

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BRESCIA
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DEL PIEMONTE ORIENTALE

PhD Programme
Economic Sociology and Labour Studies - 29th cohort

DOCTORAL THESIS

Moral economy of neo-rurality between urban and inner areas.

Alternative Agro-food Markets in Campania

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Academic Year 2015/2016

The PhD program Economic Sociology and Labour Studies (ESLS) (29th cohort) stems from the collaboration of four Universities, namely Università degli Studi di Brescia, Università degli Studi di Milano and Università degli Studi del Piemonte Orientale “Amedeo Avogadro”. The University of Milan serves as the administrative headquarters and provides the facilities for most teaching activities.

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INTRODUCTION

*"I'm going up the country, babe don't you wanna go
I'm going to some place where I've never been before
I'm going, I'm going where the water tastes like wine
Well I'm going where the water tastes like wine
We can jump in the water, stay drunk all the time
I'm gonna leave this city, got to get away
All this fussing and fighting, man, you know I sure can't stay"*
(Canned Heat – Going up to country. 1969)

Moving back to the land is, from different perspectives, a fascinating topic that has been on stage since the sixties. Since then, new forms of rurality have become an upcoming phenomenon on the media, still today we often hear of unexpected success of rural entrepreneurs who reinvented their life, they represent their triumph as reaction to market failure and city-life depression. From a sociological point of view, it is an exciting counter-cultural subject.

How to study neo-rurality nowadays? Speaking in contemporary terms, we can talk about changes in rurality, taking Rural Social Innovation as our approach. As we'll see, social innovation is as appropriate as ambiguous when it comes to the research implementation, lacking in the specificity of the definition. Therefore, I decided to integrate the conceptual framework with two more solid theoretical approaches: social capital and moral market, which may analytically help understand and investigate the topic. From that, a research question rises, followed by an intense fieldwork.

Let's go step by step, starting by introducing the study.

a) The topic: Neo-rurality

In the first chapter I explain the topic. Rurality studies connect different disciplines: sociology (marginality, mobility, market dynamics); geography (distance and periphery); policies and normative discourse (inner areas and rurality).

‘Back-to-the-land’ generally refers to the adoption of agriculture as a full-time vocation by people who have come from non-agricultural lifestyles or education. Originated in the 1960s, it situates back-to-the-landers as part of broader counterculture practices (Belasco, 2006). The back-to-the-land movement of the 1960s and 70s is often framed in relation to general cultural currents that encouraged “dropping out” of mainstream society in search of alternatives. “Multiplying fivefold between 1965 and 1970” writes Belasco (1989: 76) of communal back-to-the-land projects, “3,500 or so country communes put the counterculture into group practice”.

During the 1970s, the “protestant neo-ruralism” (neoruralismo protestatario, Merlo, 2006) conceives rural areas as the place where an alternative way of life can be experienced through the creation of an alternative agricultural production process. That approach refuses completely the Green Revolution (GR) paradigm (Shiva, 2016).

Later, the development of alternative agricultural production was embedded in the agro-ecological paradigm, then absorbed by the global industrial system through the creation of organic certifications. Such a process of integration has developed a new critical reflection on food production and market relations.

Neo-rurality is the frame that collects different approaches which are changing rural areas on different levels. It calls for attention to the relation between environmental issues, rural crisis and territorial issues (Ferraresi, 2013). Neo-rural farmers try a new model that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable, protects biodiversity and promotes local quality food. In fact, production of quality food is key for the activation of practices and community relationships within the horizon of agro-ecological values.

In Italy, pioneers of the alternative movements came from different backgrounds: the radical left, the ecologist movement and the anti-conformist or alternative movements. Also, a pioneering phase was characterized by a multiplicity of regional-level and often unconnected initiatives (Fonte, Cucchi, 2015).

Ferraresi (2013) describes ‘Neo-rurality’ as a new, social and complex economy. Born partly in response to expansion of industrial food and partly due to the survival of some systems that resisted to conversion, we see emerging new or resurgent forms of production, trade and consumption, latterly conceptualised by academics as ‘Alternative Agro-Food Networks’ (AAFNs) or ‘Alternative Food Networks’ (AFNs).

Movements become key players in the definition of new market places (Friedmann, 2005). Food movements act as an engine of awareness in consumption, and address issues that are core for social and media consensus, for instance health, environment, quality of life (Goodman, 1999), and also social justice and fair trade (Elzen et al., 2010).

A second important effect of AAFNs is the empowerment of consumers, a leverage on citizenship action for the transformation of consumption behaviours into political action (Goodman, DuPuis, 2002). Exponents of neo-rural economy, as part of AAFNs, have promoted participation in alternative infrastructures contrasting the conventional market system, developing specific organisational forms, negotiating new forms of collaborative economy (Kostakis, Bauwens, 2014). They thus blur the distinction between public sphere and private sphere (Tormey, 2007).

The AAFNs, as shown in the article by Murano and Forno (2017), has three main drivers shaping the form of development of this type of collective action: 1. Greater citizen awareness around economic, social and environmental sustainability issues; 2. The loss of purchasing power within important portions of the middle class, due to the increasing unemployment rates following the recession which started in 2007-2008; 3. General loss of meaning, due to the consumerism and the depletion of social relations, along with the decoupling of GDP growth and happiness (as suggested by the paradox Easterlin, 1974), people's search for a meaning in their life (Castells, Caraça, Cardoso, 2012) which seems to have been lost in a consumer society threatened by an economic, environmental and social crisis (D'Alisa et al., 2015).

Tradition of local governance studies focuses on central areas, hi-tech districts, city-regions, overlooking the role of less industrialized areas, that actually represent two thirds of Italy. Northern Italy has been considered as a cluster of industrial development. Given current globalization forces, taking for granted recent government interest in undeveloped areas, inner areas have a stake in getting involved in wider market dynamics and renewed resources. An important contribution to the EU debate on territorial marginalisation has been provided by the Italian government's innovative approach to 'Inner Areas' (DPS, 2014). The government mapped all municipalities and categorized them according to their degree of remoteness from services, consistently with criteria that the debate on Foundational Economy indicates as key factors of spatial (in)justice. The emerging picture

offers a polycentric connotation of the Italian territory. The geography of the inner peripheries includes mountain and coastal areas, as well as hilly and lowland areas, but provides no conclusive evidence to establish correlations between morphological conditions and degree of remoteness.

The second chapter is dedicated to theoretical approaches: Rural Social Innovation, Social Capital and Sociology of Markets.

b) Rural Social Innovation

The neo-rurality phenomenon is strictly connected to Rural Social Innovation. Social innovation is a term on everyone's lips, indicating change and development, including social effects. Social Innovation is not specifically mentioned in literature on regional development, but in the more nuanced models we find that most important features are trust among actors, informal ties and untraded interdependencies between actors, which are key factors determining positive differentials in economic performance.

Rural Social Innovation is helpfully used in many studies (Bock, 2012). Still, even though it is currently a very relevant phenomenon, Social Innovation itself is a critic concept, it is both one of the most common and ant the most unclear concepts nowadays.

Because of its credits to local development, social networks and economic outcomes, I decided to use two more analytical sociological concepts to understand the phenomenon: social capital and sociology of markets.

c) Social Capital

Individuals generally pursue major life events—marriage, occupational choice—as part of a social network or group. As an exemplum, engaging in the creation of a new firm is generally done in a network of social relationships (Aldrich, 2005; Reynolds, 1991; Thornton, 1999); in that sense entrepreneurship can be considered a social phenomenon, rather than solely one of individual career choice.

Social capital is a conscious use of embeddedness, the use of relations and resources for a purpose. According to Coleman (1988), social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure.

Coleman refers to the social structure that enables access to resources. Additionally, we can also recall Bourdieu, who sees social capital as the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition. And Putnam pointing at three components: moral obligation and norms; social values (trust); and social networks (voluntary association).

d) Sociology of Markets

The structure of markets can be reduced to its minimal components, that are a buyer and two sellers which compete according to some defined rules (Aspers, 2006b). Relations among actors can be of exchange, as between buyers and sellers, or of competition, as between producers. In the structure of markets, people also mobilize beliefs, ethics, values and views of the common good to talk about the effects of market processes (Boltanski, Thevenot, 2006).

As pointed in the recent book published by Granovetter “Society and Economy” (2017:28)

The fact that people seek simultaneously economic and non-economic goals is an unprecedented challenge for that economic analysis that focuses only on one of the two horns, as for sociology that focuses only on the other. Current theories of action in social sciences offer little knowledge of how individuals mix these goals.

We can therefore recall Zelizer (2007) highlighting that economists and sociologists face a common presumption: the twinned stories of separate spheres and hostile worlds.

Separate spheres indicate a distinction between two arenas, one for rational economic activity, a sphere of calculation and efficiency, and one for personal relations, a sphere of sentiment and solidarity. The companion doctrine of hostile worlds affirms that contact

between the spheres generates contamination and disorder: economic rationality degrades intimacy, and close relationships obstruct efficiency.

Moral economy is based on this attack on the common presumption.

According to these considerations on ways that shape relationships and market, the main question that rises is: “Are values and social relationship separate from the market?”.

e) The Research

During my PhD studies I worked on an answer to this question.

In the third chapter I present the case of alternative agro-food movements and neo-rurality in urban and inner areas in the region of Campania (southern Italy).

The study is based on qualitative research design, composed of fieldwork and interviews, undertaken in Campania during 2014-2016, where inner and central areas are the scenery of innovative development processes, founded on structural and territorial resources, as well as on individual and social capitals.

Here I present you with a quote from an Italian journalist, Alessandro Leogrande, recalling the most important anthropologist of southern Italy, Ernesto Demartino:

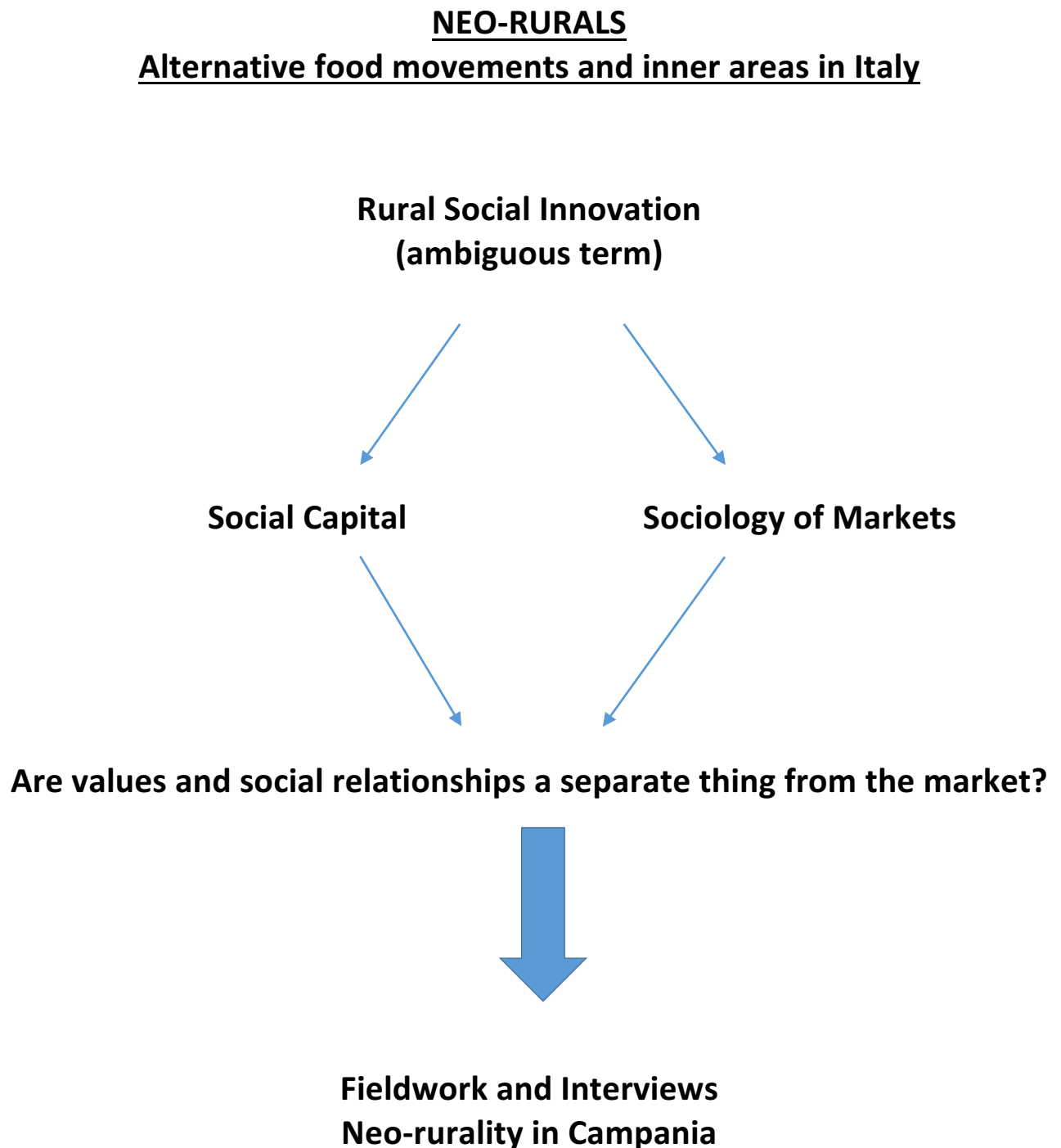
In a complex society, old elements and new elements continue to coexist, traits of modernity and traits of archaisms, pre-Christian segments and post-Christian segments, or entirely de-Christianised ones. It seems to me that the [Italian] South of these years, precisely in the light of a Demartino’s analysis, fully returns the overlapping of these various layers. (Leogrande, 2016)

I wish you a pleasant journey throughout my pages, at the discovery of neo-rural dynamics in southern Italy, a special place for meeting contradictions, traces of ancient and futuristic art, holy and desacralized behaviours, traditional and innovative practices.

Synthetically the structure of the dissertation is represented in the graph n.1, it shows that the general topic “Neo-rurals. Alternative food movements and inner areas in Italy”

(chapter 1) is investigated throughout three main theoretical approaches “Rural social innovation, social capital and sociology of markets” (chapter 2), that leads to a main research question “Are values and social relationship something separate from the market?” that leads to the fieldwork (chapter 3).

Graph 1 - Research introductory schema



CHAPTER 1. THE TOPIC: NEO-RURALITY AND ITALIAN FOOD MOVEMENTS

1.1 NEW PEASANTRIES AND NEO RURALITY

Despite the waning of rural communes in the 1970s, Trauger (2007: 9) claims that “since the 1970s the numbers of farmers in the United States beginning alternative modes of farming or converting their operations to organic or sustainable methods has steadily increased”. This growth is mirrored in Europe, with Italy as the continent’s leader in certified organic hectares of land (FiBL, 2017). Individuals or families going back to the land have been at least partly responsible for this growth and well-placed to take advantage of a growing trend.

Recalling the early 20th Century peasant-worker family economies of Northern Italy, many new pioneers are involved with craft or workshop enterprise, often involving repairs, carpentry, food processing or art. Extolled in certain influential publications as the only successful formula for profitable farms, the cultivation of cash crops with high market values, such as organic fruits, vegetables and nuts, is a common method of securing something like a reliable income and may be one of the few sustaining forces in modern homestead economics (Jacob, 1997; Agnew, 2006). Niche market produce, though, comes with considerable political baggage and demonstrates the constant tension between idealism and survival that some back-to-the-landers must address.

Although the importance of agriculture varies considerably between the rural economies of one European country and the other (Strijker, 1997), it is

clear that in general its significance is declining. We can conclude that it is not only at the level of the inter-relationship between society and agriculture, but also at the level of the countryside as a well- defined social and geographical space, that new forms of articulation are to be developed. The 'rural' is no longer a monopoly of farmers. (Van der Ploeg et al., 2000: 393)

1.1.1 Many ways of going back to the land

Migrants to rural areas who attempt to achieve a predominantly agrarian lifestyle have been christened with several labels: neo-farmers (Mailfert, 2007), neo-peasants (Brunori et al. 2013), new pioneers (Jacob, 1997), new agrarians (Trauger, 2007a) and back-to-the-landers (Belasco, 2006).

The fundamental features that unite these cohorts of individuals are an experience of migration to the countryside and the adoption of farming or horticultural practices as a significant lifestyle component.

There is, however, some historical basis for the ambiguity of their labels:

- 1) Fluctuations in the popularity of migration to the countryside has complicated efforts to achieve consistent, comprehensive research on the subject;
- 2) Few institutions and formal organisations for neo-rural networks exist;
- 3) Regional, historical and political variants of neo-rural practices have thwarted efforts to view them as a unified movement (Halfacree, 2007; Mailfert, 2007).

That said, any label has a common currency and helps drawing some immediate associations with particular lifestyles.

'Back-to-the-land' generally refers to the adoption of agriculture as a full-time vocation by people who have come from non-agricultural lifestyles or education, originating in the 1960s it situates back-to-the-land as part of broader counterculture practices.

Many current expressions of back-to-the-land, however, reveal an attempt to address contemporary social, environmental and economic concerns, representing both a trajectory and an evolution from 1960s origins.

During the 60ies back-to-the-land movements were characterized by the mistrust in capitalist model, for social and economic reasons. They are “Hippie communes and intentional communities sprouted, based on antimodernist philosophies, informed by traditional and Eastern holistic worldviews” (Constance et al., 2014: 9).

The back-to-the-land movement of the 1960s and 70s is often framed in relation to general cultural currents that encouraged ‘dropping out’ of mainstream society in search of alternatives. Halfacree (2007) cautions against a caricatured view of the 1960s and the popular connotations linking it to social upheaval and the iconography of the Haight-Ashbury hippie culture, yet it is inescapably within this context that back-to-the-land as an identifiable movement began to take shape. As Allen et al. (2003: 66) remark, the widespread migration of young idealists into the countryside in pursuit of agrarian lifestyles had its roots in “resistance to the Vietnam War, alienation from consumer culture, and environmental concern”.

“Multiplying fivefold between 1965 and 1970”, writes Belasco (1989: 76) of communal back-to-the-land projects, “3,500 or so country communes¹ put the counterculture into group practice”. Although much of the literature on the subject relates to North America and the United Kingdom, rural in-migration with a ‘countercultural flavour’ occurred throughout many urbanised, industrial and post-industrial nations throughout the 1960s and 70s (Halfacree, 2007: 3).

Writing on the estimated 100,000 people who went back to the land in France in the 1960s and 70s, Mailfert claims that:

These urban migrants, disillusioned with capitalism and modern life, wandered from village to village in search of an ‘ideal society’ where they could feel free to invent alternative economic and social systems, raising goats, making cheese and honey, tending gardens, or living as artisans (Mailfert, 2007: 23)

¹ Back-to-the-land communes, often incorporated into the slightly broader notion of ‘intentional communities’, have generally received more academic attention than disparate individual back-to-the-land initiatives. Poldervaart (2001, cited in Meijering et al., 2007: 42) identifies intentional communities by their expression of “a deliberate attempt to realise a common, alternative way of life outside mainstream society”.

People leaving urban areas tried to experience a different lifestyle in rural areas. These people moved inspired by the adoption and promotion of alternative agriculture practices, both inspired by the biodynamic approach developed by Rudolf Steiner and the organic farming studies of Albert Howard. “Small-scale, often countercultural farmers produced foods according to evolving organic and agro-ecological practices” (Hinrichs, Eshleman, 2014: 144).

During the 70ies, the ‘protestant neo-ruralism’ (neoruralismo protestatario, Merlo, 2006) conceives rural areas as the place where alternative way of life can be experienced through the creation of an alternative agricultural production process. That approach refuses completely the Green Revolution paradigm (Shiva, 1991).

Starting in the 1960s and moving through the 1970s, it appeared that the back-to-the-country movement might itself become a dominant social trend, rather than simply a counterforce to urban dominance (...) But from the late 1960s through the early 1980s, back-to-the-landers were part of a broad population movement that reaffirmed the small town and rural ways of life. (Jacob, 2010: 20)

1.1.2 New peasantries and ecological entrepreneurship

Afterwards, the development of alternative agricultural production was embedded in a wider shared agro-ecological paradigm, then absorbed by the global industrial system through the creation of bio and organic certifications. Such process of integration has developed a new critical reflection on food production and market relations.

Starting from the term back-to-the-land that characterized a first phase of the movement, now it splits in two different dimensions: new peasantries (Van der Ploeg, 2010) and ecological entrepreneurship (Marsden, Smith, 2005).

According to Hinrichs and Eshleman (2014) we can put under the umbrella of ‘alternative agro-food movements’ different experiences, considered along a spectrum that defines how each movement resists and challenges the global agro-food system. Some

movements are more accommodating while others are completely opposed to the fordist regimes which farmers are locked into.

On one hand, according to Van der Ploeg (2010) the aim of new peasantries is based on autonomy and sustainability from the conventional agro-food system. It promotes interpersonal relationships, independence and new rural or agrarian lifestyle. On the other hand, according to Marsden and Smith (2005) the ecological entrepreneurship refers to a process where farms contribute to sustainable rural development using the environmentally friendly agriculture and direct marketing to find their economic sustainability.

While traditional peasantry and entrepreneurship are considered contradictory or conflicting frames, new peasantry and ecological entrepreneurship are remarkably compatible framings. (Niska et al., 2012: 457)

According to the Agriculture Census (2010, Sesto Censimento Generale dell'Agricoltura) in Italy they use the term neo-rurality to identify characteristics of both. Neo-rurality is the frame that collects different approaches which are changing rural areas on different levels. According to Giorgio Ferraresi (2013) neo-rurality calls for attention to the relation between environmental issues, rural crisis and territorial issues. Neo-rural farmers propose a new model that they understand to be economically, socially and environmentally sustainable, a model that protects biodiversity and promotes local quality food. In facts, production of quality food is key for activation of practices and community relationships within the horizon of agro-ecological values.

Other further fundamental issues are the endogenous organizational forms and disintermediated approaches to the market which are developed to bridge the gap between producers and consumers.

1.1.2.1. Six shifts from old to new paradigm

In order to develop our analysis, we will use the analytical framework proposed by Van der Ploeg (2010) to define the major ways through which we have to analyse our data.

He proposes six main shifts from old to new paradigm: from land to ecological capital, from subsistence to self-provisioning; from partial integration to actively constructed distance; from fixed regularities to dynamic co-production; from subordination to multiple resistance; from community to extended networks and new marketplaces.

a) From land to ecological capital

Old-peasants, in the past, were obliged to use land as ecological capital, as no other way of agriculture was known. But the Green Revolution proposed a seductive alternative: a new paradigm of modernization based on the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, which were functional to production but disconnected farmers from natural cycles and transformed the land into a commodity.

In the alternative approach, new-peasants can choose among different approaches according with their values and aims. They are given the possibility to choose the use of the land as ecological capital (Ogilvy, Costanza, 2014). This brings to another important aspect: the reconstruction of local knowledge (Geertz, 2000) through a reflexive process. The re-discovery of pre-capitalist rural traditions generates also novel conceptions of value and leads to the development of new organizational forms, where its values can be spread throughout peasants' and not-peasants' networks.

b) From subsistence to self-provisioning

We can define the self-provisioning as the capacity to produce and reproduce, under any condition, resources for self-subsistence (Harrison, 1977).

Neo-rural farmers tend to reduce dependence from external resources through protection and enhancement of internal resources, for instance, the enhancement of ecological capital is powered by the protection of biodiversity. This implies reduction of monetary costs and ensures that production remains unchanged after time in terms of species, while quality of local food is increased.

Secondly, an important circuit of profit is the income coming from activities held outside the farm. Pluri-activity (Kinsella et al., 2000) offers the possibility to increase economic and

labour resources outside the farm with farm's activities. We can consider pluri-activity as a form of re-allocation of plural resources of farmers and their families into the farms.

Then, a third step, the development of different economic activities related to the rural areas and not only to the agrarian dimension, from rural tourism, to management of nature and landscape, to care farms and energy production, composing a circuit of production called multi-functionality (Huylensbroeck, Durand, 2003). All these strategies allow farmers to reduce the agro-profitability dependence, meant by conventional agro-food system, finding a richer economic sustainability.

c) From partial integration to actively constructed distancing

The conventional agro-food system also governs and controls relevant part of the agricultural and food markets. Current global patterns allow an exceptional accumulation of resources in the hands of few corporations and it subordinates farmers in hierarchical space where they are exploited. They build proper food-chain empires: monopolistic networks controlling food production, processing, distribution, and consumption (Van der Ploeg, 2008).

In order to face the empire, farmers operate distancing actions in two dimensions: in inputs and outputs. Basing on the process of valorisation of ecological capital, they try not to use chemical inputs during the productive process. While with regard to output, they find economical sustainability in alternative networks like farmers' markets or CSA.

d) From fixed regularities to dynamic co-production

Co-production is a dynamic process between farmers and nature. We can consider farmers' agriculture as a constructed process oriented to different interests. Ecological capital is a material resource that works through feedbacks and is constantly remodelled through practices.

Corporations impose on farmers' specific crops which create fixed regularities and standard goods. This is the 'Food from Nowhere' regime of global commodity chains, based on regulatory power in production and consumption.

However, co-production is an ongoing combination and mutual transformation between social and material resources. This relationship constantly differentiates and transforms agriculture through the combination and remoulding of different resources.

e) From subordination to multiple resistance

We can define resistance as the capability to organize labour and production processes, developing autonomous networks of cooperation and innovative solutions, that correspond to their needs.

[Resistance] is encountered in a wide range of heterogeneous and increasingly interlinked practices through which the peasantry constitutes itself as distinctively different from entrepreneurial and capitalist agriculture. Resistance resides in the fields. (...) Resistance resides in the multitude of alterations (or actively constructed responses) that have been continued and/or created anew in order to confront the modes of ordering that currently dominate our societies. (Van der Ploeg, 2010: 16)

According to Elisabetta Basile (1999), rediscovery and actualization of pre-capitalist productive processes and values, in informal economy, are ways to recover a necessary independence from agro-business economy.

f) From community to extended networks and new marketplaces

New food networks embody values on which producers and consumers base together their productive economic practices. According to this view, new networks represent new kinds of communities.

We find a link between farmers constructing new food networks and the embedded marketplaces. In these markets the value of local quality food is based on social and environmental dimensions and not only on economic aspects. Therefore, economic sustainability becomes one of several factors on which the total value of local food is based.

This is possible through the reintegration of skills and competences that have been externalised to other companies connected to the food empires.

According to Van der Ploeg (2010) we can summarize the resistance aspects in three main points:

- 1) the construction of autonomy in order to resist subordination, dependency and deprivation.
- 2) creation, reproduction, and development of self-controlled resources base that allows co-production.
- 3) multiple interactions with downstream markets, aiming to ensure survival and facilitating reproduction of the resources base.

1.1.3 Neo-rural radicalisms

As actions and strategies designed to strongly disrupt the status quo, 'radical' rural projects can take a vast number of forms, including far-right ethnic exclusivism and militant libertarianism (Woods, 2005; Halfacree, 2007; McKay, 2011). The 'radical ruralism' envisioned by Halfacree (2007b) is associated with objectives that would broadly fall into a left-leaning, 'green' and anti-exploitation agenda. This can include, but is not limited to nor exclusively defined by: cooperative or non-profit economic systems, eco-sustainability projects, low-impact development, permaculture or small-scale organic agriculture, and a tolerance or promotion of 'alternative' or socially marginalised lifestyles (Wilbur, 2012).

1.2 SHORT HISTORY OF ITALIAN FOOD MOVEMENT

1.2.1 From 60ies to 80ies: the transformation

The modernisation process in Italy occurred after WWII. In the 1960s, a structural dualism between small peasants and big capitalist farms afflicted the Italian countryside, while the European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was pushing in the direction of modernisation (Fabiani, 1978; Gorgoni, 1978; Pugliese, Rossi, 1978).

