



TASK 5 REPORT (January 2016)

Mediation of values from production to consumption - a relational analysis of values based organic food chains.

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Summary

A sustainable agriculture is dependent on how we care for and cultivate our soil. Not only in terms of producing food of good quality, but also in terms of maintaining the quality of the soil to feed future generations, nature of the farm land, of the surrounding landscape, and not least the quality of rural livelihood.

From a neoclassic perspective the market is seen as driver of a sustainable development, depending on will of the political consumer. This argument though is self-contradictory because in a neoliberal food regime the only relation consumers have to how the soil is cultivated is through decoupled global food chains, and most people only know little about the actual agriculture and the cultivation of the soil. However, emerging food-chains are trying to (re-)establish “values-based” couplings between man and soil, emphasizing a broad range of values, promising for a market based sustainable development.

The aim of this report is to analyse to what extent different values-based food-chains offer quality couplings between production and consumption, and thereby supports a more sustainable food production.

The analysis is based on studies of 18 organic values-based food chains from the HealthyGrowth project, which are distinguished by a broad range of values. We ask: What

kind of value relations are these chains able to support? What role do the different agents of the chains play in this? To what extent do these chains facilitate sustainability in agricultural production?

The analytical perspective applied is developed in a study by Noe and Alrøe (2011), and builds on Robert M Pirsig's understanding of quality. In this framework quality is not understood as a characteristic or attribute of the object but as a creation of a relation. This means that quality is something which holds value for someone or something, in other words quality is a creation from a value relation. This definition of qualities encompasses not only physical attributes of products like taste, appearance, health, nutrition, but also qualities such as animal welfare, nature quality, handicraft, history, care, etc. as all of these involves value relations. In this analytical perspective our focus is on how these qualities created by the value relations of primary production are mediated by the links in the studied values based food chains.

A wide range of values are mediated in the studied cases. In all cases additional values to the ones embedded in the principles of organic farming were mediated. The cases exhibits a wide variation with regards to value relations; e.g. in the case of Bio vom Berg in Austria the values of cheeses include the 'place of production', based on local fodder, the history and culture of 'mountain farming', and the 'artisanal craft' of production. In other cases, only a few aspects of the origin of production are emphasized. Production of organic shiitake in northern Finland, where mainly one aspect, 'purity', is emphasized, is an example of this.

Values are linked to primary production and in that sense localised production plays an important role in two respects. Firstly, with regards to trust and transparency, in many of the cases studied, the consumers are potentially able to trace the origin of the product not only to specific areas and group of producers but also to individual farms. Secondly, localised seems to be an important pivotal point for building long-term value relations like sustainable farming practices which goes 'beyond organic', as well as specific artisanal products etc.

Looking across these food chains, it is evident that each link of the chain plays an important role in the mediation of values. One link of the chain is enough to decouple the value relation like in the case of Bio sunder where the handpicked wild mountain herbs from Turkey is repacked and relabelled by a North American wholesaler and sold under their brand of quality

products. The result is that the link to the specific ecology distinguishing the Turkish mountain area is severed.

Each link in a values based food chain has to invest in such a strategy. However the return is mutually depending on the other links in the chain. Mediation of values is therefore a long-term process and depends on the meta-organisation capabilities of the partners of the chain to establish forms of agreement and mutual trust supporting long-terms strategies.

Successful mediation of values of the chain has a high impact on the sustainability of primary production and rural livelihoods. Many of the cases exhibit the ability to mediate qualities which support rural livelihoods, e.g. in mountain areas, which might not be possible through traditional industrial organic food chains. In the case of Gram Slot, Denmark, a strong emphasis on local-based development has had an impact on rural job creation, which exceeds standardised industrial organic production. The level of transparency exhibited by these cases, constitutes a strong incitement for the farmers to develop their production in a more sustainable way in relation to nature quality, animal welfare etc. because these efforts are mediated as qualities of the product.

Conclusion

In conclusion, mediation of values cannot be reduced to the individual agents of the chain. It is highly dependent on long-term building of mutual partnerships and trust. In successful cases, such chains can contribute not only to enhancing the sustainability of organic farming but also to enhanced quality for consumers.

Introduction

The overall aim of this report is to analyse to what extent and how different values-based food-chains are able to offer quality couplings between production and consumption, and thereby support a more sustainable food production.

In this analytical perspective we take an abductive approach. In the overall project framework, 18 cases of organic values based food chains have been selected based on the idea that we can learn something substantial about how these chains operate and mediate values from the organic farmers involved and to the tables of households. The selected analytical perspective

of this report is a non-essential and relational approach to values. This report is divided in four parts, which first includes a short introduction analytical approach, then secondly a general introduction to the values mediated in the studied values based food chains, thirdly an analysis of what light the relational approach shed on our understanding of mediation of values and what that means to sustainability of the organic production systems.

Relational approaches to values and quality

The analytical perspective applied in this report builds on Robert M Pirsig's understanding of quality as a value relation and is first developed in a study by Noe and Alrøe (2011) for studying the relationship between the organic farmers marketing strategies and the range of qualities that was mediated. To see quality as a relation is not inherently new, but we will argue that Pirsig's relational metaphysics offers a radical break with the subject-object understanding that dominates contemporary approaches in food studies, and thereby also another analytical perspective to observe and understand mediation of qualities.

Relational approaches like convention theory have been highly influential within agro-food studies (Murdoch and Miele 1999, Renard 2003, Stræte 2004, Ponte and Gibbon 2005, Renard 2005, Stræte 2008). In convention theory the main focus is on the role of social agents in the mediation of quality. Examples include the influence of macro-level normative systems in shaping interactions between individuals (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999, Thevenot 2000, Thèvenot 2001, Denis, Langley et al. 2007). Other studies based on convention theory have focused on the issue of coordination between social agents, emphasizing the challenges of 'aligning' agents along shared axes of meaning (Brunori 2007, Stræte 2008). This analytical focus is shared by another relational approach, the 'economy of qualities' approach proposed by Michel Callon and colleagues (Callon, Méadel et al. 2002). Both the convention theory and the 'economy of qualities' approaches primarily focus on the social mediation of quality. The relational approach developed by Becky Mansfield (Mansfield 2003, Mansfield 2003, Mansfield 2003, Mansfield 2003) offers an approach to the mediation of quality, which considers aspects of material culture in the mediation of quality. Thereby, the importance of material aspects of the mediation of quality is brought into focus, along with social and institutional aspects. Specific examples within Mansfield's work include how 'natural' qualities are constituted throughout food networks (Mansfield 2003). A related approach can

be found in Krzywoszynska's study of the mediation of farm ecologies in the context of wine production (Krzywoszynska in press). Her analysis is focusing on how specific farm ecologies are mediated in two different wine networks. Some of the important insights emerging from this study are how one network allows for specific farm ecologies to be sustained, whereas another network does not, due to differences in the type of relations which distinguishes the two networks.

