

The social meaning of food – Abstracts

Content

1. Fostering food branding with the EU funding.....	2
2. Traditional Food as Symbol of the Past in Modern Hungarian Food Culture.....	3
3. Neither “northern” nor “southern”. Towards the Polish Model of Alternative Food Networks.....	4
4. Potential for alternative food network development in Romania: a spatial analysis.....	6
5. “Eating the planet” – seeking a new philosophy of food in the Anthropocene.....	7
6. Approaches to Local Agro-Food Systems (SYAL): Territorial Anchorage and Territorial Governance	8
7. Traditional food as gastronomic potential of rural villages of Central Dalmatian Islands	10
8. Between the imaginary and the typical product: new relationships between food, tradition and local communities.....	12
9. Regional food as an agent of local rural development: Three examples from Małopolska region, Poland.....	13
10. Eating behaviours as reflection of social and cultural norms. A comparative analysis of eating patterns and meal occasions in Armenia, Poland, and the USA.	14
11. The feeding role of private and “ordinary” gardens in time of crisis: lessons from a case-study (Gavray canton, France)	15
12. The meaning of the local food. A qualitative investigation in Romanian urban contexts	16
13. The Bitter and Sweet of Chocolate in Europe.....	18
14. Feeding Roma Families: From Hunger to Inequalities	20
15. New relations among producers and consumers in Italy.	22
16. Quietly Does It: Questioning assumptions about class, sustainability and consumption	23
17. Visual narratives of hunger within the context of the Nazi genocide of Roma in Hungary	24
18. Consumer ethos and the meaning of food consumption in daily press – a German perspective.....	25
19. The state of local food: practice and theory	26
20. Exploring the role of food in EU rural development policy	28
21. How the «starred» chefs participate in the promotion of regional identity: the example of the Alpes Maritimes (France).....	29
22. "Transformation and new producer-consumer relations in urban ruralities - The Case of Sundom, Vaasa, Finland".....	30
23. The rise and fall of the farmers’ markets in the Czech Republic	31
24. Social and economic sustainability in development models utilizing ecological cultivation in rural Hungary	32
25.	32
26. "Regional food and identity: two side of the same coin"	33

1. Fostering food branding with the EU funding

Anna Augustyn & Gusztav Nemes, CER HAS

In the proposed chapter we intend to look at food branding that is facilitated by the EU funding. Taking into account the experiences from the Rural Development Programmes 2007-2013, we examine approaches and instruments that had been used to support creation and marketing of food products. In this way, many new brands were developed and named in the recent years.

References are here provided to the EU-level legislation and its domestic modes of implementation, including a focus on expenditure (Eurostat data). More specifically, we screen some examples of the food-related projects from various countries that received the EAFRD funding. The content was analysed using the RDP Project Database generated at the EU-level. The database provided information about the modalities of projects, such as objectives, RDP measures, funding capacity and lessons learnt. In addition, we elaborated a detailed case study of a transnational LEADER cooperation project – European Territorial Quality Mark – which was evaluated in Hungary, using interviews and participatory research methods. This evidence-based research delivered some further insights into the means of food product branding and the resulting benefits for local communities.

Our study revealed that the main instrument to support food branding under the Rural Development Programmes has been LEADER. Although it is relatively weak in terms of financial capacities to fund projects (either food-related or others), it is characterised by a high degree of flexibility within the complex EU funding architecture. This makes it a unique tool that opens a space for experimentation. Unlike the traditional top-down instruments and agricultural payments, it has a strong focus on processes of social interaction, i.e. networking, social innovation and social learning (High & Nemes, 2007; Knickel et al. 2009; Bock 2012). Nevertheless, it has encountered significant obstacles as a policy delivery instruments and in the new programming period is affected by the budget cuts in several countries.

The experiences of the European Territorial Quality Mark (ETQM) in Hungary showed very significant results in the field of empowerment, building co-operation, trust and networking within the local community. At the same time, though there is a clear potential for marketing value in within the programme and there are a number of marketing tools developed by the participating Hungarian LAGs (websites, films, television spots, printed leaflets, smart phone applications, etc.) there is much space for improvement in the use of the existing tools and in the marketing of local products in general.

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2. Traditional Food as Symbol of the Past in Modern Hungarian Food Culture

Anikó Báti; Institute of Ethnology, Research Centre of Humanities, HAS

As well as folk music, folk dance and folk art, diet is also a major factor for identifying the relationship between present-day general culture and traditional folk culture and the points of contact between them. The increased value attached to traditional food culture we are witnessing today can be regarded as a transitional phenomenon, generated simultaneously by tourism, the media and commerce. But parallel with this, *certain* foods as elements from the common past also play a big role in shaping the identity of local communities. These dishes appear as symbols pointing outside the community, they are addressed to those who turn, mainly as paying guests and consumers, towards communities preserving local knowledge.

The scope of traditional dishes and food preparation is much wider in time and space. It embodies the heritage of the food culture of earlier centuries and higher strata of society, as well as the interaction with the cuisines of the ethnic groups living together, through the Christian religion and the historical past of Central Europe. In my paper (based on my ethnographical fieldwork in Cserépfalu [Borsod County] and Budapest) I shall draw on a series of quite remote examples to show the form and role in which traditional dishes and basic foodstuffs appear in food culture in Hungary today, and the intentions that can lead to the reinterpretation and greater appreciation of the past. I shall briefly analyse the many meanings traditional food can have today and what role it can play in the lives of small and large communities in Hungary. The wish to revive, experience and re-evaluate the past has different meanings at the level of a country, a region, micro-region, settlement or family.

Why have dishes, food technologies and basic foodstuffs of earlier periods that are now outdated and have either disappeared or are gradually disappearing from everyday practice become so interesting and important? The main driving force is a kind of opposition to the process of uniformisation that can be observed in food culture under the influence of commerce, the food industry and globalisation.

The paper is going to present the next questions: the menus during the Hungarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union; Hungaricum (Hungarian specialities) trademark and legal protection; gastro-festivals in countryside, return of wood fired oven and "kenyérlángos" (deep-fried flat bread); festive dishes in families in Cserépfalu and Budapest.

3. Neither “northern” nor “southern”. Towards the Polish Model of Alternative Food Networks

Aleksandra Bilewicz, Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw

Ruta Śpiewak, Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development, Polish Academy of Sciences

Alternative food networks (AFNs) have been a subject of study for at least 15 years. However, the emergence of critical awareness concerning agri-business and mass food distribution, and the following movement aiming to reestablish direct connections between producers and consumers (to *relocalise* and *respatialise* food production, see e.g. Goodman, Goodman & Dupuis, 2013) have been mainly studied in Western European and North American societies, leaving behind the countries of the former Soviet block. Following the differences in agriculture and eating habits, researchers tend to divide European alternative food networks into the “northern” and “southern” type (Fonte, 2008, Goodman, 2004, Sonnino & Mardsen, 2006). The aim of this paper is to argue that alternative food movements in Poland cannot be categorized as “northern” or “southern” and should be regarded as a distinct, although yet emerging, sort.

One of the reasons for the scarcity of Eastern European and, specifically, Polish perspective in the existing literature (for exceptions see Gorlach et al., 2006, Goszczyński & Knieć 2011) is definitely the fact that in post-communist countries the capitalist system of mass food distribution is still relatively new while agriculture has not yet entirely undergone transformation into the industrial model, which is a negative point of reference for Western alternative networks. On the other hand, after a long period of shortage economics during the communist rule, Western forms of food consumption and distribution, such as supermarket chains, became an awaited and desirable form. Nevertheless, more than 20 years after political and economic transformation in Poland, we can observe some emerging alternatives. One of quite dynamically developing forms of alternative food networks in Poland are grassroots, mostly informal consumer cooperatives. They reconnect producers with urban consumers in order to provide them with quality food produced by small farms. Consumer cooperatives create a chance of additional income for small farmers, as well as a possibility for more sustainable consumption for urban consumers.

Our paper is based on qualitative research conducted by the authors in the years 2012-2015 (in-depth interviews with members of cooperatives and structured interviews with farmers collaborating with cooperatives, participant observation). In our analysis, we divide the Polish grassroots consumer cooperatives into “activist” and “consumption-oriented” – the first one being mostly established by young leftist intelligentsia and based on the notion of economic democracy, the other one – rather by middle class consumers which mainly seek new ways of accessing high quality food.

As we will argue, the distinctive features of the Polish AFN-model is the informal and loose character of many of the cooperatives, their links to the larger cultural background of informal food exchange, especially prevalent during the communist period (Wedel, 1986), as well as their “island” character – lack of being rooted in the larger local community of consumers and producers, instead basing rather on a network of individual relations that often transcend regions, as well as relying primarily on producers with high cultural capital, only loosely connected to the local, rural background (mostly migrants from large cities). Basing on those characteristics, we will also reflect on the issue whether the emerging alternative food networks in Poland should be regarded as rather *alternative* or *oppositional* towards the mainstream system (Sonnino & Mardsen, 2006). According to our presumptions, the movement, despite its current growth, will remain rather a marginal option on the food market in Poland. Among the constraints to its growth as a solid alternative for the mainstream system are its structural weaknesses, on one hand, and, on the other hand, its exclusive social character, i.e. being limited to relatively small groups of consumers (radical leftwing intelligentsia and emerging new urban middle class). Future research should show whether some of the characteristics of Polish alternative food networks are typical for similar movements in other countries in the region.

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4. Potential for alternative food network development in Romania: a spatial analysis

Boróka-Júlia Bíró (Postdoctoral Researcher, Bucharest University of Economic Studies), **Zsófia Benedek** (Junior Research Fellow, Institute of Economics, CERS, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

The Romanian agriculture is in a very extreme situation in the European Union regarding the size of its farms. With 3.5 hectare per farm on average (versus 12.6 hectare per farm in the EU), it occupies the penultimate place among all member states. The current dual structure of land offers slight chances for exploiting effectively the benefits of the economies of scale (Bíró, 2010) - but offers considerable potential for alternative food systems development in which the participation of small-scale farmers is typical (Juhász, 2012; Lass et al., 2003; Meert et al., 2005).

From a rural development point of view, alternative food systems (that are defined against the globalized and industrialized food production) are very popular worldwide as (usually having no middlemen) they ensure a fair share of profit for the participating farmers. Short food supply chains involve different marketing channels such as farmers' markets, on-farm sales, vegetable box schemes, or community supported agriculture among others (Renting, 2003). Kneafsey et al. (2013) distinguish between traditional and neo-traditional systems depending on how much the given system is embedded in the local cultural context in terms of the required social skills. Undoubtedly, most of them ask for a certain level of innovation capacity.

