food security in the Autonomous Region of the Azores (ARA), Portugal based on a ground-based study that identifies the challenges and conditions shaping ARA's food system (Hernández, 2016). Adopting the approach suggested by Historical Institutionalists, I investigate the specific interlinkages (re)producing such pressing issues in this EU outermost region (OR). At the end, I argue food policy frameworks must go beyond agriculture and promote a more holistic rural development if they intend to prioritize food security and nutrition, poverty eradication, equitable development and sustainable resource utilization in these regions.

THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE AZORES (ARA)

Following a convergence strategy with mainland Portugal and Europe, the contribution of resources from EU Community funds has prompted an economic growth boost in ARA since 1990. ARA is classified as a predominantly rural and underdeveloped OR region presenting a low population density centred on large-scale cattle farming for milk and meat production. Becoming a competitive food-producing region is imperative for the Azores to attain any bargaining capacity in a globalized food market. In line with the CAP post-2013 strategy, two essential aspects determine its success today: its food production capacity and the control over the means of production and the distribution channels.

A GROUND-BASED STUDY

Individual interviews and event participatory observations with key stakeholders (*ibid.*) provided with an array of cross-sectorial perspectives about the challenges of ARA's food system today. A discourse analysis of data is the substance of the discussion on sustainable food systems and food security concerns in ARA. Following the approach by Historical Institutionalists, I consider the kinds of relationships among people's beliefs (culture), historical conditions (environmental and political resources) and rules of behaviour effects (e.g. the Common Agricultural Policy in Europe (CAP); the European Convergence Policies) that define the sustainability matters embedded in ARA's food system today.

SUSTAINABILITY AND FOOD SECURITY ISSUES IN ARA

Sustainability concerns in ARA and its focus on the industrial farming model include the renewability of the primary food sector. The number of livestock per unit has increased, despite the number of small-scale producers has reduced, having an effect in the local food production in the region as a whole. Subsidies (i.e. 'the milk package') have privileged certain activities, while leading to the abandonment of others, generally traditional, and induced the shortage of local food supplies. Moreover, given the focus of agriculture under CAP, fishing lacks profitability and encompasses a small-scale artisanal activity heavily focused on tuna fishing for export, which accompany distress, income insecurity, social inequality, limited food diversity, and extinction of local cultures.

ARA's condition as an OR affects its progressive economic growth and social security: (i) ARA's topography, environmental conditions (including its innate soil, climate and geographical conditions, agricultural labour force, and demographics) limit the region's possibilities to meet the demands of the global food regime; (ii) the Azores is highly vulnerable to market forces (e.g. food price, food availability, and food production technologies), relying heavily in the purchase of foodstuffs and inputs from abroad to satisfy local needs and remain competitive; (iii) ARA lacks an efficient transportation system for goods leaving and entering the archipelago; (iv) ARA's export-oriented system requires the Region to develop strategies to increase its competitiveness against intensive players in the global market (Hernández 2016).

In structural terms, three, possibly conflicting,

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spheres interact to shape the current food system design: the globalized food market, the European Union, and ARA. The translation and implementation of the global food regime, the CAP scheme, and the EU convergence policy programmes take place via the Regional Government. This implies developmental challenges that limit the fair and equal participation of diverse stakeholders in decision-making processes. For instance, entities promoting rural development in the Azores operate under the convergence framework, but are mostly working in isolation and their sustainability cannot be guaranteed due to their project-based nature.

Yet ARA's political agenda includes the development of sustainable food systems, European and Regional efforts for rural development centre on the diversification of the economy. This restricts initiatives on environmental and social sustainability to technocratic programmes. In the Azores – likewise in Portugal – food security (*segurança alimentar*) is not differentiated from food safety (*segurança dos alimentos*). Such approach leaves out issues on food poverty and malnutrition, and narrows food security efforts to a set of mechanisms concerned with food-handling regulations and standardization. As a result, it overlooks the promotion of sustainable food production, as well as of well-nourished and food-resilient communities, reducing people's capacity to attain adequate, healthy and traditionally appropriate diets. Equally, and contradicting the EU's food security strategy, initiatives in ARA to ensure access to and availability of food are limited to social security palliatives, such as a minimum income and food charity (e.g. the *Banco Alimentar*). The right of the consumer to make a fully informed choice is also being challenged due to the lack of political leverage to participate in the definition of ARA's food system and claim the right to adequate food and nutrition.

CONCLUSIONS

The rapid insertion of ARA into an exclusive, homogenous and profit-centred global food regime, plus the historical changes in land uses at the local level caused by policies like CAP and convergence programme¹³¹, shape ARA's political efforts to address sustainability and food security issues. These are rooted in a shortfall of agreement about *what* (or 'whose') needs should be made a priority, as well as on the best infrastructure to promote sustainable farming in the Region. The key concept underpinning

these (in)consistencies and contradictions is 'knowledge', whether a shortage thereof or an urgency to further it. Such challenges reveal the need to determine *who* participates in knowledge-making processes, *how* funding can be attained to do this and to *what extent* this is actually relevant.

Defining concrete steps toward the promotion of sustainable farming and food security in OR regions, like ARA, is not an easy task. Efforts ought to combine the knowledge and will by stakeholders in all three spheres and work collectively and complementarily for the well-being of the people, the community at large and the environment. These strategies must not compete against providing nutritious food for local, national and international markets while generating income to support the economy. Rather, the analysis developed in ARA proposes a discussion about the essentiality of OR to have control over their food systems in favour of enhancing rural development and social justice, tackling environmental concerns, and increasing the regions' competitiveness. Efforts can include the decentralization of power in decision-making arenas and inclusion of cross-sectorial actors commonly left out of the political debate, such as primary food producers, small-scale fisherfolks and consumers.

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¹³¹ The Programme d'Options Spécifiques à l'Éloignement et l'Insularité (POSEI) specific for ARA was developed in 2007. The PRORURAL+ is the specific programme defined for the period 2014-2020 to promote rural development in the Azores.



The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Governance for food system resilience through a regional food strategy in Stockholm

R. Milestad, U. Geber, K. Nigell Richter, A. Hedberg¹³²

Abstract – This paper describes and analyses the process and some of the outcomes from the endeavour to develop a food strategy for the Stockholm region during Spring 2017. It is the first step in an exploratory case study yet to take its scientific form. After failing to gather a critical mass of food actors in a series of participatory workshops the County Administrative Board reorganised and prolonged the process. It also aligned the Stockholm food strategy closer to the national food strategy for increased political legitimacy. Political goals and commitments seem to be key issues for food actors and thus the possibility to create a food strategy for a resilient food system in Stockholm.

INTRODUCTION

Several regions and counties in Sweden develop regional food strategies. In Stockholm, the County Administrative Board initiated the work in parallel with the development of a national food strategy within the Government Offices in 2015 (presented in January 2017) (Government offices, 2017). While there will be tasks for regional bodies to fulfil the national food strategy, there is no requirement that regions or municipalities develop their own versions of a food strategy. However, many regions have found this useful in order to channel the work and engagement of regional food actors. In the Stockholm case, it is the County Administrative Board (the regional representative of the state level) that has initiated this work. Since there is no defined governance model for food strategy work in Sweden, each region and actor defines its own process and priorities. In Stockholm, the case was made for a participatory and rather open process where relevant actors were identified and invited to a series of workshops and focus groups.

On the national level, the food strategy aims to support a competitive food system where the total production increases while at the same time obtaining environmental objectives. It also aims to reduce the vulnerabilities in the food system, and to support growth and sustainable development in the whole of Sweden (ibid). The development of the national food strategy was spurred by the low profitability in primary production, but has since its initiation expanded into e.g. food security issues. In addition to the national food strategy there is an action plan with formulated goals (some of which are quantified). However, it is still not clear how work with the national food strategy will proceed and how regions will be involved. Thus, at the moment, this is an

entirely separate process from the regional food strategies.

The objective of a regional food strategy is different in every region. In Stockholm, it is to formulate a food strategy that ensures rural jobs, food for the region and sustainable futures. In addition, the County Administrative Board wants to decrease dependence on imports and to align the regional food strategy with the national strategy (internal document).

Stockholm holds a unique position in Sweden since it hosts 20% of the national population but only 3% of the arable land, has the third largest rural population in the country and has a vibrant food tourism and gastronomic scene. There are exceptional possibilities for rural entrepreneurs to find a large market in the Stockholm metropolitan area, at the same time as Stockholm is extremely vulnerable from a food procurement point of view – being dependent on other areas and imports for its food supply. Thus, a food strategy for Stockholm cannot be copied from any other area in Sweden.

In the light of all the above, we are interested in how Stockholm could develop a food strategy that has legitimacy and that helps to build a resilient food system for Stockholm. We are also interested in how this process can be analysed from a theoretical perspective to enhance understanding of the processes and outcomes. Some of the experiences from the food strategy process so far are reported in this paper. We hope to discuss suitable theoretical frameworks at the ESRS workshop and to continue the study from a scientific point of view.

METHODS

This is research in progress.

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

In the food strategy work, the approach taken by the County Administrative Board was to try to bring together as many regional food actors as possible in a series of workshops to formulate goals, visions and possible outcomes of a regional food strategy. Included were actors from food production, processing, distribution and consumption, as well as different expert areas such as public procurement, contingency, local food systems, research, etc. This means that both mainstream (large) actors and actors representing alternative food system solutions were approached to work together. A consultant was hired to describe and analyse the present status of the Stockholm food system, which was intended to be used as a point of departure for discussions. Based on this analysis, a series of four workshops with food actors was announced in the beginning of the year. The invitation reached more than 150 identified key actors. The authors of this paper partly planned the workshops and participated/carried them out during Spring 2017. Thus, the main method so far was participant observation, reflection after each workshop and informal talks with participants, forming the first steps of a case study.