These examples illustrate the diversity of existing relational approaches to the mediation of quality. Some of the differences concerns the weight attributed to social mediation of quality, contrary to the material mediation of quality (in terms of material culture). Other differences concern the specific qualities which are being considered. Regarding the latter, the issue of quality in organic farming has been covered extensively by existing approaches, which extend far beyond the field of relational approaches to the mediation of quality. Examples include studies of the constitution of the market for organic products, both within and across national contexts, which have focused on the variations with regards to quality appreciation of organic products (Miele and Parisi 1997, Miele and Pinducciu 2001, Miele 2002, Murdoch and Miele 2003, Miele 2011). There are also numerous studies of quality perception and quality appreciation within the field of organic food, among which several studies are of some relevance in the present context (Alkon 2013, Hassler and Franz 2013, Jensen and Mørkbak 2013, Daugbjerg, Smed et al. 2014, Furtschegger and Schermer 2014, Kröger and Schäfer 2014, Wiedmann, Hennigs et al. 2014). In summery these approaches ends up with an understanding of values either as a physical attributes to the material items or as an individual or social constructed appreciations of by the subjects. In our analytical perspective we try to bring this relational turn to a more radical understanding of values as relational.

The application of Pirsig's understanding of quality

In Robert M Pirsig's understanding, quality (as events) are the primary relations that creates entities, meaning that quality cannot be reduced to physical attributes of products, such as taste, appearance, health, or nutrition. In Pirsig's understanding, "*Quality is not just the result of a collision between subject and object. The very existence of subject and object themselves is deduced from the Quality event. The Quality event is the cause of the subjects and objects, which are then mistakenly presumed to be the cause of the Quality!*" (Pirsig 1999: 91).

In other words objects and subjects are not ready (already existing) entities that can be attributed values and qualities, both objects are creations of relations.

This understanding of quality thus encompasses not only physical attributes of products, but also qualities such as animal welfare, nature quality, handicraft, history, care, etc., all of which is something which holds value for someone. It means that a quality is a value relation or value in a more generic form.

It is of course a huge mental challenge to grasp this ‘Rubins vase’¹ like change in perspective, from seeing two faces to seeing one vase; however it might help with an example. A cheese dairy is only a cheese dairy when it is producing cheese and cheese is only cheese of the dairy when it is produced on the dairy. The quality event of producing cheese goes primary to both the dairy and the cheese. If we take this example a little further, the production of a special blue cheese builds on a range of quality events that turn the dairy into a Dana Blue producing dairy and the cheese into special Dana Blue cheese. However the “quality” of the cheese is formed of other quality events, e.g. eating Dana Blue cheese. In the beginning people may dislike this quality event of eating Dana Blue, but maybe get used to it and even grow addicted to the taste experience, this series of quality events not only turns the people into Dana Blue eaters, but also Dana Blue cheese into something special, a special Brand, a quality event that again also turns the Dana Blue dairy into a special dairy.

A quality is always monadic, in a Pirsigian sense, it is a (real) potential that may be actualized in dyadic value relations (Alrøe in Glover, 2003, p. 308f). Hence the concept of quality is often used as a means to speak about value relations in an ‘objectified’ way, a ‘high-quality product’, for instance. But Pirsig reminds us that quality is also a way of referring to the reality of quality as a dynamic potential, though quality is only ever actualized in relational form, as value.

The quality behind an empirical value relation is sometimes ascribed to the object, e.g. ‘she has a quality camera’, and sometimes to the observer (or subject, in Pirsig’s terms), ‘she is a quality photographer’, and we may underpin empirically such claims through comparative



¹ The visual effect generally presents the viewer with two shape interpretations, each of which is consistent with the retinal image, but only one of which can be maintained at a given moment.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rubin_vase

studies. But in this perspective, actual values are always relational and qualities are always potential.

Including Social System theory

To operationalize this framework into a framework for analysing food networks, some aspects of Luhmann's theory of social systems are included. In a systems-theoretical perspective a food chain is not a system but can be understood as structural couplings between a range of organisation systems like farms, dairies, wholesalers, and retailers. Which organisations are involved depends on the specific food chain and is thus always an empirical question. The systems theoretical point is that each of these organisational systems that are involved is an organisationally closed system operating in decisions, operationally closed in the sense that one organisation cannot make decisions within the other businesses. The decisions of one organisation can heavily affect the other organisations e.g. consumers that stop buying the products or retailers that change demands for volume or quality from the farms. But in systems theoretical understanding how to react on these changing demands is always a system internal operation (for a more extended explanation of this view see Noe and Alrøe 2012).

Combining this with Pirsig's relational view on quality, value relations are systems internal operations going on within each of these organisation systems. If we think of quality as an event, as actualized in a value relation, quality only exists to the degree each organisation of the chain is able to relate to it, or manifest it through establishing value relations. The qualities of biodynamic can be used as example to illustrate this point. A farm can follow the anthroposophic ideas and produce milk in accordance to these ideas; this value relation makes the farm into a biodynamic farm and the milk into biodynamic milk. If the other links in the chain are not able/willing to relate to the milk this way, the milk is not processed, sold and consumed as biodynamic milk, the quality, as a relation, is lost.

Values as an essential contested concept

This relational approach to values also corresponds with our experiences from the case studies. Neither of the values found in the case studies can be defined unambiguously. Values are not to be defined as objective features of the object. E.g. animal welfare can be defined both from a health perspective and from a behavioural perspective. If animal welfare is observed from a health perspective, conventional farming with a strict focus on disease control should be favoured, while a behavioural focus would favour organic farming.

Therefore values like animal welfare in general linguistic terms resemble what W. B. Gallie has termed 'essential contested concepts' (Gallie 1955). Rather than being objective reflections of some undefinable reality these normative values are essentially moral expressions. E.g. what defines which form of animal welfare should be promoted depends on how animal welfare is defined from the perspective of good and bad rather than right and wrong. *More simply, to use an essentially contested concept means to use it against other uses and to recognize that one's own use of it has to be maintained against these other uses* (Gallie: 1955 – 1956: 172). This fits our understanding that the use of value expressions in generalised forms tends to be empty expressions (without meaning). In a Pirsigian sense values as general references to dynamic qualities have no meaning, only as actualised relations. To further operationalise this insight Luhmann's distinction between media and form can help us to strengthen this analysis within a social perspective.