The international trend of the popularity of alternative food networks has not yet been experienced in Romania, in spite of the country's considerable potential due to the large number of small-scale farmers. Also, networking behaviour, alliance proposals and cooperative membership are scarce among Romanian farmers (see the discussion of Bíró and Bíró, 2015, on the extremely low level of absorption of Rural Development Funds targeted for supporting the setting up of producer groups in the 2007-2013 programming period), despite the fact that these factors could contribute to the efficient use of economies of scale. Changing perceptions within the society takes a lot of time, but international experience implies that alternative food systems are very efficient in the promotion of social learning process (Benedek and Balázs, 2014a). We believe that the first step in the establishment of alternative food networks in Romania could be the development of the 'western type' farmers' markets for the following reasons. 1) As the markets in general have always been the part of life, they rely on existing social skills. 2) Relatively large number of people can participate, both at the producer and consumer side. In a subsequent step (when a stable consumer demand for locally produced food and personal relationships with farmers is established) further means of alternative food systems can possibly be introduced successfully.

The aim of this paper is to map from both the producer and consumer side, which parts of Romania seem particularly suitable for the launch of the alternative food movement (through the predictably successful opening of farmers' markets). Previous achievements of Ricketts-Hein et al. (2006) on the Food Relocalization Index (FRI) is used and applied to the 41 counties of Romania. FRI has been successfully used in several other countries to map local food activity (Ricketts Hein and Watts 2010; Benedek and Balázs 2014b).

The Romanian FRI involves a consumer and a producer sub-index. The following indicators are used: middle-aged women with higher-than-average education, average net nominal monthly salary earnings, number of overnight stays, share of urban population in the total population of a county (consumers subindex); and share of those employed in agriculture, share of agricultural area from the total land fund of a county, share of number of farms operating on an area less than 10 hectare, share of eco-certified farmers or agricultural enterprises (producer subindex).

Our results imply that producer and consumer potentials show territorial differences. Regarding the varying level of mismatch in the different regions, a one-size-fits-all policy would not seem to work efficiently. Instead, development of case-specific strategies is suggested. For example, when supply and demand are physically located further away from each other, the problem related to the distances when delivering the products to the marketplace should be overcome besides other direct support. Taking the aspect of locality also into account (i.e. preferring minimum delivery distances), the capital region seems to have the highest potential due to the large number of (educated) consumers and the predominantly rural character of the country in general. The Romanian patterns are basically in line with previous international findings (Ricketts-Hein et al., 2006, Benedek and Balázs, 2014b).

Similarly to the original study, the main limitation of our work is data availability. Still, we believe that the Romanian FRI can possibly be a very valuable tool for mapping the potential for alternative food network development and so it can support policy-making.

5. "Eating the planet" – seeking a new philosophy of food in the Anthropocene

Karl Bruckmeier, National Research University – Higher School of Economics Moscow, Department of Sociology

Paper for the workshop of the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences "The social meaning of food: consumption, production and territorialisation", Budapest, June 16-17, 2015

Chosen topics - a combination of the following workshop topics: sustainable food production (main topic), food justice, role of food in rural development, changing culture of food consumption

Abstract: In this presentation the possibilities to develop a new philosophy of food are discussed. Food, its production, preparation and consumption, have been philosophical themes since ancient times. Plato described an ideal - vegetarian - diet in book two of the "Republic"-dialogue, and throughout the centuries many philosophers in Western culture reflected further about food. But the philosophy of food did not become influential in the present social and ecological food discourses, except in fragmentary themes as the ethics of food production and consumption. To understand the global changes of food systems and the transcultural consequences of that does not require looking back in the history of philosophical ideas. Changing conditions of food production and consumption in the epoch of the anthropocene, with globalisation, industrial food production, and genetic modification of food products, require new knowledge and ideas, a new philosophy of food that can reflect the wider social, cultural and ecological changes of food systems. In the renewal of the food discourse criteria for human health and wellbeing as well as for the "health" of social and ecosystems are sought. The publication from 2012 by D. Kaplan et al on "The Philosophy of Food" gives some ideas for answering questions of food safety, quality and justice beyond the practices of ethical norm formulation and legal control. Starting from this debate, a renewal of the philosophical discourse on food can develop in connection to the social-ecological discourse on sustainable futures of modern societies. The metaphor "eating the planet" refers to the new risks for food production and consumption under conditions of global social and environmental change that require social and ecological solutions to food and resource use problems. Such ideas for solutions emerge in the environmental discourse, but do not form a coherent message. Instead of world-view based ideas for ideal diets, the philosophy of food should create analytical frameworks to deal with the paradoxes of modern food and agriculture systems – hunger and abundance of food, unequal distribution of resources and access to food in market systems, commodification and de-commodification of food and natural resources, the limited availability of natural resources for human consumption and the continuing "growthmania", or locally specific and transcultural criteria of food quality and security. Dealing with such dilemmas requires a broadening of analytical perspectives. The maintenance of local food production and consumption cultures becomes part of multi-scale food governance and global environmental governance. Sustainable food systems are guided by the ideas of intra- and inter-generational solidarity of resource use. Changing roles of food in agriculture and rural development (with alternatives as food or bioenergy production), changing conditions of food quality and security, and possibilities to maintain the cultural, social and ecological diversity, need to be critically reflected from the perspectives of ecological sustainability, environmental justice and ecological citizenship. Why such a cognitive programme should develop under the name of philosophy and as new transcultural philosophy, not from the discourse-leading disciplines in environmental research, needs to be discussed further. In the boundaries of disciplinary discourses the multiple criteria resulting from research, the specialized knowledge and the heterogeneous theories in the food discourse cannot be reflected and integrated sufficiently. A new philosophy of food should develop in a transdisciplinary discourse through the synthesis of knowledge from many, scientific and local knowledge forms.

6. Approaches to Local Agro-Food Systems (SYAL): Territorial Anchorage and Territorial Governance

Dr. Javier Sanz-Cañada: Vicedirector of the Institute of Economics, Geography and Demography (IEGD)

Spanish National Research Council (CSIC); Madrid (Spain); e-mail: javier.sanz@cchs.csic.es

Local agro-food systems (LAFS) are a form of production of territorial 'identity-based' foods explicitly grounded in specific spatial dynamics of agriculture, food and consumption networks. LAFS have existed around the world and throughout history, but declined during the 20th century with the rise of more globalised agribusinesses. Recently, in the face of mounting worldwide environmental, agricultural, food and social imbalances on a territorial scale, there has been a renewed attention to LAFS. The contemporary conceptualisation of LAFS emerged in the 1990s in France, an era of intensive liberalisation and globalisation, and became a locus of scholarship and agro-food activism.

LAFS can be defined: "Production and service organisations (agricultural and agro-food production units, retailers, services and gastronomic enterprises, etc.) linked by their characteristics and operational ways to a specific territory. The environment, products, people and their institutions, know-how, feeding behaviour and relationship networks get together within a territory to produce a type of agricultural and food organisation in a given spatial scale"¹. LAFS as a concept has been interpreted in two ways: (i) a concrete object, a group of visible agro-food activities that are territorially established; (ii) a conceptual approach, a way of analysing the development of local resources. A recent and third meaning considers LAFS as an institutional tool used by administrative bodies in their planning programs and policies.

The scholarly and activist efforts to organise LAFS often worked in tandem with the goals of securing geographical indication labels for traditional food agricultural products, such as the European Union *protected designation of origin* (PDO) and the *protected geographical indication* (PGI) labels. In the last decade, a number of countries from outside the EU, such as Canada, Brazil, Mexico or Argentina, have introduced parallel product labelling systems and are developing legislative frameworks modelled on EU policy.

LAFS research uses concepts and methodologies influenced by two types of complementary approaches: territorial analyses, horizontal and transversal in nature, and a more vertical perspective on food chain analysis. The LAFS scholars have focused the analysis of collective action and on the processes of coordinating local innovative dynamics between stakeholders and institutions, influenced by theories on industrial districts, clusters and local productive systems. The originality of the LAFS focus arises largely from the analysis of relations between food and the territory: this affects both the study of the causes of the territorial identity of foods and the effects of collective action on territorial governance and rural development.

These initiatives raise several critical questions: What factors determine the economic viability of local agricultural activities? Can LAFS withstand the pressure of the global market, with its increasingly neoliberal economic demands?

Moreover, many scholars, policy-makers and agro-food stakeholders are asking whether territorially-based LAFS would be more environmentally and economically sustainable than the dominant agribusinesses. Can LAFS generate territorial dynamics as a way of adding value to local resources? Is territorial anchorage of LAFS a local development choice for counterbalancing the delocalization tendencies that affect many commodity agro-food products in globalised markets? Can LAFS contribute to reduce the territorial development imbalance better than agribusiness commodity production?

This conference reviews the central and unifying concepts as well as the theoretical and methodological approaches to LAFS. Firstly, we introduce the main conceptual features and the different research approaches to LAFS, providing a critical review of current research on LAFS that focuses on: i) the factors that anchor traditional food products to a territory; ii) the effects of collective action and processes of local governance, inherent in LAFS, on rural and territorial development. Finally, it is developed a conceptual and methodological proposal about how the analysis of LAFS could be incorporated into public policies, with reference to normative literature relating to the analysis of the multi-functionality of rural spaces.

We can summarise as the main contributions that LAFS research has made to economic, geographical and sociological literature on food and territories the next ones. First, the *terroir* is approached in LAFS

¹ Muchnik, J. & Sautier, D. (1998). *Systèmes agroalimentaires localisés et construction de territoires*. Montpellier: ATP CIRAD.

theories as a 'region-resource', defined as a group of interrelated territorial specific assets, which is opposed to a 'region-support' approach in which the territory is only a place for the localization of economic activities. Second, research into the territorial anchorage factors of foods represents a step forward in comparison to the static analysis of localization factors of agro-food activities: LAFS studies a prevailing dynamic focus on the links between food and the territory, as well as on the historical processes of localization/delocalization of food production. Third, school on SYAL analyses not only local food chain governance and the generation of sectoral agglomeration economies, but also research into territorial governance, taken as a whole, and the generation of territorial externalities, as a measure of the effects of SYAL on local and rural development.

Key words: local agro-food systems (LAFS), innovation networks, territorial anchorage, territorial governance, territorial externalities.

7. Traditional food as gastronomic potential of rural villages of Central Dalmatian Islands

Neven Duvnjak, PhD, Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar-centre Split, and Academy of Arts, University of Split

Đeni Macan, MA in Sociology

In this paper we research traditional forms of approach to food in rural villages of central Dalmatian islands in the times when some of these forms are forgotten, but other become gastronomic specialties crucial in tourist offer. The topic of these research are perceptions which inhabitants of rural villages give to traditional diet as cultural phenomenon, and how do they experience the influence of unavitable process of modernization to nourishment tradition.

Theoretical framework assumes developmental approach, which implies that the current tastes and eating needs are the products of a long lasting historical development, that includes the presence of changes, but also periods of longer or shorter stability. The main aim of this research is to see which kind of daily diet dominate in everyday nourishment on mentioned islands nowadays. Main practices, such as presence of tradition, modern and postmodern form of dalmatian cuisine we are going to define by the content analysis of Dalmatian cook books. Specific objectives of research are:

- describe main characteristics of traditional nourishment in rural island villages;
- define the influence of modernisation of nourishment, paying attention on surviving of traditional food and eating;
- define the significances which local inhabitants give to their traditional way of eating;
- examining the possibilities of gastro-tourism development.

