Between research and action: problems and conflicts arising in the construction of the MAP of the Solidarity Purchasing Groups in Rome

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Abstract: The basis of this paper are the results of a research work which has been carried out between 2010 and 2012 within the project "Local agriculture and sustainable consumption in the alternative food networks" funded by the Ministry of Research (PRIN 2008). The main objectives of the project were to analyse the diffusion of the Solidarity Purchasing Groups (GAS) in the city of Rome and to analyse their characteristics, current status and future prospects. The aim of the university research team was not just the production of academic papers; rather to start an interactive mutual learning process with the GAS movement. To that end we organised open and public presentation of the research project and, since the beginning, we planned the construction of a digital map intended as an information and management tool for the Gas movement. As we will discuss in the following sections, some representatives of the GAS movement harshly criticised the mapping plan, both for the method of its construction and for questions of content. In this paper we present the main findings of the research and discuss the reasons at the basis of the conflicts arisen on the map.

Keywords: Alternative food networks, sustainable consumption, Solidarity Purchasing Groups, Animation activity

Introduction

The basis of this paper are the results of a research work which has been carried out between 2010 and 2012 within the project "Local agriculture and sustainable consumption in the alternative food networks" funded by the Ministry of Research (PRIN 2008). The main objectives of the project were to analyse the diffusion of the Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale (Solidarity Purchasing Groups; henceforth, GAS) in the city of Rome and to analyse their characteristics, current status and future prospects. The GAS are groups of households that cooperate in purchasing food and other goods directly from producers on the basis of ethical and environmental criteria and considerations of solidarity. They present themselves as a movement with a shared critique of the dominant model of consumption and production, a movement whose aim is to contribute to the construction of a more sustainable economy by promoting ecological citizenship and sustainable consumption.

Our aim, as university research team, was not just the production of academic papers, but also to start an interactive mutual learning process with the GAS movement. To that end we organised open and public presentation of the research project and since the beginning we planned the construction of a digital map intended as an information and management tool for the Gas movement. As we will discuss in the following sections, this plan was strongly contested by same representatives of the GAS movement. In this paper we try to discuss and reflect on the reasons at the base of such conflicts.

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The paper is organized as follows. First, we describe the results of the surveys conducted on the GAS in Rome and on their suppliers. Then, we present the process of construction of the digital map AGRILOC and discuss the animation activity carried out over the research period. In the final section we summarize the main findings and conclusions.

The survey work

Our research focused on the GAS movement in Rome. The first step of the research was devoted to collect the data needed to test whether the five dimensions (localization, environmental sustainability, community building, collective action and the creation of new infrastructures of provision) envisaged by Seyfang (2006) as essential components for achieving the transition to sustainable consumption, are part of the theoretical framework guiding the action of the Solidarity Purchasing Groups (GAS) operating in Rome, Italy. At this aim two surveys were conducted: one on the Roman GAS and the other on their suppliers.

The Roman GAS survey

GAS are indeed a little known and very dynamic reality, with new groups being created continuously and old groups stopping working altogether. This makes difficult even to establish the dimension of the universe of GAS in Italy and in Rome. In October 2010, when our field investigation started, according to the National GAS Network list (www.retegas.org) there were 58 GAS operating in the province of Rome, but it was soon clear that many more were operating in this territory. As a matter of fact most of the GAS operating in Rome are informal groups, while just a few of them are organized as formal associations and many of them, especially those organized at the working places, are not registered in the Network list. In order to acquire information about this still mostly unknown and rapidly changing population, we followed a snowball survey population. We first contacted all groups recorded in the Gas network list and interviewed a representative of each of these GAS. During the interviews we asked them if they were aware of other groups that were not already recorded in the list provided by the National GAS Network. By December 2011, at the end of the survey work, we were able to list about 160 GAS operating in the roman area.

We interviewed the representatives of 28 of these groups with face-to-face in-depth interviews. In our sample we tried to cover different types of GAS, both smaller and larger, in different areas of the town, with different ideological backgrounds. We stopped the interviews when we realized that the new ones failed to add any relevant new information to our research.