According to many authors (Brunori, Malandrin, Rossi, 2013; Fonte, Cucco, 2015) three phases are identified:

First phase, from 1940s to 1980s, is the 'modernisation' frame, emphasis goes on productivity and industrial organization of production, actors are peasantries and big capitalist farms.

According to Mottura and Pugliese (1975), labourism policies supported that fracture, because 'peasantrization' and 'modernization' policies were mirroring each other, being both functional to the industrial development of the Italian economy, and the underemployment in rural areas functioned as a 'reserve army' for industry: the agricultural labour force was available to be released as the demand for industrial labour increased.

After two decades, the process of modernization of Italian agriculture had already been accomplished through territorial concentration, specialisation of production and adoption of mechanical and chemical innovation. In the 1980s, a new firm symbolizing modernity, the 'entrepreneurial farm' had by then become the backbone of Italian agriculture, replacing the 'peasant farm', an institution now conceptually linked with a backward system of production.

Modernisation involved not only strictly the productive sector, but also the processing industry and the distribution system (Brasili, Fanfani, Meccarini, 2001; Viviano, 2012).

The second phase is characterised by the 'turn to quality', focused on the development of a 'Made in Italy food consensus'. Food security concern points to food safety on one hand, and protection of national food identity as processes and as well as labels on the other. The 'turn to quality' characterising food system in the late 1980s (Goodman, 2003; Busch and Bain, 2004), establishes links between cognitive aspects as nutrition and biodiversity of food, and ways of production, distribution and consumption (Goodman, DuPuis, 2002).

Such systematic change, transforming agriculture in the food system, took place initially (in the 1970s and 1980s) through the labour market and the stabilisation of part-time work and pluri-active farms; later in the 1980s and 90s, intensifying commercial relations in the food processing industry and distribution system.

After a food crisis in 2006-2008, a third phase and subsequent recession followed in response. 'Alternative agro-food networks' and food security are key in a new consensus frame.

1.2.2 Quality turn and the problem of quality

Industrialization and food mass production become a drawback, when the discourse came to environmental sustainability and health.

Among the first spokespeople in defence of the specificity of the Italian agricultural sector and its artisanal form of production, in the late 1970s, Barberis (1978) far-sighting, pointed out what constitutes the basis of quality food in Italy.

A decade later, in the 1990s, his views corresponded to the paradigm based on the so-called 'quality turn' (Goodman, 2003) which started to characterize agricultural development.

A series of scandals, in Italy and around Europe, over industrial intensive agriculture (Fonte, 2002) signed the turning point for putting environmental discourse on top. In Italy the well-known and terrible episode was the 'methanol wine scandal' in 1986. It resulted in 23 deaths and left dozens of people poisoned and injured (Barbera, Audifreddi, 2012), with devastating consequences for the enology in Italy, both on economic and reputational

levels. In the same year a major problem of atrazine pollution of the aquifers emerged in the Po valley.

A second big issue was rising in the same years, the public debate on the diffusion of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO).

Attention to healthy food became a requirement also on the demand side (Brunori, Malandrin, 2013).

The increased attention to the relation between food and health, pointing out risks for safety, environment and production practices was a determining factor for profound institutional changes, which also took place on the demand side. It triggered a reflexive behaviour (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994) among European consumers on the subject of food safety and health (Jaillette, 2001; Fonte, 2002 and 2004; Petrini, Padovani, 2005). Searching for self-safeguard, consumers started to see alternative food economies as a way of avoiding risks and related anxiety.

Timely, greater support given to organic production by new EU framework was instrumental in expanding organic sector, with all the ensuing tension derived from scaling-up of operations and closer links to the large distribution systems.

Changes occurring in Italy took place within the wider context of European reforms of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). CAP reform (1992) reoriented away from exclusive focus on productivity and looked towards market liberalization on one hand and on improvements on the other: safety standards, food quality and environmental protection, biosafety regulation on GMOs (based on the adoption of the Precautionary Principle), laws on hygiene (1991-1993) and regulation on the 'traceability' of food (2002). The CAP reform opened officially the way moving from the sectorial emphasis to multi-dimensional concept of rural development.

As a consequence, EU policies changes affected different levels of actors, in Italy we mention Coldiretti and Slow Food among the main and biggest innovation promoters.

Coldiretti, a strong supporter of the modernization approach underlying previous CAP interventions, proposed a new version of itself, later followed by a new project (Campagnamica, 'friendly countryside'), affirming the aim to:

Gradually abandon the modernization discourse and corporatist defence of CAP price support and propose a new business model based on multi-

functionality and a new agricultural policy. Tradition, locality and family farming became common elements of Coldiretti's concept of quality'. (...)

As the Italian food system is increasingly identified with artisanal quality, and given the success of the 'value creation' strategy, 'local food' and 'artisanal quality' have become the boundary objects of the consensus, and Coldiretti the most significant boundary organization. Coldiretti's main endeavour was to associate 'local' with 'national', whereas 'national' is a sum of local specificities.

(Brunori, Malandrin, Rossi, 2013: 23)

As Slow Food already indicated, the recognition and protection of locally-embedded quality within the EU framework was certainly a welcome development.

1.2.2.1 Quality issue

From a sociological point of view, a fundamental question about the background is remarked by Barbera and Audifreddi (2012): how is quality defined and constructed, as a sharable and common concept?

A construction of convention precedes and follows agreements among parts about what is the value and what is equal to what (Stark, 2009). Therefore, the understanding of these processes is key for a sociological analysis of markets.

In fact, if in classical economics price was the main management form to set quality, convention theory argues (Eymard-Duvernay, 1989) that price works only if there is no radical uncertainty about quality, and, I add, if the consumers' action is not involved in the producing and pricing process (as, we will see, is common in AFM).

Conventions linked to other 'forms of coordination' (Ponte, Gibbon, 2009) are crucial when economic value cannot be automatically translated into price. This is particularly so in the service economy or in markets such as art and wine, where the attributes of the product are difficult to unpack from the consumer viewpoint (Beckert, 2009: 254).

It is within this context that strategic actors in alternative agriculture in Italy make their appearance, elaborate their strategy and operate in competition or in symbiosis with the dominant food system.

1.2.2.2 Slow Food contradiction

Initially Slow Food clearly identified itself as a new social movement. Its politics of pleasure implemented through the *convivia*, the group of territorial associates who promote dinners, food and wine tasting events and promotional campaigns, situates it firmly in the realm of critical consumerism (Fonte, Cucco, 2015).

As Slow Food sees it, the quality of a food product is first of all a narrative that starts from its place of origin (Slow Food, 2014). Eno-gastronomy is transmuted into eco-gastronomy and the trajectory of the movement is from consumption towards the world of production. The defence of endangered food and biodiversity (through the Presidia) is systematically integrated into the politics of pleasure (Fonte, 2006).

Indeed, Sassatelli and Davolio (2010) detect a dualism of visions between the “centrally promoted endeavour to shift the varied and multiform set of Slow Food *convivia* on the Italian territory towards a more explicitly ethical and political outlook” and the outlook of local adherents to the movement who remain closer to traditional views of aesthetic appreciation and market orientation.

As in the case of Coldiretti, the labelling scheme goes hand in hand with the creation of a very effective marketing mechanism. Apart from its reliance on the redistributive effects of cultural shifts taking place on the consumer side, however, no mechanism is in place, to ensure that the value extracted remains with the producers.

1.2.3 Organic agriculture, from niche to market segment

Organic qualification requirements vary historically and regionally, though some fundamentals remain constant. Organic food production restricts artificial pesticide and fertilizer use, promotes animal welfare through regulations on stocking densities and natural diets, prohibits any use of genetically modified organisms and encourages soil longevity through natural fertilizers, crop rotation and composting (Food Standards Agency, 2011). Organic principles and practice in historical context are explored by Belasco (1989), Petrini (2007) and McKay (2011).

Italian organic movement differs from other experiences (such as Coldiretti and Slow Food) because of its approach to certification: it applies to ‘integral’ quality of organic products. The pioneers of the organic movement came from different backgrounds: the radical left, the ecologist movement and the anti-conformist or alternative movements. Also, pioneering phase was characterized by a multiplicity of regional-level and often unconnected initiatives (Fonte, Cucco, 2015).

The institutional embedding of organic agriculture was fully achieved in the 1990s with the publication of European regulations which transformed organic agriculture from an innovation niche into a market segment in the dominant socio-technical regime. Therefore, organic certification system is defined by national and supra-national laws, and certification agencies are accredited and sanctioned by the State.

In 1991 Regulation CEE 2092/91 established laws for organic production and certification at the EU level. As to implement this regulation, the Italian Ministry of Agriculture recognized the first six national control agencies: AIAB, CCPB, Demeter, Suolo e Salute, AMAB, BioAgriCoop, and AgriEcoBio in 1993.

Subsequently, financial incentives were made available in accordance with the new Common Agricultural Policy’s agro-environmental measures, and rapidly organic farming expanded in all regions of Italy (Salvioni 1999; Fonte, Salvioni, 2013).

In 2009, organic producers were more than 43,000, and about 1.1 million hectares (8.7% of cultivated areas), being treated with organic methods (FiBL, 2017).

The story of Italian organic agriculture can be told as the evolution of an innovation niche: the 1970s and early 1980s are the years of the pioneers; a process of 'institutionalization' starts in the 1980s, when local operators formulate alternative rules for production, distribution and consumption; the 1990s are the years of stabilization through institutionalization backed by national- and EU-level regulations (Fonte, Salvioni, 2013).

Organic phenomenon is not free of contradiction and internal conflicts, giving the impression of being closely related to ethics and political concerns. The most acute conflicts in the European organic movement is due to the marketing approach, and to the reconfiguration of relationships with the dominant food retail. As an example, scaling-up of the sector through long-chain and supermarket retailing of organic food divide producers and public: some adherents support supermarkets as instruments for up-scaling of organic agriculture; others underline that supermarket interests and ideology are incompatible with roots and leading principles of organic movements: health, ecology, fairness and care.

1.2.4 Post-organic movements and civic food networks

Now we can talk about political economy of new ethical relationships between producers and consumers, shown in post-organic movement and civic food networks.

Born partly in response to the expansion of industrial food and partly due to the survival of some systems that resisted to conversion, we see emerging new or resurgent forms of production, trade and consumption, latterly conceptualised by academics as 'Alternative Agro-Food Networks' (AAFNs).

In some instances, they refer to encompassing principles such as organic, fair trade or localism (Brunori, 2011), others represent a closer link between producers and consumers, so called 'shortened food chains', promoting initiatives such as farmers' markets or organic delivery schemes (Kneafsey et al., 2008).

Goodman (2003) argues that AAFNs have taken related but divergent directions in North America and Europe, a fact that influences academic research on each continent.

In the international literature, the new grass-roots initiatives were initially perceived as being 'local food networks' because they laid a great deal of emphasis on re-localising the food economy.

Following a sustained critical debate (Hinrichs. 2000 and 2003; Allen et al., 2003; Ilbery, Maye, 2005; Kirwan, 2004; Kloppenburg, Hassanein, 2006; Holloway et al., 2007; Fonte, Papadopoulos, 2010; Goodman et al., 2012), the general feeling now is that they might be better designated as 'civic food networks' (Renting et al., 2012; Furman et al., 2014). The core concern of civic food networks is not so much the quality of the product (local, traditional, typical, endangered food), as the social relations embodied in the product, which should become an expression of food citizenship, food democracy and food sovereignty. The main forms of civic food networks that have emerged in Italy include farmers' markets, urban gardens, the so-called 'social (or welfare) agriculture' (agricoltura sociale), and Solidarity Purchasing Groups (Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale, GAS). Among these, GAS certainly represent the most innovative experience.

The GAS movement emerged from the World Social Forum and anti- or alter-globalization movement milieu. The variety of objectives and organizational forms to some extent reflects the co-existence of different legacies: Community Centres, Fair Trade shops, Catholic spirituality groups, the Scout movement, leftist parties. Social movements around the world are thus promoting new forms of re-embedding economic activities into the food sector, particularly since the financial crisis (Maestripietri, 2017). These include Solidarity Purchasing Groups (SPGs), which over the last 20 years have become more widespread in Italy as alternative food networks have increased in prominence (Graziano, Forno, 2012; Forno, Graziano, 2016).

By establishing direct ties to producers (mainly local farmers), each GAS creates a network of 'consumer-citizens' and 'producer-citizens' that co-produce not only food, but meanings and relations at each point in the food chain. The short food chain and the reconnection between producers and consumers are both essential to this endeavour. The short food chain is not only an organizational expedient serving economic purposes, it is also a means by which self-sustainable local economies can be created and sustained and

the civic values of food democracy and food sovereignty affirmed. In fact, the main difference between SPGs and previously existing purchasing groups is the call to solidarity as a founding principle (Maestriperi, 2018); a solidarity that in principle addresses those who supply products to them. As is empirically demonstrated throughout this paper, this is sustained by several previous contributions from SPGs' opinion-makers (Saroldi, 2001; Valera, 2005; Tavolo per la Rete Italiana di Economia Solidale, 2013; Altraeconomia, 2015).

1.3 CENSUS DATA ON CHANGES IN ITALIAN AGRICULTURE

An element of interest is the pattern of employment in agriculture. ISTAT data show a trend towards reducing the number of employees, even though for about a decade it decreased at a slower pace than the previous period. Therefore, the phase of labour expulsion from agriculture is a process that we can consider almost completed, aimed at make room for a partial stabilization of the employment trend of the sector.

Such stabilization of agricultural employment represents a slowdown in productivity in the sector, at a stage where added value remains stable on the levels around which it has settled over the last twenty-five years. Over the last few years, it could also hide a phenomenon of return to the area by unemployed workers. This would be an area capable of absorbing marginal labour. It should also be remembered how agricultural activity begins to find development spaces linked to forms of complementarity with other activities in the tourism sector (farms, recreational activities) or with energy production chains (biomass, wind power, photovoltaic). These are activities whose importance goes beyond their quantitative dimension. Being able to keep minimum levels of employees in the agricultural sector and collateral activities allows us to preserve areas that would otherwise be abandoned, accelerating the disaster of our territory (CNEL, 2013: 93-94).

In their study on firms and not-firms in Italian agriculture, Arzeni and Sotte (2013) represent the Italian situation of small farms.

Two values are taken as threshold in the economic dimension: 10.000€ per year, that corresponds to 1 year of minimal pension in 2010 (INPS - ISTAT 2012, 10.877€ exactly), and

20.000 corresponding to gross wage for employee (INPS 2012, 20.346€). Farms that don't exceed 10.000€ per year, can hardly be considered firms. They produce almost only for self-consumption or ancillary functions, very seldom they expand or joint other firms to grow. Therefore, such farms are called: under 10.000€ 'farms not-firms', between 10.000 and 20.000 'intermediate firms', and over 20.000 'firms'.

The role of 'not-firms' and 'intermediate firms', although less important for GDP, is very relevant for social, environmental and cultural functions. As a consequence of self-consumerism, they contribute greatly to the wealth of the family, providing healthy and less expensive food, vacation in good environment, occasion of exercise for younger and older people. On the other side, at the market and economic level, the persistence of many small farms makes it more difficult to achieve aggregation of supply, the adoption and spread of standards and norms adaptation, and it drains public resources. In many ways we can compare such land use to the 'back yard' of British tradition, even if, in the British case that land is considered pertinence of the house, while in Italian case it is often registered as an independent farm (Arzeni, Sotte, 2013).

Agriculture Census offers other important information: 'contoterzismo', the work under contract; days of work per year (over or above 50 days); self-consumption (total, over 50%, less than 50%); economic class. A table containing this information is resumed in table n.1.

Farms not-firms are classified as follow:

- Not-firms, production only for self-consumption
- Not-firms, production for prevalent self-consumption
- Not-firms, engagement in small commercial activities.

Intermediate firms are classified as follow:

- Intermediate farms not-firms, which include:
 1. Only for self-consumption
 2. Prevalent self-consumption
 3. Less than 50 working days per year and/or total delegation to contoterzismo (work under contract)
- Intermediate potential firms

Firms over 20.000 euros turnover, are classified as follow:

- De-activated firms, including:
 1. Self-consumption and below 50 working days per year
 2. Prevalent self-consumption and more than 50 working days per year or delegation to at least one culture to an external firm
- Small farm firms, when not belonging to any previous class and turnover is below 100.000 euros
- Big farm firms, when not belonging to any previous class and turnover is over 100.000 euros

Table 1 - Classification of farms : firms and not-firms

Economic dimension	Work-days per year	Self-consumption									
		Total		>50% production		<50% production					
		Contoterzismo									
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no				
<10k euro	<= 50	Not-firms, Only self-consumption		Not-firms, prevalent self-consumption		Not-firms, Commercial activity					
	> 50										
>= 10k to 20k	<= 50	Intermediate firm, Only self-consumption		Intermediate firm, prevalent self-consumption		Intermedi ate firm, low activity	Potential firm				
	> 50										
>= 20 to 100k	<= 50	Not active firm				Partially de-activated firm					
	> 50					Partially de-activated firm		Small firm			
>= 100k	<= 50					Partially de-activated firm				Partially de-activated firm	
	> 50									Big firm	

Source: Arzeni, Sotte, 2013.

In the table n. 2, we have the census data aggregated by class of farms and firms.

In 2010, 67% of farms are below 10.000 € turnover per year: among those farms not-firms, we see a high number of (exclusive or prevalent) self-consumption farms (54,3%), they are 36,4% of the overall farms. Another 30,6% of the total are farms that make a small business with production.

Intermediate firms (turnover between 10 and 20 thousand per year) are 11,1%, and 4,7% of the overall are deactivated.

Firms over 20.000€ are 21,9% of the total, divided between small (13,9%) and big (5,2%), and 2,8% deactivated.

Table 2 - Italian farms by annual turnover

FARMS CLASSIFICATION	FARMS		WORK DAYS		TURNOVER	
	n. (000)	%	Days (000)	%	Bil €	%
Not-firms, only self-consumption	437	26,9	23.341	9,6	824	1,7
Not-firms, prevalent self-consumption	154	9,5	13.199	5,3	560	1,1
Not-firms, commercial activities	495	30,6	35.183	14	1.848	3,7
Intermediate farms not-firm	77	4,7	7.179	2,9	1.064	2,2
Intermediate potential firms	103	6,4	22.003	8,8	1.502	3
De-activated firms	45	2,8	6.287	2,5	2.731	5,5
Small farm firms	226	13,9	77.605	30,9	10.389	21
Big farm firms	84	5,2	66.009	26,3	30.542	61,8
Total	1.621	100	12.856	100	49.460	100

Source: Arzeni, Sotte, 2013, on ISTAT Agriculture census 2010.

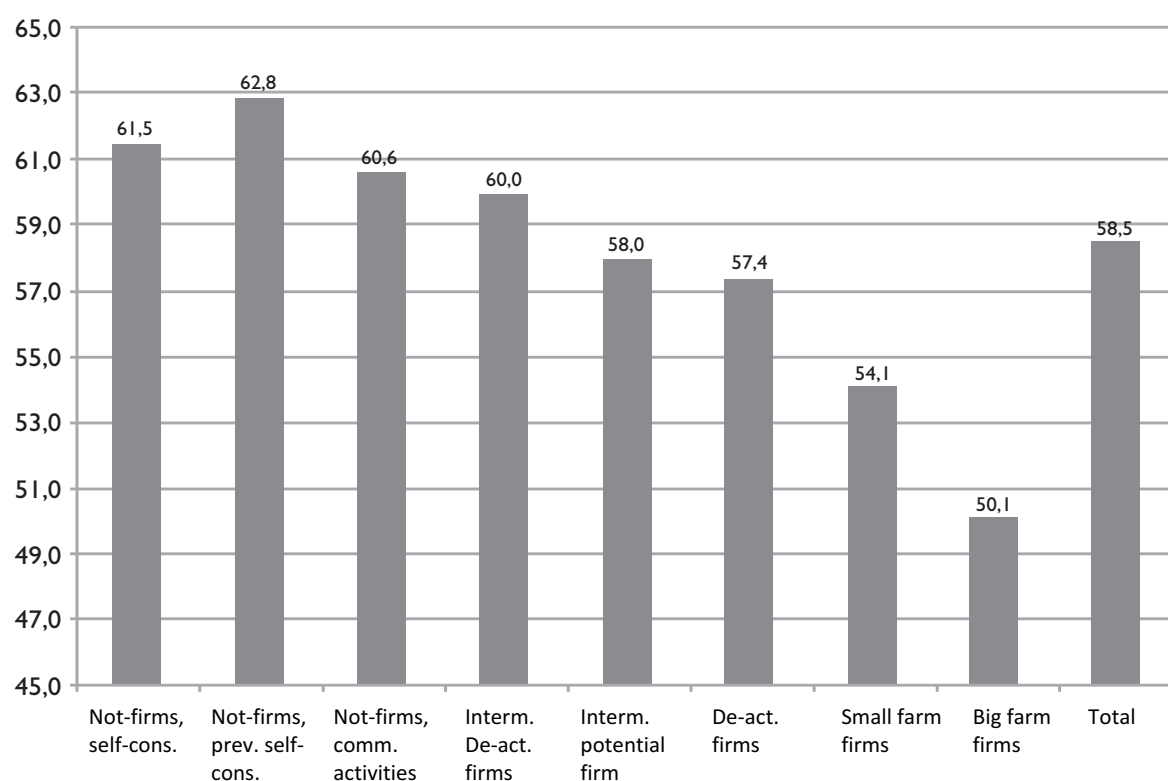
Added up, from the total of 1million 620 thousand farms, only 310 thousand are properly firms, and 100 thousand are potential firms, while the rest are 590 thousand self-

consumers, 495 thousand have very small economic turnover, and almost 112 thousand are deactivated.

As shown in graph n.2, age and level of education are different according to class of farm.

Generational turnover in agriculture is a huge problem in the whole of Europe, especially in Italy and Portugal, where there is the highest ageing index of EU (Sotte et al., 2005). For farms not-firms the issue is more concentrated (owners above 60-year-old), but less relevant in terms of business impact. Small firms have an average of 54-year-old owners, and big firms of 51-year-old owners, which is almost in line with the average age of business owners in Italy.

Graph 2 - Owners' age on average in Italian agriculture



Source: Arzeni, Sotte, 2013, on ISTAT Agriculture census 2010.

1.4 INNER AREAS IN EXAMINING NEO-RURALITY

1.4.1 Inner areas approach

Tradition of local governance studies focused on central areas, hi-tech districts, city-regions, overlooking the role of less industrialized areas, that actually represent two third of Italy. The Italian government's study on marginal and central areas contributed greatly to designing the country's territory and future policies. This new analytical perspective inspired me to reflect on the development opportunities for inner areas.

Geographic maps don't give an exhaustive explanation of the peripheral condition of these areas, while the same morphological condition of soil (whether mountains, hills or coasts) can similarly prelude a more marginal or connected area. Therefore, the fieldwork research seeks to highlight processes of growth in inner areas that are connected to social and economic dimensions.

The delimitation of inner areas in Campania comes as the result of crossing maps developed by DPS (Department for Development and Economic Cohesion) of the Italian Presidency of the Council of Ministers, by PTR (Regional Territorial Planning – Regional Law 13 /2008) and by STS (Territorial Development Systems – Regional Deliberation 320/2012), united to marginalisation indicators defined by DPS ².

The areas resulting from the sum of intermediate areas, peripheral areas and ultra-peripheral areas, make up for 53 per cent of the Italian municipalities (4,261). They host 23 per cent of the Italian population, according to the latest census, equal to more than 13 million inhabitants in over 60 per cent of the territory.

A map categorized all municipalities according to their degree of remoteness from services, a criterion that the debate on Foundational Economy indicates as key factor of spatial (in)justice. The emerging picture offers a polycentric connotation of the Italian territory. The geography of the inner peripheries includes some mountain areas, some

² Marginalisation is defined depending on the distance from the nearest Service Provision Centre able to provide: secondary education services; at least one grade-1 emergency care hospital (DEA); and at least one 'regional category' railway station.

coastal areas, some hilly and lowland areas, but provides no conclusive evidence to establish correlations between morphological conditions and degree of remoteness.

1.4.2 Inner areas and service centres

The Italian Ministry of Economic Development is running a study about 'Inner areas', an important share of territory. Quoting from the main page of the government website:

Inner areas represent three-fifth of territory and less than a quarter of the population. On one hand these lands are far from agglomerated centres and from services poles, on the other they provide useful resources for the rest of the country, as well as water, food, landscapes and culture.

(DPS, 2011)

Inner areas are defined based on examination of the Italian urban territory: an Italian characteristic is the composition of cities and network of municipalities that supply services to peripheries. The greater part of the Italian territory is characterized by small towns and villages which often have restricted access to essential services. We define these territories 'Inner areas', that is, areas which are far away from large and medium-sized urban centres, and from their associated infrastructure.

The definition of inner areas originates from three main hypotheses, described as follow:

- 1) Italian configuration is characteristic because of its composition, made by a dense network of cities ('attraction poles' or centres), providing a wide range of essential services useful for a widespread distributed population.
- 2) Territorial marginality influences quality of life and social inclusion
- 3) Functional relations between attraction poles and peripheries can vary across the Country.

Marginality in itself does not equal to weakness. Marginal position in property can sometimes be quite powerful because of the social and political context (we can think of situated cultural traits and traditions, as well as advantages in defence in past war periods).

Moreover, label of marginality only refers to the three indicators in name (education and health services, train transports). On one side we consider distance from basic services as a shortcoming, on the other we see that marginality becomes a strength, in terms of environmental preservation, exploitable also for economic purposes (e.g. tourism).

Such areas found their attractive potential on naturalistic aspects, for their flora and fauna specificity, as protected areas. Moreover, local communities' old traditions are a powerful appeal for people in search of authenticity and simple/non-urban life.

Areas have been mapped according to the distance (travel-time) from these 'Service Centres' as:

- Belt areas – up to 20 minutes far from the centres;
- Intermediate areas – from 20 to 40 minutes;
- Remote areas – from 40 to 75 minutes;
- Ultra-remote areas – over 75 minutes far.

'Service centres' are defined as municipalities, or cities aggregation, providing three main services: education up to secondary school, health services including 1st level DEA hospitals (first aid), train stations at least 'Silver' level (small-medium plant).

Intermediate, remote and ultra-remote areas are considered inner areas.

1.4.2.1. Service centres

Hubs, also called 'services providers centres', were firstly defined on a population density measure: urban centres with 35.000 or more inhabitants, basing on the implicit assumption that high density population needs a full supply of services. While further analysis revealed the importance of a network of municipalities, cooperating for organizing the supply of services. This second structure is called 'multi-municipality service centre', with around 6.000 inhabitants in total, including towns of 2000 dwellers.

The table n. 3 shows that a wide part of population lies below the media, therefore a simple distinction among cities on a density based approach would not properly describe peculiarities of some regions accurately.

Table 3 - Italian urban population distribution.

Classification of municipalities	N.	%	Average elevation	Population	%	Km ²	%
Single-municipality service center	219	2.71	145	21,223,562	35.7	29,519	9.8
Multi-municipality service center	104	1.29	166	2,466,455	4.1	6,251	2.1
Belt areas	3,508	43.4	215	22,202,203	37.4	81,814	27.1
Intermediate areas	2,377	29.4	395	8,953,282	15.1	89,448	29.6
Remote areas	1,526	18.9	607	3,671,372	6.2	73,256	24.3
Ultra-remote areas	358	4.4	627	916,870	1.5	21,784	7.2
Total	8,092	100.0	358	59,433,744	100.0	302,073	100.0

Source: DPS, 2011. Elaboration on ISTAT-population Census.

A combination of institutional data produced more detailed information, arranged in four indicators: structure, services supply, services demand, social context.

Dimension and density of a town is not correlated with the structure of services, while the discriminative aspects of development are the service supply itself, because Italy is characterized by little and low density urban centres (see table n.4).