In **methodological approach** we will use content analysis and ethnographical method. Content analysis of Dalmatian cook books we carried on using quantitative and qualitative approach in order to define what Dalmatian cuisine is in its traditional, modern and postmodern elements. On the basis of notions defined this way, we will theoretically determine the important characteristics of nourishment of rural parts of three Dalmatian islands. We are starting from hypothesis that traditional Dalmatian cuisine prevails in them. Ethnographic part of the paper includes field notes that were recorded during informal conversations with 26 residents of Nerežišće (island Brač), Gdinj and Zastrazišće (island Hvar), and Žena Glava and Podšpilje (island Vis).

Traditional recipes are the point of comparison with modern and post-modern recipes, which we were found in Dalmatian cook books, what points out on considerable eating changes according to Dalmatian cookbooks. Written traditional recipes are dedicated to domestic food which is prepared for a number of years in a same manner and passed from generation to generation (granny-mother-daughter). Therefore, fresh food, every day cooking and food purchasing is recommended, what includes spending much time and daily hard work. Key characteristics of modern nourishment is using of industrially processed and ready cooked food. Whole nourishment system is commercialized, influenced by process of modernisation and industrialisation, especially after second world war. Post-modern nourishment is denoted by the openness to new food products and dishes with great tendency for experiments in the kitchen, and second in the renewing interest for traditional authentic food and local specialities (re-traditionization). Preparing and consumption of food give the joy elements of entertainment and discovering of the new foodstuffs, although in the first place is care for health and beauty.

Regarding definitions of traditional, modern and postmodern ways of eating, we are going to describe the nourishment in rural villages in central dalmatian islands: the look of daily dishes, basic groceries which make the daily menu, and dominant ways of food preparing. According to ethnographic research results cuisine of the rural villages of three islands is strongly linked to tradition. The modern approach appears sporadically, and the postmodern approach does not appear at all. A research result has shown that the traditional rural diet is characterized by the simplicity and it is mostly based on products from family production. Manufacture of food products, as well as methods of preparation and consumption, continue to be sustained through the inherited traditional habits and values.

Most households of island's villages produce enough food to meet their own needs, which is severely impacting reduces the need to purchase food from grocery shops. Meals on all three islands are based on local meat. Fresh vegetables and fruits, sea-food, wild herbs, and olive oil. Unfortunately, the future of the traditional diet is quite uncertain. Modern approach in the preparation and cultivation of food, although it has a decisive influence, is mostly evident in villages which have good connections with urban centers on the islands, but also on main-land (eg. Nerežišće).

On the island of Hvar the biggest problem are unfavorable demographic trends in the hinterland, which are the main reason for the uncertainty of preserving traditional food preparation. On the other hand, the

process of re-traditionalization is most powerful on the island of Vis, and it is a process in which the tradition is successfully modified, renewed and appears in a different form than before. It is a traditional food exists in the form of gastro-rural tourism, known outside the Croatian borders. Good opportunities for the future development of traditional island cuisine lie in maintaining the uniqueness and by means of integral sustainability assisted postmodern ecological worldview, which emphasizes restore of local knowledge and skills, which emerged in specific contexts.

8. Between the imaginary and the typical product: new relationships between food, tradition and local communities.

Lucia Galasso, www.evoluzioneculturale.it

In the course of just a century, and especially of the last decades of the twentieth century, the cultural category of "popular tradition" has undergone a profound change, undermining those cultural traits that made up its identity. The rural world was affected by these change in a particular way: in a few generations, there has been a rapid "acculturation" that separated it from the time of tradition characterized by a deep and wise relationship with these natural rhythms related to food production. Rhythms set by the seasons, by the observation of the stars and the moon, by an agricultural calendar that was cyclic, qualitative, liturgical and festive one and that ingrained and substantiated a community from both a geographical and cultural point of view. The agricultural time is opposed to the modern one, a more linear, urban and secular time. Only a few folkloric categories were saved from this process of industrialization; some of these include those related to food, to food culture and to the culinary heritage. Indeed, in perfect antithesis, we find a progressive attempt to recovery the traditional knowledge related to the agricultural calendar and to food production. The explanation lies in that the food, in what are its major transformative processes, has never stopped at all the transmission ratio of its knowledge (tangible and intangible one), relying on orality and on the ability to travel from generation to generation.

The project aims to investigate, through qualitative analysis and research on the field, how and when we can observe the transition from a production tied to tradition and a "food geography" to a new one burdened by an imaginary "food and wine" authenticity. By analyzing this imagery, the language and rhetoric that produces and supports it, it will be possible to highlight the promotion and protection mechanisms of products related to the territory and local communities, most often the result of an ambiguous relationship with the concept of "Tradition". These are the symptoms of a contemporary man sickened by complexity, a man who has severed from its memory the temporal rhythms of the calendar of tradition, the sense of belonging to a community, a place to be emotionally tied to. A man who has lost his ties and that buys in so called "non-places", but, at the same time, desperately looks for these very emotional places in which he can find those ties. The birth of fair trade groups, Km0 products and of local farmers' markets just seems to respond to this need to protect local products and the communities linked to them. Analyzing the dynamics of these new realities we will highlight how it was given to them the task of rebuilding and regenerating the memory of the "Cucina Popolare" (the cooking of the common people), helping the modern man to rebuild and reinvent himself in the community and to feel, again, part of it, redeeming, in this way, the past that, in the family, in the community and in the cyclic playback of the gastronomic rhythms, founded its deep affective and logical purposes.

9. Regional food as an agent of local rural development: Three examples from Małopolska region, Poland

Krzysztof Gorlach, Piotr Nowak, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

The paper has been divided into two major parts. In the first one the authors try to reconsider main theoretical frames concerning food in contemporary social sciences. Main frames include such approaches as: a/ food as a part of the so-called alternative agricultural production and exchange network; b/ food as a social and cultural experience; c/ food as an object of production, procession and consumption; d/ food as a way of communication; e/ food as a way to understand some psychological problems; f/ food as an instrument of nutritional health; g/ historical perspective on public health nutrition; h/ archaeology of food.

Following such approaches some more detailed problems being objects of analysis of food might be considered, namely: circuits and politics of food, localism versus globalism, food networks and types of knowledge, cooking in human evolution, archaeological investigations of feasting, global commodity trade, studies of the foodways in particular communities, relations between farms, food companies and families, food as a way of identity construction and presentation, public discourse around food, tastes, smells and ingredients of food as well as eating disorders, obesity, and intake regulations, diets affecting the evolutionary development of humanity, cross-cultural food use, cultural variations of dietary practices and health, relations between food and diseases, nutrition transitions and their relations with genes, discovering the role of ancient foods and ancient cuisines.

Such plurality of research interests, however, might be divided into two major areas. The first one might be called as a natural and/or biological approach with a stress on nutrition issues and plurality of related problems. In turn, the second one should be called as a social one with a stress on foods production, circulation as well as consumption and their impacts on social change. While the first one might be called as an intra-human aspect of food, the second one might be perceived as an extra-human aspect. The authors try to focus on the latter one in their analysis presented in the paper. Therefore, based on such a systematizing analysis the authors argue that the role of food in processes of rural development seems to form a somehow common perspective visible in approaches presented in this part of the paper. However, such a role cannot be perceived and conceptualized in a kind of a monolithic way. In other words, the authors cannot consider somehow homogenous impact of food on extra-human phenomena and processes observed in rural areas. Quite contrary, the authors try to argue that such a role or such an impact has to be perceived in different ways due to different economic, social and cultural contexts.

Therefore, in the second part of the paper the authors try to show three exploratory cases from the Małopolska region in Poland. These cases include: a/ the oscypek cheese one; b/ the "lisiecka" sausage one; c/ the "karp" fish as a final one. All of them are located in the Małopolska region (voivodship), which is one of the sixteen regions (voivodships) in Poland, located in the south of the country near to the borders with Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Each of the cases mentioned above will be analyzed in the paper according to its historical and economic, social and cultural conditions as well as its current status under the EU regulations. Main actors as well as major stages of the history of each food case will be also considered by the authors.

Each analyzed case will be also considered under the frame of different roles in the rural development. All of these cases have been perceived by the authors as examples of re-invented traditions with peculiar economic and social functions. Therefore, the oscypek cheese will be perceived by the authors as an important part of preserving a peculiar tradition of mountain area Sheppard culture and its close connection both to tourism as well as growing food tradition in the region as well as in the whole country. In turn, the "lisiecka" sausage case will be perceived by the authors as an important part of a sub-urban culture (community of Liszki has been located almost at the Kraków [the capital city of Małopolska] outskirts). Finally, the "karp" fish case will be analyzed as an example of integrative rural development occurring in the industrial part of Małopolska region.

10. Eating behaviours as reflection of social and cultural norms. A comparative analysis of eating patterns and meal occasions in Armenia, Poland, and the USA.

Ewa Jarosz, Centre for Time Use Research, University of Oxford Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences ewa.jarosz@sociology.ox.ac.uk

Eating is mostly done in the presence of others (Rozin, 2005), and both eating and drinking behaviours are strongly affected by social context and social norms (Nisbet and Strorrs, 1974; Gundy et al., 2005).

Across cultures eating is also mostly seen as enjoyable (Rozin, 2005), and family meal is a valued cultural norm (Figart, Golden, 2013). However, there are substantial differences in attitudes towards food and eating behaviours. US has been shown to have highly functional perception of food, associated with much anxiety (Rozin et al, 1999). Americans also spend least time on food preparation and tend to eat out the most compared to Western European countries (Warde et al., 2007). The US is therefore a prime example of a country where convenience and functionality of food is prioritized. However, most data on eating practices and covariates come from developed Western countries, and in general the eating patterns in those countries are not as differentiated as other types of activities (Warde, 2005). This paper demonstrates that when the scope of investigation is expanded to include also Central and Eastern European societies, representing, at the same time, middle and low income country, respectively, substantial differences in eating emerge.

This paper uses 2008 American Time Use Survey (ATUS), 2008 Armenian Time Use Survey (ArTUS) and 2003/2004 Polish Time Use Survey data (representative for the population of each country) in a comparative analysis of eating patterns. The countries represent different levels of socio-economic development and cultural values. Food in Armenia is seen as brought by the nature and prepared by human hands (Petrosian and Underwood 2006); it is also mostly prepared at home. Poland seems to be in between Armenia and the US. Both sensory and functional factors seem to play a role in food choices (Wądołowska, Babicz-Zielińska & Czarnocińska, 2007); and consumption of fast food is occasional (Szczepanska et al., 2014). These attitudes seem to be reflected in the behaviours as captured by time-use diaries. Data from time use studies points to substantial differences in eating behaviors and activity setting (the context of eating) across these countries. In Armenia and Poland, both relatively traditional societies, in an overwhelming majority of cases eating is recorded as primary (main) activity,

which suggests its subjective importance for people. Eating is not accompanied by any other activity in 40% of cases in Poland, and in 70% of cases in Armenia. In case it is accompanied by another activity, this activity is – in most cases – talking with other household members. The duration of primary eating is the longest in Armenia, and second longest in Poland. In both countries secondary eating (done as secondary to doing something else) is marginal. The situation is opposite in the US – duration of primary eating is significantly lower than in Armenia or Poland, and a great share of eating is reported as secondary eating, pointing to eating playing a secondary role in daily routines, and to convenience being an important aspect of food consumption.