RESULTS

A large challenge compared with other regions in Sweden is that many food actors in Stockholm consider themselves national actors and not regional/local actors. Similarly, Stockholm is a market for food actors across the country and thus competition is high. In addition, the sheer number – and in some cases, size – of food actors in the Stockholm region makes it hard to bring them together in a collaborative process. These may be some of the reasons only 30-40 actors took part in the two first workshops. There were representatives from agriculture, greenhouse production, public procurement, planning and research, but there was a lack of retail and processing and a general lack of critical mass. In addition, the county board representatives did not consider the status report by the consultant to be sufficient – it did not contain any analysis of the figures presented and did not cover all important aspects of food production and consumption. Also, actors from primary production questioned the legitimacy of a food strategy, i.e. no clear political will had been expressed in Stockholm for a food strategy and thus some actors questioned the justification for participating in the process.

After the first two workshops, the organisers concluded that the process had to be reorganised and halted the series of workshops. Instead, the County Administrative Board decided to reframe the question and align the regional effort to the national food strategy – which has broad political support in

Parliament and an action plan. Thus, the third workshop dealt with how Stockholm could contribute to and benefit from the national food strategy. The main learning outcomes from the process thus far was the need to deepen the analysis of the present food system, to improve support among politicians and food actors for the process and to get more actors involved. To achieve the latter, one possibility would be to use arenas food actors already use (e.g. fairs, trade association platforms) instead of building a new structure for interaction.

In parallel to the regional food strategy work, the Stockholm county council (an elected body handling mainly health care, traffic and regional planning) started the process to develop a rural development strategy and a regional development plan for Stockholm. These initiatives are clearly linked to a food strategy. While the two bodies agreed to cooperate on the issues, there was also some competition on where responsibilities should lie, which hampered coordination.

DISCUSSION

What started as an autonomous process in Stockholm turned into a process where Stockholm leaned on the national food strategy process to find legitimacy and support. The somewhat muddled responsibilities between the county board and the county council added complexity. The large amount of food actors in the capital coupled with a possible lack of rationale for these actors to participate in developing a food strategy or Stockholm also halted the process. The next step in developing a food strategy for Stockholm will be to improve the analysis of the current status of the food system; to meet actors in their own arenas; to align the Stockholm food strategy closer to the national strategy as well as to the strategies developed by the County Council and to allow the process to take longer time than planned for originally. The County Administrative Board is trying different strategies out as it goes. In this respect, the County Administrative Board has proven to be a learning organisation, adapting to the circumstances and using disturbances to improve the process. However, if the County Board succeeds in its effort remains to be seen. A process that is legitimate in the eyes of the food actors and other stakeholders is the first step towards a viable food strategy that can build resilience for the Stockholm region.

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The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Methodological challenges in analysing farmers' business strategies for more sustainability in farming

S. v. Münchhausen, A. M. Häring¹³³

Abstract – Farmers tend to be businesspersons who develop and implement strategies for their farm businesses. The analysis of ten case studies shows that all farm enterprises have very specific business strategies, but the identification of these strategies is a challenge and therefore requires appropriate approaches. A good knowledge and understanding of these strategies are important because researchers or policy advisors need to base their projections on farmers' expected actions.

INTRODUCTION

"Farmers used to live and work on their farms in a way their ancestors have"; that has been the widespread image of the agricultural sector for a long time. Instead, many farmers are businesspersons who develop and implement strategies for their farm businesses (Hansson and Ferguson, 2011) by e.g. intensifying production, exploring new markets or even buying and selling farms (Achilles, 1993). Farm-level strategies and the resulting activities have significant economic, environmental and social impacts, not only on the farm business, but also on all sustainability dimensions of the agricultural sector. Although farmers take strategy-based decisions, the underlying strategies are usually tacit. Farmers do not deliberately design and formulate them clearly. However, a clear idea of farmers' decision-making is necessary in order to develop scientifically sound policy analyses and recommendations on how to support sustainable farm development.

The literature review shows that understandings of the term *strategy* differ depending on the author's perspective, which refers to e.g. business consultancy, economic research, or regional management. We follow the definition of Rumelt (2011): "The core of strategy work is [...] discovering the critical factors in a situation and designing a way of coordinating and focusing actions to deal with those factors". In fact, there is a variety of strategies, which authors group or structure, taking into account the perspective and the overall aim of the approach.

In this paper, we aim to address the methodological challenge of analysing strategy development and strategic decision-making of farmers and discuss how to address this challenge.

METHODOLOGY

For this paper, we reviewed literature on business strategies and management. Since farms usually represent small or very small enterprises, our review focuses on the specificities of small and medium-size enterprises (SME) that are usually grouped together.

We tested the findings from the literature by analysing ten farms. The selection of cases aimed for multi-branch farm enterprises because they require (due to their complexity) a strategic management approach. Moreover, the objective was to select a variety of farm types from different European countries which cover various market and cultural conditions. Case studies took place in connection with a European ERA-net project, which focused on the growth of high-value food chains¹³⁴. Furthermore, the selection of cases aimed at different production systems, such as arable farming (grain, vegetables, herbs), dairy and meat (beef, pork, lamb). On-farm differentiation with e.g. processing facilities for cleaning and packing, cheese making, meat processing and/or direct marketing was another selection criterion.

Semi-structured interviews were the basis for data collection. During the interviews, the researchers asked farm managers to focus on former challenges and major adjustments made in the past. Strategic planning and the related changes in operational management were of particular interest for this analysis.

RESULTS

Strategic management involves the design and implementation of a planning process. Central to such a process is the business strategy that takes into account resources as well as the internal and external

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¹³⁴ 'HealthyGrowth' - From Niche to Volume with Integrity and Trust. for Sustainable Development CORE www.coreorganic2.org/healthygrowth.



business environments (Doluschitz et al., 2011). Businesses might use a combination of strategies. The definition of the business strategy involves the analysis of (potential) products, customer, values, locations, competitors, available skills and resources, opportunities and risks as well as the growth potential (Hansson and Ferguson 2011). Depending on the field of application, strategies can vary in orientations towards mainly economical, ecological, financial or social goals (Schaltegger et al., 2002). Since the literature highlights that strategic management of large corporations differs from small businesses, scientists consider SME as 'special cases' in business studies (Fueglistaller and Burger 2011). As a result, we connected the analysis of the interviews with the farmers only with studies on business management of SME.

A Key finding of our case studies was that nearly all farmers stated initially that they had no strategy at all when the interviewer asked for a definition of their business strategy or strategic management. Instead, farmers usually articulated a specific strategic decision made or a management instrument that helped to implement an underlying strategy by e.g. employing a person with particular skills, reorganising production processes or aiming for new marketing channels. As the interviews continued, however, all farmers explained the background and the ideas they had in mind when they made important decisions during times of change or crisis. The experiences from the case studies showed that the interviewer had to ask more specifically to be able to identify and define the business strategy together with the interviewee. Finally, all case studies highlight a specific strategy or a set of strategies that farmers implemented during e.g. periods of expansion or differentiation when financial investments or new business cooperation took place. It was remarkable that farmers were not able to formulate or document the underlying strategies. Instead, many farmers associated 'business strategies' with marketing strategies or concepts.

Several interview partners confessed they had no training in the field of business management and therefore, were not used to the related terminology. Some of them who cooperated closely with processor or sales companies experienced that they were able to learn from the professional management of their business partner. Looking backwards, some of these experienced farmers stated they would have profited from knowledge in strategic planning or business management in an earlier phase of their career. However, training courses or study modules in the field of strategic management were not part of training courses or study programmes for farmers.

A strategy-oriented concept like Balanced Score Cards could help to translate corporate strategies into

operating parameters and to implement these on the level of the daily work (Schaltegger 2002). However, due to that lack of knowledge and information in the field of business management, none of the interviewees were familiar with such concept (Neumahr 2017).

CONCLUSIONS

A good knowledge and understanding of farmers' strategies is important because researchers or policy advisors need to base their projections on farmers' expected actions. This is particularly important when policies or legislation is about to change. Since farmers are not aware of their own business strategies, it is a methodological challenge to capture, cluster and analyse them in a systematic way.

Business management with strategic approaches is usually not part of the professional training. Hence, farmers are not familiar with the related terminology and concepts. However, it would be false to suggest that they consequently do not have good (or even excellent) management capabilities. In contrast, we found that researchers studying farmers' strategies and management need to adjust their approaches to the interviewees understanding. Due to the methodological adjustments made, they were able to identify and study farmers' business strategies and the related management instruments.

This insight is very important for researchers and/or policy advisors because they have to grasp the strategic decision-making of farmers when conditions change or new policies start. The related analyses depend on a solid knowledge of the spectrum of farmers' strategies.