Table 4 - Change in population in service centres and inner areas in Italy

Percentage change in population 1971 - 2011								
Region	Single–municipality service center	Multi–municipality service center	Belt Areas	Intermediate Areas	Remote Areas	Ultra remote Areas	Totale	
Piedmont	-18,0	19,3	18,5	-	2,5	-27,6	- 41,0	- 1,5
Valle d'Aosta	- 7,6	-	46,3		7,0	18,1	-	16,2
Lombardy	-17,1	10,3	39,4		8,2	4,5	- 1,4	13,6
Trentino Alto Adige	9,7	-	42,4		24,3	15,9	13,9	22,3
Veneto	- 7,7	31,2	38,6		15,9	11,3	- 33,3	17,8
Friuli Venezia Giulia	-13,7	-	19,4	-	5,0	-35,5	-	0,4
Liguria	-24,9	- 5,8	4,3	-	1,0	-41,4	- 34,3	-15,3
Emilia Romagna	- 0,2	24,5	35,5		14,9	- 8,5	- 52,0	12,4
Tuscany	- 4,3	15,6	24,0	-	1,0	-15,6	6,6	5,7
Umbria	13,3	9,5	32,1		7,9	5,2	-	14,0
Marche	5,9	15,2	37,0	-	2,3	- 7,5	-	14,8
Lazio	- 1,0	36,2	67,7		59,1	11,2	- 27,4	17,3
Abruzzo	6,9	42,5	42,5	-	2,5	-23,9	- 42,8	12,1
Molise	44,8	-	17,1	-	18,3	-34,7	- 46,9	- 1,9
Campania	-10,6	38,3	45,0		3,7	-16,6	10,5	14,0
Apulia	3,1	15,3	26,7		17,0	- 1,5	- 9,5	13,1
Basilicata	25,2	-	57,6		1,9	-10,1	- 22,1	- 4,2
Calabria	2,5	8,6	17,2	-	1,7	-18,2	- 10,6	- 1,5
Sicily	- 2,7	5,6	63,0		7,4	- 8,1	- 21,1	6,9
Sardinia	-10,9	-	81,5		11,3	- 4,5	13,9	11,3
Italy	-6,8	22,7	35,8	11,6	-8,1	-5,3	10,0	
Dps elaboration on Istat data - Population censuses 1971 - 2011								

Dps elaboration on Istat data - Population censuses 1971 - 2011

Source: DPS, 2011. Elaboration on ISTAT data – population censuses 1971-2011.

1.4.2.2. Inner areas

In the table n. 5, two cluster areas are defined by comparing the population and the services based approaches: Poles and Inner areas.

Inner areas can be:

- Inner areas according to both approaches: towns of less than 35.000 inhabitants, far from poles and not providing services.
- Inner areas with respect to the market, supported by public investments, like schools, hospitals and public transports. These areas appear as 'poles' in the approach based on services, and 'inner' with respect to population.
- Inner areas with respect to public support, but not to the market: towns of 35.000 inhabitants but not services provided. These cities appear as 'poles' on population based criteria, and 'inner' on services based criteria.

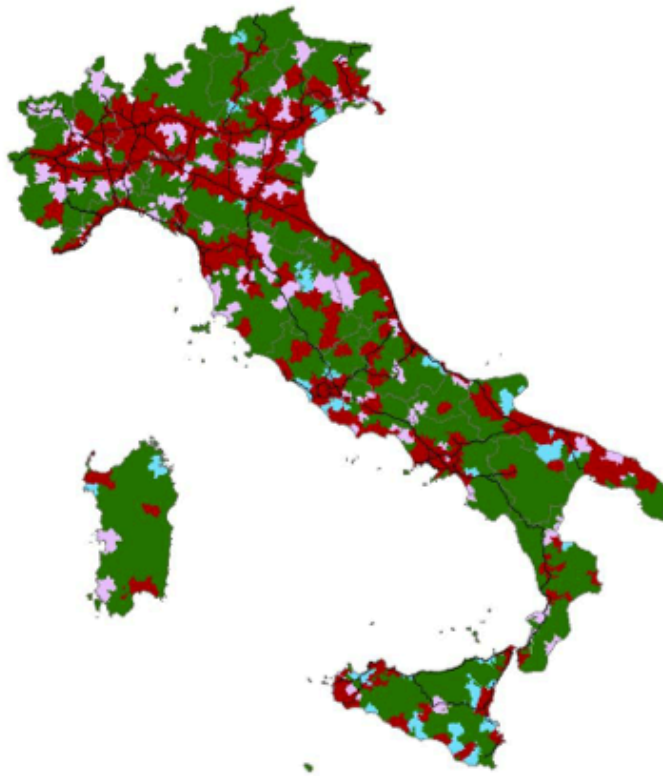
Table 5 - Comparison of two approaches: services and population criteria

Criterion “Service centre”		Criterion “ Population: over 35.000 inhabitants”					
		Centre		Inner area			Total
		Pole	Belt	Intermediate	Periphery	Ultra-periphery	
Centre	Single-municipality	142	31	33	12	1	219
	Multi-municipality	22	53	21	8	-	104
	Belt area	51	2.608	625	188	35	3.507
Inner area	Intermediate area	26	126	1.779	367	78	2.376
	Remote area	4	11	117	1250	146	1.528
	Ultra-remote area	1	2	5	66	248	358
Total		246	2.831	2.580	1.891	544	8.092





Source: DPS, 2011. Elaboration on ISTAT-population Census.

Map n. 1 visually describes the distribution of Poles and Inner areas in Italy, according to the combination of two criteria, service centres (Centre and Inner) and population (Centre and Inner). In green we see the “inner” according to both, and in red the “centre” according to both.

Map 1- Inner Areas as result of services and population cross-maps



Legend:

	Inner areas in both models
	Inner area as service, Centre as population
	Centre as service, inner as population
	Centre in both models

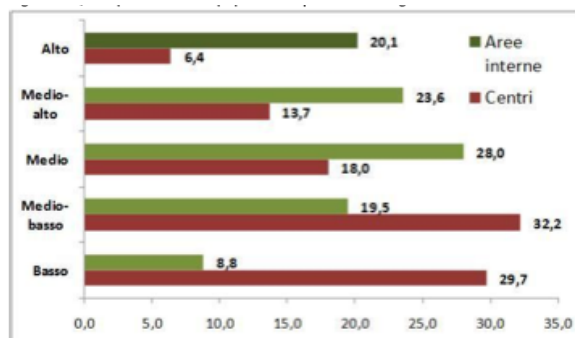
Source: DPS, 2011. Elaboration on ISTAT-population Census.

A further criterion to read the territory is the 'roughness', an index built on Popolus dataset (acronym of Permanent Observation Points for Land Use Statistics), by measuring the altitude of each municipality.

Roughness index is computed on standard deviation of altitudes of points measured for each town, divided in 5 quintiles. Flat lands (low rough) have altitudes close to media, while mountain lands have highest figures.

The graph n. 3 shows the relation between inner areas and roughness index: dwellers in inner areas are distributed in territories of middle and high roughness, whereas poles inhabitants cover a territory of low or middle-low roughness.

Graph 3 - Proportion of population per territory roughness

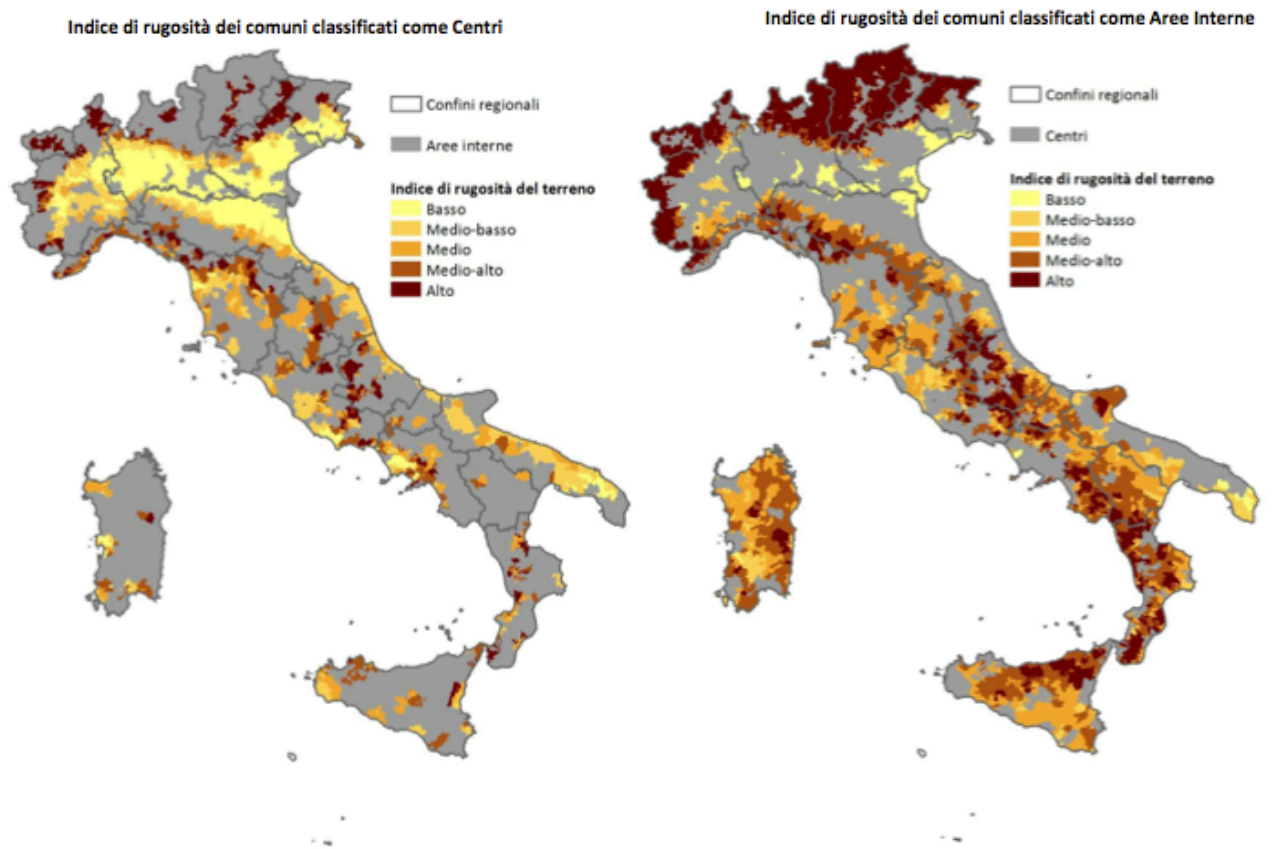


Source: DPS, 2011. Elaboration on ISTAT-population Census.

Drawn on the map n. 2, we see clearly how the roughness of the territory is connected to the marginality of areas. On average, the index of roughness is higher in inner areas, compared to poles, while a low roughness is connected to inner areas in few municipalities (in Po valley and Puglia), and a high roughness is connected to some poles in Apennines and Alps areas.

However, the marginalisation process has not affected all the Inner Areas equally, and in some territories: a) the population has remained unchanged or has increased; b) environmental and cultural resources have undergone valorisation projects; c) forms of inter-municipal cooperation have intervened to ensure some essential services. These factors are also presumably evidence of local communities' aptitude for good government.

Map 2 - Roughness of Central and Inner municipalities



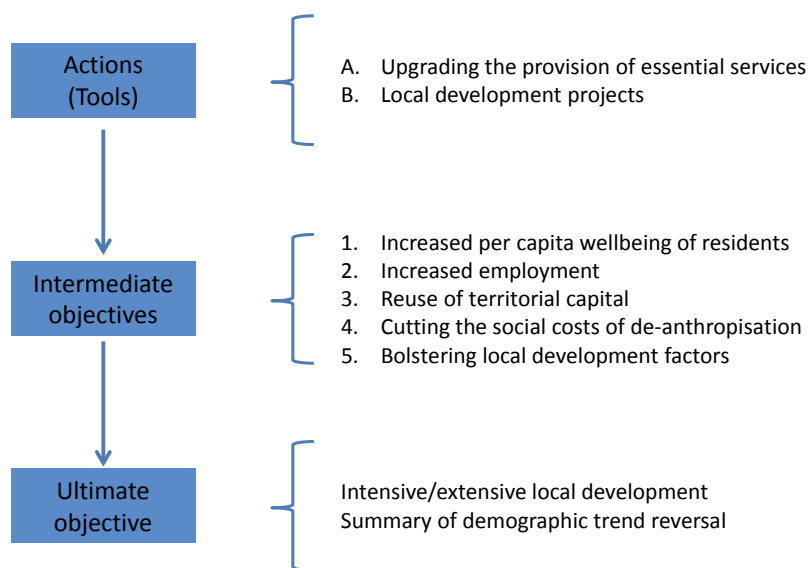
Source: ISTAT elaboration on Populus data, 2009

The mid-term/functional objective of 'local development factors' relates to two particular spheres: the 'market' and 'employment'. 'Market' means the fact that local systems and their main economic actors must be able to compete for consumer demand and investor preferences on a national, European and even global scale. Relaunching Inner Areas naturally means relaunching local systems as production areas, which requires a consolidated demand for locally produced goods and services. Demand is a fundamental development factor, and national and European policies have a decisive role to play in guaranteeing that this is sparked and remains steady (DPS, 2011).

1.4.3 Objectives of the strategy for inner areas

In order to build an economic development strategy for inner areas, the UVAL report (2014) takes as its starting point the ‘unused territorial capital’: the natural, cultural and cognitive capital, the social energy of the local population and potential residents, and production systems (agricultural, tourist and manufacturing). In fact, the territorial capital of the inner areas is currently largely unused as a result of the de-anthropisation process and it is considered as a measure of development potential in a local development strategy. In this sense, local development policies are policies for activating latent local capital (see graph n. 4).

Graph 4 - Strategy for inner areas



Source: UVAL, 2014

From a national perspective, the potential inherent in Inner Areas represents an ‘economic development potential’. A demographic and territorial examination of the great swathe of Inner Areas immediately shows how consistent their overall development potential is, and therefore how important their contribution to stabilising the trajectory of national economic development is.

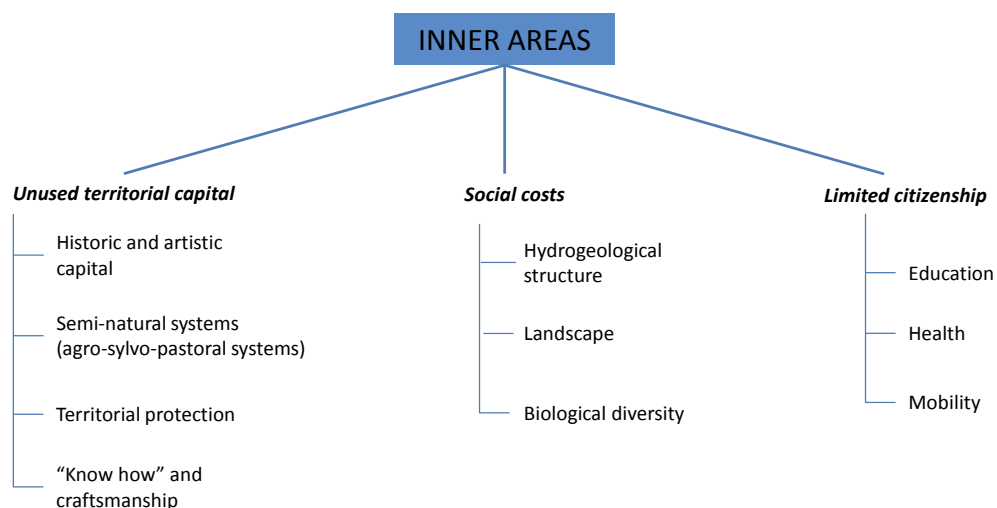
Briefly, the strategy has 5 mid-term objectives:

1. increasing the wellbeing of local populations;
2. increasing local labour demand (and employment);
3. increasing the use of territorial capital;
4. lowering the social costs of de-anthropisation;
5. bolstering local development factors.

These objectives are all interdependent and contribute to define both intensive and extensive development and demographic recovery in inner areas. Intensive development refers to all those changes that improve the per capita wellbeing of residents in inner areas, leaving production capacity unchanged; extensive development refers to all those changes that, as well as improving the per capita wellbeing of residents in inner areas, trigger an increased level of production capacities.

The graph n. 5 shows three characteristics of inner areas split into subsections. This is both necessary and general, but extendable according to the specificities of each single territory.

Graph 5 - Three inner areas characteristics



Source: UVAL, 2014

1.4.4 Agro-food system in inner areas

In Italy agriculture is practiced over 40% of national territory, the agricultural sector is among the most imposing activity on the environment. Organisations that deal with environmental issues consider agriculture as cognitive priorities in order to interpret past and present effects and to outline future scenarios. Among the various European regulations, farmers willing to join agro-environmental schemes must meet with basic requirement of good agricultural practices (BPA, buone pratiche agricole). Aid resulting from this scheme is intended to offset the loss of income of farmers who opt for the most environmentally friendly techniques.

The UVAL report (2014) states that inner areas have an important asset in their excellent area-specific agricultural production, linked to a thriving market.

Local food and territorial markets become resources for tourism and environment, allowing the increase of awareness for the territory and new forms of agro-food system:

Foodstuffs from these areas thus become cultural assets and part of the local identity. This has informed the development of local markets and other financial activities, bolstering links with extra-local markets and with consumers in national and foreign urban areas. The combined effect has seen local economic and social operators taking on greater responsibility for managing natural and environmental resources, being resources common to several different activities (agriculture, tourism, trade etc.). This awareness has bolstered the mobilisation and the protection of local resources, especially those connected with the agricultural and agro-food systems. (UVAL, 2014:44)

Awareness for food production and valorisation of produce tradition is one of the key of inner areas development.

Features of this process are the direct relationship between producer and consumer, either in markets or online sales or purchase group, which have “enabled producers to recoup part of the loss of income caused by the falling prices and changing tastes dictated by the financial and economic crisis, and to take products which used to be limited to local

markets or distributed via large-scale organisation to new, more promising market segments”.

The Italian National Strategic Plan (PSN, Piano Strategico Nazionale) introduces an integrated design of investment access modalities with the aim of ensuring more effective planning, management and implementation of new rural development policy interventions (Zumpano, 2007).

The respective District and/or Chain Plans (Piano di Distretto o di Filiera) are drawn up to solve the issues reported in a participatory way by the affiliated partners, under regional recognition of the Rural District, Quality and/or Chain Food Industry (Distretto Rurale, Agroalimentare di Qualità e/o di Filiera), according to art. 13 of Legislative Decree n. 228/2001.

a) Rural Districts

Rural Districts are territorial economic systems characterized by a homogeneous historical and territorial identity, deriving from the integration of agricultural activities and other local activities, as well as the production of goods and services of particular peculiarities, consistent with traditions and natural and territorial vocations (see map n. 3).

They are subjects to territorial ‘governance’ on which territorial planning can be based over time, a reference point for local social and economic development policies that can capture and intercept all available resources, both within and outside the territory (regional, national and European) and to which the various actors of the territory participate: public bodies, carriers of collective interest, associations of various kinds, etc.

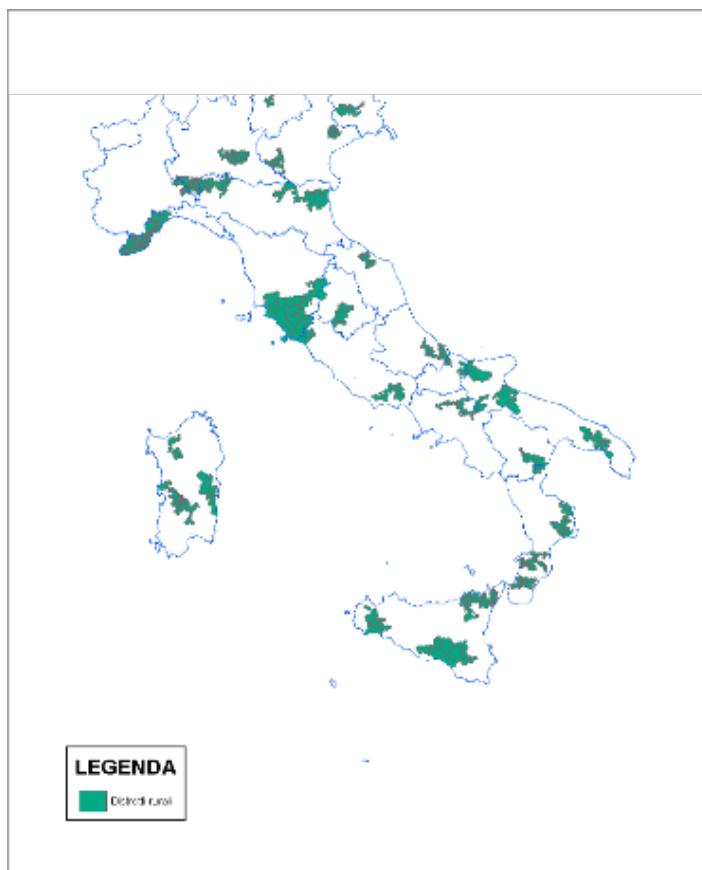
Specifically, a Rural District is a territorial system consisting of agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises and public bodies and associations able to interact with each other by implementing a district policy of productive diversification, economic, social and cohesion integration with respect to conservation and reproduction of natural equilibrium and capable of promoting a total territorial quality, with adequate living for the residents, promoting a pole of attraction for other businesses and individuals.

According to the Legislative Decree n. 228/2001, a Rural District is a “local production system characterized by a homogeneous historical and territorial identity, resulting from

the integration of agricultural activities and other local activities, as well as the production of typical goods or services, consistent with traditions and natural vocations and territorial”.

The Quality Agro-Food District, as reported in Legislative Decree n. 228/2001, is where “local production systems, including interregional ones, are characterized by significant economic presence and interrelationships and productive interdependencies of agricultural and agro-food businesses, one or more certified and protected products under current legislation, community or national legislation, or traditional or typical productions”.

Map 3 - Rural districts



Source: Unioncamere, 2009.

b) Rural chain

The term filieré (Chain) originates in the course of the '70s in the context of French economic literature. It derives from the need to identify a new approach to analysis that

will the overcome sector's study limits, bringing into focus an intermediate survey unit between the production process and the economic system (Fanfani, Montresor, 1994). Since then, its application has increasingly influenced a growing number of study areas. In general, the term supply chain is linked to the concept of chain and economic circuit, an orderly succession of production phases that leads to the realization of each property (Scarano, 1989). According to some (Arena, Rainelli, Torre, 1985), from a general theoretical point of view, the chain can be defined as "the set of stages separating a raw material or semi-processed product from a finished product, the latter being the subject of intermediate or final consumption".

Surveys on the chain have been an extremely useful approach for the analysis of the peculiarities of agribusiness. The assumption of this approach leads to a deepening of a number of aspects related to formation mechanisms of the food product's final value, the functioning of the distribution channels and the amount of flows in value and quantities circulating between the different stages. The focus on a chain of relations places greater emphasis on relations between operators and institutions, it implies policies that do not neglect intangible interventions aimed at increasing the capital of the agro-food industry. The Rural National Network (Rete Rurale Nazionale, 2007-2013) proposes an operational definition of the concept of a chain that, by combining technical and relational aspects, allows us to define the scope of application of integrated interventions: "The agro-food chain is the set of activities contributing to the production, distribution, marketing and supply of an agro-food product strictly interconnected by the dense network of relationships established between economic, social and institutional operators".

Chain districts, as stated in Legislative Decree No. 228/2001, are "highly specialized production systems, characterized by a strong integration of supply chains and significant representativeness in economic terms at sectoral and regional level".

The implementation of the Integrated Chain Design can therefore provide a decisive contribution to the improvement of the competitive conditions of important Italian sub-sectors. The Integrated Chain Design can, in fact, contribute to:

- promoting and consolidate the integrated approach;
- encouraging and strengthening partnership practices;
- improving the supply of local collective goods;

- consolidating networks by contributing to creating social capital;
- ensuring greater equity;
- improving the quality of work in the agro-food sector.

CHAPTER 2. THEORIES: RURAL SOCIAL INNOVATION, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MARKETS

2.1 THEORY 1. RURAL SOCIAL INNOVATION

2.1.1 Social Innovation and Rurality

The first strand of innovation studies dates back to the work of Josef Schumpeter, who is often seen as the founder of modern innovation theory and the evolutionary view of economics (Schumpeter, 1911). He studied the role of entrepreneurs in economic processes and postulated that entrepreneurship and innovation drive economic development. He defined innovation, broadly, as a discontinuously occurring implementation of new combinations of the means of production, and included five types of innovation:

- 1) the introduction of a new good or of a new quality of a good;
- 2) the introduction of an improved or better method of production;
- 3) opening of a new market;
- 4) the conquest of a new source of supply of raw materials or half- manufactured goods;
- 5) carrying out of a better organizational model.

Attention was given to the diffusion processes of how innovations spread across the economic system and are adopted by other companies. Such systemic innovation models include the cluster model (Schumpeter, 1911; Porter, 1998) which focuses on rivalry between clustered companies, and industrial districts (Marshall, 1920; Harrison, 1992), , focused on collaboration. More recently, collective learning processes are put into focus and the role of partnerships, institutional environments and socio-cultural conditions are emphasised (Camagni, 1995; Cooke, Morgan, 1994; Asheim, Cooke, 1999). Researchers postulate that innovative regions or creative milieus have to be supported by business, social and political networks. The important role of social factors and interaction has been described for regional innovation processes or innovation systems. While the triple helix model of innovation (Etzkowitz, Leydesdorff, 2000) postulated three major actor groups (research, industry and government), newer studies opened this up to further social groups or spheres. Leydesdorff (2012) argues for a potential N-tuple of helices corresponding to our society's specialised functionalities. The authors of the quintuple helix innovation model argue for a media-based and culture-based public and civil society as the fourth helix, and the natural environment of society as the fifth (Carayannis, Campbell, 2010). The quadruple helix represents our knowledge society but the quintuple helix recognises the need for a socio-ecological transition and makes the innovation model ecologically sensitive. In the quintuple helix model, the helices are seen as innovation drivers rather than societal actors (Carayannis, Campbell, 2010).

Social Innovation (SI) is not specifically mentioned in literature on regional development, but in the more nuanced models it is trust, informal ties and untraded interdependencies between actors which are seen as key factors determining positive differentials in economic performance.

Mackinnon et al. (2002) note that work in economic sociology on embeddedness (Granovetter, 1985) has directed attention towards the importance of locally specific social and institutional factors in shaping economic development, particularly in terms of supporting innovation and entrepreneurship through the development of collaboration and trust between firms and organizations (Camagni, 1995), deepening the understanding as to how collaboration amongst economic actors can enhance development potentials.

Emergent novel 'webs' in the rural (mostly agro-food) sector are seen as a consequence of the interactions of markets, novelty production, the governance of markets, new

institutional developments, co-production of sustainability and social capital (Kanemasu et al., 2008). The term SI is not used, but many such activities in endogenous development can be seen to be underpinned by SI. These different domains are seen as interacting in different ways, and with varying importance in different places, as evidenced to deliver enhanced development outcomes. Local agency is almost always seen as a crucial force.

Some of the rural sociology literature (e.g. Van der Ploeg, Marsden, 2008) acknowledges the contribution of actor network theory (Callon, 1986). Callon notes how changes (considered as innovation) can arise through socio-technical moments of translation. Its emphasis on networks and interactions between actors and technologies, coupled with its strong focus on predisposing factors to moments of translation (i.e. changes in how networks adapt and evolve) connects strongly to an idea of innovation as something beyond purely technical change, mediated by social and economic forces.

The endogenous and neo-endogenous literatures on rural development are underpinned by the recognition that innovation is less about a diffusion curve or SI spiral and more about how social and technical systems can co-evolve to make more effective the use of territorially specific assets and local knowledge, albeit increasingly in the context of markets that often transcend the immediate locality. Enhanced mobility and, in particular, tourism have opened up remote areas where distinctive cultures (of food, buildings, land uses) create a distinctive tourism offer, the provision of which is contingent on building local capacities to respond to the opportunities.