Eating in the US is also much more likely to be done alone, than in Poland and Armenia, which may reflect differences in household composition, but also lower importance of family/social meals. However, also the social meals takes place in different location, and location in general is also subject to substantial differentiation across the societies. Americans are much less likely to eat at home than Poles or Armenians, and the meals they have at home are also significantly shorter than meals consumed elsewhere. Social meals (which are also, on average, the longest meals in all countries) tend to happen in someone else's house (Poland, Armenia), or in a restaurant (Poland, USA). This might reflect income constraints, but also different cultural norms. Finally, how much time is devoted to eating is related not only to the social context of meal occasion, or by its location, but also the place of eating in a sequence of events. In Poland and Armenia eating that is preceded by social interaction, leisure or sport is, on average, longer, which might imply that in a context of more leisurely and informal daily activities people are willing to spend more time eating. At the same time, only social occasions precede longer meals in the US; leisure is associated with significantly less time spent eating, and sport does not have any effect on eating duration. Overall, there are more occasions on which Americans tend to shorten their meals, compared to Poles or Armenian; and because some of these occasions are leisure, it suggest cultural reasons rather than the issue of time pressure.

The study concludes by discussing the use of time-use data as means to explore differences in cultural attitudes and values.

Key words: eating, time-use, social meal, Poland, Armenia, USA

11. The feeding role of private and "ordinary" gardens in time of crisis: lessons from a case-study (Gavray canton, France)

Nicole Mathieu and Melinda Molnar, LADYSS - Social Dynamics Laboratory redial spaces

Understanding the local food system and its evolution is an issue that has been largely abandoned under the double change in the relationship between modernization of agriculture and food production (supply of cities from the countryside) and modes consumption (relationship / local retail consumption). Conducting a joint investigation of the township "rural" Gavray was the first thing that occurred to both authors of this paper to try to clarify this particular issue of the role of nurture gardens in the local diet. This allowed us to cross our skills: that of Nicole Mathieu, who lives there and did his field research on the changing ways of living in rural areas (Mathieu matieu, 2012), that of Melinda Molnar agronomist and landscape whose thesis deals with the relationship to nature and ways of living by comparing the workers and family gardens in France and Hungary (Molnar, 2013).

Exploring initially fell on the "ordinary gardens" (Dubost, 1997) in Coutances country gardens cultivated by the inhabitants of Gavray of municipalities (1421 inhabitants), The chief town of a canton remained agricultural, Hambye (1193 inhabitants), who was once his "city" competitor and which today takes an active part in inter-municipal, and Saint-Denis-le Gast town of 500 inhabitants with its "burg" and its many scattered villages which the landscape is marked by a dairy farming on large farms that remove hedgerows to increase their land and grow corn at the expense of grasslands.

Who gardens today and why? This has been the guiding principle of our investigation which drew a series of questions we need now enumerate: Subject to EU rules, engaged in intensification and a "productivist" livestock model, farmers they still a "curtilage" or a parcel traditionally on the margins of their fields to produce food for the family? The farmer's garden is it endangered or residual, is it only grown by agricultural retirees? Who among non-farmers and the "new" people (without local origin and / or oldest city) is a vegetable? Is it a generational thing or gender? Gardening knowledge is transmitted? Do we find the craze for shared gardens, organic food and convenience products that wins the inhabitants of large cities and public buildings? Those who garden today do they extend the contrary, a local "tradition"? To what extent, maintaining production in mature gardens and if we observe a craze and creating new gardens are they related to the crisis? Fad or need background? Back to original need for food and / or a healthier diet?

Subsequently, these issues rather sociological order imposing brush of us "portraits" or "life stories" of gardeners in their relationship to nature, to food, to work the land, their families and neighbors etc., it seemed important to place - literally - the question of "foods planters" and gardeners met in the exact locations where the planters were exercised practices. How had the gardens of "everyone" in a typical township Bocage Coutances with its scattered settlements in isolated farms and "villages" bringing together two or three old farms with their pink granite buildings and mud? What looked like the gardens in the "village" with its stone houses with two floors, all crowded street opposite the church and the town hall and with a rather enclosed garden courtyard or back space built? Despite their classification in the rural communes 'chief towns' Gavray and Hambye urban look to their ancient architecture, "urbanized" by the development of houses and estates, they knew the "renewal gardens"? Was it the maintenance or creation of gardens within its "urban space"? Or does it not necessary when it was the capital of Gavray conduct the investigation to another level? While they concentrate the shops and supermarkets, they played a role in the diet in short circuit and bio as well as the supply of plants and seed gardeners of Commons and surrounding villages? Were the weekly markets of observation places the "planters foods in urbanized societies"? Focusing as equipment and services in particular education, was it not with college students need to ask the question of the report to the garden, nature and food?

So around this double questioning has been conducted a survey in the spring of 2014. In addition to observing "landscape" of the three towns chosen as our research field (Gavray and Hambye Saint-Denis-le-Gast) method essential for the description of the variety of locations where the garden is practiced and gardening related events (types of gardens, crops, markets on products, garden Fairs etc.), we conducted a series of interviews with gardeners making us around their gardens but also to people who do not gardened (several farmers including the mayor of Saint-Denis, a SVT "green" teacher at Villedieu-les-Poêles but not having the time to do a vegetable garden ...). Finally, with the support of a teacher geographer colleague Gavray College we engaged students in two classes 6th to make an inquiry on the basis of a questionnaire - built by us, explained and discussed in class - to spend with their families and neighborhoods to assess the place that held the gardens and gardeners in the rural township.

The paper will develop the main results of this investigation.

12. The meaning of the local food. A qualitative investigation in Romanian urban contexts

Laura Nistor, Sapientia – Hungarian University of Transylvania,

Theoretical framework

Local food is usually promoted for environmental reasons, since consuming locally reduces the quantity of non-renewable energy used in food transport (i.e. food miles). Local food means also a political project whose aim is to construct local economies (e.g. community based agriculture) by giving to communities the right to establish their own food supply systems; food system localization creates direct relationships between producers and consumers by cutting out the commercial middlemen and selling directly to consumers. At the crossroad of such theoretical rationales, we can summarize that local food consumption is based on the idea of "short food chains" and means a "food system re-localization" by "reducing the spatial, temporal, social, and economic distance between producers and consumers by eating locally and seasonally" (Lockie, 2009, p. 194).

Local food is thus a geographic concept related to the distance between producers and consumers (Martinez et al., 2010). Consumers are called 'locavores' (Kaplan, 2012) and are characterized by the consumption of food grown and produced within a short distance from their homes. The 'foodshed' concept of Kloppenberg et al. (2003) refers to a specific socio-geographic space within which human activity is embedded in the natural conditions of a particular space. In this respect the concept of 'terroir' becomes an important cornerstone, since it ties specific food to specific place.

On the consumers' side, local products have a number of benefits which are usually centered around the issue of trust: knowledge of the origins of food, fresher and authentic products, re-personalization of commercial relations, etc. (Smithers et al., 2008). In this latter sense, local food related initiatives include many attempts whose aim is to connect producers to consumers and farmers' markets and 'taste education' shows are just a few examples which aim to reduce the gap between these two agents of consumption and to create deeper and trustworthy, personalized commercial relations (Sassatelli and Davolio, 2010).

According to Martinez et al. (2010) local food is full of contradictions. For instance, not all the products sold at farmers markets are local products, as far as some vendors come outside the local region, while others may not sell products that are produced within the region. Another complex issue to deal with is that local food is frequently used as synonym for the so called 'organic food' which is considered to be food free of pesticides and chemicals.

Local consumption and associated practices, e.g. the consumption of organic food can be conceptualized as critical reactions towards global food industry. Adams and Raisborough (2008) consider that such alternative forms of consumption practices provide a fertile terrain to explore the intersections between reflexivity, ethics, consumption and identity.

Methodology

Rooted in the above consideration, the aim of the research was to investigate how Romanian consumers define local food and what are the most dominant narratives when they refer to this consumption practice. The research design consisted in focus groups (two focus-groups have been conducted in five urban contexts, two small towns: Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy and Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, respectively in three large towns: Brasov/Brassó, Bucuresti/Bukarest and Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár) and individual interviews with visitors of farmers' markets in the above mentioned settings.

Empirical findings

Research findings suggest that there are two major definitions of local food: 1) a place-centered, geographic definition and 2) a production-centered, 'how is it made' kind of definition. Within both major definitions one can find two specific narratives, i.e. a narrow and a broad definition. Thus, inside the geographic definition, the broader definition of local food is associated with products made in Romania (e.g. local food as a national product vs. products from import), while the narrow narrative connects local food with specific regional and local products. This definition accentuates the role of local food in identity construction and can be described as a specific culture of eating. The production-centered definition separates between products made in a specific place, no matter how (e.g., ingredients are not important, unless the production occurs in a specific local context), respectively between a narrow, stricter narrative which assumes that local food products must result from small, familial enterprises which use mostly natural ingredients.

In terms of associations, local food is mostly associated with the following products: food products resulted from small familial enterprises; products whose label/name already reflects their local provenience (e.g. Góbé foods, Napolact, Harmopan, Csíki sör, etc.). It is an important finding that local

food and its meaning is frequently debated, questioned, so that respondents do not always have a clear conception about the meaning of the local food.

In general, consumers' involvement with local food occurs along the intrinsic characteristics of food (taste, ingredients); local food consumption seems to be much more motivated by health concerns and status assignment than by ethical and ecological reasons. In any case, on the basis of the research we can speak about consumers' low involvement with local food. An important finding, which seems to limit consumption practices is that local food tends to be viewed with skepticism (questions about the products ingredients, production, etc.) and trust seems to be an important factor of consumers' re(socialization) with local food producers.

13. The Bitter and Sweet of Chocolate in Europe

Kathryn E. Sampeck, Illinois State University, **Carla Denny Martin**, Harvard University

Food is a “source of tension, dispute, and mutual misunderstanding in contemporary Europe” (Delamont 1995:1). While Europe might have a culinary dividing line between north and south, chocolate crosses that boundary. Indeed, this has been the case for centuries. This paper examines the changing role of chocolate in European society, especially in light of the food movement turn to slow, small batch, craft chocolate, as a way to critically analyze relationships of labor and race, gender, and class inequality. While the legacy of the past has been the decoupling of horrific coerced labor in cacao production from the consciousness of everyday chocolate consumers, the growing vitality of small batch chocolatiers refocuses attention on the country of origin--the conditions of production--as well as local, European tastes--the conditions of consumption.

