

Territorial Governance

André Torre • Jean-Baptiste Traversac
Editors

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Local Development, Rural Areas
and Agrofood Systems



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Introduction

André Torre and Jean-Baptiste Traversac

As custodians of tradition, entrusted with the mission of ensuring the continuing survival of memorial areas and the permanence of social and productive relations, rural areas and farming activities occupy a special place in the imaginations of European citizens. Nevertheless, rural specialists have long stressed that the changes that affect contemporary economies and societies also run through these spaces and contribute to their evolution, sometimes in a radical way (Cloke et al. 2006; van der Ploeg et al. 2000).

The transformation of farming methods, the mutations in the agrifood industries and their links with distribution, the demographic repopulation of rural areas and the new activities taking place there, the demand for nature and protected areas, the increasing role played by agricultural activities in sustainable development: these are all changes a reality of which nobody today disputes. The socio-economic upheavals in rural zones and changes in people's conception of the countryside and of nature are a subject of consensus for sociologists and economists, as well as for specialists in town and country planning. All agree on the need to reconsider the place of rural areas, to rethink their dynamics and to ponder their metamorphoses, their future and the role they play in contemporary society.

But these changes are also a source of contradictions. The vision of "new rural territories" is a result of the desire expressed by an increasing number of consumers, often from urban areas, anxious about environmental issues, to preserve natural areas. But at the same time, this fantasy of a countryside made up of open spaces echoes other preoccupations of the self-same actors. They want to consume authentic food products, products from "good" farming practices with sustainability as a vocation. And there is also a wish to develop the use of rural areas for leisure activities: not so much to produce anything in these places, more to create a space for residential, recreational or tourism purposes.

These opposing Manichean visions do not stand up to deeper analysis. Rural areas are no more homogeneous than the populations that live there; both are

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subject to major changes, tensions and diverse and often contradictory evolutionary processes (Perrier-Cornet 2002). The processes of development depend on a complex assemblage of planning projects introduced by local decision makers and local authorities, as well as the actions of various groups of private participants or associations, not to mention the projects of the populations living there, visiting or adopting them as reference areas. And they further involve remote participants and rules and laws from the national and international spheres. The resulting effects: agglomeration on the one hand, centrifugal forces on the other hand, combine and sometimes clash. The need for governance of these territories is then clearly felt within spaces that have been fragmented by divergent motivations and usages, and in rural and periurban areas wrought by power struggles for public and economic management of natural, productive and landscaped infrastructures.

1 Rural Areas Today, Places of Profound Changes

In all the industrialized countries, and particularly in Europe, rural areas have shared the same evolutionary tendencies since the Second World War. They first of all find themselves increasingly dependent on urban areas, with a process of periurbanization (urban sprawl) and linking with neighbouring towns, and by a greater and greater submission to decisions taken by urban populations, including those far from rural zones, whether it be tourists, migrants or consumers of agricultural spaces and products. Furthermore, the rural areas are themselves becoming more and more urbanized, as we can see from the increase in small towns, and the diffuse process of urbanization that is affecting many areas still classified as rural. Two striking results emerge: a downward trend in their traditional productive roles – as revealed by losses in value and in employment in the primary sector, and the increasing assignment of rural areas to housing and recreation.

1.1 Rural Areas, in the Heart of the Driving Development in Industrialised Countries

Despite a strong tendency toward the urbanisation of areas, strong migratory flows toward towns and a reallocation of non-agricultural uses tending to transform rural areas into urban-style developed areas, the countryside is holding a predominant place in terms of the occupation of space in industrialized countries, particularly within the European Union. Rural areas, defined as the sum of predominantly rural regions (here after PR) and intermediate regions (IR), today occupy 91% of the surface area of the Union of 27 and hold more than half the population (European Union 2009). The position of the countryside is strong in all the member-states and all the regions – even without taking into account the figures for the 12 new members from the East, with their accentuated rural character – though comparison

between member-states does show large divergences. Some countries are highly urban (Belgium, the Netherlands, Malta, where more than half of the population lives in a predominantly urban region – PU), while others are mainly rural (Cyprus, Luxemburg, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Estonia, where more than half the population live in mainly rural areas – PR + IR) (European Union 2009).

What Are Rural Areas as Defined by the European Community?

The definition of rural depends on a unit of measurement of the area and how it is made up. European Commission reports on the evolution of rural areas take the OECD definition for defining rural areas is based on the population density of the smallest spatial units, the rural communes, taking the region as a scale of statistical aggregation (e.g. NUTS3 or NUTS2) (OECD 1994, 2006).

- Predominantly rural region – PR: if more than 50% of the population live in rural communes, defined as having fewer than 150 inhabitants/km²
- Intermediate region – IR: where 15–50% of the population lives in rural communes. If there is an urban centre of more than 200,000 inhabitants representing more than 25% of the regional population in a predominantly rural region it is reclassified as an intermediate region
- Predominantly urban region – PU: where less than 15% of the population lives in a rural communes. If there is an urban centre of more than 500,000 inhabitants representing more than 25% of the population of the region in an intermediate zone, it is reclassified as a predominantly urban region

In demographic terms the main characteristic of rural zones is the low population density: 41 inhabitants/km² on average in predominantly rural regions against 561 inhabitants/km² in predominantly urban regions. For rural regions, large divergences exist between Member States, from 10 to 12 inhabitants/km² on average in predominantly rural regions in Finland and Sweden against 83–185 inhabitants/km² in PRs in Germany and the Netherlands. There are no great differences in the presence of elderly populations in the PRs compared with the PUs (a deviation in the proportion of over 65 s of 0.2 points on average in 2007 and a progression of the order of +1.5% between 2000 and 2007), apart from in certain countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Portugal, and Sweden. Moreover, regions that are relatively dynamic demographically have not a more marked urban or rural character (European Union 2009).

Centrifugal forces are at the origin of the development of rural zones. The low level of migration between urban and rural labour markets, local property tax differentials, land consumption by companies and housing and the cost of moving assets allow expansion in industrial activities. To these factors can be added the differential in the cost of labour in favour of rural regions. Salaries and incomes in PRs are lower than in PUs, from 21% to 46% less according to the Member-States, essentially through differences in levels of remuneration and qualifications

(Huiban et al. 2004). While finance, real estate, commerce and industry services remain essentially urban, agriculture and food activities together with intermediate-good industries, are preferentially implanted in rural areas.