The semi-structured questionnaire that guided us was open and flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview. It was structured around the following sections: identification of the characteristics of the GAS (foundation year, number of adherents, age structure, professions etc.); short history of the GAS (objectives and motivations); purchased goods (quantity, quality, source; criteria used for the selection of providers and goods); group organization with respect especially to orders and delivery of goods; social relations inside the GAS, relations with the producers, in the area and with the institutions284.

The information gathered through the survey (tab.1) depict the GAS in Rome285 mainly as informal groups, each GAS comprises a variable number of households (from 5 to 300, with 50-80 being the most frequent range).

²⁸⁴ NVIVO9 software was used to analyze, classify, sort and arrange the collected information in relation to the dimensions of sustainability considered relevant by the actors.

²⁸⁵ For more in-depth information about the survey and its findings, see Fonte (2013a) and Fonte and Salvioni (2013)

The first GAS in Rome were founded near the beginning of the last decade (2001, 2003) and were inspired by the experience of their counterparts in northern Italy. In Rome, GAS have various ideological origins, they are often linked to social movements, especially to the experience of Centri Sociali286 and Fair Trade Shops, but also the Scouts Movement, workplaces, parishes and mothers' initiatives at schools. The different origins and socio-political context in which the GAS operate affect their objectives, inspiration and form of organization. For example, the groups started at workplaces or by a well established organization tend to have a more vertical organization with one or few people providing for the entire organization of the group. However, most GAS lend great emphasis to participation in the organization as an element of democracy and political consciousness. We are able to provide data on the 2010 expenditure for thirteen out of the twenty-eight GAS interviewed, which amounts in total to 649,500 euros, with an average expenditure of around 50,000 euros per group. If we multiply 50,000 by 160 (the approximate number of GAS active in Rome), total GAS expenditure in the province of Rome comes to about 8,000,000 euros.

Most members are in the age cluster between 35 and 50, with a medium-high level of formal education and belonging to the middle class, but not necessarily the upper middle class: GAS members are most frequently employed in public (e.g. teachers, researchers) and private (e.g. bank employees) service or as professionals (e.g. medical doctors, archaeologists, journalists); but we also found many artisans, the self-employed, retired people, students, the young (and less young) with precarious jobs and lower-status employees, or, as one interviewee said, 'proletarized middle class'. Even if GAS members may be characterized as belonging to the 'middle class', there is a widespread perception that their household operates on a tight budget and it is difficult or impossible to get healthy food at 'accessible' prices in the dominant market.

Tab. 1 – Main characteristics of interviewed GAS

ID	Year of institution	Context / ideological origin	Number of participating	Annual average expenditure
	Institution		households	(€ / 2010)
GAS11	2010	Mothers of children's at primary school	30	14,500
GAS21	2003	Friends; some were scouts together	20	-
GAS22	2009	Environmental association	200	120,000 (2011)
GAS31	2007	Friends	70	42,000
GAS41	2000	Centro sociale	80	39,000
GAS42	2008	Environmental non- profit association	10	-
GAS43	2009	Fair Trade shop	50	-
GAS51	2004	Fair Trade shop	10-15	20,000
GAS52	2005	Workplace	30	-
GAS61	2006	Centro sociale	30-40	-
GAS62	2008	Sports association	5-6	-
GAS63	2004	Fair Trade shop	60	55,000
GAS64	2004	Political Party (left)	30	-
GAS71	2008	Centro sociale	20	-
GAS81	2005	Active citizens	50-60	-
GAS91	2008	Group of mothers	10-15	-
GAS101	2004	Popular Solidarity Purchasing Group	60	30,000
GAS111	2007	International Non-Profit Civic Association	20	-
GAS112	2009	Christian Workers Italian Association	100	51,000
GAS113	2010	Workplace	35	-
GAS121	2008	Fair Trade Shop	50	25,000
GAS131	2004	Group inspired by Catholic ideals	30	53,000
GAS151	2005	Popular Solidarity Purchasing Group	45	-
GAS152	2009	Political party (left)	20	-

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²⁸⁶ A *Centro sociale* is a physical space used by a group, or a movement, or one or more organizations offering cultural, recreational and political activities.