The authors employ interdisciplinary methodologies of close readings of primary sources that include historical recipes, material culture analysis, critical analysis of representation in historic and contemporary images and media, descriptive economic data of export and consumption levels, as well as ethnography (participant observation, interviews).

The analytic framework for a systematic study of taste in chocolate and its social, economic, political, and cultural implications recognizes that “prejudices directed toward both individuals and the members of particular ethnic groups are expressed, not as ethnic or racial biases, but

rather as opinions based in individual tastes...symbolically associated with certain racial and ethnic identities” (Bonner 1999:120). These hierarchies of taste and identity occurred at the same time as the florescence of aesthetic theory in Europe. These two developments were predicated on each other: the wealth created through empire facilitated a new focus upon aesthetic distinctions of the newly affluent merchant class in England and abroad, who sought to differentiate itself from the poor, the working class, and colonized peoples (Bonner 1999). This approach recognizes that cultures are “neither structures nor plural amalgams, but a continuum” discursively connected and dynamically inter-reliant intersystems (Drummond 1980). The analytical orientation recognizes the historical contingency of the social construction of realms of value, and that such construction takes place within global and local political economic forces that tend to propagate inequality as a solution to greater economic efficiency.

The results from these diverse sources about chocolate production and consumption relate to two crucial themes:

A long-term perspective on **the changing culture of chocolate consumption** shows a trajectory of increasing permeation of European foods (more foods contain chocolate) and regionalization of tastes in chocolate recipes, such as the Hungarian chocolate pastry tradition of Rigó Jancsi (chocolate sponge cake/cream cake). This development of local taste has been undermined by industrial production of chocolate. More recent efforts by small-scale chocolatiers help craft local identity through branding of a tropical product.

Industrial versus local craft processing also invokes notions of health and quality assurance. Chocolate occupies an uneasy place in European diets, especially in light of growing rates of obesity and recent “junk food taxes” that target sugary foods (http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/03/world/europe/hungary-experiments-with-food-tax-to-coax-healthier-habits.html?_r=0). Europe is the world’s biggest importer and processor of cacao (60% of all in the world) as well as the largest per capita consumer of chocolate (50% of all the world’s chocolate). The average British, German, or Swiss person will consume 11kg/24 pounds of chocolate per year. Industrial chocolate, such as Túró Rudi and Túró Csoki (<http://www.best-things-in-hungary.com/blue-dotty.html>) is higher in sugar and less complex in taste compared to the variety of local chocolatiers, such as Hunagarian fine bean to bar chocolate Szántó Tibor: Csokoládé készítés and Rózsavölgyi Csokoládé and fine confections of chocoMe.

This non-European product, an American cultigen, is made “local” through processing. The resulting flavor, color, and taste all involve choices that set consumers lives apart from those who produced it. It is a food ideology that makes the strange familiar (chocolate as a common, everyday food), and what should be familiar, or transparent, (how chocolate comes to be) strange. The **historical context and analysis of labor in cacao farming** and chocolate production shows a critical reliance on coerced labor in the forms of chattel slavery and indentured servitude, precedents for the complex present-day labor conditions in cacao and chocolate that include the contemporary devaluation of labor, modern day forced labor, and the worst forms of child labor. Furthermore, the longstanding disjuncture between producers and consumers is highlighted by the consumption of producers: even though Africa is world’s biggest producer of cacao (75%), it is also smallest per capita consumer of chocolate (3%). Examining food access and food justice in the light of ways people produce and consume chocolate can challenge

assumptions about social inequalities, race, health, and identity and offer insights into long-term sustainability.

The results demonstrate that many of the existing narratives of chocolate are similar, with little critical analysis of the history and culture of chocolate in Europe, especially as it relates to history of labor and race, gender, class inequality. The critical analysis of these social factors suggests directions for future education, investment, and action by the fine and craft chocolate industry in Europe that can promote mutual benefits for producers and consumers.

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14. Feeding Roma Families: From Hunger to Inequalities

Lynette Šikić-Mićanović, Ph.D., Institute of Social Sciences *Ivo Pilar*

Food is never 'just food' and its significance can never be purely nutritional (Caplan 1997: 3). Packed with social, cultural and symbolic meanings food is always part of an elaborate symbol system that conveys cultural messages. For instance, where and what we eat, with whom, and at what time of day or night are directly influenced by a variety of everyday factors such as age, gender, social status, ethnicity and income. Succinctly, Bell and Valentine (1997: 3) noted that "every mouthful, every meal, can tell us something about our selves, and about our place in the world." Likewise, addressing everyday practices associated with food may be central to addressing questions of who we are, as women and men and as members of different social groups. Specifically, feeding may be only one difficult task among many that needs broader explication because as DeVault (1994: 168) notes the differing material bases of households/family groups - connections to wealth and occupation, the resulting amount and stability of cash resources and redistributions of resources all combine to construct quite different conditions for the conduct of household work. She aptly adds that it is an illusion that all families share a similar experience of purchasing and preparing foods (1994: 202) to feed their families.

This study focuses on feeding work that is especially more complex, laborious and highly gendered in Roma families in Croatia compared to the majority population. Specifically, Roma families are frequently large and live in substandard housing in settlements with poor infrastructure. Education levels and labour participation rates among the Roma are relatively low which contributes to their social exclusion and discrimination that makes feeding work more complicated. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in five different Roma settlements throughout Croatia, this paper explores how Roma households feed their families and their everyday experiences of food in/security. Specifically, this study is based around in-depth interviews rather than just observations, which provides a different perspective on some of the ways that feeding Roma families relates to gender and its meaning in light of unprecedented financial insecurity that is experienced by many Roma families. Interviews are contextualised within the complex specificities of each particular Roma settlement that has been shaped by a specific history, social/environmental setting and political economy. Further, these interviews do not only give insight on food provisioning/cooking and other related experiences in Roma families but also a rich source of data on the way gender and other social categories such as ethnicity, age, religion and class intersect.

This study relies on self-reported food in/security as a better measure of directly capturing how the Roma feel about their immediate situation. Chronic food insecurity is understood as being associated with problems of continuing or structural poverty as well as low incomes. This research attempts to draw attention to Roma expressions of deprivation, uncertainty, or concern over access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food. Statistical findings show that 40% of Roma households cannot afford to eat meat, fish or a protein equivalent every second day. Further, in this analysis, consumption levels: how many meals Roma families are eating each day, how much is being eaten, and with what regularity will be examined. In addition, the quality of food consumed will be considered including the representation of major food groups and extent of reliance on micro-wave/pre-prepared or "junk food" items. Dietary quality in terms of preferences (i.e., are they getting enough of what they want to eat?) and whether their food is obtained from socially acceptable sources (e.g., supermarkets/restaurants vs handouts/rubbish dumps) will also be investigated. Overall results show that the diet for many Roma families is nutritionally insufficient, with serious implications for unhealthy childhoods, chronic adult illnesses and frequently interrupted learning at school. Depending on location, some families are highly dependent on charity, which clearly does not solve the underlying causes of hunger, poverty and inequalities. Interview data also reveals the relationships Roma families have with food and how this association discloses an enormous amount of information about Roma identities, social stigma and isolation.

As food is intimately bound up with social relations, including those of power, of inclusion and exclusion (Caplan 1997:3) the gendered aspects of feeding Roma families will be closely explored in this work. Findings show that most of the participants in this study are young, unemployed mothers who breastfeed their children (average number of children is 4.47 in this study) significantly longer than the majority population. Due to early 'marriage' and family responsibilities they do not receive much formal education or information on how to provide the best possible care for their children and how to cope with the challenges of caring for their newborns. As a rule, Roma men do not participate in household chores including the preparation and further work around meals that starkly contrasts with other current findings that show that men have increased their participation in household chores including the preparation of meals (see Gershuny, 2000). In this study, although Roma women are solely responsible for all domestic chores including cooking and feeding (daughters are also socialised from an early age into these socially accepted gendered roles) Roma men do control what their families eat. Moreover, other research has

shown the increased availability of time-saving technologies (such as microwaves) has led to a significant reduction in the time spent in domestic labour, especially for lower income women (see Heisig 2011). In contrast, research (see Šikić-Mičanović 2005) has shown that Roma fare poorly on measures of well-being with regard to household appliances as well as housing conditions, neighbourhood and community conditions, which make life to a large extent more difficult for Roma girls and women.

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15. New relations among producers and consumers in Italy.

Silvia Sivini, Department of Political and Social Science – University of Calabria

The paper will discuss new models of producer-consumer relations, with reference to the results of a national research implemented in Italy by the Universities of Calabria, Napoli, Pisa and Trieste (Sivini, Corrado 2013).

In the agro- food dominant system the relations among producers and consumers have been detached. The first ones don't have any control of the food chain. The seconds buy food without having information on how, where and by whom it has been produced. Social effects of this model include important movements of resistance (McMichael 2007), both at consumers and at producers level.

On the first level, scholars have highlighted the emergence of critical consumption (Leonini , Sassatelli 2008), alternative consumption (Gabriel, Lang 2005), ethical consumption (Johnston 2008). These are practices promoted by consumers that tend to exceed the "individualization of the act of purchase" (Secundulfo 2007) that characterizes the dominant system. They are motivated by ethically conscious people who pay attention to the "social quality" of the products.

In Italy there is an important movement of critical consumers that has promoted the diffusion of GAS (Solidarity Purchasing Groups), starting from the '90s. The main purpose of a GAS is "to buy goods and services trying to achieve a more humane conception of economy, more closer to the real needs of people and of the environment, through linkages rather than divisions"(GAS 1999). They have been developed mainly in urban areas of the Northern and Central Italy. GAS choose to buy directly from organic farmers, not always certified, and they establish new forms of relations with producers grounded on trust and cooperation. This process has can be included in the growth of the so-called "alternative food networks".

In the South of Italy, where critical consumption is less developed, are emerging different experiences of what I call "critical farmers" who are striving to overcome the economic and social un-sustainability of the conventional agricultural system. These farmers tend to practice organic and biodynamic agriculture and to preserve biodiversity. They diversify their production and frequently they conduct multifunctional farms. Labour, for them, doesn't mean exploitation. They choose to sell, directly to critical consumers, products that, in their words, represent "*high quality and high ideals*". Most of the cases analyzed don't sell only in local farmers markets or in farm shops, but also in other regions through stable relationships with the GAS networks. The specificity is that they develop first the connection with networks already operating in other territories and then reinforce the territorial relation with local nodes. The different practices identified by the research are examples of collective action capable to build new *infrastructures* (Fonte 2013) in order to reinforce the relations between people who share the same idea of development. The main principle of action is solidarity, instead of profit. This means that the farmers are no longer alone, "*monads fighting one another*", as they become part of networks established by producers and consumers. They are conscious that "*farmers alone can do nothing, but the alliance with consumers gives them the opportunity to change the system*" (Sivini 2013). Mutual cooperation, exchange of services, knowledge and information characterized their relationships that can be interpreted in terms of social/civic commitment. The actors involved show their capacity of "agency", as they tend to process social collective experience and to implement autonomous projects accordingly (Ploeg 2008). The network arises as an effective organizing principle, but it never comes to transcend the basic nodes, it is never reified (Vitale, Sivini, forthcoming).