2.1.2 Rural Social Innovation

Academic interest in the critiques of the negative impacts of the agro-food business economy, and on the Alternative Agro-food Movements (AAMs) embraces farmers' markets (Trobe, 2011), community supported agriculture (Brown, Miller, 2008), food security (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2009), food sovereignty (Desmarais, Wiebe, 2010), AAFNs (Higgins et al., 2008), local food (Starr, 2010).

Food movements address issues that are core for social and media consensus, for instances health, environment, quality of life (Goodman, 1999), as well as also social justice and fair trade (Elzen et al., 2010), and become key players in definition of new markets

places (Friedmann, 2005) blurring the distinction between public sphere and private sphere (Tormey, 2007), influencing citizenship action for transformation of consumption behaviours into political action (Goodman, DuPuis, 2002).

Exponents of neo-rural economy, as part of AAMs, have promoted participation in alternative infrastructures contrasting the conventional market system, developing specific organisational forms, negotiating new forms of collaborative economy (Kostakis, Bauwens, 2014).

As said by Barbera and Parisi (2016), with reference to the theme of the Foundational Economy, social innovation indicates those experiences that increase the ability of individuals to achieve variable combinations of elementary functions (such as enjoying good health, access to food, living, working), and complex functions (such as taking part in community life, increasing self-esteem and planning). In the perspective of foundational economy, social innovation is important in enhancing processes that people develop in everyday life. Specific attention goes to the analysis of the regulatory frameworks of productive sectors of goods and services needed in the daily lives, everyone has - or should have – access to: e.g. transport, energy, food, education, social services and health.

In public opinion and in both US and European literatures (DuPuis, Goodman, 2005) globalization of agro-food system is conceived as the expression of the logic of capitalism in production and consumption of food, whereas localism is represented as the resistance place where food is embedded in local context. Such dualistic perspective does not explain the complexity of the relation between the two. Furthermore, the boundaries between local and global system are blurred, since some alternative movements are becoming conventionalized and co-opted (Friedland, 2008).

We have acknowledged that differences between ‘local’ and ‘global’ are dispersed along a local–global continuum, and that in real life local and global do not always belong to separate settings or domains (Brunori et al., 2016: 17).

2.1.2.1 Three issues

According to Bock (2012), the main interpretations of social innovation may be categorised in three issues: social mechanisms of innovations, social responsibility of innovations, and innovation of society.

1. The social mechanisms of innovations: Innovations are socially, culturally and territorially embedded (Fløysand, Jacobsen, 2011). A new (systemic) analytical framework is developed – the multi-level perspective on socio-technical transition (MLP) – that explains why, how and where innovations may occur and lead to wider transitions, what preconditions innovation and how such a process may be fostered by innovation policy, for instance by offering room for social learning, cross-sector collaboration and experimentation (Smith et al., 2010; Moors et al., 2004).

2. The social responsibility of innovations, including the effect of innovation on society: Socially responsible innovation calls upon businesses to invest in society and to come up with socially relevant innovations, as part of their corporate responsibility for ‘people and the planet’ and not only ‘profit’ (Phills et al., 2008).

Some theorists argue that the process of innovation has to change as well (Geels, Schot, 2007). Social innovation requires new – social – methods of innovation, characterised by processes of co-design or co-construction and collaboration with society.

3. The innovation of society: All innovations are social as well as technical, and require social learning. It is a prerequisite for solving pertinent problems such as discrimination, poverty or pollution (Gibson-Graham, Roelvink, 2009) regarding the socio-economic system and seeking to meet unmet public needs, creating public value where markets and common socio-economic policies have failed (Phills et al., 2008). Social innovation, hence, refers to society as the arena where change takes place, as well as to the need for society to change. Learning is no longer structured as a linear transfer of knowledge from teacher to student, but becomes a shared, social and circular process, in which the combination of

different sources and types of knowledge creates something new (Oreszczyn et al., 2010; Stuiver et al., 2004).

2.1.3 Limits of Social Innovation

Besides being a very core phenomenon currently, Social Innovation is a critic concept, it is both one of most common and unclear concepts nowadays.

It is intended as a buzzword, a fuzzy word, often with normative implications. Its application varies from working conditions and education to community development and health, and any possible field of public life. It has also been applied to rurality:

Social innovation is often appointed as an essential part of agricultural and rural innovation. Everybody seems to agree that social innovation is important but what exactly is meant by the term remains often unclear. (...) Its fuzziness contributes to its discursive power in discussions about agricultural politics and the significance of sustainability, but also hides the valued-loadedness of social innovation (Bock, 2012:1).

A common trait of confusion made on social innovation is to address it as a functional reaction to market failure and/or state failure, and to positively acclaim its effect as an answer to 'collective needs'. The literature on social innovation supports, more or less clearly, a holistic approach to social change which masks the function of social innovators and minimizes the one of social structure (Cajaba-Santana, 2014).

As explained in Barbera (2017), main criticisms to Social Innovation as a theoretical tool can be summarised as:

1) Analytical obscurity: social innovation as an engine of change rooted in social collaboration and social learning, the response to unmet social needs as desirable outcome. The process is generally referred to as a black-box of undifferentiated yet beneficial processes and outcomes.

2) Holistic approach: social innovation is defined as new ideas, products, services, models, that meet social needs and enhances society's capacity to act. It is taken as whole unit of analysis and is assumed to be internally homogeneous.

3) Controversial concept: there are supports and opponents. Advocates praise the public initiative for renaissance and cooperation; critics argue the shift down from public towards private responsibility.

Such limits seem to bind the Social Innovation to political settings and exclude it from social science floors.

But the limits are often a problem of perspective, we can switch from a Social Innovation normative definition, where the phenomenon is taken as a whole, to a focus on agents. In order to overcome pointed out problems, the following points are indicated (see Barbera, 2017):

- 1) Agents and their interactions are units of analysis.
- 2) Action and interaction based paradigm: variability is treated as occurring essentially within wholes, not just between them (e.g. social innovators makes the difference).
- 3) Individuals have different resources, aims and strategies.
- 4) Wholes are assumed to be internally heterogeneous.
- 5) Social innovation is the result of patterned interaction among different agents.

Innovation is an analytical tool for looking at social change, using words of actors, according to pragmatic approach (Boltanski, 2004).

Despite obscurity and darkness, SI is an analytically relevant topic, in terms of new kinds of production and exchange markets where profit and non- profit fields interact; in the perspective of agents, social innovators operate across boundaries (profit – non-profit job careers) and new organizational profiles and new logics of value (quality conventions) are emerging as well.

2.1.4 To sum up and step forward

Social innovation is about how social and technical systems can co-evolve to make more effective the use of territorially specific assets, social resources and local knowledge; it is a strategic viewpoint to study social change and the shifting boundaries among economy-society-politics.

Study on Rural Social Innovation recalls a focus on social capital and sociology of markets to understand the complexity of the neo-rural phenomenon. In facts, some highlighted points are strictly linked among study areas: innovators are socially, culturally and territorially embedded; innovators are embedded in a network of people and communication; forms of production are innovative in the process and in the approach to the land; they are responsive to a market who prefers food quality to maximised production.

In order to develop better analytical tools, next paragraphs are dedicated to social capital and to sociology of markets.

2.2 THEORY 2. SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is often considered to consist of social networks, which are characterised by mutual trust and reciprocity between the actors (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1983; Fukuyama, 2002).

The existence of social capital has been used to explain success in economic development, evolution of communities, growth of entrepreneurship and enhanced socio-economic performance of diverse groups (Christoforou, 2017).

From a theoretical perspective, two main traditions emerge: the Putnamian tradition focused on a conception of social capital connected to the social capital and political participation of individuals, and the Bourdieusian tradition which is centred on power

relations, social inequalities, governance structure, and on the multi-dimensional and contextual aspects of social capital (Christoforou, Lainé, 2014).

These different perspectives on how social capital can realise an opportunity for change requires an examination of the paradox of agency: “as individuals, as social beings, people are both deeply conditioned by, and dependent on, the continuity and stability of the social systems they have invented. Additionally, they are capable of altering these through both conscious and unconscious effort” (Westle, Antadze, 2010).

Social capital explains SI as social processes that emerge from individual and collaborative actions.

2.2.1 What do we care about, when we care about social capital?

Social capital (SC) is a network of resources that sustain our lives. Social capital refers to the many resources available to us in and through personal and business networks. These resources include information, ideas, leads, business opportunities, financial capital, power, emotional support, goodwill, trust, and cooperation.

Its application to business areas is only a small part of its usefulness. Beyond the economic purpose of application, social capital shows its effects in everyday life: it has a direct link to quality of life, purpose and meaning of life.

Psychology and medicine demonstrate that it affects happiness and health (Veenstra, 2000; Yip et al., 2007).

Focusing on the network of people that surround the person and treating them as ‘capital’, instead of appearing to be unethically objectifying a person, it is a pure valorisation of their potential.

Social capital is the by-product, occasionally deliberate and conscious by-product, of the pursuit of meaningful activities. As an example, if you join a group or a club just to ‘network’, people see right through the false front. But if you join an association that meets your interests, and the involvement is genuine, you will form new relationships as a natural side-effect of the participation.

Awareness of social capital is not something easy to detect, and a goal-constructed social capital is something tough to build completely on purpose: intuitively starting a relationship with the only purpose of getting something, will hardly work.

The ethics of social capital requires that we all recognize our moral duty to consciously manage relationships. No one can evade this duty—not managing relationships is managing them. The only choice is how to manage networks of relationships (Baker, 2000: 23).

Another aspect linked to unintentionality is that one cannot preview the whole potentiality of a network, some benefits result from investments in meaningful activities and relationships.

Building networks is a natural manner of participation and involvement in the society, it also enables each of us to contribute to others. Accordingly, there is a moral duty to consciously manage relationships, and to do so in ways that serve others.

2.2.2 Perspectives on social capital

Social capital is a conscious use of embeddedness. Different implications result from putting the accent on the individual or the collective aspects of social capital.

What makes an undefined net of relationships and resources, at an individual and structural level, become a capital? In synthesis, it is use of such relationships and resources for some purpose. Given its valorisation, the net becomes a capital.

This is why social capital has to be intended as goal specific. Resources become a capital due to valorisation and consciousness of personal resources in a context. They are organized on the basis of specific goals. According to personal skills, needs, opportunities, it may change over the time.

To build a definition I review three main authors: J. Coleman, P. Bourdieu, R. Putnam.

2.2.2.1 J. Coleman

Coleman suggested a concept that in the application needs some careful details, dividing the process in two levels: analysing the different parts of social organization, and re-aggregating them in a complex structure (in the so called 'Coleman boat').

Coleman describes SC as productive relatively to contexts and its effects depend on the ability of the actor on its use. Also, it does not have a neutral meaning, its use can lead to positive or negative consequences.

Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is not completely fungible but may be specific to certain activities. A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others. (Coleman, 1988)

Based on rational theory, our actor moves according to social constraints (norms, values, relationships), he is rational and interdependent with others. SC is key for a well-functioning society and economy.

The economic stream, on the other hand, flies in the face of empirical reality: persons' actions are shaped, redirected, constrained by the social context; norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, and social organization are important in the functioning not only of the society but also of the economy, (Coleman 1988: 96).

Coleman proposes a model in which social capital is one of the potential resources that an actor can use, alongside other resources such as their own skills and expertise (human capital), tools (physical capital), or money (economic capital). Remarkably, though, social capital is not essentially 'owned' by the individual but arises instead as a resource that is available to them.

2.2.2.2 P. Bourdieu

A different systematic analysis of social capital was produced by Pierre Bourdieu, who defined the concept as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, 1985: 248).

An important distinction is between the resources themselves and the ability to obtain them, by virtue of membership in certain social structures, as Bourdieu explains. Social capital is not equated to the resources acquired through it, which could lead to tautological statements. Social capital is a kind of potential network, which can serve with different means. Taking two students, A and B, as an example, we say that the first one has social capital because he achieved access to a large tuition loan from his kin, while we cannot say that the second does not have SC just because she failed to get the same loan, ignoring the possibility that B’s kin network is equally or more motivated to come to her aid but might lack the means to do so.

Defining social capital as equivalent with the resources thus obtained is tantamount to saying that the successful succeed. This circularity is more evident in applications of social capital that define it as a property of collectivity (Portes, 1998).

2.2.2.3 R. Putnam

In the view of Putnam, the concept of social capital is wider, studying the effect of society in general on the individual action. There are three constituents: moral obligations and norms, social values (especially trust) and social networks (especially voluntary associations).

In short, Putnam's central concept is that the successful accumulation of social capital in a region turns out to be (or can be recognised as) a well-functioning economic system and a high level of political integration. The decline of social capital in the United States has caused many social problems, a tendency which has prevailed for the last three decades (Putnam, 1993).

Adam Seligman also writes in the same spirit:

The emphasis in modern societies on consensus (is) based on interconnected networks of trust - among citizens, families, voluntary organizations, religious denominations, civic associations, and the like. Similarly, the very 'legitimation' of modern societies is founded on the 'trust' of authority and governments as generalizations (Seligman, 1997:14, in Siisänen, 2000).

It is seen that American communitarianism proponents agree with the abovementioned opinion. Putnam's ideas are, to a large degree, a continuation of a current within the American theory of pluralism. They are also reminiscent of functionalist conceptions of social integration from the 1950s and early 1960s (Siisänen, 2000).

2.2.2.4 A definition of social capital

To formulate a cumulative definition by taking into consideration the main aspects from our authors, social capital will be defined by its functions on the grounds that social networks' value depends on the context and on the individual ability to use it. It is a result of network's resource access; it is a property of collectivity; it is based on general and spread attributes like respect of norms and values, and collective social network.

Social capital, as suggested by Kwon and Adler (2014), can be defined as:

the goodwill available to individuals and groups, where goodwill refers to a kind, helpful, or friendly feeling or attitude. Its effects lie in information, influence, and solidarity benefits that accrue to members of a collectivity ('bonding' social capital) and to actors, whether individual or collective, in their relations to other actors ('bridging' social capital). Its sources lie in the social relations among those actors, and these social relations can be differentiated (notionally) from relations of market exchange and of hierarchical authority.

They argue that the specific features of social relations that give rise to social capital lie in the schema of opportunity, motivation, and ability (OMA): (1) the opportunities provided by the network structure of those relations, (2) the norms and values that constitute the content of those social network ties and give them their motivational force, and (3) the abilities at each of the nodes of this network that can be mobilized by such goodwill.

It results to be an original and heuristic powerful concept.

Especially if we concentrate on two specific features, as indicated in Portes (1998): first, the concept points the attention to the positive effects of sociability, while putting aside its less appealing characteristics. Second, it places those positive effects in the framework of a wider discussion of capital and calls attention to how such nonmonetary forms can be important sources of power and influence, like the size of one's stock holdings or bank account.

Seeing the same effects from the negative side, we turn to the age-old dilemma between community solidarity and individual freedom, as examined by Simmel ([1902] 1964) in his classic essay on 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'. In that study, Simmel recommends the positive consequences of personal autonomy and responsibility. But the dialectic is still open, and some authors are calling for stronger community networks and norms observance, in order to re-establish advantages of closer networks against dark-sides of individualism, and restore social control. This may be appropriate in many occurrences, but the downside of this function of social capital must also be called to mind.

2.2.3 Characteristics of social capital

When an actor detects that some aspects of social structure, based on personal relationships or on formal and informal social organizations, constitute a productive resource, to be considered as a capital or asset, we have social capital.

According to a classification by Bertolini and Bravo (2001) (see table n.6) characteristics of social capital can be aggregated in five categories:

- Relational SC: based on personal links.
- Normative SC: norms and values directing actions.
- Cognitive SC: shared knowledge and information, individual heuristics for answering to reality.
- Environmental reliability: general and shared trust in community.

- Institutions, formal and informal ones: structures or mechanism of social order and behaviour.

We can differentiate social capital in two dimensions and two levels:

- Dimension: It is individual when a single actor is using its own resources for personal purposes, and collective when more people are using it, in the latter case there are personal or collective aims.
- Level: first level, formed of relations, internalized norms and knowledge is more linked to individuals, more flexible according to them. Second level, formed of environmental reliability and institutions, has an effect on a wider mass of people, and has aspects of public goods.

Table 6 - Social capital: dimensions and levels

SOCIAL CAPITAL		DIMENSIONS	
		INDIVIDUAL (micro)	COLLECTIVE (macro)
LEVELS	FIRST	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relational - Normative - Cognitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relational - Normative - Cognitive
	SECOND	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Environmental reliability (macro) - Institutions (macro) 	

Source: Bertolini, Bravo, 2001.

2.2.4 Social network in social capital.

Recently, great interest has grown around the role of social networks in social capital. The benefits of social networks are many. Some say that social networks can facilitate access to information, resources, and opportunities (Granovetter 1974; Lin et al. 1981;

Campbell et al. 1986; Flap, de Graaf 1986; Coleman 1990; Burt 1992, 1997; Podolny and Baron 1997), others suggest that networks can help actors to manage critical task interdependencies and to overcome the problems of cooperation and collective action (Blau 1955; Pfeffer, Salancik 1978; Kotter 1982; Gargiulo 1993; Gulati 1995a; Walker et al. 1997; Gulati, Gargiulo 1999). But the structure that leads to such rewards is controversial. More precisely, the disagreement concerns the outcomes of cohesive networks on individual action, that is the case of networks where most of the person's ties are strongly linked to him as well as to one another, and structural holes, meaning gaps between social circles linked to one person.

2.2.4.1 Network closure and structural holes

Network closure and structural hole theory are two approaches with common notion: reciprocity is the mechanism that turns interactions into the resources that define social capital (Coleman, 1990; Burt, 1992) and cohesive ties are amplifiers of reciprocity. The difference is on their evaluation of the outcomes of intensified reciprocity on social action. In terms of closure theory, the amplification effect is crucial to secure the normative environment and trust that foster cooperation (Coleman, 1990). In structural hole theory the same effect is intended as 'structural arthritis' (Burt, 1999), intended as a feature that makes it tougher to manage multifaceted markets and organizational tasks.

An example reported by Gargiulo and Benassi (2000) tells the situation where DPI managers had to renew the composition of networks, as needed by an important change in the interdependencies that formed their task environment, and a lack of structural holes in managers' communication networks made it hard to accomplish. Since the restoration of the managers' networks was resultant for the cooperation attained in the project teams, their results imply that, viewed along time, a cohesive network may finally damage a manager's power to enter and to foster new cooperative relationships connecting people outside that network.

2.2.4.2 Strengths of strong ties

An examination of the origins of the constraining relationships, responsible for the lack of structural holes in the managers' networks, revealed that those relationships typically corresponded to ties forged through years of working together in the same organizational units. This last finding confirms some well-known ideas about the origin of strong relationships. Granovetter (1973: 1361) has pointed out that the strength of a tie "is a combination (probably linear) of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the (mutual confiding) intimacy, and the reciprocal services that characterize the tie". Looking at the origin of ties, Feld (1981) stressed joint participation in similar organizational contexts as one of the main sources of relationships. Common organizational history puts people in contact with one another, prompts the exchange of advice and services, and allows repeated exchanges that are the basis for a strong relationship. Such ties take place with common third parties, which further amplify the intensity of the existing relationships (Burt, Knez, 1995) and make them resilient to external pressures that could affect their stability.

Another noteworthy early effort was by Nan Lin, Walter Ensel, and John C. Vaughn (1981), "Social Resources and Strength of Ties". This alternative stance which, in contrast to Granovetter and Burt, may be labelled 'the strength of strong ties' is also evident in other areas of the social networks and mobility literature. One of the most noteworthy is the study of immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship, in which networks, and the social capital that flows through them, are consistently identified as a key resource for the creation of small businesses.

Light (1984), for example, has emphasized the importance of rotating credit associations (RCAs) for the capitalization of Asian immigrant firms in the United States. RCAs are informal groups that meet periodically, with every member contributing a set amount to a common pool that is received by each in turn. Social capital in this case comes from the trust that each participant has in the continuing contribution of others even after they receive the pooled funds. Without such trust, no one would contribute and each would be deprived of this effective means to gain access to finance (Light, 1984; Light, Bonacich, 1988).

The role of social networks is equally important in studies of ethnic business enclaves and ethnic niches. Enclaves are dense concentrations of immigrant or ethnic firms that employ a significant proportion of their co-ethnic labour force and develop a distinctive physical presence in urban space. Studies of New York's Chinatown (Zhou, 1992), of Miami's Little Havana (Portes, 1987; Portes, Stepick, 1993; Perez, 1992), and of Los Angeles' Koreatown (Light, Bonacich, 1988; Nee et al., 1994) consistently highlight the role of community networks as a source of vital resources for these ethnic firms. Such resources include but are not limited to start-up capital; others are tips about business opportunities, access to markets, and a pliant and disciplined labour force.

2.2.4.3 Parental help and kin support

The influence of Coleman's writings is also clear in the second function of social capital, namely as a source of parental and kin support. An example is Hao's (1994) analysis of kin support and out of wedlock motherhood. Like financial capital, social capital influences transfers made by parents to daughters and behavioural outcomes such as teen pregnancy, educational attainment, and labour force participation. Social capital is greater in two-parents' families, those with fewer children, and those where parents have higher aspirations for their young. These conditions foster greater parental attention, more hours spent with children, and the emergence of an achievement orientation among adolescents. The primary beneficiaries of this resource are, of course, the children whose education and personality development are enriched accordingly.

2.2.4.4 Weakness of strong ties

The current debate suggests that networks rich in structural holes may provide the information necessary to find out about new opportunities, but they may hinder the emergence and the enforcement of the norms that can secure cooperative behaviour and protect individuals against the risk of defection (e.g., Podolny, Baron, 1997). Network

closure is thus viewed as essential to obtain the support and the cooperation necessary to take advantage of the opportunities accessible to individuals through their sparse ties. Yet, the very strength of the normative environment prompted by a cohesive network may eventually have detrimental effects on cooperation, since it may curtail the autonomy to develop the social ties that are necessary to initiate and to sustain cooperation beyond the boundaries of the existing networks.

As Uzzi (1997) has recently suggested in his discussion of the paradox of embeddedness, actors may have to define an optimal balance between safety and adaptability.

The 'optimal' balance between safety and flexibility, however, may be contingent on the conditions under which cooperation must take place. All things being equal, one would expect that actors would favour safety in situations where the risk of opportunism and the cost of malfeasance is high. Research on the formation of inter-organizational alliances suggests indeed that in such situations organizations have a clear preference to form embedded ties (Gulati, Gargiulo, 1999), which may result in network closure.

The right balance between safety and flexibility may also depend on the stage of the managerial career. Existing researches suggest that the relationship between network structure and managerial performance may be contingent in the particular situation of the manager. Managers at the early stages of their careers may need to obtain decisive informal sponsorship to become legitimate players (Burt, 1992) or to assert their identity in the organization (Podolny, Baron, 1997), both of which may be facilitated by participation in a cohesive network.

According to Gargiulo and Benassi (2000) scholars should fully assume the existence of a trade-off that is inherent to the dynamic of social structures and investigate how successful individuals and organizations actually deal with that trade-off.

2.2.4.5 Social control, family support and extra-family networks

Portes (1998: 9) indicates three basic functions of social capital: (a) as a source of social control; (b) as a source of family support; (c) as a source of benefits through extra-familial networks. Uses and functions of social capital have to be kept distinct, both to avoid misperception and to enable examining their interrelationships.

It is possible, for example, that social capital in the form of social control may clash with the form of network-mediated benefits if the latter involves just the facility to avoid existing norms. The competence of authorities to impose rules (social control) can thus be threatened by the presence of close networks whose purpose is precisely to enable violation of those rules for private advantage. Such paradoxical consequences point to the need of a deeper look at the concrete and latent gainers and losers in connections mediated by social capital.

We will take some examples from literature to explain how social capital can have different outcomes.

Recalling abovementioned works about segregation, ghettos, and ethnic groups, to the extreme, in ethnic niches a group is able to colonize a specific segment of employment in a manner that their members are advantaged in entering to new job opportunities, and outsiders are underprivileged. Members find jobs for others, teach them the required skills, and supervise their performance. The power of network chains is such that entry-level openings are normally occupied by calling relatives and friends in distant foreign localities rather than by nominating other available local workers (Sassen, 1995).

The contrary of this condition is the lack of social relations, or their truncated character, in some disadvantaged communities. As we said before, and various publications show (see Stack 1974 “All Our Kin”), everyday survival in deprived suburban communities commonly depends on close collaboration with kinfolks and friends in analogous situations. A problem often encountered is that kinship’s ties rarely expand outside the inner city, thus depriving dwellers of sources of information about job chances and systems to reach them.

In Portes’s words, it is that immigrant and segregated families counterbalance the lack of the third form of social capital —outside networks— with a bigger effort on social capital in the form of familial support, including safeguarding of the cultural beliefs and customs of their home country.

2.2.5 The dark side of social capital

Going deeper into considerations of the downside of social capital, following Portes (1998) we see that his latest analyses have recognised at least four negative effects of social capital: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedom, and downward levelling norms.

Consequences of group or community closure can, under certain conditions, preclude the success of business start-ups founded by their members. A well-known example is in Geertz (1963), on the rise of enterprises in Bali: Geertz spotted how wealthy entrepreneurs were continuously assailed by job and loan-seeking kinsmen. Their requests were supported by strong norms ordering mutual support within the extended family and among community members in wide-ranging. The outcome was to turn auspicious business into welfare hotels, testing their economic increase.

Another drawback example is the demand for conformity that a community or group participation necessarily creates. In small towns or villages, where neighbours know each other, some facilities are given like getting supplies on credit at the corner store, letting children playing freely in the streets under the vigilant eyes of other adults. But the level of social control is high and very restrictive with respect to individual freedom, which is the reason why young and more open-minded people have always gone far away.

2.2.6 Local development and social capital

Two conditions are given in order to apply the concept of social capital to local development and better understand the crucial role of political factors in favouring a positive role of social capital in local economic development: first, social capital has to be considered in terms of social relations and social networks, rather than in terms of culture and civiness; second, the interaction between social capital and other institutions, especially political institutions, has to be carefully analysed (Trigilia, 2001).

According to Trigilia (2001: 7), a wider definition of social capital is the following:

Social capital can be considered as a set of social relations of which a single subject (for instance, an entrepreneur or a worker) or a collective subject (either private or public) can make use at any given moment. Through the availability of this capital of relations, cognitive resources - such as information - or normative resources - such as trust - allow actors to realize objectives which would not otherwise be realized, or which could be obtained at a much higher cost.

Measures of social capital allow to assess territory's richness, in terms of network of relations among individuals or organizations.

Through the Integrated Chain Design, it is possible to create local collective goods that generate external economies and increase the competitiveness of firms located in a territory (Trigilia, 2005). Compared to the implementation of networks, the ability to produce local collective goods depends on the quality of personal social relations that lie between the subjects of the territory (Trigilia, 2005). Social capital, in fact, directly supports the competitiveness of businesses by increasing their flexibility, market adaptation skills, skills and specializations, quality of production and innovation (Trigilia, 2009). Integrated Chain Projects (PIF Piani integrati di filiera) provide common working contexts that improve the quality of relations between economic and institutional entities. The cooperation processes established between the project partners within the PIFs intensify the links between all involved parties by promoting 'creation for experimentation' processes (Trigilia, 2005) of the shared capital of the company. The Integrated Chain Design therefore provides a contribution to the strengthening of the social capital in its various dimensions:

- Micro (individual social capital), that is, all the resources that an individual can obtain from his network of social relations (Bourdieu, 1980; Coleman, 1990). Participation in Integrated Chain Projects offers individual agricultural enterprises the possibility for processing and marketing, and to become part of organized networks of economic operators that represent important opportunities for individual growth (market outlets, training, innovation).

- Macro (collective social capital). Integrated Chain Design by promoting a greater ability to develop cooperative relations between public and private actors involved in partnerships contributes to the creation of collective social capital by widening social cohesion, sharing of norms and values and general trust (Putnam, 1993).