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The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017

Geography matters; the relevance of territorial heterogeneity in shaping farmers' conditions, strategies and performances in the context of globalization and sustainability

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Abstract – Agriculture and food production are subjected to market and policy drivers and fluctuations that are gradually becoming global in scope. This trend turns decisions and preferences by stakeholders within local and regional farm-systems incrementally less influential. This problem directly undermines the subsidiarity principle that underpins the sustainability paradigm. We therefore argue that without gaining a better understanding of the territorial aspects of governance, it might become unfeasible to achieve the sustainability targets currently set for farming systems across Europe. Based on this argument, in this paper we will discuss how we adapted the C (Conditions)-S (Strategies)-P (Performances) conceptual model developed in the H2020 SUFISA project (www.sufisa.eu) to best reflect the territorial heterogeneity of farming systems and its potential to affect sustainability targets. To achieve this goal, we explored three key conceptual elements in geographical sciences; scale, place and landscape. Incorporating these elements allowed us to enrich and expand our theoretical model beyond its basic sociological and economic foundations. Currently, further theoretical arguments and empirical tests are undergoing in order for the model to be refined to an extent that it can meaningfully influence future agricultural policy and farmer's practices across Europe.
Keywords: Territory, heterogeneity, farming systems, sustainability, globalization

INTRODUCTION

The trend towards a globalized economy and culture is a key force driving change in agricultural production, trade and consumption (Josling, 2012). From a territorial point of view these changes are reflected in the heterogeneous mosaics of rural habitats and farming systems that exist worldwide, and which are changing in rapid, complex and largely unsustainable ways (Wen-bin; Qiang-yi; Verburg et al. 2014). Furthermore, such changes are expected to trigger externalities that shall affect the sustainability of multiple national and regional economies and societies across the rural world (Seppelt, Beckmann, Ceasau, et al, 2016).

The situation of food production in the European Union is reflective of such complexity (Van Zanten et al, 2014). This is so despite of the many attempts, mainly through market initiatives, to implement a common regulatory and policy framework (Robinson & Carson, 2015). Considering this context, we argue that farmer's decisions, strategies, and performances are not solely driven by the conditions considered in the economic and sociological literature. Conversely the territorial aspects are indeed as important as the socio-economic ones (see conceptual framework in <http://www.sufisa.eu/news.html>).

Consequently, disentangling the territorial heterogeneity of farming systems across Europe is a key step to design policy and economic instruments that are better tailored to reflect on farmers' own motivations, perceptions and interests. With this argument in mind we examined the multi-faceted

implications of expanding the current framework of conditions, strategies and performances for farm sustainability set in the SUFISA H2020 project (www.sufisa.eu). The main aim of this was to better understand the differences and commonalities among farmers' mind sets when they are considered in their distinctive territorial contexts. To achieve this, we examined the possibilities posed by a series of key territorial concepts developed in the geographical sciences including; scale, place and landscape. Considering scale (Gibson, Ostrom & Ahn, 2000) helps unravel the complexity of institutional and spatial-temporal levels in which farmers' conditions and decisions are framed, and the miss-matches between the scope of action for diverse decision-makers (Cumming, Cumming & Redman, 2006).

The concepts of place (Castle, 1998) and landscape (Pedroli, Pinto-Correia & Cornish, 2006) contribute by respectively adding the sense of belonging (place) and the perceived social-ecological context (landscape) which are both important aspects of farmer's realms, and which strongly influence decision making at the farm level.

In this paper, we will discuss how considering these three key territorial concepts helped enrich the conceptual framework set in the SUFISA project, enabling its potential to better coordinate the multiple bottom-up initiatives (e.g. decisions at the farm level) and top-down strategies (e.g. planning and policies) that are required to drive change towards sustainability in globalized farming systems.

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METHODS

Given the lack of previous experiences available to test the conceptual approaches that we were pursuing, we decided to revise the diverse tasks planned in SUFISA in the following ways:

- To test the relevance of the concept of scale we categorized each of the Conditions and Strategies generally defined for all case studies in the project so that they would also include information about the spatial scales (Global to National vs Regional to Local) at which each of them individually become relevant. In addition, the original list of CSPs was also altered to reflect some conditions and strategies that are either directly reflect landscape functions and processes or either that are active at the landscape scale.
- To check for place and space, some further extra Conditions and Strategies were added to the framework that directly relate to these concepts (e.g. for sense of place we added some subjective and perceptive variables, whilst for space we looked at spatial relationships and location of farms in relation to their neighbours). Also, the consideration of elements of place and spatial relationships and location were included in the design and implementation of the wide range of participatory events and stakeholder interactions planned along the project (WP2).
- Last, considering space and landscape allowed to perform a spatial stratification of farms to be surveyed that should therefore be more representative of the territorial heterogeneity in each case study commodity and region.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results obtained are only in progress (the project ends in 2019), but still bear some significant implications which can be already stated. Firstly, it is clear how adding a territorial heterogeneity permitted to enrich and expand the original CSP model beyond its socio-economic approach, thus better matching the concept of sustainability.

Secondly, it allowed us to better engage with non-researchers, who responded positively to the importance of place, space and landscape in their decisions and strategies.

CONCLUSIONS

Adding a geographical perspective to the analysis of financial sustainability of farming systems in the context of globalisation and sustainability could, in principle, become important to move towards research programs that are better grounded in the reality of farm systems and other local and regional governance institutions. In addition, the addition of a territorial heterogeneity approach seems to be

appreciated by farmers and other key stakeholders as it better expresses the wide set of conditions underpinning their strategies and related performances. However, results so far are either theoretical or preliminary, and more work will be required under the SUFISA project before definitive lessons are learnt that can be tested in a wider range of situations and contexts.

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Towards sustainable farming practices and food security: study about vulnerability of Finnish farms

A. Puupponen, A. Paloviita, T. Kortetmäki, T. Silvasti¹³⁶

Abstract – The aim of this paper is to discuss food security in the context of sustainable farming practices in Finland. There are two research questions: 1) How are the Finnish farms vulnerable from the viewpoint of food security? 2) How could they increase their resilience for guaranteeing food security in the future? The paper is based on a qualitative study for which 15 Finnish food system specialists were interviewed in 2015. According to the results, three types of vulnerabilities are discovered: 1) market vulnerabilities, 2) continuity of farms, and 3) environment changes. For reducing vulnerabilities, the re-evaluation of policy instruments is needed. At the same time, new knowledge and skills are needed for supporting the decision-making at the farm level.

INTRODUCTION

Finnish agriculture and farmers have faced different risks and vulnerabilities during recent years. In particular, climate change, indebtedness, lowered income and increased bureaucracy are setting new challenges for future sustainable agricultural practices. Correspondingly, there are increased concerns about how these challenges, together with other social changes, are influencing food security in Finland. In line with these overarching concerns, the following research questions are tackled, herein: 1) How are Finnish farms vulnerable from the viewpoint of food security? 2) How could they increase their resilience for guaranteeing food security in the future? Through these questions, we aim to find representative solutions that support the future of sustainable farming practices and governing models that safeguard Finnish food security. The paper is based on a qualitative study wherein 15 Finnish food system specialists were interviewed in 2015.

CONCEPTS

By acknowledging the ambiguity involved in defining the food security concept, we utilise a well-adopted definition by *the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations* (FAO) (1996). It states that "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." Naturally, food security is dependent on environmental and agricultural conditions. Thus, food security preserves when the food system is sustainable and resilient. In the context of food

security studies, a common debate revolves around sustainable farming practices, especially as relates to developing countries. Sustainable farming practices are an important part of the resilient food system and they can contribute towards better food security. Hence, overall, these integral interventions are similarly invaluable for the agricultural practices of industrialised countries. In line with these arguments, we draw upon the works of Huttunen et al. (2016). They discuss about the concept of good farming and how it is valued in the community and demonstrated via different symbols. In the context of Western industrialized farming systems, they argue that the core features of good farming are productivity, independence, continuity and stewardship.

DATA AND METHODS

The findings of this paper are based on a qualitative study that was conducted in Finland in 2015. More specifically, 15 thematic interviews with specialised experts were conducted. These participants comprised of specialists within the field of food policy, food governance, agricultural and environmental research and food trade. The interviews were carried out by our interest in vulnerability drivers of food systems. Based upon research literature covering vulnerability and previous studies, we focused on three types of vulnerability drivers: hydro-meteorological changes, public and private policy changes and changes in consumption patterns. Additionally, all interviews covered themes related to the vulnerability of agricultural sector and farms. The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

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The data were analysed by using qualitative content analysis in conjunction with theory-bound and abductive approach (see e.g., Silvasti 2014; Timmermans & Tavory 2012). Abductive approach means that our aim was to create a dialogue and analyse data by systematically combining empirical data and theoretical concepts (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). In this context, we use theoretical grouping based on Darnhofer (2014). Due to the relative small sample of our data, the generalizability of our results should be taken with caution, since they are predominantly applicable to our sampled cases. However, we are able to find some general lines and make conclusions by utilising research literature with the data.