16. Quietly Does It: Questioning assumptions about class, sustainability and consumption

Joe Smith^a, Tomáš Kostecký^b and Petr Jehlička^{a,c}

^aDepartment of Geography, The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK

^bInstitute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague

^cDepartment of Environmental Studies, Masaryk University, Brno, Czechia

This paper questions assumptions about the relationship between class formation, sustainability and patterns of consumption. The empirical elements of the research are based upon qualitative and quantitative time-series research into food self-provisioning and “quiet sustainability” in post socialist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (Poland and Czechia). Food self-provisioning (FSP) is a term that describes the production and often sharing of food without economic benefit. We offer evidence of comparatively very high levels of food self-provisioning and sharing of the resulting produce amongst middle class Poles and Czechs. This evidence questions widely held assumptions about class, development and consumption. Our explorations of the reasons for food self-provisioning throw new light on discussions of ethical consumption: ethics is lightly worn, even unacknowledged, amongst practitioners, but the commitments are widespread and robust.

Our exploration of the practice of “quiet sustainability” amongst CEE middle classes poses an important question: need it be assumed that periods of rapid economic development, and the related expansion of middle classes, in emerging economies necessarily follow a Western pattern of development, with (attendant) high levels of consumption? To that end we divided respondents on the Czech (2010) and Polish (2011) national surveys (over 1000 respondents each) into the two categories of the middle and working class leaving aside the economically non-active including pensioners (difficult to categorise in class terms) and professional farmers (as we focused on FSP practised for non-economic reasons). Our definition of middle class and working class is based on so called EGP class scheme (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992), in its modified version adjusted for use in the post-socialist context (Machonin and Tuček, 1994). Generally, the EGP classes are based on the work situation (authority and autonomy at work) as well as market situation (including income, degree of income security, career prospects and source of income) of the respondents. In this definition the working class consisted of routine non-manual workers in services, skilled workers, and non-skilled and agricultural workers. Higher and lower professionals, self-employed with and without employees and clerks comprised the middle class. We have found out that both middle and working classes in Poland and Czechia grow food and the percentage of the middle class growing food some 20 years after the fall of the communist regime is slightly greater than the percentage of the working class doing so.

More importantly, the middle classes, despite their greater disposable income, do not resort to the use of industrially made fertilisers in significantly greater numbers than the working classes. Their food-related practices can hence be considered sustainable in the terms understood by the food policy literature, and greater income levels do not significantly alter this. Furthermore, 21 per cent of the Czech and 24 per cent of the Polish middle class food growers effectively produce non-certified organic food (in that they use neither industrially made pesticides nor fertilisers). For the working classes, the figures are 16 per cent (CZ) and 26 per cent (PL). There is also no difference between middle and working class respondents as far as their willingness to share at least some of the food they self-produced with other people is concerned (and not only with their immediate family but also with friends, colleagues and neighbours). While overall Polish food growers (46 per cent) appear to practice less sharing than Czechs (60 per cent), there is virtually no difference in either country in the behaviour of the two classes.

The middle class food self-provisioners of post-socialist CEE have been defying the expectations of government officials, marketeers and researchers. From the point of view of the architects of post-socialist transition the fact that the middle classes continue to grow their own food almost has the status of deviance. Far from being a “survival strategy of the poor” FSP helps practitioners to nourish and represent their own identity, and to tend to their family and friendship relationships and networks. The case demands that the research and policy communities take more notice of these quietly significant aspects of everyday life, and invites consideration of what might be achieved by paying more attention to the everyday practice of quiet sustainability. This requires sensitive attention to people’s experience of pleasure, sharing, challenge and the demonstration of skill in a range of fields. This opens up possibilities for nurturing sustainability in new ways in some key areas of environmental impact such as how we get access to what we need and want (transport), how we dress (consumption) and how we make our homes comfortable (energy). It also helps support a sense that sustainability is not so much a future state to be achieved as a strand of lived experience that already exists in the past and present.

17. Visual narratives of hunger within the context of the Nazi genocide of Roma in Hungary

Anna Lujza Szász, CfSC HAS

In this presentation I discuss the process whereby the invisible or forgotten history of the Roma Holocaust is transformed into a knowable historical event, particular via film narrative and the use of survivor testimony. I wish to understand the event through the various memories of hunger which is an emblematic, archetypal element in testimonies: one of the common denominators that appears regularly and vividly in narratives disregarding age, gender, ethnicity etc. Thus I will look at and explore the narratives as well as their visual reconstruction from this point of view.

My presentation focuses on – primarily – three documentary films: *Forgotten Dead (1981)*; *You Killed My Innocent Family (1994)*; *Pharrajimos (2000)*. Although each of these films was produced under specific historical circumstances, according to diverse aesthetic styles, and with different ethical-political concerns one thing is common amongst these films: they all are significant milestones in the history of the Hungarian Roma movement and the role of Holocaust memory therein.

Forgotten Dead, was the first film to give voice to Roma survivors. The second film was produced for the occasion of the first public commemoration of the Roma Holocaust. Third, after almost two decades of silence and as the restitution process was slowly starting to emerge was done in cooperation with the Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest.

Similarly to Michael Rothberg I consider the “film” as a discursive space where the narrative of memory can evolve and also demonstrate the ways in which this memory is constantly being articulated. Thus my theoretical framework will draw on memory studies while throughout my analysis I use the tools provided by the methodological approach of visual studies.

In analysing these three films, I argue that the narrative structure in each one is strongly related to the given political context in which it was produced. As the memory of the Roma Holocaust is channelled into the universalized understanding of the Holocaust the narrative became saturated with trauma and one of the greatest manifestations of it was hunger: to explain the suffering through (a rather generalized, in other words, impersonal notion of) hunger. Moreover, the articulation of hunger tells a lot about the “body politics” of the perpetrators and the regime of annihilation: the ways in which totalitarian power introduced an absolute transformation of humans into bare life, stripping these people of their civil rights, social positions and political as well as human status and considered them only in the terrain of biopolitics and within a biopolitical horizon. Finally I would argue that still there is much difference can be noted in the narratives of hunger of Roma survivors in comparison to that of the Jewish narratives. As the danger of hunger is a potential threat in the everyday life of Roma, the alertness of the actualization of this danger deprives the narratives from their harshness, or the trauma of the past and rather points to the present and displays present-day traumas.

18. Consumer ethos and the meaning of food consumption in daily press – a German perspective

Stefan Wahlen, Gerda Casimir, Wageningen University (The Netherlands), Sociology of Consumption and Households

In the European Union, governmental food policies attempt to promote more sustainable food consumption. Sustainable food consumption is an issue on the political agenda because food, together with mobility and housing, is recognised as a consumption category where consumers can have an impact on more sustainable futures. Policy measures and initiatives try to promote more sustainable food consumption and associated lifestyles. In most of these measures and initiatives, information is a key instrument towards more sustainable food consumption: only informed consumers can make informed choices. The underlying understanding embedded afore is the preconception of the what, who and how of consumers, an ethos as way of thinking about the consumer. In traditional economic thought the way of thinking is about the rational consumer that participates in market exchange and therefore needs to be empowered by information and education in order to be able to make informed choices that maximise utility. This is also the case for sustainable food consumption. Consumers need to know about more sustainable options in order to choose for more sustainable lifestyles. Accordingly, the underlying modes of thought assume consumers having particular capacities to process the information on the characteristics of sustainable food. This research aims at moving beyond the hegemony of the rational consumer, scrutinizing the ethos as collective ways of thinking of and about consumers. We are particularly interested in the social meaning of sustainable food consumption in discourses, its underlying belief systems and implied assumptions.

Empirically we examine the social meaning of food consumption in daily press. We approach the collective ways of thinking and representing the (food) consumer, analysing a unique set of data, consisting of a daily newsletter that is issued by the Federation of German Consumer Organisations (Verbraucherzentrale Bundesverband – vzbv). The newsletter highlights newspaper articles published in national and regional newspapers or magazines that are attributed to a particular consumer interest. The newsletter is structured according to different consumption categories or clusters, such as mobility, finances, digital world, health as well as food. Each category appearing in the newsletter includes up to five newspaper articles, depending on what is currently debated in the media: most often there are one or two articles per category and day. We collected a total of 244 daily newsletters discussing food, issued over the course of the year 2014. Subsequently, we analyse the newspaper articles using Atlas.ti, a computer programme that assists us to uncover moral, normative and evaluative aspects in the ways of thinking about sustainable food consumption in a systematic way. We conduct a discourse analysis in order to highlight underlying interpretive repertoires of daily press articles discussing sustainable food consumption. We can consequently explain how the newspaper articles construct an argument around sustainable food consumption within wider social practices.

The results of our analysis come across with consumer ethos' discussed in the German context in the run of 2014. In order to set up policy measures, such as above mentioned addressing sustainable food consumption, it is crucial to know about underlying meanings of sustainable food consumption and ways of understanding the consumer. We propose answers to what is important and how the relevance of different aspects of sustainable food consumption can be considered in the given German context during the past year 2014. Further, we need to understand how public debates and discourses assemble the consumer in order to further develop policy initiatives and measures, thereby moving beyond considering information as the key to consumer sovereignty. Our results highlight the consumer as being shaped in and by daily press: how words and images are used in journalism to represent ways of thinking about the (food) consumer. Thus, there are culturally typical and acceptable ways of discussing sustainable food consumption. We are thereby able to debunk patterns of knowing and talking about food consumption practices and appropriate ways of eating, in order to develop policy measures and initiatives that promote more sustainable consumption. We have to know about the norms and values included in the ethos, to be able to see what is relevant for coming to a desired end.

19. The state of local food: practice and theory

Ivan Cucco & Maria Fonte, Università di Napoli Federico II

Literature on local food, alternative agriculture and civic food networks has grown enormously in the latest years. A quick interrogation of Google Scholar for 'local food' gives 18,400 results (plus 3,800 for alternative agriculture). The alternativeness of local food rests on the connection of food to the territory i.e. to the natural (agro-ecological) and social context in which it is produced and consumed (food from somewhere, rather than food from nowhere). It means then,

- as for the agro-ecological conditions, respect for the environment and nature;
- as for the social context, inclusion of people who are marginalized by the corporate system of food production, i.e. small farms (and their knowledge) on one side and poor people on the other (access to an healthy, culturally sound diet for all).