The distinction between media and form (between general and actualised meaning)

To accommodate the challenges regarding the many-sided nature of values we analytically distinguish between values as a generalized medium and value relations as the concrete form of this very medium, which actualize qualities. In a Luhmannian sense, the medium consists of loosely coupled elements whereas the form consists of strictly coupled elements (Luhmann 1997/2012: 118). The medium makes a number of possibilities available whereas the form actualizes a specific possibility. Based on this understanding value-relations cannot be passed from one system to another, they can only be passed as a potential (in the medium of value), and this is what we will call mediation of values in the following: values that can be actualised as value relations by the other organisation systems involved in the chain. It means that value relations to the products need to be formed within each organisation every time an operation of exchanging a product is carried out. This process requires that a decision is made by each individual organisation. The reason is quite simple; only the particular organization can actualize its own decision. This approach allows us to observe how values are mediated without having to accept a specific definition of the given values but rather focus on how the value is constructed and mediated. Given this theoretical standpoint, mediation of values in form of value relations becomes the major object of this analysis.

The empirical material

The Healthy Growth research project took place between year 2013 and year 2016. The theoretical foundation of the project was the theory of multi-perspectivism (Noe, Alrøe et al.

2008, Alrøe and Noe 2011, Alrøe and Noe 2014). Multi-perspectivism departs from the idea that no privilege point of observation exists from where the world as such can be observed. Rather every perspective, being economic, organisational, etc. constructs the object of observation according to its basic assumptions and research interest. The aim in multi-perspectivism is to turn this premise into an analytical advantage. In the Healthy Growth project the shared object for analysis consisted of 19 European cases of organic values based organic food chains described from an identical template. The template included a descriptive question concerning the main values of each case. Apart from the explicit description of the main values several of the descriptive questions touched upon issues of a value related character. The case reports furthermore contain a section on the organisation of the food chain. Apart from this section the cooperative logics found across the chain is touched upon in a number of the section throughout the case reports.

The process of data collection varied to some degree from case to case depending on the character of the case and which information's were available. Data was collected through interviews, internal documents, external documents, homepages, leaflets, articles in newspapers and non-scientific journals and scientific publications. The variety of the data sources allowed for thick and detailed descriptions making the case reports well suited for qualitative studies. The case reports are public available from www.healthygrowth.eu.

What kind of value relations are these chains able to support?

The first part of the analysis is primarily explorative and descriptive, as the first step concerns the mapping of qualities emerging from a selection of the cases studied in HealthyGrowth. Each of the 18 cases involves a range of different value relations, listed in table 1, see appendix. The table contains the results of a survey of the terms used to describe qualities found in the various cases. An initial mapping of the terms used, using the online tool Wordle², identified some core terms which appeared across several of the cases studied, figure 2.

² See www.wordle.net



Figure 1: Word cloud of value terms used in HealthyGrowth case reports to describe qualities in addition to those included in the Organic certifications, found in the 18 cases studied

In order to capture the diversity of actualised values, we will provide accounts of the most important values emerging from the cases. The overall value found in all the cases regards organic production. However, organic certifying schemes only provide a minimum definition, whereas a number of initiatives work with self-imposed standards exceeding those of the certifying bodies. Therefore, additional organisational requirements are needed to mediate values that extend beyond the label and allow the consumers to recognise this in the final product. Across these cases values could be identified as being of special importance. Not all values were represented in each case and some values were more important in some cases than others. In the following we provide a brief overview of the most important values from across the cases. Then we discuss how the relation between the values and the economic transactions to which they are tied can be understood.

Animal welfare

‘Animal welfare’ is a value that is closely linked to primary production. Both organic and conventional production is subjected to regulation regarding animal welfare. In general organic production is submitted to stricter regulations allowing fewer animals on the same area as conventional production. Also in general organic animal regulations require the possibility of the animals to graze. Following this, it can be argued that animal welfare

considerations are a part of the packet when farming organic. Though in the Swedish case the emphasize on animal welfare furthermore also incorporates grazing on semi-natural pastures, with high bio-diversity, 12, 5 hours/day during season and a gentle and short travel distance to the abattoir (Milestad and von Oelreich 2015).

Local production

The geographical origin has a special importance in some cases. In most of our cases regionality in itself did not constitute a central value but became important because it served as a mark for other values such as small scale farming in the Alps (Furtschegger and Schermer 2015), to provide organic products to the local urban population (Münchhausen 2015) or because it is linked with better taste, animal welfare and landscape protection (Milestad and von Oelreich 2015). ‘Local’ thus become an additional mark the helps distinguish the given product by providing a fixed geographical point of observation that stabilises other values that might be more difficult to observe.

Social responsibility

‘Social responsibility’ concerns the relationship between the initiative and the surrounding society. In some of the cases (Furtschegger and Schermer 2015, Kjeldsen, Noe et al. 2015, Laursen, Noe et al. 2015) the embeddedness in the local society is seen as a reciprocal relation where part of the initiative’s success depends on the relations to the local society. This can be seen manifested through the incorporation of local initiatives, such as sports clubs, which in Denmark are taxed more moderately in order to support voluntary work (Laursen, Noe et al. 2015). Therefore they can provide cheap labour on special occasion as donations their to the sports club. Social activities, such as communal dining can also be an activity that connects the initiative with the local area (Kjeldsen, Noe et al. 2015).

Workers’ rights

Closely related to social responsibility is the incorporation of ‘workers’ rights’ to an extent that succeeds those defined by law and union agreements. Workers can be given a special voice by having them becoming members of the initiative and focus on retention of the regular workforce (Milestad and von Oelreich 2015). A different approach is to grant workers a great deal of freedom in their everyday business and respecting their capability of taking care of their particular area of responsibility (Laursen, Noe et al. 2015). Special discounts, emphasise on a good work environment

and encouragement of further education (Furtschegger and Schermer 2015) also incorporates a special focus on the employees.

Culture preservation

In some cases the cultural context plays a special role (Furtschegger and Schermer 2015, Laursen, Noe et al. 2015). In these cases the ‘preservation’ and reproduction of specific cultural practises are seen as important value in themselves.