Many rural regions, sometimes under pressure from local residents, are turning deliberately toward recreational and service activities. The growing clusters of inhabitants within small country towns, the ageing of the population and the greater attention given to health care are driving the creation of a large number of personal service activities. At the same time, the attraction of rural areas leads to the creation of many jobs linked to tourist, nature or leisure activities as well as personal services. This is the case in countries where the activities of those who produce and rural development policies are clearly directed towards a diversification in the activities of farmers, as in Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark.

Nevertheless, there does exist a strong strategy for intensive agriculture in a group of countries that may be called the agricultural hub of Europe – France, Spain, Italy, and in a lesser measure, Germany, Poland and Romania, who remain attached to an orthodox way of increasing productivities. This is born out by the programmatic of agricultural policy made during the budget planning of the second pillar of the CAP. In France the share of axis 3 relative to the diversification of activities in rural areas –farming one or not – is of the order of 8% of the total budget, while in the Netherlands it is 28% and in Romania 25% (European Union 2009).

Rural spaces are areas for both living and employment, and provide 55% of jobs in the Union and 27–43% of added value. The rate of unemployment is higher on average (8.3% in 2007) than in PUs (7.7%). The difference in incomes is also very large, in whichever state in the Union. For an incomes index of 100 in the Union, the average for PUs is 130 whereas it is only 70 in PRs. There, the tendency is toward an increase in the proportion of industrial employment to the detriment of agricultural employment, in particular by the development of tourist and residential activities. The “mature” zones in the centre of Europe are seeing the proportion of turnover of industry and services remaining constant or progressing moderately (from –1.2% to 1.8%), whereas the peripheral regions, in a catching-up effect, are increasing at a rate of 2.2–3.3% per year. This old trend, which began with a rural exodus to supply labour demand in urban zones, is continuing with a loss of jobs in agriculture, following a strong increase in the productivity of agriculture labour.

1.2 The Weakening of the Preponderant Position of Agricultural Activity in Rural Areas

In most countries of the EU, rural areas were for a long time mainly agricultural, despite large variations, for example when comparing the situation of France, under the strong grip of agriculture, with that of the Netherlands or Belgium, where there has historically been a sharing of space with other activities and occupants. The assimilation of rural space to agricultural space, incarnated for example in policies

concerning farming activities above all, was primordial. Not only did farming occupy the main part of rural areas and model the landscape and land use, but farmers dominated these areas, whether by activity or decision making, for example in local councils or government of rural zones.

With the end of the Second World War came a strong balancing movement in the industrialized countries, limiting the place and the role of farming, including in rural areas. It was first of all the farming economy that saw profound changes. The quest for productivity increase through heavy investment led to an increase in farmed surfaces, to the setting up of standardized food production and the massive introduction of mechanization, fertilizers and pesticides with heavy consequences on jobs and the environment. There resulted a dual movement of increasing size of farmed land areas and a steady decline in their number. With the increase of labour productivity in agriculture there were fewer and fewer farmers in the countryside. Eventually farming lost its dominant position in the rural world, faced with the rise of new activities such as industry, services and tourism, brought about by changes in tastes and people's expectations of rural areas.

Various studies have shown that although farming today still plays a structuring role, it no longer has a preponderant role in the growth of developed regions (Shucksmith et al. 2005; Rodriguez-Pose 2004). Its position is continuously weakening while at the same time the farming profession inclines to become transformed under the impact of changes in methods of production induced by agricultural policy orientation and globalization of markets. In most European regions the large drop in agricultural employment has been partially compensated by an increase in rural employment in industry and services. The share of industrial employment – manufacturing employment and industry services – has even increased in rural zones while diminishing in urban centers (European Union 2009).

The primary sector (i.e. agriculture, forestry) today contributes a very small proportion to the total added value of the developed economies. Its added value represents less than 5% of the total added value in the PRs of the European Union, while its contribution is now only 3.1% in intermediate regions (European Union 2009). Nevertheless, its contribution to the GDP of the Union of 27 remained €182 billion in 2005, of which €145 billion came from the Europe of 15, being 0.8% of the total GDP of the Union. To this must be added €213 billion from the food and farming industries sector, very unevenly distributed, €191 billion being produced by the Union of 15.

The decline in the size of the primary economic sector can be ascribed first of all to the fall of the agricultural sector. From a statistical point of view, the contribution of agriculture to the economy of the Union is still decreasing. The shrinking of the production of value took place at a rate of –1.4% per year in PRs between 2000 and 2005, and was accompanied by a sharp drop in employment. However, farming remains a job-providing sector, representing 15.1% of the total employment in the PRs and 8.2% in IRs in 2005. The shrinking in farming employment is a little less than the diminishing of value, resulting in high structural inertia in the sector, particularly pronounced in New Members States (NMS). Thus, the number of jobs in the primary sector decreased less rapidly

than in the secondary sector (-0.9% against -1.8% between 2000 and 2005) (European Union 2009).

Although on the decline in all countries, there are some bastions of farming. In France, Italy and Spain, the agricultural sector contributes more than €25 billion to the national GDP, compared with €15 billion for Germany and the Ukraine. For these five countries, farming may represent less than 2.5% of the total GDP, but it has for some regions a non-negligible spill-over effect on the secondary and tertiary sectors (Doucet 2002). For some NMS farming makes a weighty contribution to employment and to GDP, particularly in Bulgaria and in Romania (nearly 30%). For these countries, much more than for the rest of the Union, farming employment is a compensatory variable (Pouliquen 2007).

But the mutation in farming is not limited to a lowering of the farm number; it is seen also in the agronomic practices and in the landscape. Gains in productivity and the increasing cost of labour have transformed farming systems. These have become more and more specialized and labour density has become greatly reduced. These transformations have had a considerable impact on rural landscapes: the space given over to permanent meadows have shrunk while farmed fields and large-scale farming have spread. But there are major ecological impacts. The ploughing-up of meadows considerably reduces the biodiversity, and soils become fragile with the application of chemical fertilizers. The disappearance of hedge-rows exposes soils to erosion from rain and wind and profoundly modifies agro-ecosystems, with consequences on their sustainability and human well being.

However, farming activities still play a crucial role in rural areas, as they shape the landscape. Thus today, in a region like Paris-region, the largest industrial and urban region in Europe, farming takes up nearly 60% of the surface. Farming activity remains inescapable, especially in terms of its grip on land, of style, of forms and of the unavoidable landscape dimension that it imposes on areas where it is present.