Labour recruiting is one of the Italian agriculture's competitiveness factors. high workforce costs has a particular negative effect (Nomisma, 2011), because of inadequate vocational training and difficulty in finding workforce within the deadlines. These are the main problems reported by Italian companies, which PIFs aim to offer appropriate alternatives.

2.2.7 To sum up and step forward

Social capital is a concept that is becoming more and more important to understand contemporary economic development, and its role in the institutional context is attracting a growing interest. Starting in the sixties, from Bourdieu to Portes, the concept has received multiple definitions and applications.

Mainly we can identify two perspectives. The first one referring to the Putnam (2000) approach, which enlightens co-operation, trust and civicness, and points out the degree to which social capital as a resource should be used for public good or for the benefit of individuals. Putnam suggested that social capital would facilitate co-operation and mutually supportive relations in communities and nations and would therefore be a valuable means of combating many of the social disorders inherent in modern societies.

The second approach, promoted by Granovetter (1985), Coleman (1990) and Portes (1998), makes a more appropriate and cautious reference to the network of relations which binds individual and collective actors, and are able to promote co-operation and trust but can also create obstacles to development.

The role of norms and values is key for understanding how people should display their resources, in order to make economic choices, cooperating in building up the institution of

the market. As we will see in the next chapter, moral foundation of economic actions gives rise to the moral market.

2.3 THEORY 3. MARKETS AND ACTORS

Social capital and social innovation do not totally explain the economic choices of agents. Neo-rurality is made possible thanks to specific networking conditions. Neo-rural entrepreneurs are successful thanks to social backgrounds and investment in the territory, innovation is the effect of their effort of boosting new ideas and investments.

Yet, I think there is a subtler element that stands behind their action: the idea of changing work, place, style of life is strictly linked to inner motivations, the same that drives them to take more radical decisions.

2.3.1 What is a market?

The structure of a market can be reduced to its minimal components that are a buyer and two sellers which compete according to some defined rules. In other words, a market can be seen, as Aspers suggests, as:

a social structure for the exchange of rights, which enables people, firms and products to be evaluated and priced. This means that at least three actors are needed for a market to exist; at least one actor, on one side of the market, who is aware of at least two actors on the other side whose offers can be evaluated in relation to each other (Aspers, 2006b: 427).

In this definition, buyers and sellers constitute the two roles making up the market structure, each of them standing on one side of the market facing the other side. The two

roles have opposite goals, “to sell at a high price” and to “buy at a low price” (Geertz, 1992: 226).

Market is based on some constitutional conditions, and according to Jens Beckert (2009) actors have to cope with the three problems of coordination, which are: the value of what is traded, the organization of competition, and the actors’ cooperation.

The first problem of coordination points to the agreement on the value, that is needed in order to proceed to trading. The second, organization of competition, focuses on the rules of the market; there we find laws and cultural norms, reflecting formal as well as informal institutional structure of the market. The third tells how actors cooperate, basing on the previous structure, meaning that a market culture allow people to calculate how they can, and how others will, act.

Considering a given market as if it was a movie set, established by its culture and traded objects, actors evaluate the traded items and attribute a price.

2.3.2 Sociology of markets

Sociology of markets is a branch of economic sociology (Fligstein, 2001). Economic sociology includes studies of consumption, the family and the links between states and households and, more broadly, economic life (Smelser, Swedberg, 2005: 3).

Focusing more strictly on only one kind of economic exchange, the sociology of markets observes structures of social exchange, under conditions of capitalism (Fligstein, Dauter, 2007). It includes the study of firms and products; labour markets; policies; systems of meanings, cultures and the role of morality.

As Fligstein and Dauter (2007) explain, sociology of markets can be divided into three theory groups according to focuses that scholars use as explanatory mechanisms in the emergence and ongoing dynamics of markets: networks (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1974, 2005; White, 1981, 2002), institutions (Dobbin, 1994; Fligstein, 1990, 2001; Powell, DiMaggio 1991), or performativity (Beunza, Stark, 2004; Callon, 1998; Callon, Muniesa, 2005; MacKenzie, Milo, 2003; MacKenzie, 2005).

Networks tradition sees relational ties between actors as the constituent material of social structure. Institutionalism focuses on how cognition and action are contextualized by market rules, power, and norms. Performativism views economic action as a result of calculative processes involving the specific technologies and artefacts that actors employ.

Relations among actors can be of exchange, as between buyers and sellers, or of competition, as between producers. Competition strategies include cooperation, combination or product differentiation. Laws regulate market degree of competition and cooperation, as well as property rights. Competition and government regulation are in a sort of dialogue, the first seeking to control competition, the latter trying to react to firms' strategies.

2.3.2.1 Goods, products and value qualification process

Market rotates around objects of trade. Such objects are in a wide sense 'goods', intending the effect of satisfying needs (selling what is good, desirable, wanted). The notion of an economic good also indicates a degree of stabilization of features associated with it, which explain why it is in demand and why, being wanted as such, it is traded.

We can take a step back and look at a good from the point of view of its production, circulation and consumption, starting with the product itself. The concept (*producere*: to bring forward) shows that it comprises a series of activities, processes that transform it, move it and cause it to change hands. A product (good) undergoes a series of metamorphoses that end up putting it into a useful form for a certain/given economic agent who pays for it. During these processes its characteristics change, until it turns into a 'good' ready for trading.

Qualities of goods are not simply made on observations; they are the result of detailed evaluations, based sometimes on tests and trials, among experts or stakeholders, to qualify the good. This holds for wine as well as for smartphones, their characteristics are the result of multiple tests and experiments.

Talking about quality means raising the question of the controversial processes of qualification, processes through which qualities are attributed, stabilized, objectified and arranged. It therefore consists of giving oneself the means to go, with no solution of continuity, from the good to the product, from the result to the process and its organization. (Callon et al., 2002:199).

After reaching an agreement about the qualities of the good, the following step is the attribution of value. Characteristics listed by sellers can be not equivalent to buyers' ranking, then attribution of value is not a one-way action. Tirole states: "A good can be described as a bundle of characteristics: quality, location, time, availability, consumer's information about its existence and so on. Each consumer has a ranking over the mix of variables" (Tirole, 1989: 96, in Callon et al., 2002).

According to this negotiated qualification process, we see the good as an economic variable in the same way that prices are, as Chamberlin (1946) in his theory of monopolistic competition says, indicating that the good is a moment in the life of a product, it is a configuration likely to vary in a continuous process of qualification-requalification:

By variation (of the product) we may be referring to a modification of the quality of the product itself – technological changes, new model, better raw materials; we may mean the packaging or a new recipient; or, finally, we may mean better and more friendly service, a different way of doing business. (Chamberlin, 1946, in Callon et al., 2002)

2.3.2.2 Niches partitioning

A market is controlled in two ways. The first way, when products are similar to other existing firms, the newcomer firm positions itself in the market choosing a specific field of competition, and so preferring to go where their competitors are not. Carroll (1985), calling this process 'niche partitioning', showed that microbreweries were able to create a fast growing niche for themselves even as the largest brewing companies were steadily increasing their hold over the brewing industry (Carroll, Swaminathan, 2000).

The second way is to avoid competition, proposing products that are different enough. White (1981) argues that markets would be differentiated by firms occupying different positions in the niche, and, to the degree that firms were in fact not competing, this could result in niche partitioning or, in White's language, the creation of new markets.

2.3.2.3 Use of money and relationships

If we intend culture as the embeddedness in a net of relationships and the relation with environment (Geertz, 1973), and vice versa that people create culture relationally, then the use of money is a result of that. People negotiate their social lives, earmarking monies for different sets of relations. Earmarking is a relational practice and monetary phenomenon that consists of and depends on social practices.

People differentiate the use of money and economic transactions depending on relationships. Not only the value of objects changes depending on the kind of bond among people (something can be sold at a different price to strangers, friends or relatives), but also the way of transferring money follows different rules and rituals, depending on the relationship with the receivers.

As Zelizer sustains:

people regularly differentiate forms of monetary transfers in correspondence with their definitions of the sort of relationship that exists between them. They adopt symbols, rituals, practices, accounting systems, and physically distinguishable forms of money to mark distinct social relations. People work hard to maintain distinctions about meaning of money: they care greatly about differentiating monies because payment systems are a powerful way in which they mark apart different social ties. Each of these ties has a different quality and each one therefore calls for different forms and rituals of payment (Zelizer, 2007: 1063).

Use of money is dual: economic transactions operate on general and local circuits. In the general sense, it is connected to national symbolic meanings and institutions. In the local circuit, we see a differentiation of transactions, happening in personalized meaningful

relations: “Economic actors simultaneously adopt universalizing modes and particularizing markers” (Zelizer, 2007: 1065).

The next problem to be solved is on the consumer side, how much they value the product, and consequently the price deserved in their opinion, according to their needs or preferences.

On this side of the market, moral issues abound. A well-known example is the life insurance industry, that had to overcome the obvious moral ambiguity of people buying insurance, valuing monetary price on their deaths. Nevertheless, firms are in the position of gambling on other people’s deaths. Such ambiguity had first effect of distancing people. Only when consumers became convinced through marketing efforts that life insurance was a way to provide for one’s loved ones after death, the market took off.

Therefore, as Fligstein and Dauter (2007) affirm, limiting the focus on the production side, the sociology of markets misses to consider consumers and consumer marketing and disregards an important aspect of where markets come from.

2.3.2.4 Government role

The government takes an important role in the dynamics of the market. Different social mechanisms make it possible for firms to juggle their resource dependencies and survive.

As a matter of fact, firms have to establish social relationships not only with competitors, but also with customers, suppliers, and employees, firms can establish trust and guarantee access to scarce resources. Firms survival is not simply driven by market success, but also by reacting to regulations and policies and trying to create a relationship with government agencies.

Evidences are presented by Fligstein (1990) of the role that the U.S. government played in preventing the cartelization and monopolization of American business at the end of the nineteenth century by using antitrust laws.

2.3.3 Perspectives from moral economy

People constantly mobilize beliefs, ethics, values and views of the common good to talk about the effects of market processes (Boltanski, Thevenot, 2006, Lamont, Thevenot, 2001).

By its own nature, markets are the site of moral conflicts between social actors committed to different justificatory principles and the locus of political struggles between various interests (Fligstein, 1996, Schneiberg, Bartley, 2001, Yakubovich et al., 2005).

2.3.3.1 Market and pre market economy

In order to attempt a distinction between economic and non-economic behaviours, social scientists often invoke a dichotomy between market economy and premarket economies, and embeddedness of relationships is the key.

Premarket societies are thought to be moral economies (Polanyi, 1957; Sahlins, 1972; Scott, 1977; Thompson, 1971) in which economic behaviour is embedded within non-economic social relationships and socially prevalent ideas of morality:

The outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, and his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end (Polanyi, 1957:46).

In the moral economy a society's ideals of justice, charity, and subsistence rights take precedence over the logic of the market.

The other side of the dichotomy is the 'market economy', which it is said to be disembedded from social norms. Then, the market becomes an autonomous and self-

regulating force; exchange no longer depends on one's social status, nor do prices depend on a social conception of the just (Polanyi, 1957).

2.3.3.2 How consumers make choice: the role of knowledge in markets

There are economic sociological studies that raise the issue of valuation in markets (Aspers, 2005; Beckert, Rössel, 2004; Callon, 1998; Smith, 1981, 1989, 2007; Velthuis, 2005; White, 1981). Valuation is also a key for examining the question of knowledge that actors need to operate in markets (Aspers, 2009).

Akerlof (1970) showed that markets might not emerge if it is difficult to determine the underlying quality of the items traded while only one side of the market (typically the seller) has information about the items. This is an example of asymmetric information that jeopardizes the assumption of perfect information of neoclassical economics, as elaborated by Knight (1921).

Knowledge, in contrast to information (Amsden, 2001), is based on interpretation. Interpretation draws on the lifeworld and, more concretely, on the preunderstanding of the interpreter (Heidegger, 2001: 152–153). Knowledge is here defined as “having the capacity to do what it takes in a situation”. The definition stresses the connection to situations and contexts, the actors need to interpret the situations they are in, as a consequence knowledge does not have general applicability. This acknowledges the symbolic interactionist idea that meanings emerge in situations, and that knowledge cannot be conceptualized as transposable pieces ready to be used.

a) Importance of consumers in qualification of goods

It is argued that consumers are just as active as the other parties involved, and agents on the supply side are not the only ones capable of imposing on consumers both their

perception of qualities and the way they grade those qualities. Interactions involving complex and reciprocal influences, to which we will return during data analysis, are the rule rather than the exception (Callon et al., 2001).

It is assumed that consumers are able to evaluate these qualities, thanks to information they received, therefore it is supposed that the way in which they make choice is based on their own preferences, that make them appreciating, evaluating and classifying. Consumers participate in the process of qualification of available products, they have the skill and the power to judge and assess and categorise relevant differences.

On the producer side, a matter to be solved is to make sure that consumers identify properties that they then evaluate positively. This question is crucial, as the consumers' attachment and consequent producers' profits depend on the answer.

But it seems that there is not only one strategy, therefore producers have to take the empirical, by trials and mistakes and, progressively learning. They try some solutions, notice consumers' estimations, find explanations to consumers' resolutions, etc.

As studies on cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1984; Leonini, Sassatelli, 2008) have so clearly shown, classifying products, positioning them and evaluating them inevitably leads to the classification of the people attached to those goods. That is, the other way around, consumers actively position themselves preferring a product, a seller, a way of trading etc.

Consumption becomes more rational because distributed cognition devices become infinitely richer, and more sophisticated and reflexive; and also more emotional because consumers' choices refer to the construction of their social identity (the distinction of products and social distinction are part of the same movement). As for suppliers, one of their main concerns is to facilitate and organize this process of (re)qualification to their own advantage.

2.3.3.3 Quality in standard and status market

Setting a standard for quality, based on previous statements about interpretations, knowledge, sellers and consumers' rankings, is not univocal. It appears to be an ongoing process of bargaining, information and reconsiderations. Quality is not a standard, meaning that its value is not universally recognizable. But there are some ways to avoid that uncertainty dominates the market.

The process of ordering the market rotates in part around the valuation itself, that is the way of determining and rating goods. A major distinction, following Aspers (2009), is about standard and status market, where the first is centred on certain characteristics, it recognizes 'quality conventions' (Favereau et al., 2002); and in the latter, actors orient themselves to each other, in particular to those with high-status because they represent 'quality' or, in broader terms, what is valued in this market.

In a standard market a scale of value serves as a valuation order regarding a certain product or service. The corresponding everyday term is often quality. Value can be defined as the determination and rating of a 'thing'. This definition captures the double nature of value; it is a way of separating things from one another, but it can also be used for evaluating those things that are covered by value. In the latter case one can speak of a scale of value, or a set of characteristics, which is distinguishable and that can be used in evaluating material and non-material things, such as people and actions (Aspers, 2009:114).

In the standard market both consumers and producers take part in the construction of standards or, in other words, of quality. This latter idea resembles what is argued by the French school of the economics of conventions (Boltanski, Thévenot, 2006; Woolsey Biggart, Beamish, 2003). Although standards are often not written, or directly measurable by objective means, what is traded in this market is entrenched to a social construction. Standard is not set in stone; it is a social construction that can be reconstructed, however, is at least a more taken for granted social construction than the order of the actors on the two sides of the market interface.

A question rises: what happens if there is no scale, or value, that can be used to measure 'quality'. Can there still be a market?

A standard market implies that actors know the standard, which informs them what the market demands. In a status market, as we'll see in the following example, the knowledge needed is of a different kind.

In a status market, actors orient themselves to each other, in particular to those with high-status because they represent 'quality' or, in broader terms, what is valued in this market.

Aspers explains:

If a well-known jewellery designer turns the gold that she bought on the gold market into a piece of 'art', this piece has to be valued in relation to the status of the designer. It must be said that it is not the number of hours of work that is put into the jewellery that matters, as Marx argued; anyone can spend hours making jewellery, but the items will still not be the same as those of the 'artist'.

(Aspers, 2009:115)

Status markets can, for example, be found where aesthetic judgments are common (Warde, 2002), fashion garment markets (Crane, Bovone, 2006), art markets (Velthuis, 2005), and markets for photographers (Aspers, 2005) and many others.

In status market it is important to analyse how actors gain their position. They are either directly evaluated for what they are or indirectly for what they do. When this market interaction is reproduced over time, a social structure made up of the two sides is created or reinforced. Actors on each side of the market, sellers (for example 'producers') and buyers (for example, 'ideal-type consumers') respectively, are ranked in relation to each other. In this way, two rank orders are generated, and not only one, as is the case when the consumers are an anonymous mass.

Buyers in this market have to orient themselves to look for clues about what to do in their situation. If they are in a fashion market, they have to know what is the most entrenched social construction, that is, the names of designers and their status order. The knowledge cannot be oriented directly to the products, since they are not determined by a fixed scale of value, like homogenous products. One cannot conclude that a silk suit is intrinsically more valuable than one made from wool or cotton. It has more to do with whether it is fashionable or not, and the historically determined values of the material; to

decide this calls for information on who produced it and who wears it, and knowledge of how to interpret this information.

2.3.4 Market and morality

Economic sociology does not stand alone in the challenge to standard understandings of economic processes (Smelser, Swedberg, 2005; Fligstein, Dauter, 2007). Changes occurred in other fields too, three of those changes deserve special attention (Zelizer, 2007).

Firstly, within economics itself, economists have created alternative accounts of economic processes, considering interpersonal relations as variables.

Secondly, outside of economics, critics of law and economics, organization theorists, students of inequality, and critical feminists contributed to look at how economic and social processes intertwine, highlighting power, bargains, and interpersonal transactions.

Thirdly, new hybrid disciplines emerged to propose their own versions of economic processes, from socioeconomics, to communitarian economics, to the French *économie solidaire et sociale*, and world systems analysis.

Moral market is based on what Zelizer (2007) calls the attack on a common presumption among economists and sociologists alike: the twinned stories of separate spheres and hostile worlds. Separate spheres indicate distinction between two arenas, one for rational economic activity, a sphere of calculation and efficiency, and one for personal relations, a sphere of sentiment and solidarity. The companion doctrine of hostile worlds affirms that contact between the spheres generates contamination and disorder: economic rationality degrades intimacy and close relationships obstruct efficiency.

Challenging this false boundary matters. Why? Because the boundary perpetuates damaging divisions between ostensibly 'real', consequential market activity and peripheral, trivial, economies. (...) More generally, the separate spheres/hostile worlds doctrine perpetuates the context-oriented

belief that economic activities follow their own laws, for which social relations simply supply constraints (Zelizer, 2007:1059-60).

Morality does not refer here to some universal ethical standard; rather, it means what a society, or a group, defines as good or bad, legitimate or inappropriate.

The appropriate classification of goods (as exchangeable or not, as gifts or commodities, and so on) is often the subject of conflict.

Partisans of markets suggest that the rationale of the market is deeply ethical, because efficiency itself is a vital moral criterion.

Critics remind us that the market is a profoundly political institution and use the language of commodification and power to convey moral outrage. Market is the place where political power is expressed through economic resources.

A distinction, made clear in markets, is the line between donation and economic exchange.

While commodity exchange is defined using Marx's terminology as "an exchange of alienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal independence", gift exchange is hypothesized to be "an exchange of inalienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal dependence" (Gregory, 1982:12).

Recently anthropologists have begun to question the rigidity of the gift/ commodity dichotomy but as Prasad's (1999) study shows one additional distinction between the two forms of exchange: while gift exchange can be made either sincerely or cynically, commodity exchange can only be made sincerely.

In moral economy, donation and exchange are both ways of interaction, while in 'market economy' only the latter is practised.

2.3.5 Moral economy

The concept of a moral economy was an elaboration by English historian E. P. Thompson (1971) of a term already in use. Thompson takes as an example riots in the English countryside in the late eighteenth century. At that time peasants held that a traditional

'fair price' was more important to the community than a 'free' market price, then they condemned large farmers who sold surpluses at higher prices outside the village. Bread should not be sold at higher price, according to classic standards rate between demand and supply, because it ignores the fact that it is a basic need. In this case, we see that price is subject to moral judgement, more than to economic logic. Moral judgement can impede "that any man should profit from the necessities of others and [believed] that in time of death, prices of 'necessities' should remain at a customary level, even though there might be less all around" (Thompson, 1971:132).

Therefore, the concept was widely popularized in anthropology through the book by James C. Scott (1977) "The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia", as an application in anthropological studies on peasant economies. The notion of a non-capitalist economy using the market for its own ends has been linked also to subsistence agriculture and the need for subsistence insurance in hard times.

The moral economy literature represents a critique of classic economic theories, trying to reduce human behaviour in terms of economic rationality: the decision to bear children, for example, is described in terms of the economic value of children, not by cultural norms, biological motivations, or social pressure (Becker, 1981). The moral economists argued that the individualism, calculation, and material orientation presupposed by these economic theories are found only in disembedded, market economies (Prasad, 1999).

Moral economy refers in a wider sense to the interplay between cultural mores and economic activity, in economics, sociology and anthropology. It includes the various manners in which tradition and social pressure compel economic actors to conform to norms and conventions, even at the expense of profit.

Examples such as the traditional Jewish prohibitions on usury inside the community, represent the limits imposed by religious values on economic activity, and are intrinsically part of the moral economy. In colonial Massachusetts, for example, prices and markets were highly regulated, even the fees physicians could charge (Horwitz, 1977). According to the beliefs which inspired these laws, economic transactions were supposed to be based on mutual obligation, not on individual gain.

Morality, however, is context dependent, it is the expression of culture situated in time and space, and might change along time. As an example, social pressures to enforce racial segregation are clearly the case of cultural pressures imposing economic inefficiency, even

when willing buyers and sellers would erode the racial barriers, and therefore fall within the purview of moral economy (Van Tessel, 1995).

2.3.6 To sum up – Research question

Sociology of markets points to the coordination problems: the value of what is traded (agreement on value, which is necessary in order to proceed to trading), the organization of competition (it focuses on the rules of the market, laws and cultural norms structure the market), and actors' cooperation (the market culture allows people to calculate how they can, and how others will, act) (Beckert, 2009).

Moral market is based on what Zelizer (2007) calls the twinned stories of separate spheres and hostile worlds. Separate spheres indicate the distinction between the rational economic activity, a sphere of calculation and efficiency, and the sphere of personal relationships, sentiment and solidarity. It goes with the story of hostile worlds that affirms that contact between the two spheres generates contamination and disorder.

These considerations lead to a core question: are social relationships and values a separate thing from the market?

In sum, Rural Social Innovation is strictly linked to Social Capital resources, and sociology of markets gives us some keys to understand its economic dynamics.

In terms of neoclassical economy, market and actor's choices are intended as rational choices or due to methodological individualism. New economic sociology sheds a light on embeddedness of actors and market dynamics. The embeddedness of relationships is said to be relevant, premarket societies are thought to be moral economies in which economic behaviour is embedded within non-economic social relationships and socially prevalent ideas of morality. In contrast, 'market economy' is said to be disembedded from social norms (Polanyi, 1957; Becker, 1981, Prasad, 1999).

In order to give an answer to the problem of separate spheres and hostile worlds, this study concentrates on a niche of social innovators, neo-rural social innovators, aiming to represent an alternative to markets. The sample is distributed in the Campania region,

between inner and urban areas, and between different income position. Such neo-rurals are a sort of 'critical case' study.

CHAPTER 3. THE RESEARCH - DOING FIELDWORK IN INNER AREAS

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is focused on the moral economy of alternative food movements between urban and inner areas. It aims at examining forms of markets and connecting the relevance of social capital and innovation in rurality.

The general research question to be investigated is: Are values and social relationships a separate thing from the market?

The first step has been the literature review and the consequent research question.

Secondly, I defined the most appropriate methodology of research in order to study an upcoming phenomenon connected to a hidden population: this study is based on a qualitative research design and the methodology applies mix methods, in accordance to different stages of the research.

The schema of research path is represented in the graph n. 6.

Graph 6 - Research schema



As explained by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow in their relevant book “Interpretative research design” (2012), the phases of a research project are: ‘fieldwork’, which includes archival research as well as more traditional participant observer, ethnographic, and interviewing designation; ‘deskwork’, the more focused analytic activities, typically away from the field; ‘textwork’, the preparation of the research report; and ‘headwork’, the conceptual work that informs research, referring also to the prior knowledge of both theoretical–academic and experiential kind.

The ‘headwork’, as presented in the theoretical chapter, comes as part of previous knowledge formed of theoretical knowledge on rurality and remoteness of some Italian regions and parcels of territory and movements of back-to-the-land. Question raised from rural social innovation, social capital and sociology of markets moved me to search for exponents of moral market.

I refer to the Schwartz-Shea and Yanow especially for the fieldwork and for the interview practice. Here I recall the division of research approaches in a three-part taxonomy: “quantitative–positivist methods drawing on realist–objectivist presuppositions, qualitative–positivist methods drawing on similar presuppositions, and qualitative–interpretive methods drawing on constructivist–interpretivist presuppositions” (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012:9). The qualitative-positivist approach sees qualitative methods under the pressure to adopt the evaluative criteria central to quantitative ones. The qualitative-interpretative applies qualitative methods resting on a phenomenological hermeneutics that privileges local, situated knowledge.

The relevant part of the qualitative-interpretative research is the reflexive activity operated in the work, taking into account the prior knowledge and the fieldwork choices and positioning.

The approach is the study of the critical case (Goldthorpe et al., 1969): it is an inquiry on the economy of extremists to extend results to less alternative actors. The idea is that if it is found in a small group, then it is mostly likely to be found in a bigger group. I operate a selection of alternative agro-food actors through a survey on neo-rurals, and I in-depth interviewed selected ones.

The strategic choice of case may greatly add to the generalization of a case study. In their classical study of the ‘affluent worker’, J. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Beckhofer, and J. Platt (1968-1969) deliberately looked for a case that was as favourable as possible to the thesis that the working class, having reached middle-class status, was dissolving into a society without class identity and related conflict (see also Wieviorka, 1992). If the thesis could be proved false in the favourable case, then it would most likely be false for intermediate cases. Luton, a prosperous industrial centre with companies known for high wages and social stability—fertile ground for middle-class identity—was selected as a case, and through intensive fieldwork, the researchers discovered that even here an autonomous working-class culture prevailed, lending general belief to the thesis of the persistence of class identity.

I present the processes related to going back-to-the-land and the moral impact on neo-rurality, as observed and interpreted during my fieldwork and documentation. Taking into

account interviews and other documents like blogs and actors pages, I shed light on the ideological underpinning of market exchange. Because of the established aim, the representativeness of the sample is not the crucial issue. The interviewees were selected in accordance with the research design and limitation of population.

Due to the reduced population of my study, it became clear that the limitations of the data would not allow a rigorous examination of alternative hypotheses. The sample is a self-selected convenience sample and therefore underrepresents, for example, those who have failed in their choices, and over-represents those who are in general more enthusiast and willing to share reflections on their lives. Nevertheless, also critics and self-reflective people are present and loudly willing to express their opinion.

The methodology relates to fieldwork and I began with an ethnography in August 2014, during my first stay at the Rural Hub, a research hub located in a historic holiday farm called 'L'incartata' in the province of Salerno (southern Italy). A strong collaboration with the team was established since that moment. As one of the aims of the Rural Hub project, the team³ of academic researchers (me among these) conducted a study on new forms of rurality and innovation, in a wide range from digital use to technologies to business strategy and enterprise culture: an explorative survey, a digital ethnography, interviews and three-years research (of which I did fourteen months). There I started to study the relevance of the phenomenon and its features, having talks with regular visitors at the place, undertaking the first interviews with neo-rurals and discussing theoretical questions with the research team at Rural Hub.

In order to discover population's characteristics, we reviewed the existing literature and surveys, and came out with an indicative picture: no specific data are provided on the topic. Using existing insights, we drew a representation of the population, and decided to make a non-probabilistic study. Based on previous interviews and ethnographic knowledge we

³ The team is compound of very diverse people, at the chief there are a peasant, a marketing manager and an academic professor, and around a composite group of people working with different tasks. My point of reference was the professor Adam Arvidsson, responsible of the research area, and I co-worked with other sociologists, among these Vincenzo Luise, Alberto Cossu, Angela Lobascio, Guido Ansaloni.

made a questionnaire, with the double aim to survey the population's characteristics and expand the sample through snowball questions.