GAS181	2009	Cultural association/ Left-wing political party	35	21,000		
GAS201	2008	Cultural association	33	-		
GAS202	2009	Friends; some were scouts together	150	145,000		
GAS01	2009	Active citizens	66	34,000		
Total annual expenditure for 13 GAS: € 649.500						

According to its own vision, the GAS movement is both a response to the industrialized organization of the food system and to the 'specialized' organization of organic food provision for a very restricted elite of consumers. Starting from this common base, we find in the movement a variation in strategies, ideologies and organizational forms: for some – especially GAS organized at the working place and GAS associated to cultural and environmental associations - the GAS is considered a 'service' provided to members of an association or colleagues at work; for others (the majority of the groups we interviewed) it is a strategy to change the world, the economy and society.

Food is at the center of GAS collective action because it can have a political impact. Food is a universal, fundamental need that creates an intimate relation among people. Starting from food makes it possible not only to theorize, but to practice change through critical consumption. But since the supermarket is the expression of an unsustainable / unjust food system, the GAS needs to build an alternative system of provision.

At the center of a more just and sustainable food system there must be a 'just price'. Coherently, for GAS in Rome, the objective it is not to pay the minimum price for food, but to pay a just price, a price that is fair to both the producer and consumer and that takes account of all costs, starting from environmental and labor costs. According to GAS in Rome, only prices that are fair to wide strata of consumers translate into real sustainability, transforming organic food from 'an elite product' into an instrument for the transition to a new model of food production. Determining a price that is 'just' is considered a very complex matter though. As a matter of fact, in a relation of trust with the producer, the assumption is that in general terms the price set by the producer is the 'just' one (i.e. economically, environmentally and socially sustainable for him/her).

In order to obtain organic food at accessible prices, a direct link between consumers and producers is extremely important. In the direct relation with producers, local, small producers are privileged for many reasons. The choice to buy local organic food is linked to the quest for sustainability, but it also depends upon the objective of constructing a direct relation with the producer. It also has other important effects, like enhancing typicality and biodiversity and supporting the local economy. Furthermore, small producers have preferably less intensive production practice; GAS want to sustain people/producers who go back to the land, and usually these people are unlikely to have a large farm; GAS want small farmers to continue to exist because they are valued as stewards of biodiversity. On the other hand, for small farmers GAS are an important market and a more direct, personal relationship may be established with them. Only a personal relationship with a farmer may build a relation of solidarity and trust.

By consequence, sustainability, local organic food, solidarity and preferences for small farmers are strictly interrelated.

Solidarity and community building is another dimension of the GAS vision of sustainability. Solidarity is practiced among members of the GAS, with workers, especially the immigrants, with communities or people in difficulty, but what is specific of GAS is solidarity in the relation with the producers, It is an important criterion in the choice of producers.

In order to pursue the objective of providing organic food at accessible prices, GAS need to build a social network in their area. Acting collectively as GAS empowers people, enabling them to make effective choices about the provision of their food. A direct relationship with producers

enables GAS to participate in the choice of how food is produced and distributed, how other humans and animals are treated. It enables them to rebuild social relations. Only through collective action they are enabled to build a new, more just and sustainable food provision system.

In conclusion it is found that the GAS strategy to make organic food accessible and food systems more sustainable is based on a social practice of food provision reproducing the five dimensions of sustainable consumption as identified by Sayfang: locality, reduction of ecological footprint, community building, collective action and the construction of new infrastructure.

The providers of the Roman GAS

We interviewed 15 firms: 13 farms, 1 flour mill and pasta producer, 1 a distribution platform, born from the initiative of two farms (social cooperatives). One first observation is that it is evident from the life story that the choice to work in agriculture is a conscious one, made by people with strong human capital, who have experimented other activities in their lives, but have chosen to farm for passion and love of nature. Only in two cases, both very small farms, a sense of constriction and lack of alternatives prevail.