2 The Importance of the Spatial Dimension

These social and economic transformations have important effects on the spatial structures and modes of organization in rural and periurban areas, as well as on the actual organization of territories and the geography of local economies. For they cause mutations that perturb both local regulations and the relations between the rural world and its national and international environment. They lead to large changes at a local level, influencing the emergence of new territories or by playing a part in the recognition of the features of “terroirs” beyond the original area. They also have an impact on the territorial embeddedness of food industries and agricultural enterprises. And lastly, these mutations do not spare the spatial layout of the rural world, influenced by the presence of towns and the increased mobility of people and goods, and by residential development, source of tension and conflict.

2.1 The New Rural Territories

Mutations affect rural areas, and the most striking way in which this can be seen in the process of creation and/or the appearance of new rural territories, differing from traditional agrofood territories. Claiming the existence of, and rights to, particular territories by certain categories of the population is nothing new in rural regions. We just have to remember that there have always existed localized agro-food production systems characterized by the way they are organized between local people and the outside world, systems that can still be seen in numerous developing countries and designated as local agro-food systems (Sanz-Canada and Macias-Vazquez 2005).

In any case, an awareness of the territorial dimension, which was patent in the surge of literature and public policies in the 1990s, has today been joined by the interest of local participants in the heritage, cultural and economic issues impinging on their life-style. There are for example crop areas accredited as organic farming, or places dedicated to tourist services, natural parks with nature protection, ecologically protected zones, wet zones, periurban areas with a mixture of urban and rural life. These areas are shaped under the effect of local planning, consumer demands from near or far afield and by the application of public policies.

The current process of constructing new rural territories is based on a stated desire and melting pot of local people with different minds. It is original, for two reasons. Firstly there is a mass movement which can be accounted for by two factors: a change in the pattern of rural development policies at local and European levels, and the expressed desire of local populations to gather and find their identity around common representation, put into action as part of a collective social edifice managed at a local level. Secondly, people in rural territories are increasingly finding themselves involved in projects that differ widely from the traditional farming and food industries (see the Leader Community Initiative of the rural development policy 2007–2013 or the policy of the Centers of Rural Excellence in France). Although zones explicitly devoted to industrial production remain in a minority, numerous projects in rural areas testify to the predominance of leisure and tourism activities, aimed at attracting permanent residents and occasional visitors.

2.2 The Evolution of the Town–Country Relationship and the “Renaissance” of Rural Areas

The last century’s disaffection of rural areas has given way today to a renewal of dynamism in the countryside, to the advantage of twice types of activities, industrial and services on one hand, residential and leisure on the other. Since the 1990s, the deserting of these areas has been succeeded by new planning in which farming is giving way to a diversification of activities. Alongside the repopulating by new residents, rural areas are being seen as attractive, whether because of lower local

taxes or of the availability of cheaper labour, especially in non-agricultural sectors. This attractiveness is linked to the movements of people between towns and the countryside (van Leeuwen and Nijkamp 2006), which raises the question of the increase in, and types of, mobility.

The first type of mobility is commuting, with daily trips of town centre workers who live ever more distant periurban zones. Rural areas are no longer separate from towns, but are taking on the features of an “intermediate” zone, neither fully urbanised nor completely rural, or sandwiched between urbanised zones (Verwijnen and Lehtovuori 1999). The cohabitation of part-time urbanites and rural inhabitants confers more complexity to these areas and raises the question of different expectations about land development and local infrastructures. Schools, swimming pools, cultural centres are at the core of preoccupations and demands of new arrivals, while the older residents see above all a rise in local taxes. In parallel with this is an evolution in the kind of environment people want to live in, from demands for green spaces to a domesticated nature, where trees and open farmland are important to some. For others, these areas must remain reserved for traditional activities such as hunting, where the sharing of space becomes difficult. These divergences in how people envision and wish to make use of nature influence the relationships that the various people in rural and periurban zones have with each other, and result in confrontations where each tries to impose his point of view.

Other forms of mobility are of larger scale, whether it concerns tourist visits or leisure, the number of trips having considerably increased in the last few years, while their duration has tended to shorten, favouring both close and distant destinations. Tourists go to rural areas to be in the countryside, where they practice sporting activities (rambling, mountain biking, hunting, fishing) or leisure (lakes, leisure parks etc.), in developments by local authorities or private operators, their relationship with the rural area being strongly influenced by their expectations as city-dwellers. This is the rise of the residential economy (Davezies 2002). Many conflicts arise from the way the uses or envisioning of space differ between permanent and temporary users of rural areas. Particularly concerned are conflicts of access, which control whether or not it is possible to enter or cross certain areas, but it can also be issues of biodiversity or the degradation of beauty spots by over-intensive usage.

The last type of mobility is the permanent displacement, being the definitive settling of new residents in country areas where the climate is milder or by the sea. This movement, one of the most striking among recent demographic tendencies (Schmitt et al. 1998), is a sign of the progress of the residential economy and the growing role that it is playing outside urban areas. The process of periurbanisation, characteristic of the 1970s and 1980s, is thus tending, in certain European regions such as Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands, to give way to areas characterised by a mixture of housing and open spaces.

With structural land changes, a necessity to support the new activities, come conflicts for the control of space, conflicts that take shape around urbanism documents. Other conflicts result from the urbanization of communal spaces: neighbours' disagreements about the usage of rural spaces; rejection of farm buildings;

theft of crops; demands for facilities, and the associated local taxes, which oppose those who want facilities of an “urban” quality of life and those who find this too expensive.

2.3 Territorial Deanchorage and Reanchorage of Agricultural Production Processes

A fundamental consequence of the mutations that affect rural territories resides in changes in the spatial embedding of farms and the food industry. After a period of delocalization of production and activities, characteristic of the industrialization and production phase that marked the development of the agro-industrial complex, the pendulum is slowly swinging back, as shown by the reembedding of farming organizations. Seeking to profit from the emergence of new social schemes in the areas, enterprises and farming operations want once more to invest at a local level.

From the end of the nineteenth century to the period after the Second World War, there was a process of delocalization of the activities of food production from farms, which had two origins. On the one hand, the pursuit of productivity gains caused an increase in capital requirements and accelerated the integration of farming and the food industry, under the pressure of national and world markets. The stated objectives of cost-effectiveness and profitability led to the setting up of industrial and financial styles of management, which contributed to the linking of farming to other economic sectors, upstream and downstream. On the other hand, the growing influence of distribution, downstream, had important repercussions on commodity chains, which had to adapt to producing bigger amounts of transformed food, especially following a series of concentration of operators, transformers and distributors. These new participants, located outside of rural areas, developed commercially rational procedures that had no relationship to the local character of operations or firms. Production processes of food were standardized, with the aim of removing the link between product and place of origin.