Most significant experiences *in Northern countries* are:

- Community Supported Agriculture in the States and UK points to the necessary link of solidarity through *risk sharing*, between (local, small) farmers and consumers;
- AMAPs (Association pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne), in France focus on the role of local food for *rural development* and the persistence of *peasant farm*
- The Solidarity Purchasing Groups (Italy, Spain, Belgium) stress the importance of a new system of provision, connecting *critical consumption* (especially urban consumers) to producers, for the transition to a sustainable and just food system. A new vision of the relation between the urban and the rural is also affirmed.
- In Eastern Asia countries, arising awareness of the social and environmental risk associated to major events like the Fukushima nuclear plant accident and TPP negotiations is acting as a catalyst for otherwise disconnected experiences of local food, AFNs and organic agriculture.

In the Global South (but also Mediterranean and Eastern countries of Europe) the question is not only to propose an alternative model to the corporate food system, but also how to renovate traditional forms of local food (peasant and subsistence agriculture, local markets), so that they may be the drivers to a different (more sustainable, more just) model of (agricultural) development. We notice here an interesting, original debate on the 'quiet sustainability' and on the emergency of agriculture-supported communities in Hungary. Among the initiatives:

- The FAO-Slow Food initiative '1000 urban gardens in Africa' points the attention to agriculture in an urbanizing world, bringing new perspectives on food security with respect to the institutional debate on local and regional procurement of food aid.
- Latin American initiatives embed the essence of 'alternativeness' in the concept of 'agro-ecological revolution', as a knowledge-intensive science and a practice based on farmers' knowledge and experimentation, in opposition to the expert model of the science-intensive GMO agriculture. Parallel initiatives are also addressing public procurement for school feeding and the valorisation of traditional food and diets (Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, etc.).
- In Southern Asia, as in Africa and Latin America, local agriculture and food, based on the valorisation of local knowledge, offers the alternative to the agro-industrial and financial model of the flex-crops and commodities with multiple uses (feed / food / fuel), which destroy local crops and biodiversity and threatens the right to food of the poor.
- Land entitlements and the challenges to land rights represented by the land grab are also object of initiatives and practices in the Global South.

From the theoretical perspective, qualification of the 'local' and its 'alternativeness' brought into debate important topics like:

- the environmental sustainability of global food systems
- the link between consumption and production and the possible role of consumers in the construction of a new food system
- the disappearance of the family and small scale agriculture, and its role for food security, food sovereignty and biodiversity

- food equity and justice, solidarity and other civic values
- urban agriculture
- public procurement
- agro-ecology
- waste management
- land rights
- food security and sovereignty

Theoretical reflexions and debates have gone through different stages. First the debate on local agriculture as 'alternative' to the dominant food system has called attention to 'critical consumers', or better 'citizen-consumers', as an important part of the localization movements and to qualify the approach to the local as 'reflexive localism'. Secondly, the concept of 'civic agriculture' has been extended into that of 'civic food networks', to indicate the new global post-modern food movement. Two relevant concepts characterize this movement:

- civic → stressing the importance of collective goods and values
- networks → stressing the way people and social movements connect and act.

From a social perspective, the new social movements highlight the emergence of new subjectivities, as the transformative potential is seen not anymore in the alliance between *working class* and *peasantry*, but in the alliance between *citizens* and *peasantry*.

From a spatial perspective (economic geography), the relation between urban and rural is questioned. Food is legitimated among the 'urban questions', not only through the notion and initiatives of urban agriculture, but also through the new awareness of the importance of food for the 'hungry city'. A new conceptualization of the rural-urban relation through the concepts of foodshed or the food city region has emerged.

Finally *from the perspective of the 'development project'*, local food brings attention to global sustainability and rights to food, through the debates on the transition to sustainable food systems and food sovereignty.

The paper will try to weave a thread and offer a critical perspective in these topics.

20. Exploring the role of food in EU rural development policy

Balogh Péter, University of Szeged, Department of Sociology

In our planned presentation we wish to introduce some relevant results from our exploratory investigation of the European Union rural development policy. In our research we examine the main patterns and the possible inequalities of the implementation of rural development policy, and in this case we focus our attention on the role and importance of food in process the development.

As for the theoretical frame we interpret development policy – building on the approach of new economic sociology – generally as an (dominantly centrally regulated) intent to help public goods (Olson 1997) to come into existence – or rather to prevent public bad (Hirschman 1995). In this processes different institutional devices (Elster 1995) are employed in order to enforce certain principles in the central regulation (Stigler 1989) of the allocation processes. Related to the broad approach of development policy we the consider social capital (Coleman 2006) a further important concept as it is recognized as a facilitating factor of economic and social development (Putnam 2006). Regarding the strategic planning of European Union development policy there has been recently a change of the regulation and the way development processes are expected to run by emphasizing the principle of decentralization (Csité-Kovách 2002, Davey 2003) and highlighting the role of locality (Barca 2009). Behind this kind of macro-level or general interpretation of development policy as a collective action several further aspects and factors need to be taken into consideration regarding the micro-level realization or implementation, i.e. to encourage the potential actors and stakeholders to mobilize their resources to reach the general aims through the realization of particular or individual aims. In this progress projectification (Kovách-Kučerová 2006, Kovách 2007) prove to be an important factor implying that the overall process of development policy is organized through individual initiations; projects that include the individual intentions, motivations and resources of the participants. These projects in rural development policy play an important role – building on the role of communities and the principle of partnership (Scott 2003, Kovách-Kučerová-Megyesi 2005) – in the commercialization of rural goods and services (Kovách-Kristóf 2007). A further relevant aspect of the projectified rural development policy is its emphasis on endogenous development (Ray 1999, 2000; Shucksmith 2000) in a cooperative and network-based manner.

The subject of our research wished to be presented is the planning and the implementation of the rural development policy – described above – in the European Union between 2007 and 2013 with a special attention on the role of food. Accordingly the methodological background mainly consists of two parts: on the one hand we investigate the strategic and planning documents related to the rural development of the period in order to explore to what extent food is emphasized. In doing so we mainly concentrate the examination – carrying out a kind of content analysis on secondary data – to the official structure of the four axes and the different measures included in the axes. We pay attention both on the mentions of measures containing the word food or related expressions, furthermore we wish to explore the inner emphases of food-related interventions by comparing the amount and calculating the proportion of the planned budget. These indicators can be investigated also after the end of the implementation of rural development policy providing an opportunity to compare the planned and the realized patterns of fund allocation. On the other hand on the database of EU rural development projects between 2007 and 2013 we carry out a comparison – as a combination of content analysis and network analysis – of the measures included in the individual projects. In this case we wish to explore how the applicants – in a kind of discursive way – express their projects by describing in the analysis the relative frequencies of food-related measures, furthermore investigating the co-occurrence patterns of measures and the position of food-related topics in this network.

According to the – dominantly preliminary – experience of the research it can be said that food proves to be a not so frequently mentioned topic in the measures of strategic documents, however indirectly several dimensions of EU rural development policy are linked to food.

21. How the «starred» chefs participate in the promotion of regional identity: the example of the Alpes Maritimes (France)

Aline Brochot, CNRS - LADYSS (Laboratoire Dynamiques Sociales et Recomposition des Espaces)

In France, the great chefs, *a fortiori* when they are «starred»*, are among leading figures of the national culture. Enjoying a great popularity, they have become social prescribers well listened-to and high-profile.

Their name and their image are used both by those involved in tourism as by politicians or local elected representatives who rely on their reputation to enhance the image of their region or their municipality. Locally, they are also very important economic actors by promoting the development of agricultural productions and local employment.

Everywhere, in all regions, the presence of a great chef is recognized as a factor of tourist attractiveness and of local development. In the department of the Alpes Maritimes (the French Riviera) they participate moreover in the defense and the promotion of regional identity. Here, traditional cooking and recipes, some emblematic food products and specialties are recognized and claimed as major regional cultural heritage components. Indeed, in this region, that has undergone profound social and spatial changes since the 1950s, it's an entire system of local identification, even regionalist claims, which has been built around the traditional cuisine and its products.

For this reason, the chefs, especially the «starred»* ones, which have since fifty years promoted a gourmet cuisine based on the use of terroir's products, have become, *nolens volens*, the leading figures of the promotion of regional identity and influential actors in the promotion of the territory's image.

They represent maybe also one of the last forms of concrete expression of the local identity in a region in accelerated transformation where the material tracks of the history disappear little by little under the effects of the métropolisation and the standardization of the ways of living.

This communication will be based on the results of field surveys conducted in the department of the Alpes Maritimes between 2000 and 2014 on the themes of the 'regional culture' and of the 'interrelations between great chefs and local producers'.

* This is the commonly accepted name to designate chefs distinguished for the quality of their cuisine by the « Red Guide » of Michelin, according to a hierarchy that goes from 1 to 3 stars.

22. "Transformation and new producer-consumer relations in urban ruralities - The Case of Sundom, Vaasa, Finland"

Peter Ehrström, postdoctoral researcher, Åbo Akademi University, Finland

Sundom in Vaasa, Finland exemplifies a village that has and is experiencing major socio-economic transformation and an transformed image, from a poor village to a well-off (rurban) district. Sundom is a village in Ostrobothnia that since 1973 also is a district of Vaasa. A large majority of Sundomers are wage-earners, commuting to work outside Sundom. Traditionally Sundom was a fisherman's and farmers village, but this has significantly changed over time (Sundom byaplan, 2012, p. 9).

Key processes for the current transformation of the countryside are a shift from productivism to post-productivism in agriculture, transformation of rural areas from production space to cosumer space, according to Dünckmann (2012, p. 58). This countryside is no longer the traditional farmer's countryside but rather what Murdoch et al (2003) considers a differentiated countryside. However, according to Dünckmann (2012), the rural areas need not lose their rural character as the new settlers may also influence a revival and reinforcement of certain "neo-rural" elements, perhaps romanticizing a rural way of life or searching a more sustainable, green, way of living. This may well lead to new forms of rurban identities, combining urban and rural values, emanating in metropolitan and urban ruralities.

Early findings in Sundom suggests that most of the new middle-class commuters moving to Sundom have a rural rather than urban background, that is, they are exchanging a former rural domicile for another, rather than being exurbanites "fleeing" the city (Ehrström, 2013). Typically they also commute to work in nearby urban Vaasa.

Sundom has also experienced a shift from production to consumption. The new Sundomers are typically well-educated middle-class consumers, which has inspired new patterns of producer-consumer relations. Food production is marginal in Sundom (only a few percent of Sundomers are currently occupied in farming and fishing). But a traditional local food brand, the nationally appreciated Sundom herring (smoked Baltic herring), is still a vital part of Sundom's image.

23. The rise and fall of the farmers' markets in the Czech Republic

Lukáš Zagata (Czech University of Life Sciences Prague, Czech Republic)

This proceeding is focused on development of the farmers' markets in the Czech Republic aims to interpret their changes in the last five years. Farmers' markets are conceptualized as an alternative initiative, which originated from civic engagement with a goal to transform current system of food production and consumption into more sustainable form. A closer look shows where the initiative has arrived and what contested issues it has had to deal with since it started in 2009. Analysis of this development also provides answers to more general questions related to dynamics and life-cycle of alternative food initiatives and their position in the Czech Republic.