Contrary to what expected, farms are structurally very different. Six farms have a budget below 20,000 Euro, while other six over 100,000 Euro. The difference in size also implies differences in the organization of work. Five firms employ salaried work, often with part-time contracts. Almost all farms are certified organic (two in conversion, one organic not certified).

In all farms, direct selling contributes to increase and stabilize work. The availability of family work is very important in order to satisfy the increased need of work. From the interviews it is also clear that the main economic strategy is not directed at pursuing growth, but stabilization and autonomy, a strategy that van der Ploeg (2008) calls "re-peasantization". Innovative choices are related to organic methods of production, diversification of activities and cultivation, conservation of biodiversity, communication with the consumers, solidarity and social activities, like initiatives of educational farms or social care though farming. Among all these innovative strategies, direct selling is considered central in order to lower economic and technological dependency and regain autonomy. More in general, apart from being considered part of the peasant tradition, direct selling is a way to establish a direct link with the consumers finalized to build and valorize the specificity and quality of the farm products. This explains why conventional markets are excluded from the possible selling strategies of the interviewed farms, while complementarity is looked for with many other forms of short chains: on-farm selling, box-schemes, selling to restaurant and especially farmers markets.

Farmers are still critical of their capacity to build networks among farmers or to be important collective actors of territorial development, but what they consider most likely is a new alliance with critical consumers, who already have a sensibility toward sustainable development. In the strong version this new link with consumers aim to build involve consumers in the farm production plans and risk sharing, for the construction of a stronger local economy; in the weaker version, directs the farm toward a diversification of activities in order to satisfy an increasing range of consumers needs, in coherence to a vision of multifunctional and social role of agriculture.

Production of a digital map

One of the goals of the university research team was to disseminate and share the results of the research not only within the academia, but also within the Gas movement. The means to meet this goal has been identified in the production and publication of a digital map based on the data gathered through the surveys.

²⁸⁷ For more in-depth information about the survey and its findings, see Fonte (2013b).

The information collected during the interviews with GAS representatives and with producers were first saved and organized in a relational database management system as a collection of tables, and then represented through a geographical map of GAS and their providers. This, in the minds of the researchers, should have reduced the complexity of data, improved access to as well as understanding of them.

The digital map, hosted in the website of the university of Naples (www.agriloc.unina.it) where the university research team was based, is constructed with Joomla! software²⁸⁸ and it is composed of a Map with the geographical localization of the GAS in Rome, from which it is possible, clicking on the placemark, to access a card with some basic information about each GAS (name, address, contacts, objectives, specificities, providers). Similarly a map and a card is provided for each supplier.

By accessing to Agriloc, it is easy to locate all the Roman Gas (red signposts) and their suppliers (green signposts) identified during the research work (Figs. 1 and 2). When clicking on specific production units, Agriloc opens a card that allows the user to identify the food products sold by the specific farm. Similarly, when clicking on a specific GAS, Agriloc allows the user to retrieve the Card containing contacts of the group and, in the case the GAS had been interviewed, the information about goods purchased and their providers.

Two other digital products inspired the production of AGRILOC. The first is ALTERMAPS, a digital map reporting all the "alternative" activities operating in Rome, such as fair trade shops, organic food shops, recycling activities, etc. Since last August, after the change of management in the City of Alternative Economy and especially the exhaustion of any financial resource for its operation, ALTERMAPS is no longer accessible.

The second product is an archive were GAS and their providers in Italy can registered as part of the national GAS Network (http://www.retegas.org/index.php?module=pagesetter&tid=3)

²⁸⁸ Joomla is a free and open-source content management framework (CMS) for publishing web content.

Fig. 1 - Roman GAS and their providers. Source: www.agriloc.unina.it



The research team intended the digital map as a means to disseminate information on the GAS network and improve the communication and collaboration among purchasing groups and their suppliers. More specifically the map aimed to solve the mismatch between demand and supply lamented by both the GAS and their suppliers during the interviews and during the workshops organized at the City of Alternative Economics. For example many groups reported they had difficulties in buying fruit during the summer season. On the supply side, during the second workshop organized at the City of Alternative Economy a cooperative of fishermen reported the difficulties encountered in contacting additional purchasing groups.