But today these processes are reaching their limits. Serial health crises and the emergence of new problems in public health linked to obesity and the increase in life expectancy have caused changes in consumers’ behaviour toward diet, accompanied by a demand for the traceability of products and a renewal of interest for local items (Henneberry and Armbruster 2004; Tregear et al. 2007). A substantial proportion of demand is shifting from mass consumption, satisfied by a production strategy of generic food at low prices, toward a demand for variety calling for a segmentation of the supply and a search for quality. This new factor impinges both on the identification of products and on the production processes in the field and in the factories. This being so, we observe in long period a territorial reanchoring of activities and enterprises. This trend is accompanying new ways of producing.

For consumers looking for products linked to a particular place, the geographical origin is meaningful information, and so the locality-linked reinvestment of

enterprise activities operates with labels linked to a geographical origin, be these to mention the origin in a formal and precise way, as with the European PGI (Protected Geographical Indications/Protected Designation of Origin) and the French AOC (Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée) and, or more vaguely as with made in, ethnic information or labels associated with religious rites. Producers organize themselves so as to place value on their resources and to transform them within well identified areas. This is the case for SMEs who set up in business in market sectors corresponding to a strongly regional identification, the geographical origin of products becoming a marketing tool leading them to favour specific geographical production sites (Schamel 2006). This is also the case for the marketing of local products, which is carried out through local systems of wine or flavour roads type, which within a single basket strongly associate local production and environmental characteristics (Getz and Brown 2006).

Finally, the emergence of issues related to the relationship between local farming and regional rural or urban development is the result of pressure by "local" consumers and farmers. The "locavore" movements, taken up by distributors when they refer to food-miles, bear witness to the increasing concern about ethical and spatial issues. Organizations such as Community Supported Agriculture (CSO) are a concrete application of solutions put forward by ecologist movements. The proximity of food producers and consumers, advocated by environmental and locavore associations, is beginning to make sense (Higgins et al. 2008).

This general movement of reembedding cannot, though, be interpreted as a return to the past: it reflects a re-invention of what it is to be local. Political orders and territorial representations are designed through a search for specific images and a refinement of specific resources that are intimately entwined. The locality remains very strongly linked to the exterior through the continual exchanges between it and the outside world:

- To make the best use of local resources, farmers are constrained to develop specific assets. Thus, mastering farmland traceability procedures requires parcels to be defined, which involves investment for the territory qualification, investments composed by information technology together with advanced technical skills. The certification of production processes and the logistic constraints imposed by demand are not possible without ever heavier and more specific technical, financial and human investments.
- However the development of activities and policies in partnerships at an international level, the development of centralized logistics platforms, the control of costs and delivery times are non-negotiable imperatives in the relations with people located in other geographical areas: salad can only be delivered from France to Switzerland if the locations of logistics hubs are taken into account, which in turn affects where the items are produced and where the distributors are. Exploiting a regional or local image thus means associating accessibility and locality with modifications to global systems of production and distribution (Watts et al. 2005).

2.4 The Rural Areas and Their Links with the Global World

The mutations affecting the activities of the food and farming industries and rural territories do not only have an impact on the internal life of the regions; they also contribute to reinforcing the link between the global and the rural, a link that for a long time remained exogenous, or even completely unknown to the players in those areas.

For the quasi self-subsistent farmer in the beginning of the twentieth century the place for exchanging goods was local market. Globalization remained for a long time an abstract idea, decisions taken elsewhere having only a weak or very indirect impact on his daily existence (Loulidis and Maraveyas 1997). But things have greatly changed with the evolutions of the last 40 years, especially with the decision of abolition of the tariff barriers and the introduction of the CAP in its successive mutations. Decisions taken at a national, then a European level, have begun to impose themselves on farmers. They have introduced a burden of constraints in terms of efficiency, first of all on prices and quantities produced, then today by farmland set-aside injunctions and agro-environmental measures involving the monitoring of farming process (Lynggaard 2007). More or less well accepted, these constraints have marked the sustained intrusion of an “elsewhere” into the daily life and strategic decisions of farming enterprises.

To these injunctions and prescriptions have been added the growing effect in the production domain of the requirements and behaviour of private players who may be outside the territory, but which bear heavily on the fortunes of the territory. This is the case with the increasing role played by industry and mass distribution affecting prices, or the increasing complexity of specifications and partner agreements that seek to respond to the concerns raised by the health crises of the 1990s by associating products with rural areas, symbols of authenticity and quality, and quality-assurance and traceability procedures. Awareness of food-related risks and an increasing reluctance of the consumers to accept these risks have led to a profusion of traceability procedures for food products (Giraud-Héraud and Soler 2006). The public authorities and their services have put into place various types of tracking, which initially affected “traditional” production before being extended to industry (Reed 2009).

An example of how rural areas have come under the power of external forces is the agri-environmental measures in the reform of the CAP in 1992, which introduced a regime of aid to farmers who agreed to use environmentally friendly practices; these measures have an impact not only on how farmers go about their business, but also on relations between farmers and other users of the land, and in a general way on the welfare of the region and its inhabitants. They prefigure future utilizations, the transforming and marketing of natural and rural spaces.

By having the farmer responsible for the maintenance of the countryside or the heritage, these measures have helped to change the status of the farmer in society and to bring about face to face relations with other local people. The measures are more and more idiosyncratic; first of all because they apply to zones that have been

defined in partnership with the various people involved: catchment areas, production zones, wet zones, natural parks; next, because they are managed at a local level, thereby associating decentralized services of the state, local institutions such as water authorities, and local farmer groups such as producer unions. The territorial dimension arises from this combination of a defined geographical area and a group of participants who try to organize it in terms of objectives decided in concert. Farm operators have discussions to define the methods and procedures that will be used, and also to establish the working rules and the rules for the sharing of profits from their actions. They must also seek local allies, not only among the public sector but also among partners or competitors working in the same area whether producers or residents.