During the first phase, from March to June 2015, the exploratory study mapped rural areas characteristics, in terms of innovative actors and neo-rural farmers in southern Italy.

Data collection went through an exploratory survey, based on snowball sample. As no census, nor official or unofficial lists of 'neo-rural' or 'back-to-landers' is given, the access to personal social networks proved to be the best way to reach people; also other channels for recruitment were applied, like distributing the questionnaire during farms' markets and events at the Rural Hub advertising is in social network and on friends' pages. The survey resulted in 182 answers.

In the second phase, during June - September 2015, we focused on Campania's inner areas and traced their relation with more central areas. We interviewed 30 actors, selected from our sample on the basis of two dimensions: annual sales volume and percentage of trades/self-consumption. Qualitative research took place in farms or during relevant event promoted by neo-rural farmers in Campania as #Campdigrano-2015 and FoodStock-2015.

3.2 FIELDWORK SETTING

Fieldwork took place from August 2014 to September 2015 in Campania, participating to events, study-residence, conducting seminars and interviews.

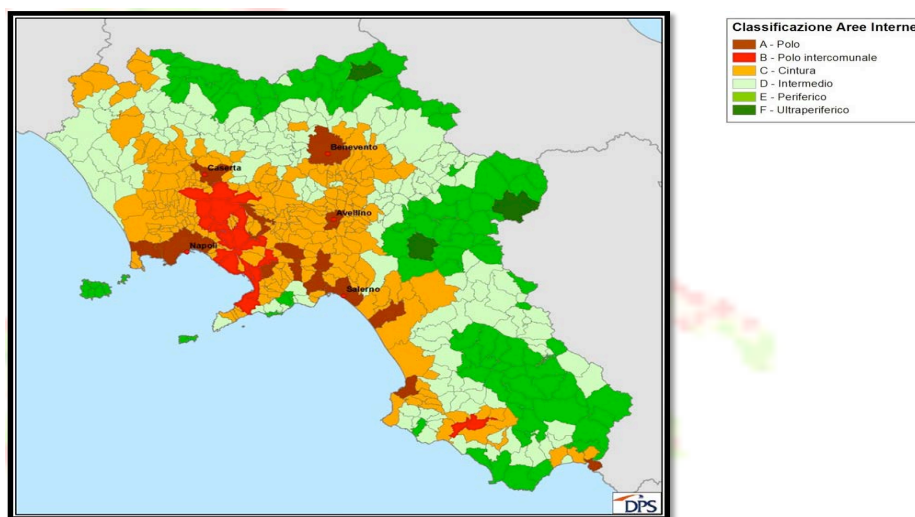
In the last 10 years, a change has started in Campania challenging the established capitalist food economy, and social ferment is on stage.

The fieldwork study sheds some light on what is going on in remoteness, in the inner areas of Campania, considering actors based in the inner areas (Inner Cilento, Vallo di Diano, Alta Irpinia, Titerno and Alto Tammaro), and also their relationship with actors of central areas, mostly based in Naples (see map n. 4 for a representation of the territory).

This brings us to consider analytically how neo-rurality is expressed through different examples of agriculture and food production, more connected to social networks, and through a wider conception of environment, care for health and human justice. As a matter

of fact, a principal characteristic of neo-rural exponents (Ferraresi, 2013) is to promote a new relationship between producers (mainly in inner areas) and consumers (mainly in central areas). Neo-rural farmers measure and communicate the value of high-quality local food in a different way, bridging the gap between supply and demand in the market through a collaborative approach. This is in line with recent studies on how agriculture and rural life have changed their role in post-modern society. Here we also see trajectories for inner areas' development.

Map 4 - Urban and Rural areas in Campania



Source: PSR Campania 2014-2020.

For a long-time my base was the residence of Rural Hub project, in Calvanico, province of Salerno. The Rural Hub project was approved by the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research (MIUR) in 2013, cod. PAC02L3_00026, in partnership with C.I.H.E.A.M. Istituto Agronomico di Bari (C.I.H.E.A.M.–I.A.M.B.) and Libera Terra Mediterraneo Soc. Cons. r.l.

As explained in the project page of the blog www.RuralHub.it :

Rural Hub is the rhizome of a network of researchers, activists, scholars, and managers interested in identifying new models of economic development. All

those people are motivated to find new solutions to the needs (both social and market-related) of the new rural enterprises.

It was founded as a research union, in order to facilitate the connection between new and innovative enterprises, investors and trade associations. This 'response' to the lack of business incubators and service providers could really entail a renewal of the business, for a sustainable development of the agro-food industry.

Rural Hub is the first Italian hacker space allowing connection and sharing among people, ideas, technologies and projects concerning social innovation projects applied to the rural world.

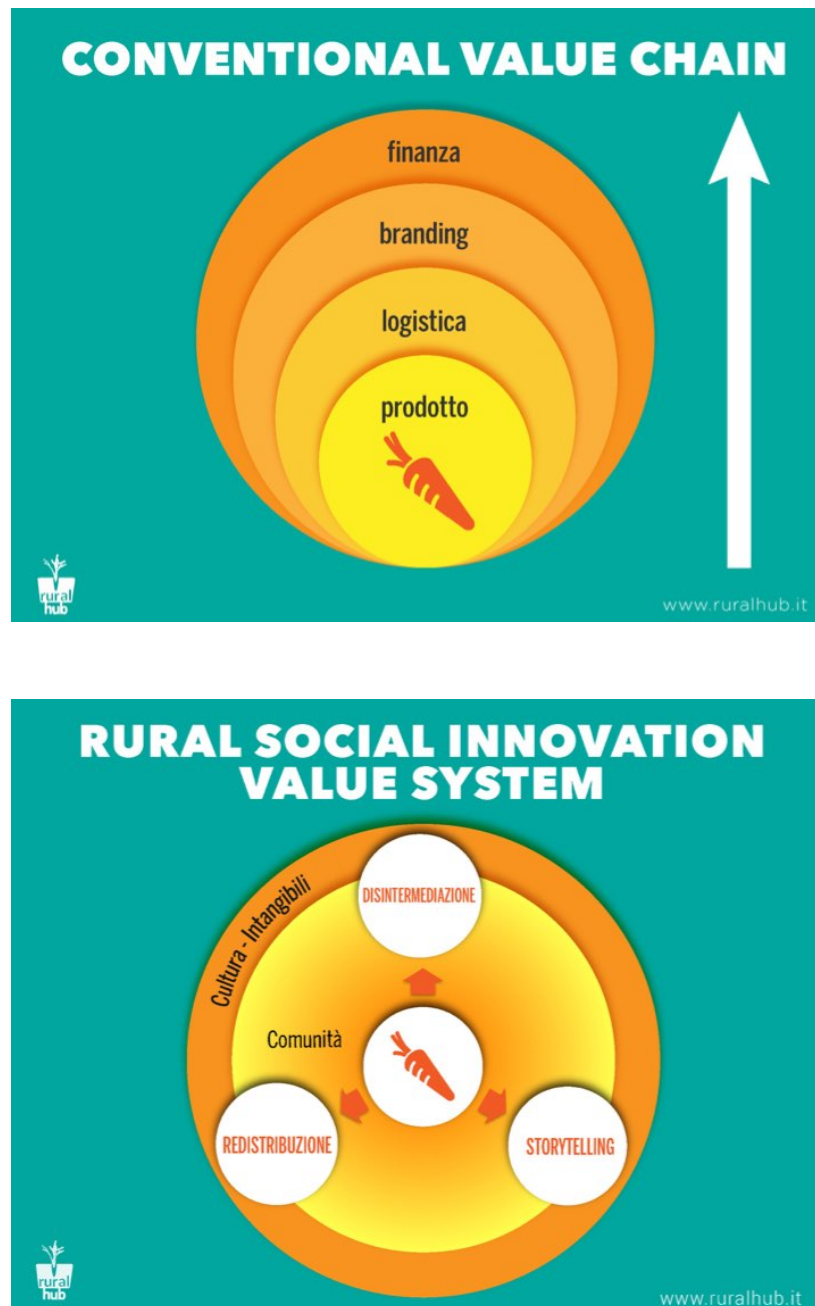
Rural Hub is:

- A co-living and co-working space;
- A study centre leading a permanent research on social innovation applied to rural;
- Local and global venue of events;
- An incubator carrying on Mentoring e Project Financing for Rural Start-ups;
- Connector between innovators and rural change-makers;
- A laboratory, concerned with new business and communitarian realities, both formal and informal, involving agro-food;
- A task force for projects of activation of rural communities.

(from "Project" on www.RuralHub.it last accessed on 6/06/2017)

At Rural Hub, one of the main issue of discourse was the way to conceptualize and promote the neo-rural product, passing from a traditional value chain to a 'Rural Social Innovation value system'. The difference consists of passing from the so called 'traditional value chain', a chain in which the value of the product increases at each step thanks to logistic, branding and finance, in a way that such values never arrives to the hands of producers and only comes to finance experts; in order to arrive to the 'Rural Social Innovation system', a system in which the value sticks to the product and to the hand of producer, there the value is created through disintermediation, redistribution and storytelling, and brings the value out of the community using cultural and intangible instruments (see graph n. 7).

Graph 7 - Conventional value chain and rural social innovation system



Source: Rural Hub, Manifesto della Rural Social Innovation, 2015.

Ways of production, selling, networking, are the main issues also of the manifest published by the Rural Hub in 2015, following the 'Societing summer school' of 2014 and first research results.

This is what they state about new forms of rural economy:

In the global economy, the production of intangible assets is limited to the control of the cultural and organizational dimensions of consumption by large corporations: these are practices that, by charging immaterial assets, they convey them to the right people at the right time.

Our proposal for a new rural economy aims to take back these processes and reorganize them on a community basis, so they return value to the material product.

Young neo-rural innovators are building a new model that can keep up this triple bottom line (People, Planet, Profit) to create companies that combine environmental needs, economic sustainability and social responsibility. A Rural economy oriented to Societing: so a Rural Social Innovation.

(source: www.RuralHub.it last accessed on 6/06/2017)

The interviews phase was partly funded by the European Commission, through the project P2PValue (grant agreement: 610961). However, the rest of the funds did not arrive during the implementation of the project, putting the team in a precarious economic situation, somehow similar to that of the people that they were supposed to study and work with, and it also induced them to engage in a number of techniques of community organization similar to those used by neo-rurals. In the end the sustainability issue, fundamental issue in neo-rural activities, linked the researcher and the object of research, and Rural Hub began to conceive itself as a business venture to sustain the academic research. The role of 'Hub' became more well defined, as a facilitator of connections among different subjects, individuals – groups – associations and farms, providing consultancy on digital technologies, social media marketing, and business strategy, contributing to start-up neo-rural businesses, and organizing events and meetings.

I counted some 35 events from festivals, via workshops to summer schools and alternative markets. Here is a short list, not all included:

- Campdigrano (13-20 July 2014, 13-19 July 2015, 10-17 July 2016),
- Catuozzo Biohacking camp (6 – 12 August 2014, 2015, 19-24 August 2016),
- Societing summer school (19-24 August 2014, 27-29 August 2015, 2016),
- Wild herbs (9-11 November 2014, 1-3 march 2015, 9-11 November 2015),
- Foodstock (2015),
- Biocommon camp (2015),
- La terra mi tiene (24-25 April 2015),
- Rural Coderdojo (18 October 2015)
- Commons camp (29 June - 9 July 2015),
- Iperconnessioni rurali (12-14 April 2015),
- Seed&Chips (11-14 May 2016),
- Rural Hack (1-3 July 2016).

The distance with the object of study was reduced during the research, thanks to the fact that the team was continuously working with the neo-rurals, both because it is the same purpose of the project and because of the fact that the lack of research funding made increasingly relevant for entering into neo-rural networks. At the same time this in-depth participation has very probably increased the understanding of neo-rural existence and its prospects.

3.3 SURVEY

From March to June 2015, a questionnaire for surveying the neo-rurality was distributed, based on snowball sample, among seven regions, Campania, Apulia, Sicily, Basilicata, Calabria, southern Latium and Molise. Number of total answers is 182.

Aim of the survey was to collect information about new forms of rurality, mapping rural areas characteristics, in terms of innovative actors and neo-rural farmers in southern Italy.

While the survey has a larger view on the southern Italy, the fieldwork will focus on the Campania region only, for homogeneity reason (for the not-representativeness of both samples, any statistical comparison of the two is impossible).

Distribution was done through digital means, spreading the link from the Rural Hub website, Facebook and Tweeter, emailing to personal networks and respondents networks, as well as by hand giving it personally to participant at market places and gathering events.

The questionnaire investigated a number of items, from personal and general information on the interviewee, the business or sector activity, sales, annual turnover and ways of distribution, and the use of social network. Items are described in the table n. 7.

Table 7 – Schema of survey items

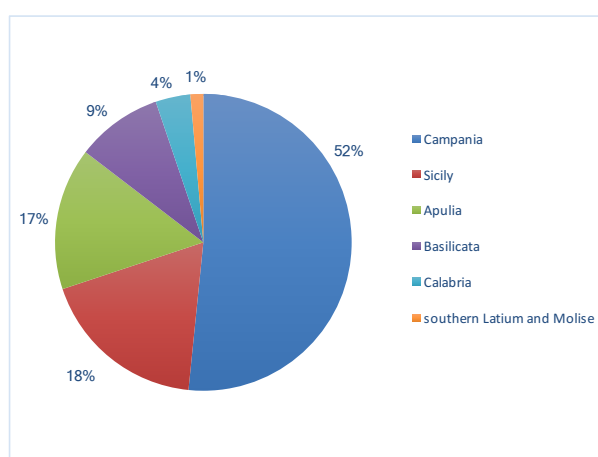
General information	Percentage of sales	Annual turnover
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Name- Year of foundation- City Residence- Affiliation- Juridical form- Firm dimension	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Not selling- < 50%- > 50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- < 10.000- between 10.00 and 50.000- > 50.000

Use of social network	Business activity	Way of distribution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facebook - Twitter - Instagram - LinkedIn - Pinterest - Google+ - E-commerce 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agriculture - Processing - Education - Sale - Tourism - Animal husbandry - Research activity - Networking - Category activity - Cosmetics - Fab Lab 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not selling - Direct selling, at farm or market - Through associations and personal networks - Small retailers and restaurant - E-commerce and big distribution

3.3.1 Survey results

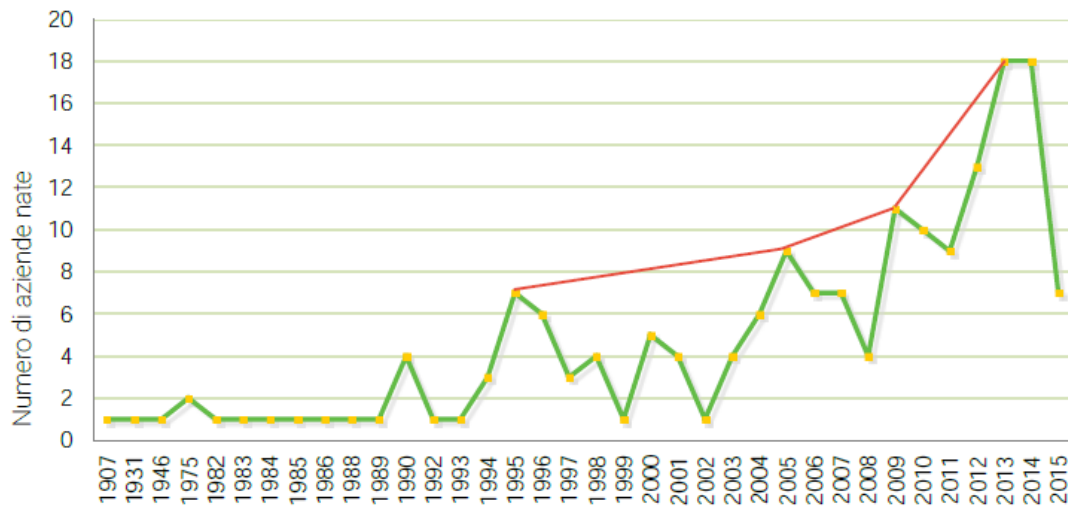
Respondents are distributed in Campania 51,6%, Sicily 18,3%, Apulia 15,5%, Basilicata 9,4%, Calabria 3,8%, southern Latium and Molise 1,4% (see graph n. 8).

Graph 8 - Location of respondents



Our respondents are mostly concentrated in recent years, starting activity after nineties, growing constantly in number until now (see graph n. 9). The figure grows particularly after the 2009, giving the idea of a correlation (although not testable) with the financial crises that interested the world economy.

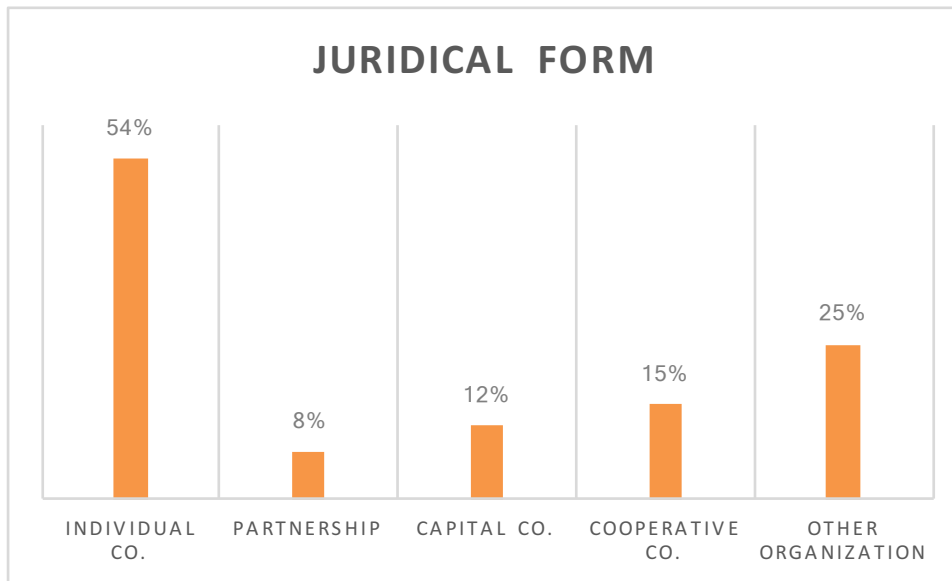
Graph 9 – Distribution by year



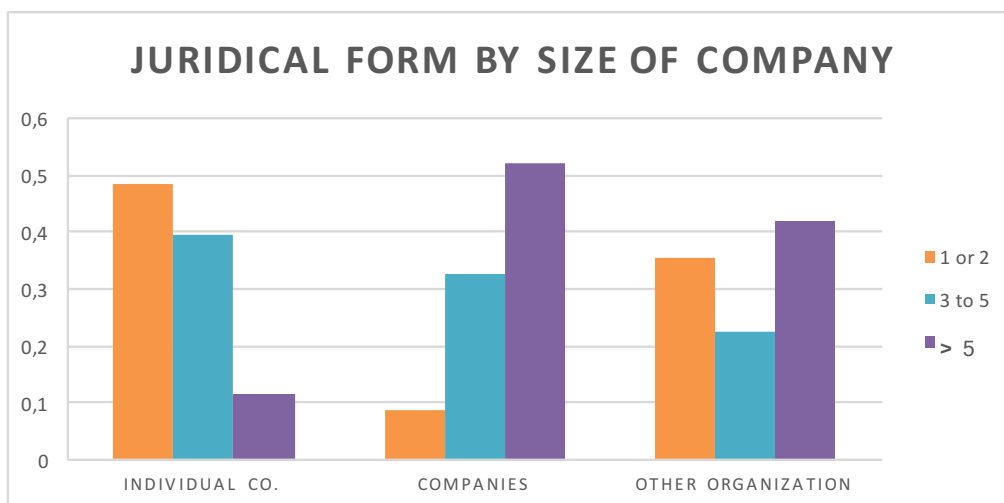
Juridical form of organizations is mainly the 'individual company' (49,4%), followed by different forms of organizations like associations, committee, purchasing groups (22,2%), and other forms of corporation like cooperative company (18,2%), capital company (9,4%) and partnership (6,1%) (see graph n. 10)

Individual companies have 49% one or two workers, 40% three to five workers, and 12% more than 5 workers. 52% Companies have more than 5 employees, 33% have from 3 to 5 workers, and 9 % have 1 or 2 workers. In other forms of organizations compositions is more distributed, among one or two people (35%), three to five people (23%), more than five people (42%) (see graph n. 11)

Graph 10 - Juridical form

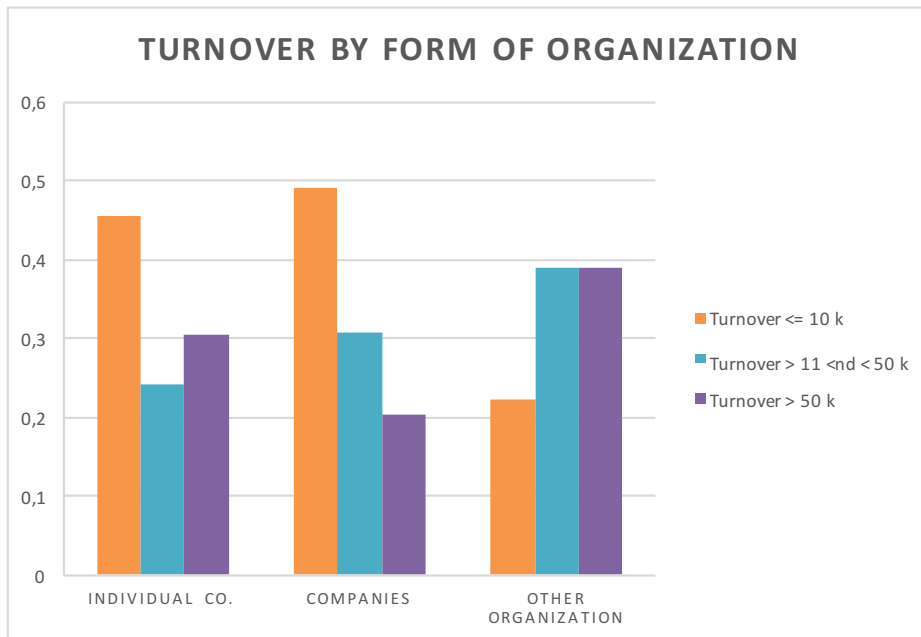


Graph 11 - Juridical form and company size

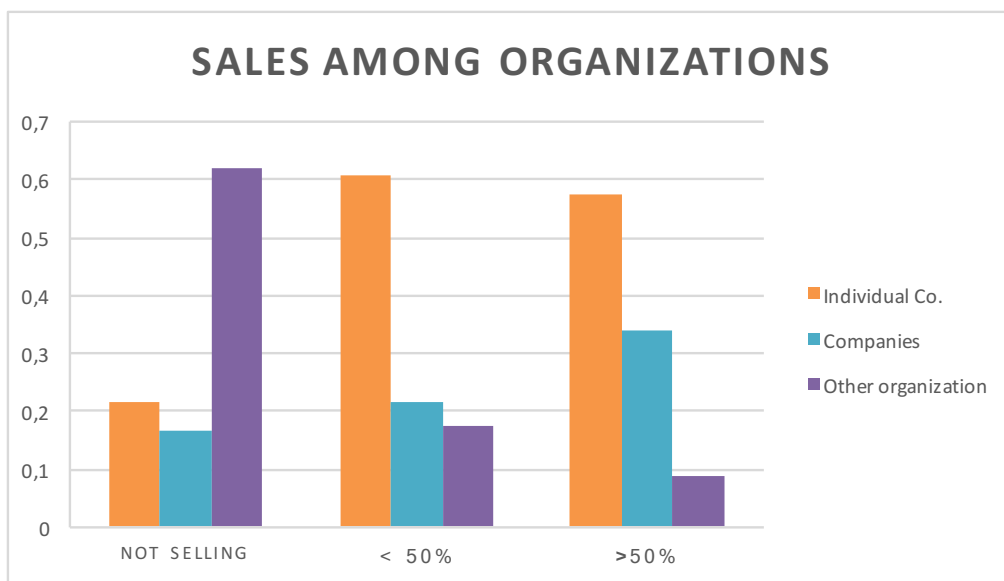


Observing the graphs below, we have three classes of turnover divided by three (below 10 thousand / between 10 and 50 thousand/ over 50 thousand), distributed according to juridical forms in three classes (individual companies, companies and other organizations). The lowest turnover is almost achieved in individual and other companies (the 45-49%), while the other forms of organizations seems to have a better turnover. But checking these other organizations for range of sales (graph n. 12 and 13), it is clear that the volume of business is not really higher, so I interpret the better turnover not as a better business performance and income but as a higher amount of value circulating among associates.

Graph 12 - Turnover by juridical form



Graph 13 - Sales among organizations



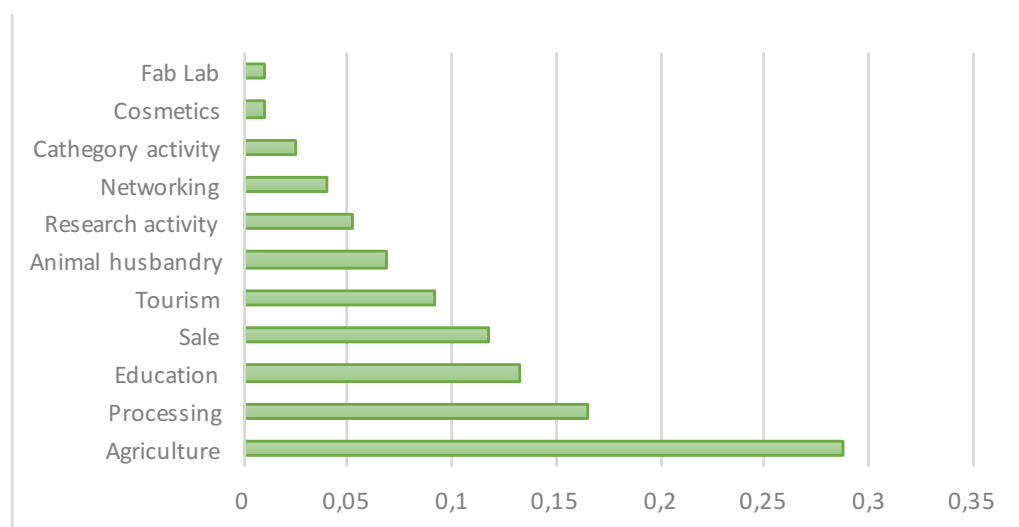
The survey has investigated sectors of activities: agriculture, animal husbandry, processing of products, education, sales, tourism, research activity, networking (action of building network on the territory), cosmetics, fab lab, textile and clothing.