RESULTS

According to the results, three types of vulnerabilities are unearthed. First, Finnish farms are vulnerable to changes in food markets. A number of adverse effects have proliferated within the Finnish food system in recent years that influence the overall functionality of farms. Second, Finnish farming is dominated by the older generation. The younger generation has proved to eschew farming as an alternative career option. Subsequently, farms are also vulnerable from the perspective of continuity. Third, the interviewed experts are concerned about climate change and its influences on the environment. However, on a global scale, the consequences of these concerns have proven to be uncertain. Nonetheless, climate change may adversely affect plant species, insects, and food prices, and in the long run certainly, food security as well. Overall, the results indicate that the studied vulnerabilities are often caused by the inability of farms to foresee the political and economic changes in the food system. These changes are often unexpected and occur spontaneously from the farmers' perspective. For reducing vulnerabilities, the re-evaluation of policy instruments is needed. At the same time, new knowledge and skills are needed for supporting the decision-making at the farm level.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Finnish food markets are centralized and agriculture is concentrating. If this trend is tied together with growing efficiency thinking (such as maximizing short-term yields using chemical inputs), it may, however, be problematic from the viewpoint of food security and sustainable farming practices. This trend

may lead to more adverse effects, whereby agricultural systems are isolating themselves from the ecological environment. Hence, agricultural systems will become more inflexible (Darnhofer et al. 2016). Likewise, some biotechnological innovations (such as genetically modified food) may increase the risk of inflexibility and isolating of farms from their ecological environments. If the risks of climate change, other unforeseeable impacts and vulnerabilities are taken into account in the future, the socio-ecological resilience of the food system should be taken more seriously into the political agenda. At the same time, the conceptual definition of food security should be established more unequivocally.

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Preservation of agricultural land as an issue of societal importance

E. Slätmo¹³⁷

Abstract - Based on concerns for global food security and food sovereignty, it's appropriate to scrutinise the societal motives for protecting agricultural land from conversion to other uses. By analysing relevant policy, this study investigates governance of soils and agricultural land in Sweden.

INTRODUCTION

The competition for cultivated land increases, when arable land is used not only for food production but also for cultivation of bioenergy as well as for buildings and roads. Over time, withdrawal of arable land from food production affect national and international food safety as well as individuals' access to food in this and future generations (Carolan 2013;FAO 2015; Trauger 2015). Changes from agriculture to 'urban' land uses are particularly problematic, as they are considered as irreversible. In the political rhetoric's of the FAO and EU, this is called soil sealing (i.e. soils that are permanently covered with asphalt or concrete) (European Commission 2013). Assessments of the situation in Europe show that between 1990 and 2000, at least 275 hectares of soil were lost per day in the EU (Prokop, Jobstmann & Schönbauer 2011).

METHOD AND APPROACH

Based in an analysis of Swedish policy the aim of this paper is to bring some clarity regarding the possibilities and complications of sustainable soil management.

Using the case of Swedish legislation as a focal point, an analysis of the policy that aims to protect agricultural land was conducted. The documents included in the analysis were: the Swedish Environmental Code (Ds 2000:61), the Swedish Natural Resource Act (SFS 1987:12) and the supporting propositions for these laws (Proposition 1985/86:3; Proposition 1997/98:45). In addition, the analysis draws on interviews with officials working at Swedish public authorities conducted during the years of 2009-2016.

This in order to 1) expose the motives behind the regulatory measures the Swedish law prescribes, and 2) analyse how these motives influence the public authorities' governance of agricultural land in Sweden.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Agricultural land in Sweden is currently protected by law through the Environmental Code (EC). The paragraph in the EC, Chapter 3, Section 4, states:

'Agriculture and forestry are of national importance. Agricultural land that is suitable for

cultivation may only be used for development or building purposes if this is necessary in order to safeguard significant national interests where this need cannot be met satisfactorily from the point of view of public interest by using other land.' (Ds 2000:61: 17)

The paragraph state that the rule is that agricultural land that is suitable for cultivation should not be used for housing or other constructions. It's only 'significant national interests' that can enable exceptions to be made to this rule. Other alternative options for the location of planned housing or construction must also be scrutinised before a change of agricultural land for these purposes can be accepted.

The document analysis shows its existence is based in arguments of food security in relation to the territory of Swedish nation state, primarily from a risk perspective (cf. Mooney & Hunt 2009). Other motives for preserving agricultural lands, such as rural development and/or food sovereignty, found in other geographical contexts, is not present in the Swedish state documents here studied.

Since the law came into force in 1999, the reported use of the paragraph in the Swedish spatial planning system shows that it has not been a strong policy measure. It has not prevented municipalities from using agricultural land for housing or other types of development (cf. Granvik *et al* 2015).

Interviews with officials from different levels of Swedish public authorities displayed the importance of making the intention of the paragraph clearer. In particular, the meaning of 'national importance', 'suitable for cultivation' and 'significant national interests' in the above cited legal paragraph was expressed to be vague. Therefore the current and previous versions of the law and related amendments were analysed in detail. This more in-depth analysis is reported in the following sections.

Agriculture of 'national importance'

The designation of agriculture as of 'national importance' and not of 'significant national interest' is significant for use of the law in practice. In the EC, certain resource uses (e.g. mineral extraction, outdoor recreation and nature conservation) are

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**The XXVII
ESRS Congress
Poland, Krakow
July 24-27 2017**

written into the law as 'significant national interests'. In the documents analysed, the responsibilities of the regional and state authorities to interfere in local municipal decisions are described as being especially decisive when it comes to those interests designated 'significant national interests' (cf. Prop 1985/86:3:35). The fact that agriculture and related natural resources (e.g. soils) are not designated 'significant national interests' but instead of 'national importance' is therefore an expression of a low valuation of agriculture in relation to other land uses. This indicates that neither food security nor food sovereignty was a strong priority when the law was formulated in the 1980s or amended in later years. We will come back to why this might be the case, after first looking in to the two other concepts officials regard as unclear in the legal paragraph.

What land is suitable for cultivation?

The above cited paragraph states that agricultural land suitable for cultivation should not be used for housing or other constructions. However, it is not clear what values make land 'suitable for cultivation'. The basis for decision making concerning agricultural land was described by several administrators within Swedish municipal and regional institutions as currently lacking (e.g. maps of qualities of agricultural land). Swedish state authorities and the leading NGO for farmers, however, seem rather reluctant to develop or promote use of such maps as these could be used as arguments for building on soils mapped as having low quality. Instead more 'pragmatic' valuations are promoted.

What are 'significant national interests'?

The paragraph in question states that it is only 'significant national interests' that can justify exceptions from the rule on not using agricultural land for housing and constructions. The main principle on how to weigh up different land uses if there are conflicting interests concerning the use of a physical entity is therefore based on what 'significant national interests' means in the legal documents. In the first proposition here studied (prop 1985/86:3:53), it is stated that such interests could be meeting demand for housing, the interest in locating housing and workplaces in close proximity, and ensuring important recreational interests.

This again draws attention to the issue of why agricultural land is not designated a 'significant national interest'. Why not a stronger priority of food security and food sovereignty in the Swedish law? In the here analysed state documents, the main reason for not designating land for agriculture and forestry as national interests is that this would clash with the principle of Swedish municipalities bearing the responsibility for land and water planning. The formulation of the paragraph is, thus, an expression of the trust placed by Swedish state authorities in the municipalities regarding governance of land and water resources. The choice of not designating agricultural land a 'significant national interest' is thus

based on arguments on the subsidiarity principle – which was also the argument used by some EU member states for not wanting to implement a legal directive on soil preservation on EU level in 2014 (cf. FAO 2015:232).

CONCLUSION

Sweden has a law requiring protection of agricultural land. The existence of this law is based in concerns of food security within the Swedish territory. As agricultural land is continually changing to housing and other construction uses, the relevant paragraph in the law is not a strong policy measure, but instead gives room for municipal decision makers to decide over land use. The analysis has revealed that the subsidiarity principle is used as an argument for not establishing more strict preservation of soils and agricultural land. The subsidiarity principle means that decision making should be as close to citizens as possible with respect to the capacity to conduct it satisfactorily (Marshall 2007). This prioritising of local democracy is indeed sustainable. On another scale of decision making, however, it is important to acknowledge that the sum of local decisions can be degrading for life-supporting resources (eg. soils for food production). To be further scrutinised is whether it is more important to protect participation in decision making than to preserve certain resources, or whether there must be a choice between these.

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Farming strategies in a continuously evolving European dairy market – a comparative case study of five different EU countries

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Abstract – This Paper analyses how five different European farming systems have been influenced by the increasingly volatile milk market and the strategic response that has been adopted by farmers and the dairy sector

INTRODUCTION

A significant task in agro-food studies is to understand how different farming systems respond to regulatory interventions and how regulatory interventions can influence resiliency. In this paper we will explore how different European dairy farming systems have reacted to the recent milk crisis and which factors may explain the reaction.

In recent years a number of events have resulted in a volatile dairy market. The gradual reduction of the CAP and the recent abolition of the milk quota system, which had been in-stalled in 1984 has resulted in a more and more global market-oriented sector. The abolition of the milk quota coincides with a number of other factors that influence the dairy price, including a reduced Chinese dairy powder market and an import ban from Russia. Hence, on a European scale the abolition of the dairy quota has been followed by a production increase by 2,2 % 2014-2015, however at the same time prices has decreased by 3-25 % percent, depending on the country.

DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

The article draws on statistical data on dairy production, farm structure and market configuration extracted from the EUROSTAT and FAOSTAT databases and qualitative data characterizing the farming systems in 5 different European countries (DK, G, F, LV and UK) completed as a teamwork in the SUFISA project.

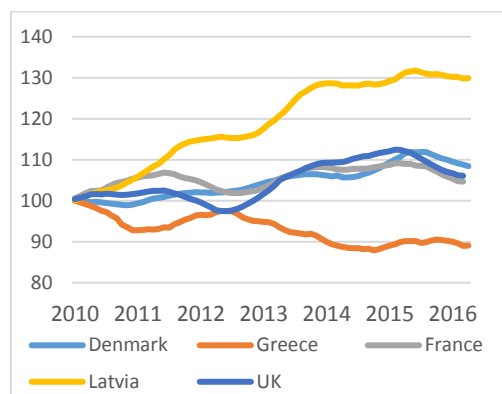


Figure 3: Rawmilk collected at dairies, 12 md running average, normalized based on 2010 data (Eurostat 2017).