Transparency

‘Transparency’ is one of those values that can be found in almost all our cases. But when the importance of additional values is taken into account this is not surprising. Without transparency throughout the chain many of the values found is specific links of the chain and would not be identifiable to the consumer. ‘Transparency’ is hence intimately linked to the in the food chain as we will elaborate below. Transparency is important in relation to the consumer but also between the different partners because it functions both as a control instrument and an insurance that can, but need not, be used.

This brief overview of the more central values in the cases show the diversity of values and also indicate why there in many cases are a continuous process of reconfirming the values taking place. The values outlined also illustrate the essential contested nature of values in general, and specifically in these cases. As previously discussed, animal welfare can be interpreted in different manners. This also applies to the definition of ‘local’ since the concept requires a fixed border which always can be discussed; where does ‘local’ stop? Social responsibility and workers’ rights are almost by definition ambiguous terms, because they relate to the redistribution of wealth. Cultural preservation depends on a definition of culture and on what is of special importance to the culture in question. Is a building in itself valuable or should it be actively put to use? Regarding transparency the central question is how far? Does it include account books, business strategies and reprimands from official authorities? Even the very concept of organic cannot be given a fixed definition; rather we find that the concept covers a continuum of production modes ranging from organic as an almost conventional form of production to organic as it is understood within the biodynamic movement.

How are the chains able to mediate these values?

In terms of value mediation the challenge is not only the many-sided nature of the values but also that most cases are based on several of these values. The question is now how these chains are able to mediate values beyond the generic label of organic production? That the chains are capable of doing this successfully should not come as a surprise as all cases are selected based on this criterion. The real issue of analytical interest is therefore to move a step deeper into the analysis and ask what we can learn about mediation and maintenance of values that reach beyond what generic labels can capture.

All agents of the Chains play an important role in mediation of Values

Looking across these food chains, it is evident that each link of the chain plays an important role in the mediation of values. The strongest mediation of values we find in the cases where all the involved agents are primarily and organized with respect to this mediation, like the cases of Bio vom Berg, Biohof Achleitner, Kolonihagen, Landwege, Ecoladen and Biocoop, and to some extent the Food Communities. The communality of these cases is that 'local', 'transparency', and 'long-term cooperation' are central values in the relation between farmers, processors and retailers and also to a large degree in the relationship with the consumers. Fairness is an important part of the price negotiation of these chains and the chains are organised in a way that they support seasonality and stable outlets. For example, in the Norwegian case of Kolonihagen (Kvam and Bjørkhaug 2015) (a box scheme) recipes are developed by chefs on how to prepare different seasonal products and the boxes are supplied with pictures of the farmers delivering, finally, descriptions of the farms are available on the homepages. In the case of Kolonihagen this is also coupled with restaurants and bakeries, as a way to support the branding of these value relations.

If we look at the cases with a less strong mediation of values, they can roughly be grouped into two clusters. The first cluster contains cases where the values are mediated through the branding of a product and where a struggle about the ownership of the "values" (the brand) of the product is present. The second cluster consists of cases where there is an internal struggle about values of the involved organisations/companies.

In the first cluster, values are linked to the brand of the product and the situation is defined by a battle of the "ownership of the quality". In this cluster we find cases like Bohlsener Mühle, Upplandsbonden (UB), Polar Shiitake and Bio Sunder. Bohlsener Mühle processes high

quality locally produced organic flour and cookies, marketing it through whole sale and retail markets in the Brand of Bohlsener Mühle. Polar Shiitake which sells organic mushrooms as a brand throughout Europa with a high price, especially in central European countries. While the competition on organic flour is strong, the competition on organic shiitake is a more lucrative market.

Bio Sunder produces naturally grown herbs from the Turkish mountain areas. Bio Sunder would like to follow the same strategy as described for Polar Shiitake to promote their own brand, but they do not have the capacity to pack the herbs in small packages for the markets in the different countries, and therefore it depends on the cooperating partners, and in most cases their product are repacked in the labels of other companies. The result is that the link to the specific ecology distinguishing the Turkish mountain area, as well as the social engagement of Bio Sunder is severed. Therefore the values of sustainability and social responsibility of Bio Sunder and the local villages that collect the herbs are not necessarily mediated to the consumers as a part of marketing. In these cases the mediation of values is very much linked to the brand of the products, the supermarkets chain does not pay any specific attention to these products, and the price negotiation between the processor and the supermarket is reduced to what the potential turnover and margin is for the supermarket.

If we look at the second cluster, defined by internal struggles about values, we find cases like Røros Kjøtt, Røros Dairy, and Upplandsbonden. In the case of Røros Kjøtt Røros abattoir, a conventional company, is processing and marketing the meat. In the case of Røros Dairy, Tine Dairy, the main farmers- dairy cooperative in Norway, collects the milk from the farmers and sell it to Røros dairy). In the case of Upplandsbonden, two processors/wholesaler are involved: Andersson & Tillman a local processor with their main focus on local food and not special on organic and Svenskt Butikskött, a national meat wholesaler, that holds a contract with COOP where the meat is branded under the private label of Änglemark. These cases resembles many other previous cases studied, where conventional processors are involved, such as farmers cooperatives like “Dansk Kernefrugt” in the case of Fejø Fruit (Noe 2007), and the abattoir Rose Poultry in the case of organic marketing of poultry (Thorsøe et al 2015). In these cases the dilemma is that the organic values as a critique of conventional farming practice cannot be handled and supported internal in the cooperatives. To deal with these dilemmas these companies tend to focus on added values linked to food quality like special

recipes, local or regional, and mostly it does not involve transparency to the individual farmer. The main problem in these cases is, that if the values of organic production are not mediated it is difficult to explain to the next links in the chains that these products need to be more expensive, which gives a strong price pressure on the price negotiations throughout the chain. And it also makes it very difficult to mobilize the retailer-link into the mediation of values. This is well illustrated by the case of Røros Kjøtt where the focus of the processor is on the mere quality of the processed products, by using old recipes and higher meat content, which in itself is an operation that makes these products more expensive. For the Norwegian Rema 1000 it is just a high end product and there is a limit to how much more these products may cost in their shops.