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Figure 2: The Roman GAS. Source: www.agriloc.unina.it

The mismatch between demand and supply in a market such as that of organic or ethical local food is normal since there is a low number of buyers and sellers spread in a relatively wide territory. This kind of market characterized by a low volume of transactions is defined as thin market. The agents operating in thin markets incur in different problems. The first is that there may be nobody who wants what the provider is selling today or nobody is selling what the purchasing group wants to buy; as a consequence the mere process of locating a trading partner may be expensive and time consuming. Whenever a trading partner is found, other problems arise. For example, the seller and the buyer operate in a bilateral monopoly, this can lead to high transaction costs with time and energy spent haggling over the price, and possibly deals that do not get made because of a breakdown in bargaining. This in turn contributes to higher price volatility, ²⁸⁹ either cross section and over time. Being aware of the existence of this kind of problems the research team decided to provide a tool to alleviate at least the first of the problems listed above that is to help lowering the search and information costs.

This mapping project was discussed with the stakeholders that were likely to be affected by the proposed project, namely the representative of the GAS movement (Retegas), the representative of individual purchasing groups as well as the organic farmers. Although the stakeholders did not oppose in principle the construction of a digital map, some of the GAS representatives raised several criticisms to the project. They will be discussed in the following section.

The animation activity

²⁸⁹ An additional problem is that thinness (due to the magnified impact of individual transactions) increases the incentive for market manipulation.

During the research work the university team was also involved in an animation activity aimed at enhancing networking and mutual learning among participants of the Gas movement in Rome.

The representatives of the GAS and the farmers supplying the groups were invited to participate to several workshops organized and carried out with the collaboration of the people working at the City of Alternative Economy (Città dell'altra economia) a space sponsored by the Province of Rome and devoted to alternative businesses such as the marketing of organic food, crafting with recycled materials, open source software production, etc.

A first workshop was organized at the City of Alternative Economics in Rome in October 2011 to present the philosophy underlying the research, to discuss the plan to use the information gathered through the survey to produce a digital map, and to ask for collaboration on the survey to the representative of the GAS movement. Philosophy workshop brought together representatives of the roman GAS network (Retegas), the representatives of a few GAS operating in Rome, some farmers already supplying the roman GAS as well as representative of the organic farmers and of local authorities dealing with agriculture, public food procurement etc. Overall the meeting gathered around 30 people. The presentation was followed by a very lively debate during which the farmers discussed the main problems faced during the provision of the Gas and other alternative food networks. For example they expressed discontent about the low flexibility of the software program used for the management of orders by the Roman GAS (GESTIGAS) and pointed out to the logistic problems encountered in the delivery of goods (e.g. need to share transportation and warehouse space). The Gas representative, on their side, discussed about problems encountered on the demand side, for example the difficulty in finding fruit suppliers especially during the summer period.

A second workshop was organized again at the City of Alternative Economics in Rome in November 2011. Around 10 suppliers (farmers, fishermen and artisanal food processors) and the representatives of 10 GAS attended this second meeting. During the workshop the representatives of the Roman Gas were invited to briefly introduce the story of their group, to describe their internal organization and report about the main problems faced. The suppliers, mainly farmers but also a fisherman and artisanal food processors, described their previous experience with the Gas movement and the main problems experienced in their relationship with the Purchasing Groups. The rationale behind this exchange of information was to promote the dissemination of good practices both on the supply and demand side, as well as to strengthening the cooperation between food suppliers and purchasing groups.

A third meeting was organized in October 2012 to present the results of the analysis produced on the basis of the information gathered through the survey. Even in this case the presentation was followed by a lively discussion. Criticisms were concerned about the method followed in the construction of the map and the content of the map. About the method it was contested that technicians didn't take care to make the new map compatible with the other maps already available on the web. So the new map was only duplication, destined to ready obsolescence. About the content of the map, it was discussed if first of all the movement needed another map. According to some people, the map was potentially dangerous because it didn't respect the privacy of producers and consumers groups. Furthermore marketing offices and unscrupulous entrepreneurs could use it in order to build fake solidarity food chains and ethical economies. The participants were especially worried about the risk to attract too much attention on the purchasing groups and, hence, to be exposed to excessive competitive pressures. In fact, the GAS movement is well aware of the entrepreneurial potential of the social innovation they propose, as well as of its ability to perceive and satisfy the changing demand for food originally expressed by ethical and conscious consumer activists.