Dependence on outside intervention of the resident populations in rural areas is particularly noteworthy in the case of the Natura 2000 network. The aim of this scheme is to contribute to preserving bio-diversity within the territory of the European Union, through a survey of birds' natural habitats and the wild flora and fauna. It aims to ensure the protection of sites listed in the "Birds" and "Habitats" directives (1979), without necessarily banning all human activity, with the object of promoting a suitable management system for natural habitats and their wild flora and fauna while respecting economic, social and cultural requirements and special regional and local features. All of the human activities taking place in these zones, whether productive or related to leisure pursuits or residence, are thus bound to these regulations and their limits to activities. The directives for the utilization of rural areas are thus drawn up outside these areas on a twofold scale, European and national, sometimes unconnected with the demands of the local users. The inhabitants of rural zones thus find themselves depending on decisions taken outside their area, particularly decisions concerning laws and regulations.

3 The Difficult Question of the Governance of Rural Areas

Today the question of the governance of rural and periurban areas arises with force, for three main reasons. The first arises from the manifest complexity of the people present in the territories: the relative homogeneity of farming populations is giving way to a mosaic of interested parties, such as suppliers of services or industrial goods, and to new residents, to tourists and visitors. The second reason is the greater and greater involvement of the populations, who want to take part in the decision making processes and in local projects, through various pressure groups such as associations and formal or informal lobbies of suppliers. The third reason stems from levels of governance: to the local (or regional) and national (federal) echelons is added the European echelon, with its trail of decisions and regulations.

3.1 From Territorial Administration to Territorial Governance

The notion of governance is rather blurred and ambiguous; Pasquier et al. (2007) define it as “a set of rules and styles making possible the conduct of a public action” in a context where society is becoming more and more differentiated (and autonomous) and where there are more and more interested parties. Or the notion is sometimes presented as a government of compromise or as a process of multi-level and multi-polar coordination in a strongly asymmetric context where there are many decision centers.

Following institutional innovations brought about by decentralisation and contractualisation in many countries, the participants have been led to try out new forms of public action and involvement in decision making, passing from a pyramidal or hierarchic organisation, founded on the public institutions, to a network type organisation (Kooiman 2000; Powell 1991) that combines public–private partnerships (Wettenhall 2003) and involves a highly varied group of players (Pierre 2000) and multiple territorial levels (Hooghe and Marks 2001).

Yet government must continue. The tools of governance are therefore aimed at easing the participation of a more and more varied public of parties or of those with interests (public representatives versus private lobbies, political agents versus members of associations) in decision processes that are more and more fragmented and dispersed and at the same time less and less certain. This is the rupture of the government approach to public affairs by hermetic administrative and political devices, and the upsurge of questions of local democracy in the management procedures of people and organisations.

Governance involves the participation of players with heterogeneous preferences in the decision process, people from different groups each with their particular incentives. It becomes a focal point focusing the numerous contributions in coordination, interaction, collective action, empowerment and learning – with a special emphasis on participation and consultation. In some human sciences – institutional economy, political science, sociology, management – discussions may be about a specific object, but much interdisciplinary work revolves around a few key themes: expertise and public action, the general interest, participative governance, property rights, community governance, development, public policies, governance vis-à-vis the issue of proximity (Torre and Zuindeau 2009), voluntary schemes, equal access to resources, as borne out by the terms of world, European, urban, or environmental governance, etc.

Thinking in terms of territorial governance refers to concrete objectives in terms of local and rural development:

- Favour the setting up of territorial development projects
- Contribute to the design of wide consultation schemes
- Facilitate the coordination of heterogeneous groups of players
- Limit the spatial exit of people with certain profiles
- Avoid sterile confrontations
- Decide on development pathways

Through this stance there also appears a renewal of the methods whereby a representation or a common project is constructed. It shakes up the schemes to be set up and calls for a reinforcement of the processes of local democracy or deliberative democracy.

The definition of territorial governance then comes down to the territorialisation of standards and the relevance of administrative territories, together with the modes of participation of multiple players in a collective process of decision making or economic development. It leads to a questioning of issues of rural governance (Welch 2002) and sustainable development (Lowe and Ward 2007) and their application to territories, and to issues of multi-level governance and coordination between territories. Talking about territorial governance comes down to considering them as places for the construction of collective projects, the expressing of global/local relations and the taking into account of sustainable development issues (Rey-Valette et al. 2008).

3.2 Elements of Territorial Governance: The Role of the Various Stakeholders

For a broad view of the governance of territories, we have first to consider the components of public action that contribute to the decision making of local or extra-local public authorities. In particular these include:

- Laws and edicts at a national level – civil law, criminal law, rural law, environment law etc. – that apply both to particular territories and to the whole administrative territories – regions, districts, municipalities etc. – of a nation.
- Regulations, both from national regulations – concerning safety, labour legislation, discrimination – and from the regulations and directives from the EU, and they apply indifferently in theory in the various States of the EU.
- Tools for public, national or decentralised policies at the level of the main European regions: economic policies for industrial development, services, agriculture or energy; social policies concerning work, housing, health, education; territorial development policies, often linked to infra-structure issues and local taxation, a highly sensitive area today.
- Financial instruments – national or community aids and transfers, taxes, user contributions – which, by enablement or the setting of limits, contribute to an orientation of policies and projects undertaken by players in the territories.

Governance is becoming multi-level and is increasingly carried out by hybrid mechanisms, partly from above with European and national financing, and partly local. Thus the combination of programmes benefiting from Leader funds associated with local structuring operations, typified in France by the Pôles d'Excellence Rurale – Rural centres of excellence – is an example of combined endogenous and exogenous contributions (High and Nemes 2007): the logistical and financial means at national and community levels are based on local resources and the capacity for innovation in

the territories. The hybrid approach extends to European regulations, with the recognition of inter-professional systems in some Common Market Organisation (CMO) or the model of Geographical Indication based on the double intuition of a heavy link between GIs development and rural development and of a strong attention of the consumer for GI (Rangnekar 2007).

But governance also springs from a more local level, through concrete instruments of local planning. In France for example it is incarnated in urbanism documents determining how areas should be inhabited and developed, in Land Occupancy Plans and Local Urbanism Plans, in planning schemes carried out at a regional level and in the various types of zonings resulting from public policy. This means in particular territorial zoning resulting from the many layers of policies and multi-level governance processes – Communes, Federations of municipalities, urban agglomerations, natural parks, wet areas etc. – together with environmental zones – Natura 2000, the Birds acts, Habitats and Znieff Directives, ecological corridors etc. – with their complex exclusions and areas of coverage and involvement.