Values as form has to be actualized in each link (organization) of the chain

As the analysis of the cases from this mediation perspective illustrates, the mobilisation of all agents³ in the chain are important in the mediation of the values. One way to put this into a theoretical perspective is to look at contested values. Nature protection, animal welfare, local production, and social responsibility can be many things depending on the observer. Values are therefore not pre-given entities that can be passed from one partner to another. Values are rather media of a communication that are given a concrete expression in a form. The forming of the media is what allows the specific value to be mediated throughout the chain. The process of forming a media is a process of selection. The form actualises a specific potential offered by the media. An example to illustrate this is, again, Røros Kjøtt where organic has to be downplayed and focus has to be on from the mountain and old recipes. In order to mediate values consistently throughout the chain each partner must follow similar criteria of selection. E.g. if the primary producer emphasizes animal welfare as a central value then it is imperative the other partners recognise this as a value that needs to be explicated, and accept that a higher production price might be needed. At the same time the understanding of the values must be coherent throughout the chain to ensure that the consumer recognizes what she pays for in the product and thereby avoid loss of trust. Values therefore function as a generalized abstraction that each partner must give their own expression, if the values are to be maintained throughout the whole chain, and in that very process recognise the expression their partners chose. In the cases dedicated to mediation of values we see how this actualisation of values is

³ We here use agents as a general term for both persons and the different organization systems involved like farms, other businesses, school kitchens etc.

given form in each link; in the arrangement and the advertisement of the dedicated shops, or in the descriptions at homepages of box schemes and the inclusion of special recipes in the box.

Mediation of quality requires coordination of values and economy - a hybrid communication

What comes to the forefront as a characteristic of the chains analysed is their ability to equalise the importance of economic valuation with the moral values. This means that the chains are based on the logic of equal importance of the values rather than being based on the logic of added value. In the logic of added values the moral values are seen as an attribute that can be added to the 'material' value subsequently subordinating the moral values to the economic values thereby only actualising these values when it is economically feasible.

A main characteristic of the cases with a strong mediation of values is that they are able to handle both value communication and economic communication (hybrid communication). This illustrates the point that mediation of values cannot be reduced to an economic negotiation of price, volume and quality, it is also has to be based on a communication about values in a more moral or ethical sense. The case of Gram Castle and Rema 1000 is a good illustration of this point. The value relations of Gram Castle as a living and open castle, functioning as an environmentally sustainable farming system and as a local power centre for development, goes prior and parallel to the economic communication of how to realise these values. The paradox is that it is only due to this strong value commitment of Gram Castle that it becomes economically attractive to Rema 1000, not as added (economic) value but as a value that adds to the values of Rema 1000. And it is only due to the value communication that these products can be distinguishing clearly from more generic organic food chains.

This also supports our understanding of why all agents in the chain play an important role in the mediation of values. If one agent of the chain, e.g. the purchaser of the supermarkets chain, is not able or willing to handle this hybrid communication of both values and economy, the communication along the whole chain will be reduced to economic communication handling values as added values. This is a game changer for the whole chain where the price negotiations become a matter of added values, in the way it is very well illustrated in the case of Røros Kjøtt and Rema 1000 in Norway, where the negotiation of premium price is linked to the added values of meat content and recipe and not the values of primary production.

Localised food, transparency, and origin of production

Values are linked to primary production and in that sense localising of production plays an important role.

In some of the cases the relation to the place of production is seen as a quality or value in itself. This applies to cases such as Polar Shiitake where the place of production is linked to the clean air and unpolluted nature of the north of Finland, and Bio vom Berg where the products are linked to the natural and cultural value of the alpine agriculture. However, in most cases it is not the natural or material values of the place that is the important aspects of 'local'. In our analysis of the cases we have identified two central aspect of localised food:

Firstly, local is strongly linked to transparency in relation to primary production. In many of the cases studied the origin of production is embedded in the mediation of values. E.g. there are specific names linked to the product or/and you can find information of the producers on the homepage. The double coded communication of mediating values begins with the primary production at the farm and if the mediation of values between producers and processors is based on generic economic values real double coded communication cannot be established between the other links in the chain, as also discussed above all links in the chain plays an central role.

Secondly, localisation seems to be an important anchor and pivotal point for building long-term value relations like sustainable farming practices which go 'beyond organic', as well as specific artisanal products. Again Gram Castle is a prominent example of this strategy, combining organic production with the other activities on the farm. A great part of the consumers visit the farm regularly and the farm is always open for visitors to come and take a look. But far more important these other activities of Gram castle are adding to the moral values that can be mediated in the double coded communication in the values chain.

Mediation of value relations and synchronization

As already discussed above, each actor in values based food chains plays a crucial role for mediation of values. A more practical side of this is that each actor has to do investment in such strategy and the return of these investments is mutual depending on the other long term strategies of the agents of the chain. Mediation of values is therefore a long-term process and depends both on the inter- and intra-organisational capabilities of the partners of the chain to

establish forms of agreement and mutual trust supporting long-term strategies. This insight points our attention to the issues of synchronisation and time-binding as two important aspects of mediation of values.

The enigma of time lies in the fact that it exists only as something that does not exist. Past and future are never given, but become actualized as horizons of inactuality for a present that does not last. (Esposito 2011: 21).

Time is seen as a structure of systems, a structure that gives an order to operations and connects them to one another ... One talks then of time binding, of the production of restrictions. It is not time itself that is bound (what happens, happens, and one cannot determine the future), but time that binds, that creates links between different operations that constrain each other (Esposito 2011: 22).

Each organisation (business) of the values based food chains therefore operates with its own time horizons and time-bindings in relation to decision-making. To illustrate this, a purchaser of a supermarket operates typically with a time horizon of maximum three months of what and of whom to buy. A farmer operates mostly with time bindings of at least one year of production and a time horizons of their investments of 5 to 10 years. Again the other links of the chains will have other time horizons and bindings depending of the organisation and the materiality of the chain. However the point is what could be re-decided in a second by the purchaser could take a year or more for the farmers. This applies to all food chains that operate based on the economic code of pay/not pay, and hence some form of synchronisation is important to avoid that the systems breaks down. But it becomes obviously much more important in double coded values-based food chains. The economy makes one type of time bindings and time horizons available to the involved organisations. When organisations structure their cooperation solely on economic expectations the question of synchronisation only has to handle how the future is constructed in the present from the perspective of the economy. But, when a food chain is based on equally strong moral expectations a different future is constructed. Moral expectations introduce different time bindings than the economy. A moral obligation to promote animal welfare binds the future possibilities for longer than the decision to sell part of the livestock from the farm. This furthermore narrows the horizon of possibilities that are left open to the organisation, which taken together imposes a number of

limits on the economic possibilities. But paradoxically these limitations are exactly what allow the cases we have studied to become successful in mediating their values, because this allows for the actualisation of moral values throughout the chain, and not only by single agents. However this process increases the need for synchronisation of expectations and, at the same time, increases the mutual dependency on a longer time-horizon.