Data show that main activity, counting 100 the total amount of possible activities, are agriculture (29%), processing (16%), education (13%), selling (12%), tourism (9%), animal

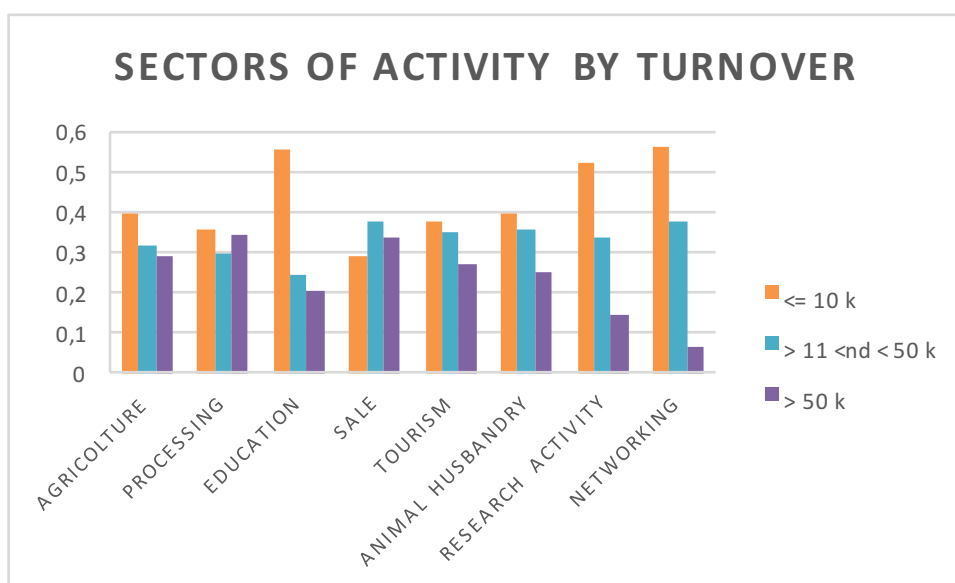
husbandry (7%), research (5%), networking (4%), and other (4%, including fab-lab, textiles, cosmetics, category activity like trade union action).

Observing sectors per turnover, it appears that agriculture and processing are equally important to different size of farms; while educative activity is more relevant in organizations with smaller turnover, it is connected to associations that aim to spread good information, but also (as revealed by interviews) organizations not in the market put at first the educative activity, in order to affiliate their customers, to create more value to their products, and as a part of remunerative actions in multifunctional farms. In fact, as we see in graphs n. 14 - 15 - 16, education, research activity and networking assume more importance for 'other forms of organizations' than for companies.

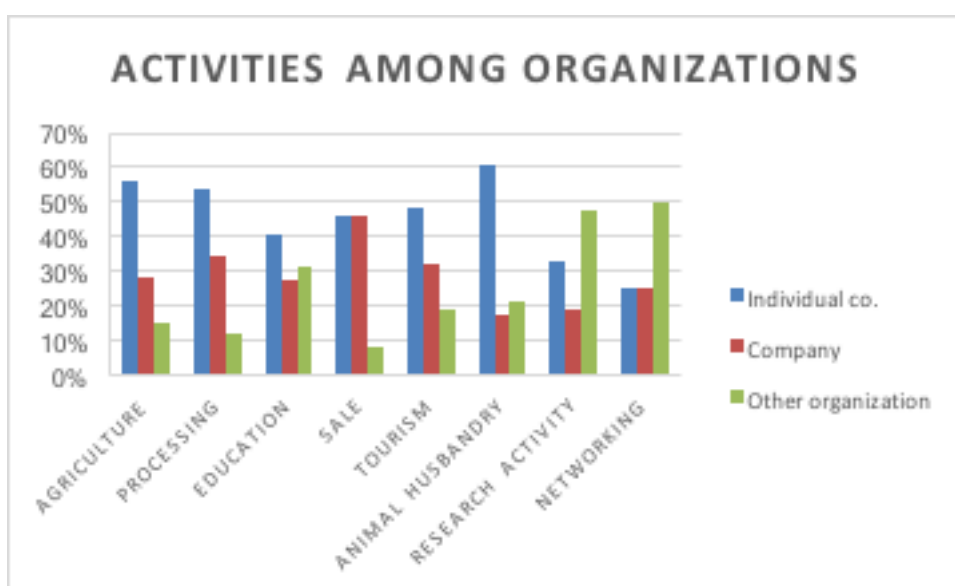
Graph 14 – Organizations' sector of activity



Graph 15 - Main sectors of activities and farms turnover



Graph 16 - Activities among forms of organizations



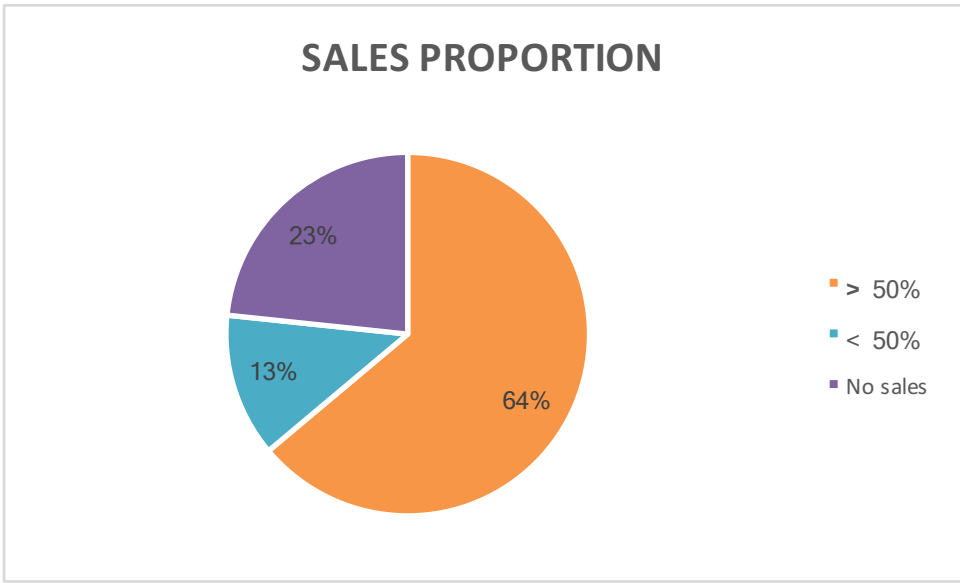
Most of our respondents are into sales (77%), while 23% are not.

Farms and organizations with lower turnover show they distribute their goods mainly through small retailers and restaurants (33%), then through associations and personal networks (33%), but often don't sell at all (16%). While organizations with higher turnover have good revenues from markets and direct selling (24%), small retailing (24%), and still some do not make selling a priority (24%).

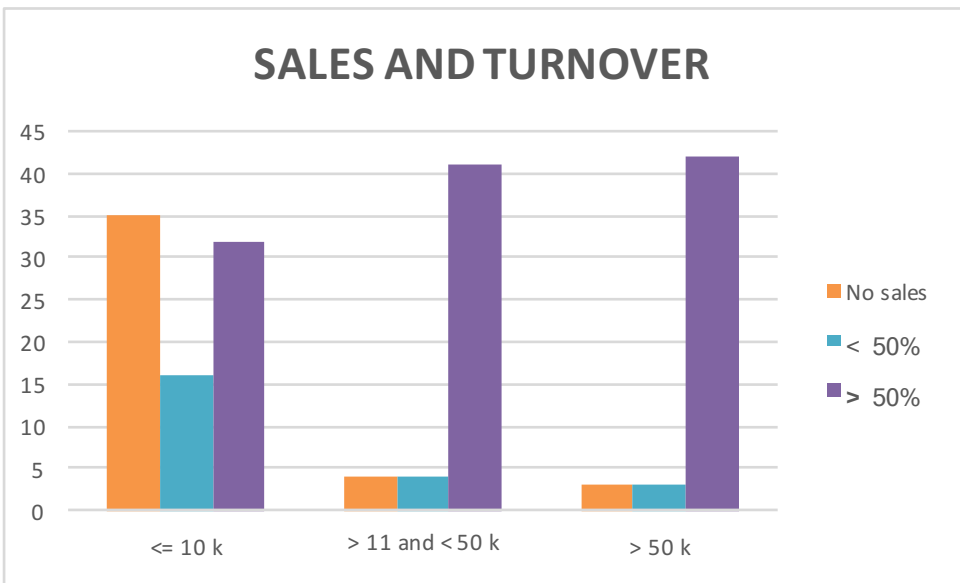
In graphs n. 17 and 18, we see that even among organizations with high revenues (above 50 thousand) some do not sell.

In these cases, the absence of sales is due to kinds of activities that do not imply a specific good but a service instead, it can be a brand or a mark (self-organized certification body), or that the organization serves as a platform for meeting and circulation of goods (GAS – collective buying) or services (sustainable tourism, etc.).

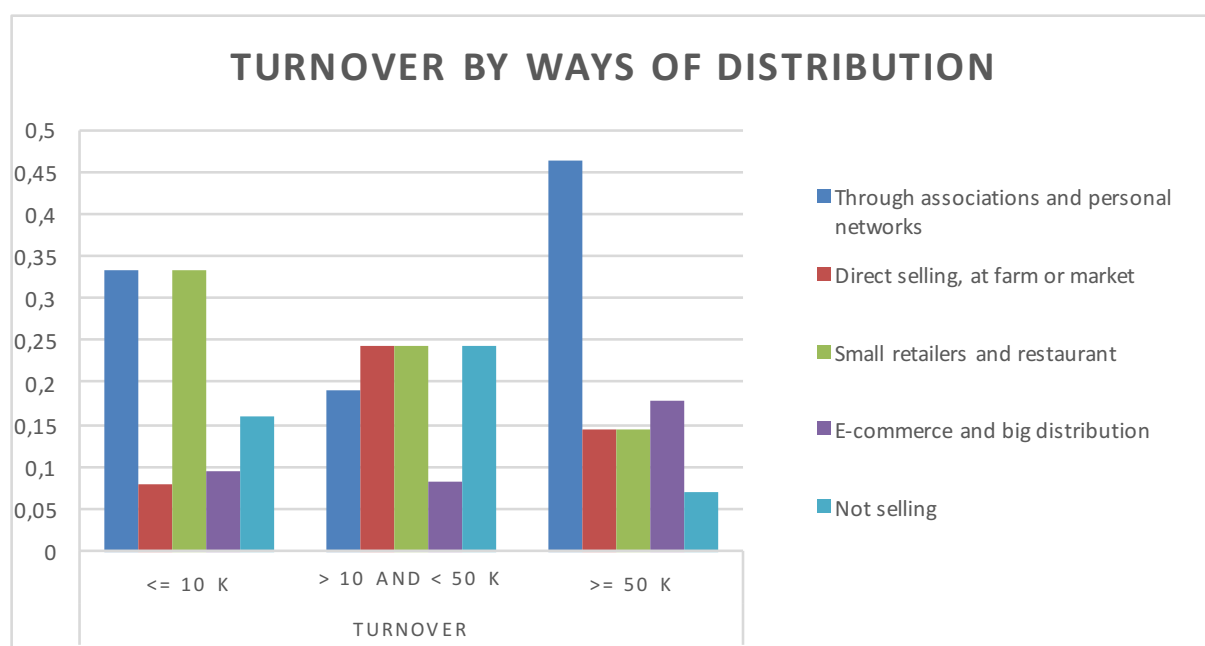
Graph 17 - Seles and self-consumption



Graph 18 - Sales percentage and turnover



Graph 19 – Turnover proportion by ways of distribution, proportions by turnover class

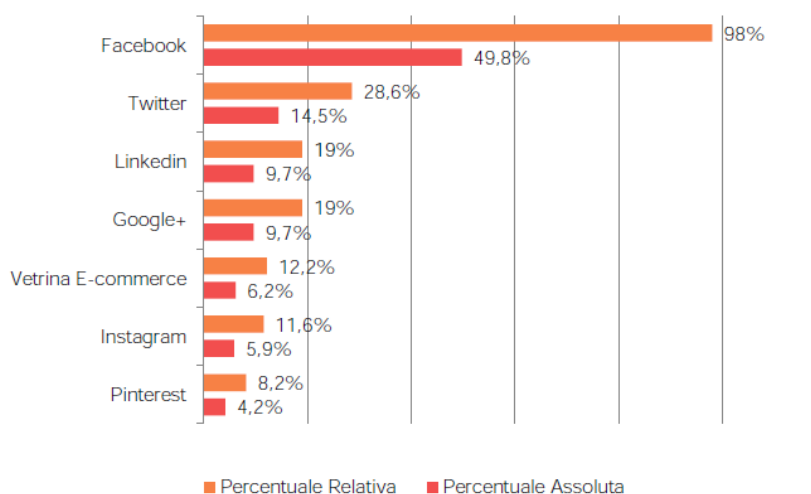


3.3.2 Digital and media

A specific paragraph is reserved to discuss the use of digital devices and communication tools. Following considerations need some caution, in terms of generalization of results, due to the non-representativeness of the sample, and strategy of data collection, mostly (but not exclusively) undertaken by online platforms. Taken this precautions, I find interesting the approach that our respondents have to digital and social media.

Respondents use the web and social network for business or organization purposes: 65,9% have a website, Facebook is the most common social network (49,8%), followed by Twitter (14,5%), LinkedIn (9,7%) and Google+ (9,7%). Some use also an E-commerce window (6,2%), and picture platforms like Instagram (5,9%) and Pinterest (4,2%) (see graph n. 20).

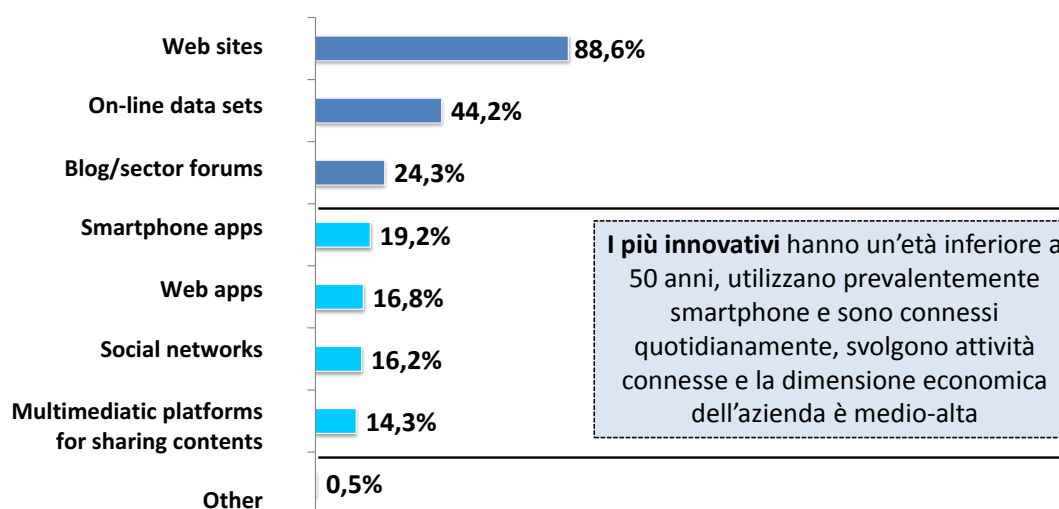
Graph 20 - Social networks



A survey on the farmers' use of internet and devices, conducted by Image Line and Nomisma (2015) (see graphs n. 21 and 22), confirms our results on neo-rural digital use, indicating that neo-rurals are interested in experimenting with technologies for precision agriculture, (43,6%), drones (43%) and sensor networks that enable crop monitoring (39,3%), joint with mainstream social networks.

Graph 21 - Direct survey results: tools and use .

Answer to question: "In general, what are ICT tools used in support to organization and business strategies?"

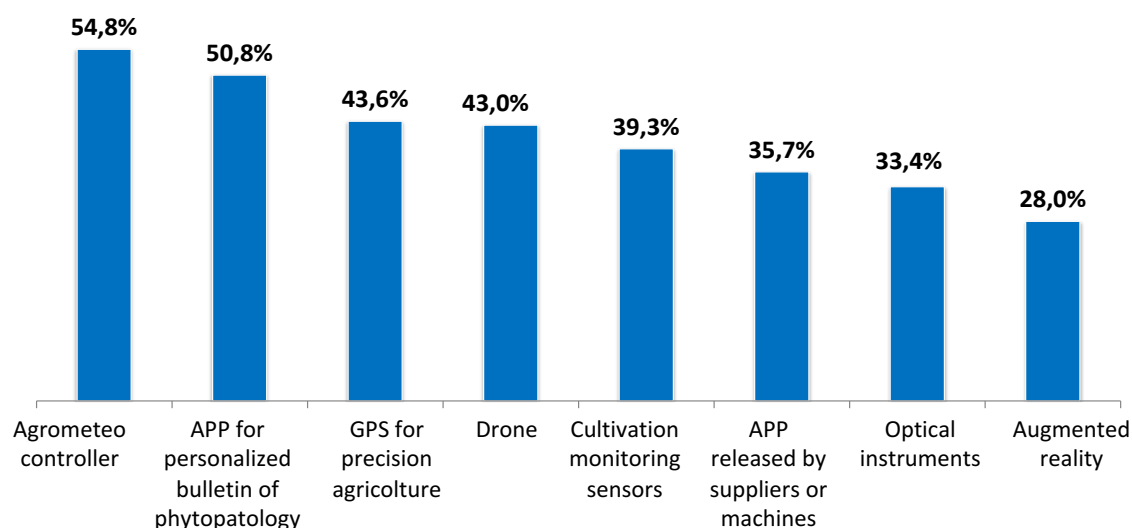


**Translation: Most innovative farmers are below 50-years-old, they predominantly use smartphones and are daily online, undergo online activities. The economic dimension of the firm is middle-high.*

Source: Image Line, Nomisma, 2015.

Graph 22 - Direct survey results: new technologies.

Answer to question: “Among the principal technological innovations available for agriculture, what instruments are you interested to use in support to business strategies?”



Source: Image Line, Nomisma, 2015.

Beside the application to productive organizations, social media and digital technologies are also used for marketing and storytelling, to create experientially immersive narratives for consumers, enabling them to get closer to the producers and the territory, to share experiences or even ‘virtually’ participate in the production process. Digital technologies constitute a part of a bottom-up ‘experience economy’ (Pine, Gilmore, 1999) whereby producers and consumers can connect and find communion around a particular good.

3.4 INTERVIEWS

3.4.1 Interviews plan

The plan for interviewing is based on considerations of the relationship between inner and urban areas and proportion of turnover of the company or organization. The definition of both is based on data description from the study about 'Inner Areas' by the Italian Ministry of Economic Development, as explained in previous chapter. For simplicity of saying, service centres are now called 'urban' areas, in opposition to inner areas. I consider firms and farms and organizations together, because the focus is not only on the production side but also on the relation to the market. It is important to remember that inner areas do not include exclusively the countryside, as well as urban areas are not exclusively full inhabited areas.

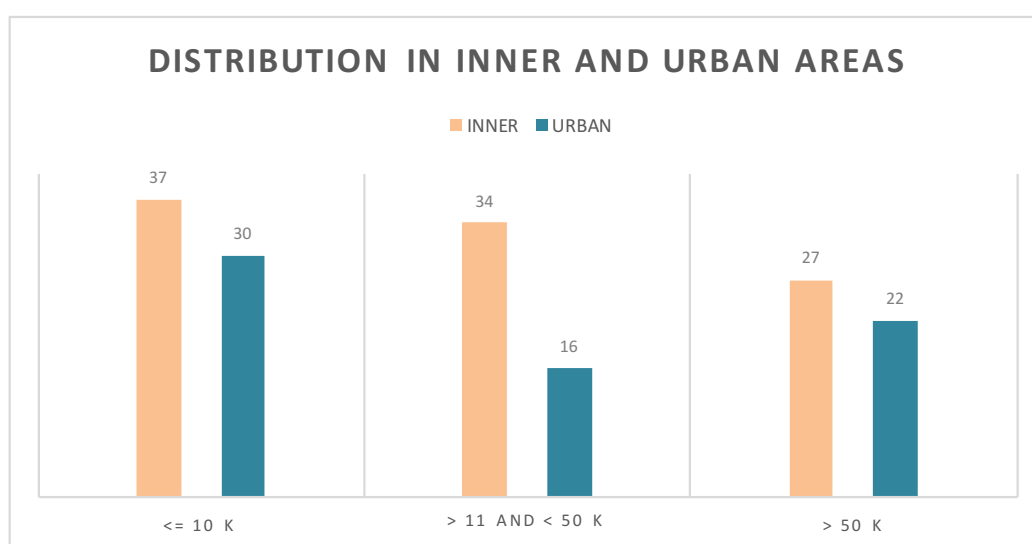
As displayed in table n. 8, in the sample mapped in the survey, the distribution of organizations and companies among urban and inner areas is quite uniform, 59% in inner areas and 41% in urban areas. On the contrary, see graph n. 23, the distribution according to the turnover is uneven, higher number of subjects of lower income is rural areas, fewer subjects of middle income are in urban areas.

For the aim of the research, comparison of performance in urban and inner areas is highly relevant, therefore the theoretical distribution of respondents was half-half (actually 53% and 47%), the proportion of representatives of turnover is almost the same as in the sample.

Table 8 - Interviews plan

Survey results				Interviews results			
	INNER AREA	URBAN AREA	Total		INNER AREA	URBAN AREA	Total
TURNOVER				TURNOVER			
<= 10 k	37	30	67	<= 10 k	5	5	10
	22%	15%	37%		17%	17%	34%
> 11 and < 50	34	16	50	> 11 and < 50	7	4	11
	20%	10%	30%		23%	13%	36%
> 50 k	27	22	49	> 50 k	4	5	9
	16%	13%	29%		13%	17%	30%
Total	98	68	166	Total	16	14	30
	59%	41%	100%		53%	47%	100%

Graph 23 - Distribution among areas



The topics in the interviews explored numerous aspects of the respondents' lives. A consistent part was dedicated to previous work experiences and education, then to the life style in the company or organization, by describing the kind of work they do, the relation with the market, ethical and political choices, and a focus on change in agriculture and what is it going on in rurality.

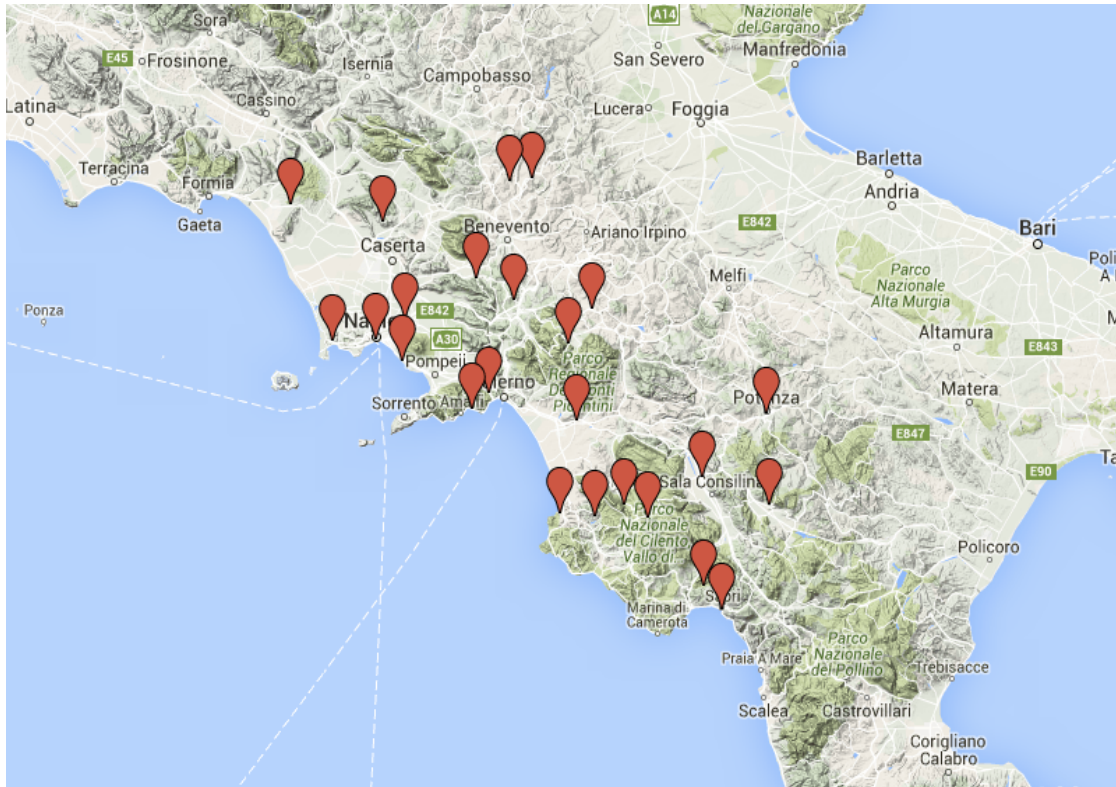
As displayed in maps 5 and 6, location of the respondents is spread along the Region, they go from the northern to the southern countryside, including inland and mountain areas.

Map 5 - Location of fieldwork



Source: own elaboration.

Map 6- Location of principal informants



Source: own elaboration

Note: Closest respondents are collected in a same spot.

3.4.2 Interviews analysis

Here we are with the voices of our protagonists. This is the part where the interpretative research gives her best. Now I present the most useful information provided by interviewees, that allowed understanding the phenomenon from the inside, through fruitful conversations that showed their minds and giving physically the access to private places.

Several of my best memories of the research are linked to these interviews: I had the chance to travel around Campania and discover new locations of my native region, being warmly hosted to see private places, in many occasion getting the chance to taste incredibly good food. In every case I had the chance to undertake nice and profound

discussions, with people that I greatly thank for the time and the openness they shared with me.

Interviewees are reported anonymously. I use alias of informants indicating two facts: areas of residency (inner or urban ones), and class of turnover (A= below 10 thousand per year, B= between 10 and 50 thousand, C= higher than 50 thousand), and adding a progressive number casually linked to the names; therefore, they are called 'inner A 1, 2, 3 etc..' or 'urban A 1, 2, 3 etc....'; examples of acronyms are 'IA1' 'IB1' and 'UA1' 'UB1'.

In my research I detected radical exponents in both rural and urban areas, and in any level of annual turnover. As said before, behaviours are alternative if they apply criteria described by ecological entrepreneurship (Marsden, Smith, 2005), and are indicated as radical if they recall the new peasantry style (Van der Ploeg, 2010). The radicals follow the 'six shifts' to new paradigm explained in chapter 1.1.2, they approach to the land as ecological capital; they focus on self-provisioning; they actively construct distance from the conventional system; they induct a dynamic co-production in line with natural cycles; they cooperate with other farmers in order to create a network of multiple resistance; they base on community to extended networks and create new marketplaces.

The radical ruralism is associated with 'green' and anti-exploitation agenda: from cooperative or non-profit economic systems, eco-sustainability projects, low-impact development, permaculture or small-scale organic agriculture, and a promotion of 'alternative' or socially marginalised lifestyles.

Cases of radicalism present in my research express all the above mentioned criteria. The others differ in any point, the most frequent not respected point is the promotion of alternative or socially marginalized lifestyle, in both rural and urban cases. It might seem obvious that people living in inner areas, running activities there, are therefore part of the local change. It is not so in all the cases, there are few that are promoters of messages that have a cultural impact, but is not inclusive or accessible because of high product costs, and become the "alternative" for high society choices. In particular, the following acronyms indicate the radicals: IA1, IA2, IA3, IA5, IB3, IB4, IB7, IC2, UA1, UA3, UA5, UB2, UB4, UC4.

In tab n. 9 there is a synthetic description of main traits of interviewees. I underline that the radicalism is a trait that emerged from interviews and it is not correlated to other characteristics.