Lastly there should be added the role played by the various categories of territorial, private or semi-public actors and by associations (Jordan et al. 2005; Berger 2003). This is a question of participative democracy and the involvement of numerous local actors in decision processes that is no longer being left in the hands of the representatives of the Public Authorities alone. These actors wish to carry out development projects complementary to, or opposing the Public Authorities; they wish to be part of decision making bodies and to dispose of the related financial means for their own projects. They especially manifest themselves between elections on the principle that the power delegated to the elected representatives is insufficient to give them and their administrations a universal competence and the rationality to respond to all the questions, nor to approach new issues in any relevant way.

In the sphere of production there are the old and strongly embedded lobbies of farmers and agro food industries and networks for innovation and the transfer of technologies and knowledge (Torre 2006). In addition, there are diverse local systems that are the voices of private players: Clusters, Industrial districts, GI unions catchment area syndicates ... Closer to territorial development and the public good is the increasing role played by the Associations, marking the lively presence of citizens in the decision making process and their growing participation at a local level, whether to introduce or to contest projects. There are for example associations for the protection of nature (e.g. the RSPB, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, in Great Britain), some of which extend their action to the national level or even beyond, and to residents or neighbourhood associations whose main concerns are local.

3.3 The Mechanisms of Territorial Governance

The mechanisms of territorial governance are not completely stabilized, though they have in the last few decades given rise to all kinds of inventions that have

in common the fact that they make it easier to introduce opportunities for “concertation meeting”. Political players have generally agreed that allowing various forms of participation by private or semi-public players in debates or in public decision making enables advances to be made in harmonious and democratic territorial governance processes.

Beuret (2006) lists various types of participation as a function of their intensity: communication (transmit a message and obtain the public’s adhesion to a proposition), information (advise a group about intentions or decisions made), consultation (collect the opinions of players, without any guarantee that these will be taken into consideration), dialogue (set up horizontal interactions between players on an equal footing), discussion meetings (working to put together elements aimed at a solution) and lastly negotiation (arrival in common at a decision).

Designed to facilitate the making and adopting of public decisions, the set of processes, with its arsenal of tools for participating and informing, is today causing procedures to become quite heavy and provokes contrasting reactions from people, who tend sometimes to react to and strongly oppose public projects, especially involving the building of infrastructures. We are seeing arise of contestation and conflict, directed especially at projects introduced by the public authorities in terms of transport infrastructures (roads, motorways, high speed railway lines etc.), energy (nuclear and conventional power stations, wind farms etc.) and waste (final waste disposal installations, disposal sites etc.). Here arises the problem of the collective good, since these infrastructures are necessary to the life of the populations, particularly in periurban areas, but are at the same time rejected or contested by the latter.

Our research on the conflicts in rural and periurban areas shows that this dimension of ensuring the collective good is essential in land development processes or in the management of various local functions; it appears in the form of tribunals, media campaigns, or violent demonstrations. Land use Conflicts are a form of expression of opposition to decisions that leave part of the local population unsatisfied (Darly and Torre 2010). Some local innovations provoke resistance which can give rise to conflicts. Major changes, which involve reconfiguration of the use of space (introduction of transport or waste treatment infrastructures, new local urbanism plans, territorial or environmental zones) generate conflicts whose spatial and social extent can become very considerable.

Conflicts are thus one way of entering into the discussions on the stakes and ways of territorial development, and of affecting the decisions by involvement in processes from which one had been excluded (Dowding et al. 2000). This is the reason why they bear either on the decisions that have been taken on development (arbitrated negotiation) or on the composition and representativeness of the bodies in charge of the decision (arbitration). The conflict is also an integral part of the process of deliberation at the local level, allowing an expression of local democracy and the re-integration of players who were forgotten or left aside in a previous phase of project design.

Territorial governance is not limited to an idyllic vision of economic and social relations, i.e. to forms of cooperation and common constructions (Torre et al. 2006).

It is also about interaction between forces promoting cooperation and other forces promoting conflict. The processes of territorial development and their progress over time do not in any case resemble a long and tranquil river. They are made of phases of negotiation, collaboration or appeasement, and of much rougher periods when certain groups or categories of players clash, sometimes violently, in defining the steps to be followed and the options to be adopted. The process of governance of territories thus has two complementary sides, the reciprocal importance of which varies with periods and situations. It feeds on opposing tendencies, (Glazer and Konrad 2005), whose reconciliation leads to a definition of path development.

3.4 Rural Development Policies

All of the changes mentioned above plead for the setting up all over the world of new rural policies (Drabenstott et al. 2004) aimed at the development of these areas and participation in the process of territorial governance. The development of multi-level rural areas involves various types of players (van der Ploeg et al. 2000) and can adopt different organizational design according to the areas concerned. As noted by Marsden (1998), we can identify different spheres of development according to the categories of rural areas and their development preferences, whether it be large-scale agriculture, quality food products, residential developments or tourist activities.

The OECD (2009a) has shown the change in paradigm between the old rural policies and the new actions undertaken since the 1990s. Instead of policies essentially centered on farming aids and the maintenance of activities there is now an approach that takes into account the variety of activities present in rural areas: new industries, tourist activities, new technology establishments, cultural enterprises etc. At the same time, the principle of top-down hierarchy with regulation and aid coming from the top is being progressively replaced by collective arrangements involving actors both from the state and various interested stakeholders, in the front rank of which are the local public authorities and the associations. And lastly the link between the rural world and urban zones is fore-fronted, to the detriment of an approach targeting remote rural areas or areas cut off from cities.

At a European level, rural development policies are increasingly taking account of the multi-purpose nature of territories and the growing diversity of actors living there (OECD 2009b). Today, they aim to compensate social handicaps, especially the differentials between urban and rural areas in income, education and basic commodity access. The three generations of Leader Community Initiatives have since 1991 played a determining role in setting up development procedures in rural areas and contributed to a dissemination of multi-player governance, around three principles: a partnership approach involving the participation of private players along-side public players, a territorial approach favouring the emergence of project territories with the inclusion of municipalities, an integrated and transversal

approach around themes reinforcing the strategic capacities of the players, the use of networking and the sharing of experiences favouring territorial openness and experimentation. They have also contributed to developing local engineering enabling the recruitment of development agents able to support local endeavours and put together applications, and have confirmed the operational character of very diverse groups of actors, united in their mutual recognition of their ability to set up a local project. In this respect, these initiatives have been recognized as key factors in the restructuring of agriculture and the diversification of rural zones as part of the Lisbon strategy (European Commission 2004) for the development of historically disadvantaged zones.