The case of Bohlsener Mühle is interesting in this context; for this value chain 'local' is an important value. This means that there is a mutual dependency between the mill and the local producers organised in Öko-Korn-Nord. To adjust for this, the mill has invested in storing and managing capacity to handle all the different kind of serials produced by the farmers, taking care of the specific baking qualities for the different products. This combination of regional and high quality means that the mill can offer a better price to the farmers most years. However, some year the farmers of the Öko-Korn-Nord could obtain a better price on the market than from the mill. Therefore to make this cooperation work and to synchronise and stabilize the time horizons they need to form a mutual agreement including longer time bindings.

Synchronisation of time bindings is also major issuer when it comes to public procurement like in the case of "Kiruvesi Municipal Catering". While the time horizon of the municipality is the annual tender call, the local producer needs at to do long-term investments in producing and processing the deliverables in the suited form for the catering kitchens. A specialisation that means if they do not win the next bid, all their investments may be lost.

In summary, value chains that are able to establish a shared long-term perspective appears to be the most successfully in mediation of values in combination with volume.

Partnerships

In the above we have analysed the various aspects of and prerequisites for mediation of values. This raises the question of what makes these values based food chains able to mediate these values and handle this double coded communication and synchronise time horizons of their decision making? A common denominator for most cases is a form of partnership cooperation between the different agents of the chain, a form of mutual mutuality in recognising the interests of the other partners. This implies a mutual understanding that being successful depends on the other being successful. That again creates a business environment

that enhances co-development and fair prize-negotiations. These partnerships can take different forms but can be illustrated by some of the cases.

The case of EKO Zemaitija in Lithuania is interesting in this context. As a first step the farmers' cooperative dairy began to do direct marketing and started to organize their own processing facilities, based on old artisanal local recipes. Gradually they have built up a network of sales channels. Recently they have developed cooperation with the super markets chains Maxima, under the label "Linkejimai is kaimo" (Greeting from the village), and Rimi, where their products are sold under the labels for VIKIS (Lithuania produce for you (google translate)). Both MAXIMA and RIMI sees it as an advantage to promote local products of high quality, and organise a market space within the supermarket that follows other rules of price-negotiations that for the bulk products.

In the Austrian case we see that MPreis includes Bio vom Berg as central part of their values and economic strategy. In Denmark we find the case of Thise dairy that has had a long-term partnership with the high end supermarkets chain IRMA since 1995. A part of this partnership has been a cobranding of the products including both the logos of Thise and Irma. Also the partnership contains an informal agreement stating that Thise should commit to develop new interesting high quality products exclusively for Irma and, reciprocal, that Irma should do the marketing of these products. However, all these supermarkets are like the French Bio Coop, dedicated supermarkets chains that differentiate themselves as values based high end supermarkets. In the case of Gram slot and Rema 1000 we can observe some new tendencies of partnerships (Laursen 2015). In this case, Rema 1000 views the brand of Gram slot as fitting very well into the values and image of Rema 1000 that they have tried to build up since 2007. It means that price negotiations are not managed by the regular purchaser of Rema but negotiated directly between Gram Castle and REMA. In addition Gram has also managed to persuade ARLA to establish a special processing line for the milk from Gram Castle, where ARLA in many ways resembles TINE as one big farmers' cooperative. Another example on new ways to mobilise conventional agents is the Danish concept Go'local, which is cooperating with FØTEX (Danish Supermarkets), where GO'local basically are renting space (a platform) within the supermarket dedicated for local branded quality products. Logistics and price negotiations are taking care of by GO'local. Recently, COOP Denmark has started a campaign for local food and has made contract with a series of producers of local food.

Value mediation and growth analysed from a mediation perspective

One of the main analytical questions of the HealthyGrowth project is to which extent these cases are able to combine values and integrity with growth in volume. Descriptively the initiatives vary in size, volume and turnover which indicate that there is not necessarily a limit of growth. Theoretically we may expect that the more agents involved the more complex and challenging it becomes to handle this hybrid communication of values and economy, however the cases illustrates some very interesting examples to handle this increasing complexity. E.g. in the case of Gram Slot and Rema 1000, all the franchise owners of the Rema 1000 stores are invited to an yearly meeting at gram Castle. This could be seen as an important measure to enhance the hybrid communication of the Gram slot, not only by the central manager of Rema 1000, but also distributed to the many shops around the country. Another interesting strategy to handle growth is replication strategy we find in the French case of Bio Coop where new autonomous supermarkets are established round the country. A similar strategy we can observe in the case of Fødevarerfælleskaberne (Food community, CSA) in terms of a cell division strategy. When a food community become too big it develop and spit into two new communities thereby avoiding that the single community excide the number of members that can be handled internal the organisation. Other cases resemble other examples of specific strategies to handle the complexity related to grow in volume.

From a mediation of values perspective this raises the question, what are then the limits to grow in volume? The answer will be that there is no limit as long the involved agents are able to handle the double coded communication.

To what extent do these chains facilitate sustainability in agricultural production?

Successful mediation of values in the chain has a high impact on the sustainability of primary production and rural livelihoods. Many of the cases exhibit the ability to mediate value relations which support rural livelihoods, e.g. in mountain areas, which might not be possible through traditional industrial organic food chains. In the case of Gram Slot, Denmark, a strong emphasis on local-based development has had an impact on rural job creation, which exceeds standardised industrial organic production. The level of transparency exhibited by these cases, constitutes a strong incitement for the farmers to develop their production in a more sustainable way in relation to nature quality, animal welfare etc. because these efforts are

mediated as values of the product by the other agents in the chain throughout to the consumers.

The value relation that could be actualised in the primary production is very much dependent on the chains ability to mediate these qualities.

Localising in terms of place and mode of production is important not only for the consumers trust but also for the possibilities for a sustainable development of farming praxis, E.g. as in the case of Gram slot.

Conclusions

The overall aim of this report is to analyse to what extent and how different values-based food-chains are able to offer quality couplings between production and consumption, and thereby support a more sustainable food production.