Farmers' markets in the Czech Republic include several unique features. Despite the adjective "farmers" the initiative draws on engaged citizens, urban inhabitants, who put effort in creating alternative space for direct distribution of fresh food that would stay away from the dominating industrial regime of food production and consumption. The initiative started in the year 2009. At this time, it was very innovative activity in the Czech context. The first farmers' markets organized in large cities (such as Prague, Pilsen) in 2010 proved that this innovation is desired by wider public. The markets quickly gained attention and support of large population of consumers and provided evidence about a high demand for local and seasonal food of regional origin. At the same time, the farmers' markets became a way for farmers, who were interested in direct marketing of food. In the year 2011 the Czech Ministry of Environment launched a new support for organizers of farmers' markets (mostly NGS and regional authorities), who intended to open markets in smaller towns. Due to this, the farmers' markets were organized in hundreds of localities all over the Czech Republic. Next year, during the season 2012, it became evident that some farmers' markets cannot survive without a financial support and had to be closed down. At this moment, the initiative also started its own transformation. The concept of the farmers' markets appeared to include several contradictory features that hindered its future development (hygienic rules, food quality, relations with organic movement and more). Due to this situation there have emerged new alternative ways, which draw in the successful model of the farmers' markets and took advantage of the rising consumers' demand. These included farmers' shops, online stores and diverse forms of box schemes. This trend went on in the year 2013, when occurrence of these projects increased and the numbers of farmers' markets declined. Recently, the initiative undergoes another transformation process. It is becoming more professional that leaves the original civic ethos behind.

One can see that the initiative, in order to continue its activities, needs to cope with several basic dilemmas. The first one is related to *authenticity of food*. Main advantage of the farmers' markets is establishing relations between producers and consumers. If the initiative miss this goal (for instance by allowing re-sellers to participate on markets), it loses one of its main features and becomes a casual distribution channel that intermediates food sales. Another dilemma is related to urban culture and *public space*. The original farmers' markets were viewed as a welcomed event that was livening public space of cities. Many local authorities were willing to financially support organizers. Currently the farmers' markets are viewed rather as profit-making events that compete with other commercial happenings that aim on increasing the municipal budget. This situation is underlined by often non-transparent contracts between municipalities and farmers' markets organizers, which are then publicly criticized. The third dilemma is related to *food quality*. The original initiative put emphasis on food of the Czech origin that would be seasonal and include quality of 'small' (non-industrial) producers. Dropping these values mean that the initiative loses key feature that distinguished them from other alternatives and justified its existence.

Systematic view on development of this initiative points out barriers that generally hinder successful development of alternative ways of food production and consumption. Within the Czech context the farmers' markets performed important role in 'exploring' the potential of direct food marketing. However, the initiative reached a point of break, which decides about its future: the initiative can keep up its transformative potential, or cease and abandon its position in favour of other alternatives.

This study draws on the results of the FarmPath project (2011 – 2014). Work on this project included an extensive case study research (conducted in 2012) focusing on origins of the farmers' markets in the Czech Republic and their development in early years of their existence. The results were updated with the use of the additional study in the year 2015.

24. Social and economic sustainability in development models utilizing ecological cultivation in rural Hungary

Asztalos Morell Ildikó, University of Sweden
Ildikó Asztalos Morell

Uppsala Centre for Russian Studies

In this paper I problematize, with help of two case studies how ecological cultivation is used for easing poverty in rural marginalized settlements in Hungary. In one of the cases ecological production skills are introduced in a top down fashion, targeting primarily long-term unemployed Roma, where the usufruct of production remains under the control of the municipality. IN contrast in the ecological production introduced by PL ngo an alternative model is provided, based on a flow model, focusing on empowering participants through enhanced economic, social and ecological motivation to engage in cultivation. Any local inhabitant can participate, thus not only double marginalized, impoverished Roma, which enhances the meeting between different ethnic and social segments of the community.

Ecological production has been introduced to diverse municipal social security strategies during the past years in Hungary. Due to a paradigm shift in social security policies towards requirement based systems social security payments are to be connected to participation in collectively organized forms of labour. Social security transfers based on entitlements were claimed to lead to passivity, a critique first initiated by the former socialist-liberal government in 2002 (back to work program). A critique of entitlement based social security became integrated into a conservative ideology. The national conservative government extended the number of those offered support through work-based entitlements: municipal community work (e.g. START program based közmunka). Some of the most important criticism against municipal community work is that municipalities cannot provide meaningful tasks, the activities are not economically vital without the state subvention and that these activities are not providing education preparing for market based labour. Furthermore, municipal communal work is prone for utilization in punitive ways to prevent the “undeserving poor” from obtaining social benefits without work. In some debated cases such punitive measures obtained even ethniced forms. Despite of these well-founded criticisms municipalities eager to ease social deprivation among their residents try to utilise municipal communal work with value producing labour. One of these attempts are to introduce ecological cultivation on still remaining municipality owned land. However, as the two studied examples explore, ecological sustainability does not by itself lead to social and economic sustainability. Social sustainability assumes the enhancement of empowerment of marginalized groups and interaction between diverse socially and culturally divided groups of the community. The paper explores which kind of mechanisms lead to social integration versus the reproduction of social inequalities in cases of developmental models utilizing ecological goals.

25.

Kovách Imre, HAS-CfSS, Institute for Sociology, University of Debrecen

26. "Regional food and identity: two side of the same coin"

Csurgó Berndett – Megyesi Boldizsár, HAS-CfSS, Institute for Sociology,

Self-promotion and reinterpretation of local identity is becoming increasingly important in rural communities. Local identity building is succeeded very differently by rural municipalities and regions. The paper analyses the role of local food production in local identity creation. It is based on two contemporary discussed phenomena of rural development: local cultural heritage and local food production, as a part of local cultural heritage. Using the example of two Hungarian rural micro-regions we analyse how a local community presents itself through local food production, and how local communities can be built by revitalizing a part of the local cultural heritage: a local agri-food product.

The paper is based on the literature about alternative food networks (Renting et al. 2012, Lamine 2005, Fonte 2010), on the role of cultural heritage in rural development (Ray 1998, Bessiere 1998, Telsstrom et al 2005), and to contextualize the research, on agricultural restructuring and on the role of food self-provisioning in Central-Europe in the last decades (Jehlicka-Smith 2011, Swain 2013, Kovách 2012, Tisenkopfs et al. 2011).

The case-studies were conducted as a part of a larger research on agricultural restructuring of the last two decades in Hungary². It is based on qualitative and anthropological methods: document-analysis, semi-structured interviews, transect walking and participatory observation.

The first case-study was conducted in small Western-Hungarian micro-region which has agricultural traditions. Traditional products were fruits, vegetables, pork and dairy products. Now main products are arable crops, and poultry. During the last two decades former socialist-types cooperatives and the system of household-farming collapsed. Different types of private farms became main actors of agriculture. New agri-food networks and new actors emerged: huge agricultural companies, integrated into the national and international agri-food market, medium and small scale family farms selling their products at national and local markets, former workers returning to the countryside and retired town's people starting household farming. Also farming methods became diverse: traditional, organic and high-tech agricultural methods co-exist in the area.

Our paper focuses on the group of medium and small scale farms, which are engaged in local food production, and on subsistence farms. The typical medium size farm has a diverse product range, its market relations are weak and uncertain, but has dense, informal cooperation with neighbouring farmers, and it uses a mixed knowledge set, (Kelemen et al., 2008). There are farmers among them who seek to establish direct consumer relations.

The group of subsistence farmers is mixed: there are locals who always produced some vegetables, fruits, some animal products, former workers and towns' people. Despite this diversity they have some common characteristics: they farm on small plots, produce mainly, but not exclusively for self-consumption, thus have weak market relations. Their activity is labour-intensive, built on family networks and own labour force. The different sub-groups use different knowledge forms, and also their discourses on their farming practices are different. The members of this group established a shop for local products, and aim at developing farmers' market.

The micro-region does have neither a local brand nor a typical local food product. Despite it there is a local initiative aiming at developing market for already existing local products, like pumpkin oil, jams, honey, winery products, cheese and dairy products, and local handicrafts (artisanal products and small-scale food products). A local civic association organizes the initiatives together with other local stakeholders: the LEADER LAG and the local thermal spa. The first case study demonstrates how a community can build local image by using local small-scale food products.

The second case study was conducted in the Eastern part of Hungary in Hajdú-Bihar County. The surface of Hajdú-Bihar County is characterized by the Great Plain. Our sturdy area, Létavértes micro region consists of ten settlements including two small towns. The decrease of population characterizes the whole county, as well as the micro region. The most important sector of the economy is agriculture; it is quite stable and productive. However the number of agricultural employees has dramatically dropped in the last two decades as a result of the collapse of former socialist-types cooperatives. After the political transformation in the 1990's the agricultural structure has transformed. Huge agricultural companies and several small and medium scale farms developed in the last decades. Private firms and agricultural entrepreneurs became the main actors of local agriculture. The traditions of subsistence farming and food self-provisioning are very strong in the micro region, mostly in the small villages. Cereals and vegetables

² The paper is based on the case studies of the "Living from the land" project (OTKA Program).

are the main products of local agriculture. The micro region is famous for the cultivation of horseradish, which became a PDO (protected designations of origin) in 2006. 80% of the Hungarian horseradish production comes from the micro-region, but it is also one of the largest areas of cultivation for horseradish in all of Europe. A big local firm and several medium and small scale farmers are involved in horseradish production. Cooperation between horseradish producers is very strong both in formal and informal ways.

Our paper focuses on local horseradish producers. There are different kinds of farms among them: both medium size and subsistence farms. Horseradish is regarded as the most important local tradition with several cultural aspects. Traditional local gastronomy provides several special horseradish based dishes. A local civic association, the Horseradish Tourist Route Association was established by eight local governments, four horseradish producers and a local restaurant. Several other local actors (cultural centres, schools, civic associations etc.) are involved in the activity of the association. They published a brochure for tourism presenting local horseradish culture and other cultural heritage of the joint settlements. They organise a Horseradish Day, Horseradish Fest as cultural events in every year and a Horseradish Roundtable to negotiate roles and opportunities of horseradish in local development. The second case study analysis helps us to understand the role of horseradish production in local community building. The case presents the process of local community building and identity making through a local agri-food product.

The first case helps us to understand how an existing community can develop local image by quality food production, while the analysis of the second case demonstrates how existing traditional food and plant production (the horseradish) can help image building and contribute to local community development. The paper analyses the role of short food supply chains (SFSC) and local food culture in the two micro-regions and the process of local community and identity building. It analyses the differences of the SFSC's; our results suggests that agri-food products and relating local events can hardly be base of the local image outside the region, but also can help building, strengthening the local community and local identity.

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