For all this, this diversification of European aid destined for rural areas is not completely uncoupled from the activity of agricultural enterprises, but comes in more and more tightly designed forms, combining the high added value afforded by the addition of services, packaging, delivery and, concomitantly, labour. This is the case with farm restaurants, mail order sales or vegetable baskets (Pretty et al. 2005). Diversification can also bring more radical transformations to the farm orientation, when it involves maintenance of the landscape and recreational activities, and personal services, which may seem widely different from agricultural basic activities. Along with rural development come the factors of resistance of fragile agriculture and renewal of the food offer (Renting et al. 2003). The privileged places of growth – periurban agriculture, protected areas of the natural park type, coastal areas – show to advantage the numerous externalities resulting from these vertically integrated farms.

The principle of subsidiarity applies fully to rural development issues. The political framework is common but the Member States have considerable room for manoeuvre, beginning with the way community directives are transcribed in national regulations, sometimes quite restrictive, denaturing the scope of a text. We cannot really speak of a European rural development policy, but rather of interventions which combine elements of community and national support with local initiatives, the key discretionary features of the CAP. The socio-economic disparities in European rural areas, labour markets, jobs and also social protection and housing measures remain large between states, rendering the assessment of rural development policies a tricky exercise that is at all times contextualized (Guérin 2008).

3.5 The CAP and Rural and Agricultural Policies in Question

The European Commission has been proposing adjustments to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) since 1992. The corrective measures to the “first pillar” (price and market support) have on the whole borne fruit allowing a partial reduction in the main imbalances, especially in the cereal, beef and milk markets. But they have not afforded a solution to the structural problems in agriculture; some sectors are going through an endemic crisis due to great instability in price levels, while the

overall cost to budgets is high for UE budget (€55 billion, i.e. 40% of the total), creating tensions between Member States. While there is anger about the leaking of money to beneficiaries for whom it was not intended, first among whom are the owners of primary factors (land owners predominantly), and about a concentration of direct payments to a minority of farms, uncertainty remains on the capacity of those farms who receive the most of direct aid to produce public goods (starting with care for the ecological and landscape heritage) to match the level of aid received (Bureau and Lepetit 2007).

Doubts about the effectiveness of agricultural policies have led to the steering of aid toward direct action in favour of territorial policies through the “second pillar” of the CAP (Midmore et al. 2008), concerning rural development. But the initial objectives have remained unchanged, with three fundamental principles: produce safety and sufficient food, use natural resources in the best possible agro-ecological way and provide a viable economic base to the populations of rural areas. Now these objectives are not entirely in tune with what society wants. Food safety is still one of the consumer priorities, but in the sense of health concerns, not of the ability to deliver the quantities required. Citizens expect agriculture not to degrade the environment and to take into consideration ethical questions as evidenced by anti-GMO movements and the strong demand for organic food. And with the consolidation of agricultural farms comes not only a rise in productivity and in competition, but also a geographical concentration of production with perverse effects as illustrated by pig or poultry farming in Brabant or Brittany.

Agriculture has a poor environmental record. It is a main source of water pollution and of the destruction of biodiversity in soils; its water consumption is accompanied by contamination by nitrates and chemical pesticide residues. The good intentions of reforms have not had very significant effects, often because of lack of follow-up applied by Member States, and transfers of funds to payments more environmentally favourable remain limited. The overall total of funding for the second pillar is relatively low, and only some countries are making the environment a key priority in rural development policies. While for Sweden, Finland and Great Britain it is central to their intervention policy (~50% of the budget of the second pillar), Spain, France and Italy only devote 20% of the envelope.

There is no denying that the primary instrument in favour of the environment, the agro-environment measures (AEM), is now beginning to play a significant part in public action toward agriculture. Its principle is to compensate the losses incurred by Good Agricultural Practice, by direct aid to farmers who subscribe for at least 5 years, complemented by an incentive supplement or by compensation of the costs of private administration. In 2002, the AEMs represented 16% of the European farming budget and 30 million ha, i.e. 25% of the farmland area. Co-financed by the European Community and the member States, they put questions in terms of the governance of territories; most of the players in the Member States have sought a reduction in the influence of ministries and professional agricultural organizations, with the aim of bringing in rural players other than farmers.

Among the schemes for the preservation of the environment, support for organic farming is along parallel lines to support for conventional farming, and benefits

from special credit facilities. At 6 million ha, it only represents 4% of the agricultural land are in use in the EU of 25, the share being very different according to the country (from 0.5% in Poland to 11% in Austria) (Abando and Rohner-Thielen 2007).

But the key scheme in the preservation of the environment must be cross-compliance, on which is based the compensatory CAP aid. In view of the contribution of this support to farming incomes, these measures offer a potential incentive to farmers to fulfill their obligations. But they are subsidiarily, and therefore very unevenly, applied, and lobbying by producers to reduce the obligations, monitoring and sanctions has up to now diminished their effectiveness. But in any case, in view of the sums involved, it is probably this mechanism that offers the best hope in the future for a change in environmentally bad practices in supported farming.

4 Content of the Book

The purpose of the book is to review recent research on territorial governance in rural areas, with particular emphasis on the role and position of agriculture and activities related to the food industry in these areas.

The first part is devoted to the question of structural trends in productive structures, from labour market to SMEs organization.

Chapter 1, by Aliye Ahu Gülümser, Tüzin Baycan-Levent and Peter Nijkamp, is devoted to a study of rural self-employment in the EU countries, with particular emphasis on the question of rural self-employment in Turkey. The study focuses on self-employment trends in the agricultural sector on the basis of changing motivations and participations of males and females. The data used for comparison and evaluation are based on Eurostat and Turkstat data. The results show that agricultural employment and self-employment exhibit a slight decrease over time and that the impact of this decrease in male and female employment differs among countries. The results also show that the motivation of Turkish women towards self-employment is higher than that of European women and of Turkish men.