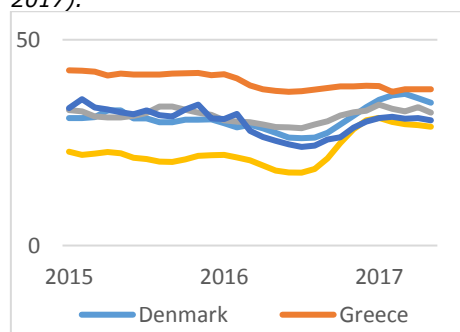


Figure 4: Monthly development in milk price (MMO 2017)

¹³⁸ a) Thorsøe, b) Noe, c) Aubert, Tayeb Ben Cherif and Treyer, d) Maye, Vigani and Kirwan, e) Grivins, Adamsone-Fiskovica and Tisenkopfs, f) Emi f) > a) Aarhus University, Denmark; b) University of Southern Denmark, Denmark c) The Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations, France d) University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom e) Baltic Studies Centre, Latvia, f) Agricultural University of Athens, Greece).



Table 3: Farming system, dairy system and strategy in the five countries in the study

	Denmark (DK)	France (F)	Greece (G)	Latvia (LV)	United Kingdom (UK)
Farming system	Large-scale and industrialized production facilities.	Great regional difference Large-scale and intensive in some areas and extensive in others	60 % of the Greek dairy sector produce goat and sheep milk.	High share of small farms with low yielding herds.	Large-scale and modernized production facilities.
Dairy system	Strong cooperative and export oriented dairy sector about 2/3 of production is exported.	Strong cooperative and export oriented dairy sector	Both small scale local production and larger scale national and international dairies	Small-scale, fragmented and nationally oncoordinated dairy sector. Focus on home market and Russian market.	Focus on home market as UK is undersupplied with dairy products for the own market.
Strategy to manage the volatile market conditions	Crisis response has been to lower production costs pr. kg milk, by locally expanding production.	Deliberate capacity restrictions in the processing sector.	Dairies focus on production for the home (only cover about half the Greek consumption) and specialty market, where prices are quite high and stable.	Emphasis on productivity improvement	Production is flexible and adaptable to the dairy market prices. In some areas as production contracts dominate and milk supply is informally regulated by an AB pricing system.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The farming systems in the different countries show quite a different response to the changing milk price, see figure 1, 2 and table 1. While 2013 and 2014 was characterized by high production volumes and promising world market prices, tables turned in 2015 where the average milk price dropped significantly. Interestingly, this development has differed in the 5 countries. Particularly the milk price in F, DK and UK closely follows the world market prices, on the other hand Greece in relatively unaffected by the world market price due to a strong domestic market orientation, hence production is also quite stable. Initially Latvia is highly influenced by the closing of the Russian market and unable to attain good prices due to an unstructured dairy sector. However, for all the countries there is a tendency towards converging prices.

In terms of milk quantity UK is most reactive, which may be due to market arrangements, such as A and B pricing (and the fact that UK dairy production has not been quota restricted). On the other hand, F is least reactive, perhaps also due voluntary restrictions in the dairy industry and DK farmers have been limited by the milk quota. LV farmers have

expanded continuously, primarily by improving a low productivity. The changing political and regulatory conditions in recent years has resulted in volatile dairy market conditions. This, situation is particularly problematic for dairy producers because dairy farming require long time binds, as it is difficult to adjust production from one month to the next. Therefore, dairy farmers need stable production conditions or a strategy either at the farm or at the dairy to manage the volatile market conditions. In most the countries this market risk is passed on to the farmers, who need an internalized strategy to manage the risk, however, in F and UK the dairies have also attempted to maintain high prices by introducing a de facto limit on the dairy production.

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**The XXVII
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July 24-27 2017**

Working Group 29. Social innovations in agriculture and local food market



(trans)local practices of organic farming: a case and some lessons from Northern Sweden

A. Dubois

Abstract – This paper examines the learning and knowledge exchange processes undertaken by small-scale organic producers in a remote rural region of Sweden in the establishment of short supply food chains by small-scale organic farmers in the North Swedish region of Västerbotten. The paper illustrates how individual small-scale organic farmers develop relational devices to mobilize the knowledge they need to materialize business opportunities.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I aim at showing how seemingly 'local' practices of small-scale organic farming and the establishment of short food supply chains are resulting from a complex sets of relations and knowledge exchanges that involve different types of actors, near and distant. The focus on knowledge exchanges as a condition for the development of small-scale organic farming aims at investigating it as an innovation and learning process. An hypothesis is that the 'local' relates more to a set of positive meanings (Le Velly, Dufeu et al. 2016) related to shared cognitive frameworks than to a specific geographical scale. I characterize these exchanges as translocal in the sense that they connect actors, near or far, through cognitive processes of value creation, i.e. innovation across distance.

THE SPACES OF KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGES

In their study on innovation in artisan food production, McKitterick, Quinn et al. (2016) recently emphasized the role of knowledge derived from non-local territories in shaping social ties locally. Morgan and Murdoch (2000:167) acknowledged that "while organic agriculture resurrects local, context-dependent knowledge the latter needs to be combined with new forms of external knowledge and the conversion process poses a challenge for the traditional extension system just as much as for the farmers themselves". Hence, learning in the context of farming practices cannot be viewed as the mere local application of external knowledge (Kroma 2006).

New collaborative arrangements trigger learning processes based on the exchange of tacit and experiential knowledge among farmers and other rural actors (Kroma 2006, Tregear and Cooper 2016). Learning processes in organic farming thus relate to non-technological or organizational innovation processes linked to the emergence of new cognitive frames of reference (e.g., inclusion of animal welfare or environmental issues) (Läpple, Renwick et al. 2016) and collective relational arrangements

involving a wide range of actors (Favilli, Rossi et al. 2015).

AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

To date, the agro-food literature lacks a coherent theoretical and analytical framework able to examine these translocal learning processes. In fact, the agro-food literature on localized food systems seems to systematically "ignore" the growing body of work on place-making processes from human geography (Goodman, DuPuis et al. 2012:23). The present study aims at investigating how small-scale producers establishing and developing a short-supply, organic farming venture mobilize knowledge about farming (e.g. certification and product diversification) and related practices (e.g. logistics and marketing). A working hypothesis is that the reconstruction of local knowledge comes about through a complex system of 'translocal' relations combining local and extra-local agents, as well as 'like-minded' actors and more cognitively remote ones. What networks and communities of practices or other relational arrangements are activated for this knowledge mobilization? What elements of spatial and organized proximity do these arrangements draw upon? How are they brokered and facilitated in the first place and later sustained? In what ways do they eventually contribute to the recreation of a local sense of belonging? In order to achieve this, I propose to analyse the knowledge mobilization and learning processes of a selected number of small farms using the proximity approach as a main conceptual and analytical framework. The cases of small organic farms presented in this study are located in the county of Västerbotten.

FINDINGS

This paper supports the idea that the development of local food systems is enabled by translocal processes of knowledge exchanges. The reintroduction of organic farming practices is a radical innovation process (Morgan and Murdoch 2000) as the operational knowledge necessary is usually not available to the actors of these local systems. This



paper has illustrated how individual small-scale organic farmers develop relational devices to mobilize the knowledge they need to materialize business opportunities. Institutional actors, producers, food professionals, but also increasingly consumers and other 'like-minded' persons are important relays of innovation from which farmers source operational knowledge. What came across from the experiences of our sample of farmers is that the shift towards 'short' organic food systems requires non-farming skills to develop an integrated, albeit small, value chain including slaughtering, logistics, food manufacturing and marketing. These new skills need to be acquired through learning-by-interacting relations with other food professionals based on social acquaintance and personal trust.

This study showed the potential benefits of applying a conceptual and analytical framework from economic geography to the context of formation of alternative food networks and the emergence of communities of practices. The use of the proximity approach enables to distinguish between different processes leading to the establishment of such new forms of relational arrangements in the rural, and especially the role of cognitive distance/proximity as a way to balance between the benefits of introducing novelty and the ones of operationalising such knowledge in actor-networks.

CONCLUSIONS

The reintroduction of organic farming practices is viewed as a radical innovation process as the operational knowledge necessary is usually not available to the actors in these local systems. This paper shows that the reintroduction of small-scale organic practices comes about through the mobilization of a complex web of relations that may be more appropriately characterised as translocal.

The paper contributes to the rapprochement between agro-food and human geography studies by using the proximity dynamics approach to frame the relational processes of the formation of 'short' food systems.