Mediation of values begins with the farmers or even more up streams. It also means that values based food chains are localised in the sense that there is transparency all the way to each farm. This localizing seems pivotal of commitment and of building long term value relations and sustainable framing practices. The relational view on values sharpens the understanding that values as relation are essence or materiality that can be carried from one link to the next but need to be (re)formed in each link of the chain. This also relates to the analysis that the involved agents are able to connect in a hybrid communication both about values and about money, where communication about values concerns good and bad and is not reduced to added monetary values to the product. Synchronisation of time bindings and mutual expectations is a crucial point of the building up values based food chains. While a purchaser may operate with time binding of a few weeks, farmers and processors may operate with time bindings of years of their decisions, like better production facilities. The way this synchronization and stabilisation of mutual expectations are organised is by forms of partnership, ranging from informal agreements to more formalised agreements including regular meetings or even institutionalized umbrella organisation. The core of these partnerships is a mutual understanding of mutual dependency. That individual success is fully depending on the success of the other.

In conclusion, mediation of values cannot be reduced to the individual agents of the chain. It is highly dependent on long-term building of mutual partnerships and trust. In successful cases, such chains can contribute not only to enhancing the sustainability of organic farming but also to enhanced quality for consumers.

Recommendations targeted at practitioners and stakeholders (2 pages)

As the 18 case studies have revealed there are many potential values that food chains can be established and developed around. The exact values though are unique in each case, e.g. in relation to an old castle and the local community in the case of Gram, the mountain areas in the case of Bio Alpine; the unique natural condition for picking herbs in the clean mountain surrounding the case of Bio Sunder or in Finnish lakes in the case of Javu fish. Values do not only link to the natural geographical potentials but also to the potentials of the farmers and the local communities or other stakeholders like in the case of Ecoladen driven by the community of biodynamic farmers, and the case of Bohlsener Mühle driven by a dedicated mill family. However, an important point is that these cases are not blue prints that can be copied but rather illustrate that each initiative has to depart from the specific potentials available. Such potentials can e.g. be an existing group of chains agents that want to develop the chain or it can be an initiative driven of one or more potential agents to develop novel values based chains. Seen from the *mediation of quality perspective* we have developed three main recommendations we see as particular important in developing a values based food chain:

1. It is important that agents involved in the chain are dedicated to mediation of values

One of the main findings of the case studies is that all the agents involved in the values based food chain plays an important role in mediation of values. To mediate values throughout the chain all agents shall be willing to and capable of taking full responsibility to re-actualising the given values. Values like animal welfare and environmental care are values related to the product and not an added physical attribute to the product. All findings is that agents need to be able and willing to handle the values parallel to the economic concerns in a co-ordinated way without resolving to priorities economic market value to other values. In the cases this is affecting the way the price negotiations are performed. If only one of the mediating agents is not able/willing to relate to these central values the mediation of values is decoupled. An example could be a supermarket chain that decides to use their private label. Or it could be an abattoir that is not dedicated to work with special requirements for slaughtering and processing organic poultries. So an important step of building a new or strengthening an existing values based food chain is to explore and evaluate: who can be the involved agents that are able to handle this coordination of values and economical concerns? How this evaluation process is carried out in practice has to be very much depending on the context. E.g.

in the case of Gram castle the partnership with Rema 1000 was established after a an analysis of which supermarkets chain could match the core values of Gram Castle.

2. Explore what kind of values is import for the values chain and what it demands from the different agents to mediate these qualities

As already mentioned all the agents or businesses involved in the chain have to be able to coordinate the value and the economic concerns. Mediation of values takes specific forms depending on the values actualised, not only at the abstract level of values but in practical details. E.g. if animal welfare is a major in terms of natural behaviour and free-range condition in animal production, the slaughter houses shall be able e.g. to kill the animals at the field and to bring them to the slaughter house. Another example is in grain production. If values of primary production are important, the mill has to be able to separate these qualities and to use them specifically in varies products. Time and timing is therefore one of the major issues. For some products the values of freshness, seasonality and local are important, it challenge the retailer (and the consumers) in their marketing strategy. In order to fulfil such expectations, all agents in the chain have to see such issues as important. E.g. new potatoes have to be accessible to the consumer within days of harvesting to accommodate the expectations the advertisement of new potatoes generates. The central point in this relation is though that mediation of values defines the initiative as values based, rather than adding values to a generic product. The central recommendation to the stakeholders is to make sure that the food chain does not lose the contact to localised primary production. Mediation of values begins at the farm.

3. Partnership - Opt for an organisation of the chain that supports a long time-horizon for cooperation.

One of the main challenges for the involved organisations is that the different organisations decisions making are operation within different time binding. E.g. changing production can take years and the time span of economic investments binds the organisations decision potential even further into the future. The challenge is that it can take the retailer less than a second to decide to change from one wholesaler to another. Development of values based food chains are depending of co-development of the involved agents and thereby a synchronisation of time bindings. If values are too mediated successfully throughout the chain, the organisation that has the least potential for fast changes must experience that the chain offers such a degree of stability over time that the additional effort incorporating values in the process are honoured. This need for synchronisations of time

bindings create a mutual dependency on the others agents decisions for the future. From the case studies we have learned that this call for some kind of partnership relationship among the chain agents to stabilise these expectations for the future decisions. These partnerships may be formal like in the case of gram castle or more informal like in the case of Biohof Achleitner. But also that it can be a challenge e.g. in the case of public procurement, where public and private partners work with very different time bindings.

The process of mediating values requires a close form of inter-organisation. Decisions are always organisation internal operations. That means that coordination of decision between two organisations needs to be formed in a way that it becomes internalised as decisions in both systems. It means that every partner needs to be aware that the dependency between the organisations throughout the chain is reciprocal. This reciprocity needs to be taken into account in order to allow coordination between value mediation and economy possible in a coherent way throughout the chain. This point to the need for a formal or informal forum where the partners, like farmers processors wholesalers and retailers, can meet and communicate and reflect on these roles and to manages this mutuality in a constructive manner, not to negotiate prizes but to see and how the decisions made by each partner in the chain affects the other partners, and from that how to negotiate price.

Recommendations related to policy development (2 pages)

As the cases illustrate values based food chains (VBFC) constitute a huge potential for a sustainable development pathway for (organic) food production. As this analytical perspective illustrates the co-development of VBFC is very much a bottom up process depending on the involved stakeholders. The role of policy makers is therefore primary to support the framework condition for these initiatives. From this analytical perspective we can point to three main recommendations to support the framework conditions:

- 1) It is not sufficient to look at the consumers as the primary drivers of sustainable food production and farming praxis. Agents of the food chain play a very central role for the qualities and values that can be mediated.