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²⁹⁰ Other meetings were organized with individual groups to present the research activity and ask for their collaboration.

Since the innovative organization of the alternative system of food provision is still immature and inefficient, as it often happens in the early stages of innovation (Rosenberg, 1976, 195), it cannot compete against established market solutions. Under these circumstances the GAS movement feels the need to operate in niches separated from the dominant market, i.e. in spaces that shelter them from mainstream competition and protect them against too harsh selection, allowing for experimentation and co-evolution of technology, user practices, and regulatory structures (Schot and Geels, 2008). The participants to the niche can take advantage of 'agglomeration economies' that can in turn arise from a variety of mechanisms, such as the possibility for the purchasing groups to share suppliers or for firms to share logistic infrastructures and information about purchasing groups. Again, the existence of a thick markets in the niche may help ironing out firmlevel shocks or facilitating matching, or the possibility to learn from the experiences and innovations of others.

Finally, it was stressed that the map was not dynamic, but static and, since supposedly there were no resources devoted to its maintenance and updating, it was destined to quick obsolescence. A debate was also open if update of the map should and could have been the task of the movement, rather than of specialised people, and if everybody in the movement should and could receive the necessary formation in order to become able to use and modify the map.

Conclusions

The research activity on the GAS movement in Rome has unveiled many interesting characteristics of this movement and of its participants.

First, the information gathered through the survey allowed the research team to find the GAS strategy to make organic food accessible and food systems more sustainable is based on a social practice of food provision reproducing the five dimensions of sustainable consumption as identified by Seyfang (2006): locality, reduction of ecological footprint, community building, collective action and the construction of new infrastructure. According to the results of our research, the roman GAS movement expresses a vision of strong sustainability, that prefigures a different socio-technical regime and a new form of governance in the food system, around the rearticulation of economic, social and environmental values. The new food regime is seen as competitive rather than symbiotic with the dominant model, and is based on the re-construction of a viable local food economy, in which food is partially de-commodified and production is reorganized and regulated around needs, prices and values shared or negotiated by both producers and consumers.

The screening of the suppliers has disclosed differences both in terms of business structures and organization. The common trait revealed by the interviews is that the suppliers in Rome (quite differently from results in other regions of Italy) feel they do not have the capacity to build networks among themselves or to be important collective actors of territorial development. On the contrary they put their trust on the ability of the critical consumers for facilitating the transition toward a sustainable food system and a stronger local economy.

The animation activity carried out during the research allowed the research team to further interact with the participants to the GAS movement and better understand how well the movement is conscious to have revealed a market opportunity. They are also conscious that such opportunities may be harvested by other innovative food business activities that, for example, substitute the personal direct relationship between consumers and producers with a computer-mediated communication.

The participants to the GAS movement feel the movement, though successful, is still fragile in terms of organizations. This explains why they feel the need to operate in niches separated from the dominant market, i.e. in spaces that shelter them from mainstream competition and protect

them against too harsh selection, in this way allowing nurturing and experimentation with the coevolution of technology, user practices, and regulatory structures (Schot and Geels, 2008). This voluntary segregation from the dominant market is also the rationale of the criticisms moved to the mapping project developed by the research team. The participants to the GAS movement were for example worried by the chance that conventional farmers, aimed at harvesting the business opportunity being created by the GAS movement, may have free access to the list of providers selected with great care by the purchasing groups in this way mining the consumer trust. The criticism moved to the mapping project actually impeded the appropriation of the map by the GAS movement. The data collected will be, anyway, used by a new project financed by the Province of Rome that aims to create an 'OPEN DATA' bank on the solidarity economy.

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