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July 24-27 2017

Agroecological Symbiosis: Social Innovation in Rural Finland

S. E. Hagolani-Albov

Abstract – This research studies a pilot case for restructuring production and consumption in Palopuro village, Finland, premised on nutrient recycling and (re)localized production and consumption. The model for this redesigned social/ecological foodshed is called 'agroecological symbiosis' (AES). The AES model takes inspiration from ecological mutualism to create synergies between producers and integrates the surrounding consumers in an effort to foster creation of food communities and ease the ecological strain of agricultural activities. The AES model started as a grassroots initiative in Palopuro village, as a strategy to maintain the unique character of their village and to preserve the farming tradition in a sustainable way. This is a village which has lost its train station and the local school as a result of a dwindling population. These fundamental changes to the fabric of the community brought to the forefront the potential danger of losing some of their unique cultural heritage. Palopuro village is adjacent to a growing urban area and the citizenry is adamant to keep their culture and resist absorption into the encroaching city. Deliberate cooperation both with and among the local farms has served toward creation of (re)localized food and cultural community. At the same time, respect for the surrounding natural environment and a desire for locally produced and organic food have influenced the development of the AES model. This research explores the cultural, social, political, ecological, and spatial changes to Finnish agricultural landscape and Palopuro village as a result of implementation of the AES model. In addition, it serves as basis for evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the AES model and the potential for future transferability and scalability.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The object of this research is to investigate the lived experience of consumer participants in the sustainable agricultural model of agroecological symbiosis (AES) (Koppelmäki et al., 2016). The broader research being conducted on the AES model encompasses cultural, social, political, ecological, biophysical, and spatial changes to the village. However, this paper focuses on one facet of that research, which is the potential for development of democratic food citizens and maintenance of cultural traditions in the social space created by the AES model.

The AES model organically developed in the Finnish countryside as a strategy formulated by producers and processors situated in the community to maintain the vitality of their farms without having to grow the farms or alter their chosen products. The model is premised on (re)localization of the food system and creation of a social space (housed on one of the larger farms participating) for the community to gather. The founders of the AES model reached out to University of Helsinki researchers to name and study this originally grassroots initiative.

AES is developed as a pushback against the globalized food chain. The long and often opaque "supply chains" developed to facilitate a globalized food system have contributed to rural de-structuring, loss of rural communities, and widening metabolic rifts. (Renting et al. 2003). This is an embodiment of the idea of a foodshed, in that, it reengages producers and consumers and utilizes systems thinking in a creative redesign of the food chain agriculture model (Kloppenberget al.,1996). This reintroduction of food

producers and consumers is held up as a step in the transformation towards sustainable agricultural systems and healing the metabolic rift (See Marx 1867; Moore 2011 for a further discussion of metabolic rift in the context of agricultural systems). The (re)localization of the AES modelled food system considers the place and needs of the consumer beyond the role of a food purchaser. The comprehensive inclusion of the consumer as member of the food community is hypothesized to foster a condition of food democracy (Hassanein, 2003). The focus on producing food from "somewhere" and development of democratic food citizens are two aspects which lend to innovative nature of the AES agricultural system model (Campbell 2009).

METHODS

The data is collected using multiple qualitative methods, which include surveys, participant observation, participatory mapping, and multimedia captures like visual and auditory. To date, I have engaged in two rounds of surveys, participatory mapping, participant observation, and multimedia captures. The preliminary results discussed herein are based on both the participant observation and multimedia captures. Since 2016, I have visited the social space on the farm during organized public events, for example, market days, café days, and an organized educational workshop which coincided with the conclusion of the first phase of the research and development project on the AES model. I am using content analysis of my fieldnotes and images to develop a series of themes which will be used to inform the upcoming interviews.



PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The social space on the farm is integral in supporting a local community. In addition, it serves to foster the creation of food democracy as outlined by Hassanein (2003). In addition to activities related to food procurement and consumption, the space has also opened a venue for exercise of longstanding cultural traditions.



Figure 1. Demonstration of traditional rope making



Figure 2. Locals act out a *kekri* play which is a traditional holiday which has recently been supplanted with the American version of Halloween

There are not currently any other comparable spaces within the community for such activities. In comparison to the market days held in the nearby city, the events at Palopuro engage more local vendors and are structured around activities with cultural importance beyond entertainment.

INTERPRETATIONS AND NEXT STEPS

The impact of the social space included in the AES must be further examined and evaluated for the role it plays within the local community and how it contributes to the socio-cultural fabric of Palopuro. Continuing fieldwork includes, in-depth interviews with consumer participants in the AES model, as well as the key producers and processors. These interviews will be analysed in combined with the ethnographic observations to create a picture of the lived experience of the participants in the AES. The larger research intention is to combine the social aspects of AES with the biophysical aspects to create as accurate picture of the multi-faceted sustainability impacts of this model to evaluate the potential for replicability.

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Rise and growth of neo-rurality in Campania region (Italy): social innovation practices and connective branding for rural development

V. Luise, B. Orria¹³⁹

Abstract – Our study focuses on the case of neo-rurality in Campania region (southern Italy) and how neo-rural farmers propose a novel combination of economics and social practices in alternative food system. During last few years neo-rural farmers started a reflexive process proposing an alternative way of producing and marketing. They measure and communicate the value of high-quality local food in a different way, bridging the gap between supply and demand in market through collaboration and alternative food-chains. This process creates spaces where producers meet consumers. According to our findings, we conclude that neo-rural farmers are promoting a collective narrative, based on a form of collaboration that recalls the connective action strategy.

INTRODUCTION

In the last 10 years, a change has started in Campania countryside challenging the established capitalist food economy; even if no infrastructural signs of development were given, the social ferment took the floor. This brought us to consider analytically how neo-rurality is expressed through different examples of agriculture and food production, more connected to social networks, and through a wider conception of environment, care for health and human justice.

People migrating from cities to rural areas, aiming to achieve a predominantly agrarian lifestyle, have been labelled with different names: from new pioneers (Jacob, 1997) to back-to-the-landers (Belasco, 2005). Then the back-to-the-land movement resulted in two aspects: ecological entrepreneurship (Marsden & Smith, 2005) and new peasantries (Van der Ploeg, 2010); the first referring to a process where farms contribute to a sustainable rural development using environmentally friendly agriculture and direct marketing to find their economic sustainability; the second indicating the autonomy and sustainability from the conventional agri-food system, and promoting interpersonal relationships, independence and a new rural lifestyle. These two aspects are in many ways complementary (Niska et al., 2012), and recalled as “neo-rural” features.

METHODS

The research is based on survey data and ethnography, during a study in 2015, as part of the Rural Hub project¹⁴⁰. The data collection involved three regions in southern Italy: Campania, Basilicata

and Calabria, exploring aspects of neo-rurality and relevance of Rural Social Innovation (RSI - Bock, 2012). During the first phase, from March to June 2015, the survey mapped rural areas characteristics, in terms of innovative actors and neo-rural farmers, reaching more than 180 case studies. In the second phase, in June - September 2015, interviews undertaken by selected actor focused on Campania’s rural areas and traced actor’s relation with urban centres and other actors. It turned out that producers promote a combined approach to local development towards increasing quality of food, cultural and environmental resources of territory.

RESULTS

Neo-rural farmers bridge the gap between supply and demand through collaboration in alternative agri-food networks (AFNs) (Goodman, DuPuis & Goodman, 2012). In doing so, the focus on quality dimension of local food emerges as the result of the interplay between products characteristics, producers and consumers (Brunori, 2007). The emphasis on quality pushes different actors to communicate and to measure the economic value of food products in a distinctive way. Indeed, Cova (1996) argues that the relationship between production and consumption is based on a bi-directional information flow. According to this perspective, changes in the food system depend on the capacity to control the creation of meaning through the process of qualification (Callon, Méadel, Rabeharisoa, 2002), which brings to an objectification of quality characteristics. This features are reinforced by the constantly interaction between agents in AFNs who create ‘new links of meaning’ to

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¹⁴⁰ The Rural Hub project aimed to study and support the neo-rural farmers in developing a rural social innovation business model. Funded by the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research, research programme was under scientific direction of prof. Adam Arvidsson - University of Milan.



the local quality food in an inter-relational reflexivity space (Gilbert & Slied, 2009). In the performative process, producers and consumers develop a concern both for their moral agency and for their economic actions, increasing their critical awareness about quality of local food.

DISCUSSION

Following this perspective, we frame neo-rurality as a narrative-based brand, which puts together ideals, values and market behaviours. The concept of brand includes a set of marketing and communication methods and it refers to the significance that commodities acquired in the minds of consumers (Gardner & Levy, 1955). Brands are also mechanisms that enable a direct valorisation of people's ability to create trust, affect and shared meanings, that is the ability to create an ethical surplus through narrative forms (Arvidsson, 2005). Narratives help people to interpret the world around them and to create meaning. The structure of narratives provides the framework for causal inferencing about the meaning of brands and the meaning of consumers' experiences with brands. Neo-rural farmers seem to promote a collective narrative which is based on a form of connective action strategy (Bennet & Segerberg 2012). It is based on autonomous practices of collaborative but not coordinated subjects and they take advantage of networks of communication. The social networking practices involves co-production and co-distribution of meaning based on personalized expression linked to local quality food which reveal a different economic logic. "In this connective logic, taking public action or contributing to a common good becomes an act of personal expression and recognition or self-validation achieved by sharing ideas and actions in trusted relationships" (ibidem: 752). Neo-rural farmers act in a networked, connected way, that doesn't give back to them a complete picture of the movement, they are not totally aware of the magnitude of their impact. Each actor contributes to innovation by different elements, on material and immaterial level. There is no unified or defined ideology, while the opposition reference is clear: they are against the conventional agrifood system of agriculture, food production, imaginary and lifestyle. In this way they constitute stars of a galaxy. Neo-rurality represents a brand through which farmers and consumers construct an ethical and disintermediated approach to the food market. Within this alternative spaces, the food value is not defined only by economic aspects, but is also founded on human and social components (Arvidsson & Peitersen, 2013). Indeed, brand of neo-rurality creates a sense of belonging, through procedures, understanding and engagement, through practices of resources sharing and its valorisation. We assert that an emergent sense of membership and identity arises from the trajectory, or the development of practices

that foster the exchange of collectively defined and valorised resources. Resources may compose cognitive elements of practices (e.g., knowledge of procedures and rules), status elements (e.g., self-esteem), and emotional elements of practices (e.g., commitment, pride), but they may also include elements such as services, money, and accessory goods.