Chapter 2, by Marie Raveyre, deals with the question of new forms of small industrial business in rural area, especially rural SMI in good health. Two kinds of recommendation are usually advanced to support industrialization in a rural setting: recourse to exogenous factors (establishment of businesses, subcontracting); and promoting the value of endogenous factors, providing the incentive to set up local production systems. Her observations of SMI in a non periurban rural setting outline a new way forward. The SMI studied rely on local factors, but are not limited by them – it is the linkage of the local and global scales that gives them their strength. These businesses define the contours of a distinctive type of SMI, characterized by: an entrepreneur profile specific to former urban executives; operating centered on quality and specialization; flexible working and membership of networks both local and national/international.

Chapter 3, by Maryline Filippi, Olivier Frey and André Torre, aims to analyse the modalities followed by agricultural groups seeking to implement a territorial embeddedness process, with a focus on French farm cooperative groups. The text attempts to clarify issues relating to the significance of this territorial dimension along with cooperative groups' strategies and behaviour. It demonstrates that territorial embeddedness reflects three main criteria, to wit: where the agricultural cooperative runs its operations; where its members are located; and where they receive the outputs and services that they are offered. It shows that cooperative groups construct territorial embeddedness on the basis of a joint activation of relationships with their members – but this construction varies depending on the extent of a group's integration into particular branches and markets.

The second part of the book is about the question of Governance of Local Development in Rural Area. Original highlights on the process negotiation between stakeholders and public representative are provided.

Chapter 4, by Ina Horlings, asks the following question: How can processes be stimulated in rural–urban areas that contribute to sustainable development? How can capacity to act be realized? Her hypothesis is: specific (in)formal networks in the form of vital coalitions between private and public actors can contribute to innovation and sustainability in rural–urban regions. She focuses on the role of bottom-up initiatives like associations, interest groups, business communities, the coalitions they form with public actors and the strategies they follow towards sustainability, based on eight Dutch cases. The theoretical framework is derived from the Urban Regime Theory. The chapter offers insight in the conditions for creating capacity to act and stimulating vital coalitions in regional development processes.

Chapter 5, by Aine Macken Walsh, is on the question of the governance of rural development and deals in particular with the question of Farmers' Participation in Irish Local Food Movements. It presents an Irish case-study to explore the socio-cultural factors that frame “conventional farmers” engagement in “alternative” local food movements, which have gained prominence within the context of the contemporary rural development agenda. Many of the economic activities in line with the contemporary rural development agenda do not have a mainstream agriculture “tag”. It is envisaged that the governance approach to rural development, by providing a mechanism for the participation of a variety of local sectoral stakeholders, gives rise to an increased capacity to appraise and tap into nuanced local development resources. Particular forms of economic activity, which concentrate to a large extent on high value-added food production, tourism activities and the valorization of natural resources have emerged in line with the contemporary rural development agenda and arguably represent a new status quo in the rural economy.

The scope of Chap. 6, by Eric de Noronha-Vaz, Teresa de Noronha-Vaz and Peter Nijkamp is twofold: addressing a specific problem concerning the effectiveness of the CAP, and developing an extensive empirical and methodological framework able to serve as a model-policy lesson for the rural/agricultural European future. The chapter focuses on the Portuguese Agriculture in the Last Decade and aims to contribute to the understanding of structural land use changes that are

occurring in rural environments, by using methodologies related to innovative Geographic Information Systems. The land use change analysis is associated with a preselected set of policy issues and supplies a retrospective view of the application of the CAP for the Portuguese case. The evaluation of the respective impacts from a spatial perspective raises questions such as: What are the trade-offs of rural activity in different sectors and regions? How do such trade-offs cope with urban proximity? Which activities or strategies are best able to balance the needs of rural and urban communities?

Chapter 7, by Séverine van Bommel, Noelle Aarts, Esther Turnout, and Niels Roling is on the issue of Governance and contested land use with an application to the case of the Drentsche Aa, in the Netherlands. It investigates the way in which initiatives aimed at territorial governance work out in practice. By analysing the shift in governance in the Netherlands, it sheds light on what happens when the espoused shift to territorial governance is applied to concrete situations, in which different dilemmas and opposing forces are at play. It shows that territorial governance in the Drentsche Aa area is struggling with tensions between regional multi-actor practices and hierarchical policy practices. The authors' conclude that shifts in governance indeed occurred in this area, but that they manifested themselves in practice as hybrids between area based hierarchy and multi actor initiatives. As such the shifts are not as straightforward and unambiguous as sometimes thought and/or aimed for in literature, but instead their manifestation in practice is complex, ambiguous and context dependent.

The third part of the book is devoted to the question of Geographical Indications, especially their role as Tools of the Governance of Agrifood Chains.

Chapter 8, by Claire Cerdan and John Wilkinson presents a review of the principal examples of GIs approved or under negotiation in Brazil. It discusses how the emerging profile of GIs in Brazil has been influenced both by the specific State and Federal legislation adopted in Brazil for GIs and by the institutional structures put into place for GI promotion and recognition. It also situates initiatives around GIs in the context of broader strategies for territorially-based development. Through a comparative analysis of the GIs already approved and those in process of negotiation the paper draws preliminary conclusions with respect to the forms of justification emerging in the Brazilian case, the profile of beneficiaries and initial implications for territorial development strategies. The analysis is conducted within an evolutionary perspective on the institutionalization of GIs in Brazil understood as a collective learning experience, which permits readjustments and even new directions.

Chapter 9, by Jean-Baptiste Traversac is on the main figures of the governance process in the Agrifood industry. From the empirical example of the wine sector it firstly reminds the mainspring of the collective governance process in this sector. The contract analysis of the bilateral relations is able to represent a limited part of the governance and unable to frame the complexity of the monetary and non monetary exchange between the heterogeneous agents involved in the development of the multiple regional, national and international supply chains. Based on a New Institutional Economics approach, the paper develops a framework of the

governance of these root based industry, pointed out the vital importance of effective enforcement in the cooperation process.

Chapter 10, by Bertil Sylvander, Anne Isla, and Frédéric Wallet question the contribution of geographical indications for sustainable development of territories from the development of an analytical framework based on a redefinition of the concept of public good. After outlining the boundaries of the traditional approach of public property as it is conveyed by the neoclassical economic literature, the authors propose an alternative view from the work of Ian Kaul whose hypothesis is that public goods are socially constructed linking the decision, consumption and distribution issues. They then propose to strengthen the operational dimension of this grid by introducing the question of the definition and allocation of rights and the notion of public service principles. Applied to the issue of protection devices and product management in GI, this grid provides ultimately a tool for understanding how GIs contribute to sustainable development of territories through the production of environmental goods, social, economic and cultural goods.

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