An important overall conclusion from the case studies is that such initiatives cannot be based on an expectation of consumers as the primary drivers. What aligns the cases is the determination to create a values based food chain by working from the supply side. This is an important feature which follows from the nature of these values. Because values are essential contested relying on the consumers to articulate a demand that can be met is a deadened path. Only by actively engaging in formulating and actualising founding normative values has the initiatives manages to become successful.

- 2) Regulation and control structures that not only supports and targeting generic production, but supports novel values based food chains

The administrative burden is relative big for small companies and can be seen as a strong hampering factor for developing values based food chains. When much legislation furthermore favours generic production the danger is that this inadvertently promotes food chains that rather are based on the logic of added value than a logic assigning equal importance to normative and economic values. Legislation must therefore be constructed to accommodate the challenges experienced by mid-scale initiatives incorporating different value logics. It is also important to pay attention to the national context in this process both in terms of regulatory practises as well as cultural and market characteristics.

- 3) Production of knowledge and education programme for the agents and advisors of this alternative development

Models and tools for value assessment are most often developed a generic development of the chain. Therefore knowledge and tools are needed that support the individual organisations as well as the collaboration and cooperation within the overall chain. A general lesson from the cases that supports this insight is that these most often are founded and operated by visionary and alternative thinking people. Alternative thinking risks being jeopardised when it is faced with having to cooperate with partners that are not as well founded in that particular type of thinking. The risk is then that to facilitate cooperation standardisation is used to reduce the complexity alternative forms of thinking often contains. If so the danger is that the initiative has to depart from the founding ideas and rather rely on the logic of added value to meet the expectations from the business associates.

Appendices:

Table 1: observations from the case studies

CORE-CASES	Food items/chain	Values-relations in addition to organic mediated	Incitements and impact for the farmers and primary production	Means to mediate
Bio vom Berg (AU)	Range of organic products	-Regional provenance, Small scale mountain farms, sustainable; Glass bottles, High, milk processing qualities (not homogenized, pH-value etc.) , taste	Yes a fair price for small quantities, guaranteed purchase ideological commitment, personal convictions, identification Makes mounting farming possible?	Trading platform 100% organic, Bio vom Berg, supported by MPreis, trust relations and same understanding of 'quality', personal relationships beyond business relations
Biohof Achleitner (AU)	Range of organic products	Dedicated organic farmers, Using composting, Contributing to soil fertility, A reliable business partner, Energy efficiency,	Yes, fair prices and stable income; Guaranteed purchase; Identification with the Achleitner business is an incitement to choose him as a partner,	Flexibility and long-term partnerships, strong personal support, close contact, and mutual trust, seem to be the main factors in fostering coherence in the mediation of qualities. Farmers are convinced of what the Biohof Achleitner does and what the enterprise stands for, leading to a strong identification with the enterprise
Food Communities (DK)	Range of organic products	Local,	Fair and fixed price What do the farmer think	Personal involvement in the distribution process. Small communities
Gram Castle (DK)	Range of organic products	Place, Openness, local livelihood animal welfare	Yes fair price and long-term agreement	Shared ownership of the values, between Rema 1000, the franchise supermarkets and Gram castle
Polar Shiitake (FI)	Mushrooms	Place (local products) high quality, environmental friendly	No, no premium price to the farmer	Support of local community. High quality brand "Polar"
Kiuruvesi (FI)	Local procurement	Local,	Competitive bidding, Combined affordability	Community (municipality) support, Set up for use of local organic product outlet.
Järvifisu (FI)		Fresh Local Rural livelihood	Good and stable outlet for the local fishermen and supports the use of environmentally fishing methods	Close relations between the stakeholders. E.g. fishing competitions as a means to collect people
Biocoop (FR)	Range of organic products	Mode of production, Varieties, Picked up when ripened, Producer groups coordinate varieties and common guidelines	Yes, stable and fair prices, sales adjusted to production	Systems of quality and guidelines only products of the seasons. The cooperative involvement of consumers in the discussions about beyond organic qualities
Landwege e.V. (GE)	Fresh fruit vegetables etc.	Organic from nearby, Bioland/ Naturland/Demeter Local and Artisanal processing healthy	Landwege pay a slightly higher price than wholesalers.	Consumer driven Consumer/producer Chain, 5 supermarkets and 600 consumers, Farmers long-term partners
Bohlsener Mühle (GE)	Grain, flour, cookies	Regional organic grain. Bioland or Demeter standards. Environmental care and social responsibility. Producer organisation in Öko Korn-Nord for common standards and qualities.	Yes, get a higher price and stable outlet	Processing lines builds on a clear differentiation of production standards Demeter, Bioland and EU- organic Which provides the producer a possibility of transparency
EKO Zamaitija (LI)	Dairy products	100 % organic, direct sale, hand made	Makes a sale of organic products possible?	Farmers' cooperative, (Longtem contracts) Direct sale to the consumers
Røros Dairy (N)	Dairy Products	Local organic + Regional development	No, fixed prices for organic milk	?
Røros-Kjøtt (N)	Meat	No old recipe and high meat content	No, fixed markets prices for organic meat?	?
Kolonihagen (N)	Box-scheme			
Upplandsbondens (S)	Meat	Local (place and short distances), semi natural pastures,(welfare ad nature quality) taste, non-profit? It is a cooperative (I think) so any profits it makes is paid to the members as premium prices	The whole point for farmers to be members is that UB pays a premium price compared to what (most) farmers would get if they sold individually to the slaughterhouse. Another reason for farmers to be members is the focus on regional slaughter (short travel distance for the animals) and the aim to market	

			the meat as high quality, and on the regional market	
Ekoladan	Box-scheme	Freshness, names of farmers, taste ,(biodynamic Not really. I will ask more about this issue – is it only a historical fact or do they still go for biodynamic as much as possible?)	yes, long term fixed prices. Sort of, but not fixed. The prices are negotiated with each farmer every year, based on the prices from the previous year. The purchaser did not want to tell us to what extent Ekoladan pays a premium price but the guess would be that farmers would earn more on a farmers' market ,but less if they sold to a retail chain.	
Ekodar (SL)	Organic Beef	Healthy, High quality , traceability , nature, quality	??	QR codes to support traceability, farmers' cooperative
Bio Sunder (TU)	Natural herbs from mountains	Taste, Organic, Natural, rural livelihood	Income and jobs to the people from the local villages	Organisation and mobilisation of the local communities.

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