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Norwegian Short Food Supply Chain Development

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Abstract – This project documents contemporary short food supply chain (SFSC) development in Norway, focusing on the cooperative style of food distribution. The research aims to fill a gap in research on alternative agro-food networks by focusing on practices that aid or prevent idealistic organizations from reaching their goals. Kurt Lewin's force field analysis technique guides the identification of forces supporting and hindering the studied SFSCs' development. The ability of these SFSCs to realize their visions determines how well they will be able to contribute to building an agroecological ethic in the Norwegian public and support international paradigm shifts in rural development and economics.

INTRODUCTION

Agro-food systems around the globe are consolidating and homogenizing, but in response, segmenting and diversifying. These changes fit into what scholars are describing as economic and rural development paradigm shifts, partly in response to a clarion call within academia and civil society for change in agro-food system priorities. There is an ever-widening body of interdisciplinary research on these reactionary agro-food networks, which take various names, including alternative food networks, civic food networks, and short food supply chains. These reactionary agro-food networks have hopeful missions and many are ambitious to answer some of the aforementioned clarion calls. However, there is no guarantee that these networks will benefit farmers, consumers, agroecosystem health, or contribute to any paradigm shifts towards 'degrowth'; it depends on how well they can match their idealistic motivations with reality.

Current agro-food research focuses on the reasons these emerging food networks are developing, the motivations of the actors involved, and the diversity of activity happening around the world in this field. However, research has neither focused on what enables these emerging food systems to achieve their motivations, nor what restricts them. This study aims to fill this gap in the research, using short food supply chains (SFSCs) in Norway as a case study, focusing on consumer cooperative networks. Consumer cooperative-style distribution was initially chosen because of its ability to 'scale up' and reach urban populations, and because of initial observations that the Norwegian cooperative network was not growing as robustly as the national CSA (Community Supported Agriculture) network.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODS

Kurt Lewin's Force Field Analysis technique helps identify the supporting, hindering, and swinging forces that affect development of these SFSCs. Conducting this study in Norway allows contemplation of SFSC development in the relatively rich Global North, in a country with a relatively short growing season. Scholars have not extensively studied the unique Norwegian context, where conversations around whether to protect and promote localized farming systems or further modernize and liberalize the nation's agriculture are current and contentious.

This case study's field work mainly consisted of 17 semi-structured interviews with SFSC organizers and supplying farmers. Information from interviews and literature enabled me to deduce the forces affecting the development of these SFSCs as well as determine the most impactful forces.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A wide variety of forces support the development of these SFSCs. The SFSCs' organizers are idealistic, motivated, skilled, and amiable. They are driven to educate consumers about contemporary agro-food systems and are eager to bring consumers into their local 'foodsheds'. Many share a strong ambition to create changes they desire in society. Interviewed actors, including consumers and farmers, also desire to support local farms and create a viable alternative to Norway's powerful hegemonic agro-food distribution system. The SFSCs occupy niches in different ways. In communities across the country, demand is growing for organic products from local farms, and some of these foods are only available through SFSCs currently. Entrepreneurs are developing innovative and user-friendly online technology to support the development of these

¹⁴¹ Molly graduated in June 2017 from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences in Ås, Norway. She is a research assistant at Consumption Research Norway in Oslo. She is looking to collaborate on action research projects which focus on SFSCs, regenerative agriculture, and education.



SFSCs, in an effort to support local communities socially, economically, and environmentally.

However, many forces hinder these SFSCs from achieving their goals. The SFSCs lack capacity, and their organizers lack time. Many of these organizations lack specific, achievable goals or visions. Many SFSCs lack the funds they desire. Order numbers are low and inconsistent, influenced by moderately functional business strategies and finicky online platforms. The hegemonic agro-food system in Norway is powerful, affecting consumers' habit routines and preferences; although some interviewed actors are motivated to resist the hegemonic system, they also noted that many effects of this corporate power hinder their organizations. Food sovereignty does not exist in Norway locally, regionally, or nationally; SFSCs cannot currently source a healthy and exciting variety of products from what they deem to be their local region.

It is difficult to conclude the effect of some other identified forces, which are therefore categorized as swinging forces. It is uncertain how Norway's agricultural policies affect the development of these SFSCs, considering contradictory comments from interviewed actors and scholarly literature. Some cultural forces such as an entrenched 'dugnad' (volunteering) tradition as well as the Law of Jante affect these SFSCs in varied and uncertain ways.

In order to answer the clarion calls to localize food systems and change the course of societal, especially rural, development, these SFSCs can use the knowledge generated in this study to benefit their organizations' development. Reducing the impact of documented hindering forces in order to increase capacity to bolster identified supporting forces will help the SFSCs turn their idealistic motivations into reality. If the studied SFSCs manage success, they will support a paradigm shift in rural development and economics, which prioritizes community health and sustainable farming over business practices based solely on profit. The international network of SFSCs has a unique opportunity to educate their local communities about food and farming, and in the act, cultivate an agroecological ethic in society. Whether or not they grow into robust initiatives will determine how well these SFSCs will be able to turn any idealistic, hopeful missions into reality.

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

As a foreigner with a limited amount of time to complete this thesis project, I did not feel confident in how well I contextualized this study in the Norway's particular history, culture, and political situation. Co-authoring with someone who has deeper knowledge about Norwegian agro-food systems could

contextualize this project more insightfully. A better understanding of Norwegian consumers' interpretations of the hegemonic agro-food system would also strengthen this study and the SFSCs. The more discontent the public is, the more potential for change there is.

The concept of the 'local trap'¹⁴² advises additional further research. Despite being motivated to support small-scale sustainable farms, many of the studied SFSC coordinators and consumers did not know the actual sustainability effects of their supplying farmer's production. The stakeholders and I have a well-founded suspicion that most of these farms are multifunctional¹⁴³. However, whether or not the supplying farms have social, ecological, and cultural worth is a case for further research.

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¹⁴² As described by Born and Purcell (2006).

¹⁴³ In the definition of Dibden, Potter, and Cocklin (2009).



Ecovillages as a social innovation: examples from Hungary and Slovakia

D. Moravčíková, T. Fürjészová¹⁴⁴

Abstract – The ecovillage concept is relatively new as it was firstly mentioned and described in the 90's of the 20th century. According to researchers the ecovillages/ecocommunities introduce an answer for the socio-economic and environmental crises in the world, since the main objective of the ecovillages is to become more socially, economically and ecologically sustainable. The paper offers a case study of three selected ecovillages (two in Hungary and one in Slovakia). The form of carrying out economic activities are not the same in these ecovillages. The main objective of the paper is to analyse different types of local economic activities in surveyed ecovillages and to "evaluate" their impact on sustainability of rural area. The authors used a qualitative approach for data collection and methods of document analysis, content analysis, and analysis of foot marks. The field survey was realized in the period from February 2015 to February 2016 using semi-standardized interviews with the "leaders" of the examined communities and/or with those inhabitants who have lived in the village long enough, as well as the observation and inquiry for other residents. The paper describes economic activities like agriculture, food manufacturing, production of household goods, tourism, education, crafts and repairs, and also the examples of distance work.

INTRODUCTION

In the 19th and 20th century the creation of self-sufficient communities were all along included. Since the 1960's number of intentional communities following the teachings of their religion have started to live more in harmony with the nature. The concept was first mentioned and described in the sustainability report written by Diane and Robert Gilman in 1991. This is the reason that only a small number of resources deal with the topic of ecovillages and just a few people are familiar with its real meaning. What is more, even today many of us perceive those community members as odd and eccentric, who could not fit into the society. The ecovillage concept has been defined in many ways and especially on international level there are many definitions which seek to explain what the ecovillages are. The most famous and the most quoted definition of an ecovillage as a "great utopian design" comes from Gilman (2015): an ecovillage is "a human-scale, full-featured settlement in which human activities are harmlessly integrated into the natural world in a way that is supportive of healthy human development, with multiple centres of initiative, and (which) can successfully be continued into the indefinite future." The ecovillage according to the most comprehensive network of ecovillages (GEN, 2015) is a traditional or intentional community using local processes to holistically integrate economic, social, cultural and ecological dimensions of sustainability in order to regenerate social and natural environments. On the other hand Greenberg (2015) defines ecovillages as "living laboratories – beta test centres – for a more sustainable future. In order to survive, humans need to both reduce the ecological impacts of the resource

rich and raise the quality of life among the resource poor".

METHODS

The authors decided to use qualitative research approach using document analysis, content analysis of different sources (books, local journals, documents, and online sources), and semi standardized interview (with leaders and residents), inquiry (for residents), participating observation and analysis of foot marks for data collection. They chose 3 ecovillages (2 in Hungary, 1 in Slovakia). Valley of Zaježová is in the middle of small hills in central Slovakia. It is a widely spread village consisting of several hamlets administratively belonging to the municipality of Pliešovce. Visnyeszéplak is a tiny village located in the South-Danubian statistical region of Hungary, in Somogy County, and in the micro region Kadarkút. Krishna Valley Indian Cultural Centre and Biofarm is also located in the South-Danubian region, in Somogy County, but in the micro region Lengyeltót. Currently the biggest ecocommunity is in Krishna Valley with 126 people living in the valley and 87 in the main village, Somogyvámos. The second biggest is in Visnyeszéplak with 180, and in Zaježová 86 persons belong to the eco-conscious community.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The form of carrying out economic activities are not the same in the ecovillages. In Krishna Valley every activity is done together, with the help of each other and in close cooperation, and everything is owned by the church. In contrary in Visnyeszéplak and Zaježová everybody owns its garden and realize activities on

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the family level. All ecovillages apply organic farming from the beginning of their creation, due to conceptual and economic reasons. The main conceptual reason is that they respect the land and they do not want to exploit it with artificial methods so they do not use any dangerous pesticides and fertilizers. The economic reason for organic farming is the price. Although many people put an emphasis on the maintenance and revitalization of traditional local farming, the local production is organic, whereas the ecovillages use the elements of permaculture design for instance plant binding, intermittent grazing and energy catching. Currently in Krishna Valley the arable land size is 25 - 30 ha and the size of the meadows and pastures is 80 - 90 ha. The produced cereals on average are 54 tons/year (wheat, yellow peas, white mustard, spelted, barley, rye, oats) and the cultivated vegetable species are 40. They also own a 2 hectares big fruit garden. However the economic activities of the inhabitants in Visnyeszéplak and Zaježová is done separately, at the level of families, in the first the residents cultivate grain together on several hectares and they own a community garden, as well. In Zaježová the inhabitants have jointly grown potatoes for 3 years, but it failed and currently there is no common plant cultivation. In both, Zaježová and Visnyeszéplak people breed mainly sheep, goats, cows, horses, and poultry. In Krishna Valley instead of cow breeding, they have cow protection. In Visnyeszéplak there are some beekeepers who produce certificated organic honey. Krishna Valley and Visnyeszéplak has its own seed bank, where they try to collect those seeds which can be replanted. Moreover, they organize events for exchange of such seeds between the different ecovillages.

In all the examined ecovillages the food production is observed, but its extent differs. Generally dairy products, jams, dried fruits, compotes and preserved vegetables are produced the most. The most popular locally produced household goods are the cleaning and washing products. Educational activities and specific forms of tourism are realized in all ecovillages, and every village is represented by typical crafts and repairs, too:

Visnyeszéplak - blacksmiths, wood carvers, felt makers, leather workers, carpenters, weaving.

Krishna Valley - basket weaving, pottery according to the demand, artists for temple work.

Zaježová - carpenters, bricklayers, furnace constructors, natural house builders, plasters, wood jewellery design, mosaic creator. In this village also distance work is offered (e.g. web design, creation of artistic photos, videos, environmental movies, project management services).

CONCLUSIONS

The residents of ecovillages are city people who became farmers as a result of their personal choice

and conscious decision. Alternative farming, schooling, detachment from the national networks supply and building of self-sufficiency require from the communities a serious moral strength. The most prosperous communities in Hungary are based on strong religious beliefs, but the Slovak example of an ecovillage shows that this is not necessary. Permaculture, community farming, land management and the use of renewable energy sources are available also to secular communities. It is crucial to highlight that the ecovillagers are not eccentric and the ecovillages are not "isolated enclaves". Although the examined villages were created differently they all share common features which corresponds to the motivations of new-settlers to move out from the city, these are: sustainable life; community spirit; restoring social structures, control over energy, food and water resources; breaking away from the constant buzz of city and from the consumer society; and living in harmony with the nature and with themselves. The ecovillage movement does not respond to all problems of rural areas and to the whole sustainability crisis. It is only one of the alternative solutions which do not aspire to replace the dominant way of life.

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Structured approach to alternative food initiatives: the case of local food movement in Lithuania

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Abstract – This paper aims to identify whether alternative food initiatives (AFIs) are part of a broader local food movement (LFM) in Lithuania. It presents an attempt to use new social movement (NSM) theory as an analytic framework for a more structured analysis of AFIs development.

INTRODUCTION

In response to recent disclosure and discontent of conventional food system, AFIs have been building momentum, challenging the corporate-led industrial food system by developing viable local solutions. Due to its spread and innovation, AFIs have captured an interest of a number of academic disciplines. On the other hand, scientific literature concerning alternative food systems is abundant with low theoretical and conceptual framework. Most existing research considers individual AFIs operating independently on specific projects with modest consideration of the broad collaborations among these initiatives through networks (Levkoe, 2014). Reforms and innovations in food systems are usually treated as a self-standing shift, and the role of consumers in these developments is still understated.

We argue that NSM theory provides a lacking theoretical framework for a more structured explanation of the development of AFIs. A. Starr (2010) was one of the first authors to analyze whether and how local food is a social movement. A. Murtagh (2010), A. Giovanangeli (2013), and Ch. Levkoe (2014) analyzed the development of local food institutions from a SMs perspective in Irish, French and Canadian cases respectively.

This paper presents a first attempt to analyse the development of Lithuanian AFIs as a NSM. All forms of widespread AFIs are found in Lithuania: farmers' markets, community supported agriculture (CSA), box schemes, farmers' shops, in-store farmers' markets, internet delivery systems, farm-to school or kindergarten, even an innovative online network for bilateral co-operation of producers and consumers. Moreover, a recent research revealed that approximately 79 percent of Lithuanian urban residents were local food buyers, i.e. buying local food more than once a week (Eicate, Dabkiene, 2015). Such multiplicity and success of AFIs, oriented

towards creating a local food system, raises question, whether they are part of a broader LFM in Lithuania? Or is it more of a short-term range of individual initiatives?

THEORETICAL GROUND

A list of main features defining a NSM and differentiating it from other cognate phenomena was adopted for the research. M. D. Della Porta and M. Diani (2006) suggest that a NSM consists of organizations and individuals linked by dense informal networks, engaged in conflictual interactions with opponents, and having a shared collective identity. For social phenomena to qualify as movement, network links must be more than cursory, and should involve shared engagement in collective action (Saunders, 2007). By conflict, an oppositional relationship between NSM and other actors seeking control of the same stake is meant. According to M. Wiewiorka (2005), NSMs are involved in conflicts with impersonal, distant or undefined adversaries. Finally, shared identity implies a sense of common purpose and shared commitment to a cause which transcends boundaries of any specific event (Della Porta, Diani, 2006).

METHODS AND FINDINGS

The presence of the LFM in Lithuania was evaluated using different methods, customary in ethnography, i.e. participant observation, discourse analysis, with a particular attention to the analysis of each initiative's external narrative.

Networking. The establishment of "Viva Sol" association in 2006 marked an inception of LFM in Lithuania which was based on networking from the very beginning. "Viva Sol" launched weekly tasting meetings of producers and consumers, called 'Farm coming to town', as well as open-door weekends when 'town' was coming to 'farm' to take part in the food production process. The association also initiated

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the establishment of the first regular farmers' market in Vilnius in 2007 and first CSA in 2009. Soon after that urban consumers supported the rise of flash farmers' markets in the largest cities. In 2007 "Viva Sol" initiated cheese making classes which turned into one of the activities of cheese producers' organisation founded by members of the association three years later.

On the other hand, some early AFIs, for example young farmers' market, some cases of CSA, inspired by shared experiences through networking, did not complete the pre-developmental phase because of the lack of committed consumers.

Currently, networking in Lithuanian LFM is further supported by direct links among many AFIs sharing same members, as local producers simultaneously take part in different initiatives. Restaurants with a menu based on local seasonal cuisine co-operate with local producers through farmers' markets. Finally, networking is evident via participation of AFIs' members in joint events, such as discussions, annual exhibitions, food conferences and festivals.

Conflict. Impersonal and usually undefined opposition of AFIs gained its face with foundation of the Institute of "Healthy child" in 2009. It started as a catalogue of harmful food additives and developed into public campaigns. The Institute not only defines what healthy food is, but also indicates the source of unhealthy, noxious food products, i.e. it indicates the adversary of the movement which is anonymous food industry. More recently the Institute launched an autonomous AFI by organizing regular group sales of local organic production. While bringing local producers and consumers closer through its value system, the "Healthy child" makes both groups engage in a personal and clearly defined conflict.

Shared identity. Common purpose and shared commitment, characterising Lithuanian LFM, was considered as a congruence of goals, declared by AFIs and consumers organisations (Viva Sol, Healthy child, Tymo farmers' market association). Despite different motives, all organisations promote provision of safe, quality food and closer ties between producers and consumers, based on solidarity and mutual trust. Shared identity is complemented by collection of individual consumers' values and motives: social conscience and health concern are the most important drivers of purchasing local food among Lithuanian consumers (Eičaitė, Dabkienė, 2015).

Identity is sustained and constantly re-produced through personal contacts between consumers and producers, food blogging, chefs' creative engagement, educational events, and media.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The evidence of all applied NSM features suggests that LFM is present in Lithuanian case. Failure of some AFIs, on the other hand, characterizes the movement as fledgling. It is largely the confluence of different

movements and coalitions, such as environmental, organic, healthy lifestyle, localism, etc., that has recently provided a significant impetus for the LFM development in Lithuania.

If a LFM is present, AFIs can be better understood as integral part of it: NSM approach accounts for driving forces of AFIs, motivations and values of its participants, as well as its impact on rural development in general. Therefore, the significance of NSM approach to local food and AFIs studies is in its potential to provide structured and systematic knowledge on the development of AFIs.

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