Table 9 - Interviewees' acronyms and description

Acronym	Inner/ Urban	Province	Year	Production	Position	Annual turnover	Radical/ Not
IA1	Inner Areas	Salerno	2003	No	Intermediary	0-10	Radical
IA2	Inner Areas	Salerno	2012	Yes	Self sufficient	0-10	Radical
IA3	Inner Areas	Caserta	2013	Yes	Producer	0-10	Radical
IA4	Inner Areas	Salerno	2004	No	Intermediary	0-10	Not radical
IA5	Inner Areas	Salerno	2011	Yes	Self sufficient	0-10	Radical
IB1	Inner Areas	Salerno	2011	Yes	Producer	11-50	Not radical
IB2	Inner Areas	Benevento	2007	Yes	Producer	11-50	Not radical
IB3	Inner Areas	Salerno	2000	Yes	Self sufficient	11-50	Radical
IB4	Inner Areas	Avellino	2001	Yes	Self sufficient	11-50	Radical
IB5	Inner Areas	Avellino	1990	Yes	Self sufficient	11-50	Not radical
IB6	Inner Areas	Avellino	2005	Yes	Producer	11-50	Not radical
IB7	Inner Areas	Salerno	2002	Yes	Self sufficient	11-51	Radical
IC1	Inner Areas	Caserta	1984	Yes	Self sufficient	51	Not radical
IC2	Inner Areas	Salerno	2012	Yes	Producer	51	Radical
IC3	Inner Areas	Potenza	1998	Yes	Producer	51	Not radical
IC4	Inner Areas	Napoli	2000	Yes	Producer	51	Not radical
UA1	Urban Areas	Napoli	2014	No	Intermediary	0-10	Radical
UA2	Urban Areas	Salerno	2013	Yes	Producer	0-10	Not radical
UA3	Urban Areas	Napoli	2014	No	Intermediary	0-10	Radical
UA4	Urban Areas	Salerno	2014	No	Intermediary	0-10	Not radical
UA5	Urban Areas	Napoli	2013	No	Intermediary	0-10	Radical
UB1	Urban Areas	Napoli	2014	Yes	Producer	11-50	Not radical
UB2	Urban Areas	Salerno	2012	No	Intermediary	11-50	Radical
UB3	Urban Areas	Benevento	2013	Yes	Producer	11-50	Not radical
UB4	Urban Areas	Napoli	2010	No	Intermediary	11-50	Radical
UC1	Urban Areas	Salerno	2000	Yes	Producer	51	Not radical
UC2	Urban Areas	Avellino	2004	Yes	Self sufficient	51	Not radical
UC3	Urban Areas	Potenza	1995	No	Intermediary	51	Not radical
UC4	Urban Areas	Napoli	2009	No	Intermediary	51	Radical
UC5	Urban Areas	Salerno	1994	Yes	Producer	51	Not radical

According to in-depth interviews style, I prepared a track containing topics of interest, that was investigated during our conversations.

On average meetings lasted about 2 hours and I presented myself as a researcher from Rural Hub and the university of Milan. The venue of the conversation varied, sometimes

they took place at the respondent's workplace, some others at the Rural Hub, others during events and festivals like Campdigrano and Foodstok.

Interview track was the following:

- The past, personal history.
- The work.
- Economic sustainability.
- Relationship with tradition.
- What Rural Social Innovation means to them.
- Social and political positions.
- What community and social networks are.
- Relationship with the market.
- How they combine life and work-time

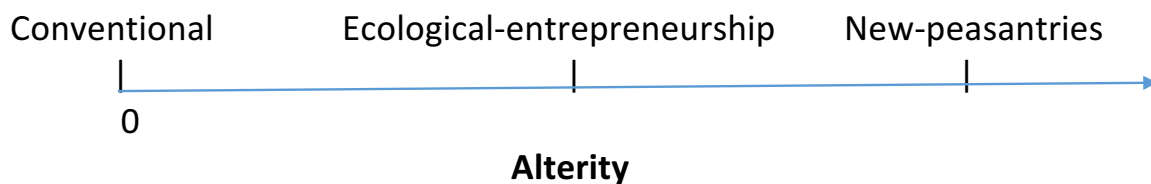
The following exposition of results is organized according to main interesting research subjects: biographies, rural social innovation, social capital, relationship to market.

The most relevant difference among respondents results to be the relation to market, as recalled in the first chapter of the dissertation, the so called distinction between new peasantries (Van der Ploeg, 2010) and ecological entrepreneurship (Marsden, Smith, 2005). New peasantry is based on autonomy and sustainability from the conventional agro-food system, it promotes interpersonal relationships, independence and a new rural lifestyle. The ecological entrepreneurship refers to a process where farms contribute to a sustainable rural development using environmentally friendly agriculture and direct marketing to find their economic sustainability (Marsden, Smith, 2005).

We can imagine placing the two approaches on a continuous line of alterity (see graph n. 24), starting from the conventional industrial production and market as point zero, assigning a crescent degree of alternativism/radicalism: lower degree to the ecological entrepreneurship and higher degree to new peasantries. As a matter of simplicity, I will call 'radical' the latter ones, including all the respondents that have a higher level of alterity and formed alternative circles of production and sales, in many ways incompatible with the conventional market. As noticed by Van der Ploeg, Jingzhong and Schneider (2012), rural development can be viewed as an evolving set of responses to market failures. A key

element of these responses is that they are unfolding through the construction of new markets, also known as 'nested' markets.

Graph 24 – Alterity: from conventional to new peasantries



3.4.2.1 Neo-rural biographies

All producers have the same history: totally different work experiences from agriculture. Most of them studied at universities and got a job, others simply went to bigger cities for finding a job and improving their life.

They all felt disappointed in their experiences, working too much and sometimes not respecting their morals. Adherence to ethic is a leverage for many to start doing something different in their lives. Same experiences are reported for inner and urban, lower and higher waged actors.

In the Magna Charta foundation, I was the slave of the professor with whom I had graduated at the department of social studies, they call us "experts on the subject" ... it is a bad job, then the foundation ... (IA2 - radical)

I studied in Siena at the faculty of economics, I was there until 1997, I left everything at the moment when I had this building available. I had just broken

balls, I felt the gear of a system that had neither head nor tail, I burned money.
(IB4 - radical)

I went to Miami, New York and Los Angeles. In the United States I was a waiter in the restaurant. (IB5)

I am a biologist, and I studied in Perugia. I did the scientific informant. I went to Calabria because my husband was Calabrian. I went there and did farms courses financed by the Calabria region, and I cultivated this passion. So then I went back to Eboli, where we had renovated a country house, and with my sister we decided to settle in the countryside, opening our house to hospitality. (UA2)

Forefathers in rural areas is a common trait, but not the only good reason to leave a quiet job and try to become a farmer. Often jumping a generation or two of family workers on the field, having got an education, being aware that farming is not an easy or mild work... many reasons would keep them away from going back to the land. For some the moment came with economic crises, but in most cases it was like a vocation or a call, it was a chance to turn their life around.

I won the contest with police, but after a few years I left, I left in 2003. I went to see my grandfather in Calabria and decided to give it all up, this thing of Calabria got me back memories of my grandfather's childhood and my grandmother who lived at 1700 meters, self-sufficient in total naturalness. For them it was madness, they still believe that I had done something because I earned 1,800 Euros. they understand me now. (IA1 - radical)

Agriculture is a great thing, but we must love it, one must have the passion, Dad had a lot of soil, we were 6, it was divided among all, and this side was assigned to me, they were all arable as it was once, there were not trees... then I have made specialized orchards that help to make income: whatever it is, here I have apples, here all pears, here vineyards, here olive groves. (IB5)

I approached because my parents were already working here, my grandfather and my father worked the land, I had other work experience then

the opportunity presented itself, with the RDP, to build up the laboratory and in the end... better fight at home... (IB2)

a) The work

Activities are very different. There are: strictly farmers, which simply grow and sell vegetables; there are farmers managing agritourism; animal husbandry of bees or cows that produce honey and cheese; growers who process their products; and associations that organize sales like collective purchasing (GAS) or private markets. In many cases the multifunctional agriculture (Huylensbroeck, Durand, 2003) is key for neo-rural organizations: they operate at the same time in different sectors connected to rurality, from agriculture, to processing and trade, to tourism, education and training activities. Same experiences are reported for inner and urban, lower and higher waged actors.

Our experience is based on exchange, where a contribution is expected however it depends on why so many guests sleep without paying, they become our friends and know how to repay, this is one thing to know us, we have a detailed profile, come to make transhumance, to go out at night with the fishermen, with the shepherds. Almost they come to work and give us a contribution ... (IA1 - radical)

About five years ago, though, GAS and other activities have intensified over two years, two and a half years. Since one year we have a home and we have many more activities than we did before, we do many self-productions. The buying group seemed to be the first thing to change, at this time it started with only one supplier that was CarBio. To date, there are a dozen suppliers, organic non-certified producers. (UB2 - radical)

I work twice a week, one day mozzarella, the other days we make cheeses but I do not show up on the market, I do not slash price, otherwise in the end I

do not earn anything. I try to keep my clients that I have selected, than we have been now running this business for 9 years. (IB2)

It was a passion that was there, we left off two cassettes, then my husband talking to a friend, they came together and so the thing was born. All that is inherent in beekeeping, honey, propolis and royal jelly. (UC5)

The fact is that, in the essence, following natural rhythms means being very active during the productive seasons, and taking long rests during rainy seasons and winter time. The alarm clock rings early in the morning for those in the countryside. Sacrifices are well accepted in the name of nature, sustainability and personal freedom.

Going back to the land compels me to more pressing rhythms, in the morning you have to wake up early, in the evening you go to sleep soon, it reduces your social life ... yes it changes because you do not decide rhythms, times are issues by meteorological weather, rain stops you, sun is good for working. (IA5)

It depends on what is meant by life! We do the opposite, people have to work to live, but we live to work in the sense that we always work, when you are in contact with animals you cannot miss anything, Saturday and Sunday, holidays do not exist. If there is no basic interest in it ... (UC5)

Much passion, much commitment ... And sacrifices. But is there an appreciation of staying in nature. (IB6)

b) Life and work

General consideration is that the current style of life is far better than before. Going neo-rural has been the turn to happiness for many, the way to stay closer to an inner self, to realize something good for themselves and society. Life and work have to combine in a virtuous manner, in order to avoid the discontent of dedicating one's time to the goals and enrichment of someone else. The aim is to find an economical and emotional balance between the energy invested and the return.

You have to do both things, you have to see how satisfied one is, if you have a lifestyle where you earn less and you are satisfied with that, then if you want to earn double it is a matter of mentality, you find a compromise. It's always an ethical matter about how you make things, that's the reward. I have little success after a lot of work, sweat, discouraging. (IB2)

I did as an orchestra conductor of this thing, I was the one who got up early in the morning and slept late at night; I was the one who put his life in it, this project itself in my life, then it was easier for me, a choice for life. For the others it was a working thing disconnected from their own existence, because they did not live here, they did not start a family. (IB4 - radical)

For more radical actors, economic choices go together with awareness of political and social consequences in terms of allocation of power though money expenditure:

If farmers do not come together to imagine a new way of society, if I have to make personal sacrifices to produce food for that oligarchy, the same that causes this state of things we live in this country... I would be an idiot! Sacrifices related to work rhythms, heavy rhythms, economic sacrifices! Though, fortunately, I have a lifestyle that allows me to follow my dreams. (IC2 - radical)

Time dedicated to work can reach the whole daytime, but often it is intended as investment for future. On the contrary, in a good organization, the time at work can be very little.

The commitment! When there are boy-scouts the availability is 24 hours, if you fall short of something, gas, gasoline ... then obviously economic compensation is not equivalent to working hours. We look at the growth in time, there was no one here before, this refuge was abandoned. It's a project that needs sacrifice. (IB6)

I work 2/3 hours a day and I'm alone. I go to get coffee sediment, it takes 45 minutes, by scooter. When I go to the bar, I talk, I'm not introverted. I take the coffee and bring it over in the morning, I sleep in the afternoon and work a couple of hours. If I had more work, I'd hire another person, working like me, it's

not that I work 1 hour and he does 8. Maybe she takes part-time and goes to get coffee and I do nothing, the next day I work and he does not. (UB1)

I earn less than 500 euros per month. Time is not fully remunerated, but it's definitely a long time, and given passion and enthusiasm you pay off everything. You're there with pleasure, you're just as if it was yours. (UB3 - radical)

c) Funding

Availability of funding comes from European Union by regional pacts and projects, like so-called PSR Regional Development Project (see chapter 1). Access to funds is widespread, half of the respondents had benefit from it, mainly for restoring the ancient 'masseria' building and transform it into agritourism, and for conversion of field from conventional into organic culture. The second half of respondents invested private money, coming from previous jobs, and mortgages from the bank.

Yes, the territorial pacts of the Lattari Mountains... we did it at the time, they give you an investment funding but they give you moneys very slowly, if you do not have a basic economic strength you cannot cope. (UC5)

We applied to the announcement promoted by the Tuscany region for the innovative strategies for the Expo and we reached the 6th place over 25 innovative start-ups, with the Ministry of Agriculture. We won this prize, 30,000 € that we need to use to buy services, stands. (UB1)

The '8 x mille' by Valdese church. (IC2 - radical)

All at my expense. I'm against politics. They do not give you anything at the local level. (IB5)

d) Federation and unions

Opinion on federation and unions is not unanimous. For some it is a good help for market opportunities, for example 'Campagna Amica' (friendly Countryside) from Coldiretti, one of the biggest unions is a protected market for direct producer-sellers. Slow-food is also perceived as a union, because the brand functions as a label and organizes protected markets.

A branch of producers is hostile to federations, they don't share ideals and prefer to have different certification.

For these agricultural realities it is important because it makes them known, it's all easier through them. (UC5)

Coldiretti. But we cannot stop here and let the others decide for us. It is necessary, for anyone who has real contact with the land, to figure out how he can bring the needs to the tables. (UA2)

It was the idea to go through consortia or co-operatives, they were already in balance between the various producers. The few producers I spoke with, more honestly, the distrust is such that there is no institutionalized organ that is recognized as worthy of trust. (UA1 - radical)

Then the organizations are against you, especially Coldiretti, you cannot show them that there is another way. (UC3)

e) Certifications

Agriculture still offers different alternatives, from a cautious low-pesticides conventional to standard organic and not-certified-organic ones.

Not-certified-organic is wide spread among producers that do not agree with the standard system of certification and sustain to get a better guarantee introducing a new protocol. Such protocol is often accompanied by a 'participatory guarantee system', meaning that consumers and other suppliers are invited to control in person on the observance to the protocol.

There is also the case of a new mark, similar to organic certification, which is the 'Latte Nobile' noble milk, created by Anfosc, an association which detains the power to distribute the label.

A second point against standard organic agriculture is the vision of the whole sustainability of the process, intending that not only agriculture but the whole system has to be sustainable, from seeds and products to fair trades, transports, garbage and pollution, recycling and energy employed.

We started with only one supplier who was CarBio. Today we have about a dozen of suppliers, none of these, or maybe few, have institutional organic certifications and such things. We prefer to approach our certification from the bottom, each of us can at any time go to visit them, this is a fairly clear agreement with all of our suppliers. We can visit farms, peasants, and realize with our own eyes how they produce. A brand frankly gives you no control, basing even on experience of people who have worked for us, who entered our group. I often say these brands are commercial inventions that do not really respond to expectation, moreover the organic label does not give warranty, it contains nothing, no information on the origin of the product. (UB2 - radical)

Like in the case of organic milk, we give the brand. For now we are giving certification, in the future perspective not more. This is because there are certification entities that will be entitled to do that. But now we need to fine-tune some stakes. (UC3)

In order to distinguish sustainable agriculture, I want to talk about sustainable one and not organic one that is linked to a certification. The goal which it is meant, if sustainable agriculture is done with a commercial goal, it is probably not loyal to both the environment and health. (IA5)

Certification does not interest me much. Why am I talking about organic certification? Is the production system of these companies organic? They have a biological product but they pollute. I have the non-organic product and I do not pollute. Biology is the logic of life, the logic of life is not only when it comes

to producing and sales, but when it sells, smears, rushes, and reproduces food.
(UB1)

3.4.2.2. Rural Social Innovation

Innovation assumes a variety of different senses, in many ways tracing back to the fact of adding something that is missing, and innovation mostly means to them exactly this 'added value'. Innovation assumes a variety of shapes: it is in the social field, working for social cohesion and solidarity; on the environmental level, in the valorisation of territory through tourism and agritourism; in health, in the rediscovery of healthy and simple food as a therapy for diseases; in technology, in the application of new technologies for growing techniques respectfully to the planet; in ICT, in the use of internet and websites, e-commerce and digital forms of communication.

Here we start to see the difference between degrees of alterity. Less radical actors see innovation as a way to unite modern processes to traditional appearances.

For us, all sectors are chained into a system. Innovation is in keeping the rustic appearance, walking in the fields, and having all the luxuries like air conditioning and Wi-Fi. Then we study the recipes, we have the lemon balm ravioli, and I'll explain to you what lemon balm is good for. Our work lies in this.
(UC2)

All this, however, in the respect of traditions, because if the Roman conciato cheese is made just like 2000 years ago, without technological innovation, there was the urge to make it known, from 2007-2008 through the web. (IC1)

More radical actors show to have bigger plans for the future, innovating on many levels and aiming at creating a brand new world. The first strand of innovation for many is the market, intending to contrast the capitalist system introducing new forms of trade.

On technological level, on cultural level, you bring innovation putting all together, in collaboration... trying to put things together, to create awareness

and consciousness that no longer exist. The strength of this land is lost in the street. It is, they feel vulnerable, now more than ever. (IB4 - radical)

To create a world apart! our attempt is to create a world that does not exist out of the door where we do these activities, there is no real innovation if you decide to use the existing economic model (UB2 - radical)

For radical actors, innovation involves mind settings and behavioural aspects, cultural as well as technical change. It means a renewed way of staying in the land.

I would put the emphasis on behaviour, an innovative behaviour would be to return to land, to return to produce. Then we can put all the aspects you want. In the peasant tradition, before the holidays they worked hard, they produced. (IB3 - radical)

Innovation is easy to say, everyone understands what it means, but it also binds too much to a technical point of view. Whereas, however, all that is linked to a new way of staying in the land is not related to technique, it is linked to a cultural path of change. Innovation is revision of knowledge through new tools. (UB4 - radical)

Considering rural life in its complexity, it involves different dimensions: productive, social, economic and cultural levels. This means that the rural innovation has to be a social innovation too. It is something to plant now, being aware of growing a better future tomorrow.

In my opinion, rural social innovation is the enhancing of land products which are social. Already, rural and social features stay together, in the sense that rural products are not eaten by the farmer. The land product, if not for self-production, is something that has to be distributed to the community, so it's already something social. The innovative thing is to be able to carry it in the modern era, just like making Philadelphia with buffalo milk, so rural social innovation is about creating something really constructive and therefore authentic. (UA1 - radical)

In other words, as said in the theoretical chapter, innovation is more about how social and technical systems can co-evolve to make a more effective use of the territorially

specific assets and local knowledge, albeit increasingly in the context of markets that often transcend the immediate locality.

a) Tradition

Innovation is in many ways in a dialogue with tradition, because the role of the past tradition is a key for many not radical actors. Ways of growing and animal husbandry is inspired by old methods of farming, recipes are based on grandmothers' traditions. But the ancient knowledge does not come in direct line, it has to overcome a generational gap lasted for 50 years or more, neo-rurals have to recover it asking to older people, studying and trying themselves.

Different reasons interrupted the empowerment line: industry products like fertilisers, industry seeds and raw materials, machineries, and then a cultural change that gave more attention to refined food and processed stuff.

New norms are a second problem, new norms aim to industrialize processing, and prohibit traditional ways, under the name of safety and health control. In this way some traditional products become suddenly illegal and are at risk of disappearing.

One of the goals is to bring the old generations not only to make bread, but to consume whole grains, because the old generations, who made whole black bread, are the same people that if today see it they say "wait, what is this crap?" because they associate the whole black flour to poverty, to times of difficulty, to scarce harvest. (IA5)

Dishes in the menu we offer are all part of the tradition. Some people come, they want to remember grandmother's Sunday lunch, those scents and emotions. (IC1)

Obviously roots must be preserved. Keep in mind that, in the '60s, there was cortical cancer of the chestnut, so in San Martino it destroyed everything, that tradition had already been lost. It was kept in the neighbouring village, but here! it is almost lost, you see the pine forest which has been re-planted. There are skills among employees, at the beginning we had an employee who was born in

the land, now retired, and helped us growing on the technical point of view.
(IB6).

More radical actors put the emphasis on the break made by loss of ancient knowledge, introducing industrial farming. They associate tradition and betrayal. Old customs have been replaced by industry preferences, and the same old people recant origins and original habits in the name of 'progress'.

They [old people] are the keepers of wisdom but, at the same time, the first who contaminated it because they are the sons of the 1960s industrial farming, they completely destroyed that knowledge. They look at me: "But how? Do they not abrade the grain? But how do you weed?". (IA2 - radical)

b) Social and political matters

Consciousness of social and political aims is a prerequisite for some, not for all.

For some the social aspect is the first step to start with, in order to have an impact, and the political awareness is the personal motivation to act.

In this case, differences are not found between inner or urban subjects, neither among turnover classes. The difference is between the more and the less radicals: only the first ones feel this motivation.

Some see in the neo-rurality as a sort of redemption and a new form of territorial organization, coordinating farms for the empowerment of the territory.

Over all, they see that it is important to make a choice of position and drive one's energy and work consistently.

Propose a new model. Forget the party division, replace it with farms that come together, which are families and associations that produce and then this is discussed ... they produce culture, as it always was. Some battles, including the protection and preservation of this part of the Apennines, and then I'll take you to a tour. (IA2 -radical)

I see a latent debate, what is the economic and social model that is built around it? I read a bit of things, I'm convinced that the time of large and

centralized systems is dead because the reality is too complex, and so I realized that there is a need for so many breeding ground that will touch each other. (UB2 - radical)

Genoa 2001, I stayed there 10 days, it was a turning point for me, I do not want to share anything with the current system, but from my own cultural point of view, I do not want to contribute to this, I do not want to be part of it, I do not want a job, I do not want a salary, I do not want anything about it and I just called out. You have to subtract resources from a mechanism to give it to another, otherwise you are the worker in the assembly line, you serve as a slave. If you serve a dish you are not a slave, you are offering a service, and they give you the chance to work without leaving your home. (IB4 - radical)

3.4.2.3. Social capital and networks

Staying in the countryside as well as settling in an urban area requires people to establish social networks in order to improve their life and job, and get bigger or better. It refers to the access to skilled workers, to basic information, to specific markets. They recognize the power of unity, the positive externalities of staying connected. Some actively create and reinforce network. And they know that to build it and keep it, is not that simple.

In my country there is a beautiful reality made of young people who work. As agritourism it's only me, then there is animal husbandry, winegrowers because our grapes are good. (IB5)

There is the fact that when you come to me, I do not stop at my reality, I give directions on what to do during the stay, I accompany them to the dairy, to the winery. When the network is there, I promote the others, that gives force to each other. If I am full I send them to my colleague who is close to me. You know that you are not alone running your business, focused on yourself. So, here you

are the spokesperson not only of a village but of a whole region, that is why this hunger to know Cilento, Irpinia etc. (IC1)

There is good communication with the local community. We have contacts with companies around like mozzarella in Montella. This is our worry. The organic concept has not grown up because it costs too much. We had meetings in the area. We wanted to push to turn the whole organic area. But the organic production requires more work and they are not interested in it. (UC2)

The point of view of the more radical actors is critical and nostalgic, the feeling of a lost sense of community. They complain the lack of solidarity, something that changed from the past in the same villages where they live, or something that was always missing in the cities.

It is a small community, no more a community ... but it has been for so many years. Tourism has broken what was a community living of agriculture and fishing! We point to involvement, to bring together the people who create communities. If we start to make Don Alfonso's panzerotti together, if we start to do things all together ... to find themselves again, their roots, their stories, then even those who come here for holidays know that this place is getting better. If there is a community it means that in everything you do, in the most complete freedom, there is the watching community on you. (IA1 - radical)

So in 8 years, the wood goes to sawmill, 500 meters far, handicraft recoveries, retrieving old people, recovering knowledge from all over... and reactivate the community. I also triggered the cooperation processes among the peasants who were not there before, I made my equipment available for free, the one I bought thanks to European Union contributions. For example, I have the trimmer and I do not have a folding cart... I borrow or exchange. (IB4 - radical)

a) Social control

As said, social capital has also a dark side, the sense of community goes together with the social control. Not only good feelings like friendship and solidarity gather people, it is

also true that negative feelings affect a community. Hostility, envy, competition are inside human relationships, on one hand they help keeping distance from danger, on the other they trace differences and distance from each other.

My mom has come up from Belgium with experience! She is the one who goes to ASL asking for control! Imagine this in the South, this way of conceiving things! Her way of doing things has also created dislikes in the territory, many times the near cattle breeder almost avoids greetings because today she has become 'law'. (IC1)

Do you think that 60 years ago there was a community? Were they communities, on what basis? On the basis of need and mutual mistrust! We were forced to stay close to each other. Therefore, there was a sense of community, and a sense of mistrust! When I host you at home, in ancient Greece: host root is 'Hostis', the enemy. You let him into your house, to eat and drink. Why? To know him, to understand what he was thinking, but basically the need was to know the stranger. (IA2 - radical)

Control happens reciprocally among neighbours, officially from authorities, or by choice in the case of participatory guarantee system.

Participatory guarantee system is a specific and very strict form of regulation applied by a growing group of farmers and consumer who feel to be more aware of their food choices. It relies exactly on the reciprocal availability to control and be controlled, with respect to some clear and shared standards, adhering to a collective disciplinary. Characteristics are reported in the first interview; difficulties are explained in the second one.

The Participatory guarantee system includes the obligation to update the production sheet every 6 months. You enter by approximation new productions by semester, you have to declare them in full description: how much land will you dedicate to this new production, what will you do, a new up-to-date crop plan? Then, if the data is not very clear, or we help fill in the form, or we decide to make an additional visit. If we still do not find it clear we decide to make a new visit, usually 3 or 4 people go, there are always: a couple of consumers, a proximity expert and an agronomist, or if it's breeding, a veterinary. Or if it is an

olive grove, we bring those who know olive trees, in order to give advice. (UB4 - radical)

To give you an example, in Scauri, we started with various producers, not certified. There is a certification issue, not everyone wants to do it, involving a third party intervention. We criticize the organic certification, because it involves sporadic controls. To accept such a thing, you have to accept another point of view. The consumer enters your house, he's a controller. You have to come into this view. (IA3 - radical)

3.4.2.4. Relationship with market

The relationship with the market is analysed from the point of view of producers and intermediaries and on the economic sustainability level.

a) Producers and intermediaries

For producers it varies from a big part (50%) who is selling in direct market and small shops, to another part (40%) mainly dedicated to self-consume in the agritourism and family, bartering the surplus of products, in very few cases (10%) as conventional form of resell to big distribution.

Producers who participate to fairs and sell to shops are the less radicals:

I initially had more fairs in Benevento, as everything is going by advertising, word of mouth, that's how it goes on, we also use the web site. I arrive in Benevento, I make a few targeted calls to niche shops, and in a bistro in Benevento on the main street. (IB2)

Direct contact with people! Rural business does not grow if you do not participate to markets, fairs, people do not know you and do not approach you.

Directly, we have few distribution channels. We mainly sell overseas, $\frac{3}{4}$ of production goes to America, Australia, Russia, Switzerland. (UC5)

I sell to big industry such as Ortoaroma, Bonduelle. I am organizing with a Verona start-up to make door-to-door boxes. I sell on eBay. (UC1)

While more radical producers have first in mind the value of their land, of the work itself, and point to its appreciation. Their products represent the sum of these values:

No, when I talk about agriculture, I speak mainly of agriculture for eating, family farming, because for me farming income does not exist. When you think of revenue from a common good, that is the land fertility, which is like water, like heaven, you start on wrong foot! Land is not intended to money making, land is a common good that we must keep for our children. (IB3 - radical)

Our small shop, and through channels, we distribute in Benevento. Everything is very transparent, they come and see how we work, they can collect things by themselves, they see that on the plant there are aphids, a snail on strawberry, they go round and there are ladybugs, and fireflies in the evening. You know the place is nice. (UB3 - radical)

Intermediaries have different roles, some are mostly interested in getting visibility with e-commerce and normal shops, some others, more radical, are dedicated to alternative markets like Buying Groups (GAS) and protected market where they sell not-certified food:

The principle of the GAS is that we do the shopping together, there are fifty people, small numbers, 300 euro shops. The association is different; we have decided not to compel to enrol in memberships. We like a more horizontal thing, where everyone has the right to come in and out when he wants to. About 300, 350 people, however, off the top of my head. (UB2 - radical)

“Look, do not forget, you have to put labels on products, because without labels it's anonymous”. It's important, for consumers, to know that you Vincenzo made this eggplant in oil, but not because he has to judge, because he

must recognize you! You first must recognize the value of what you do, the value of the flavours you bring, your specificity ... (UB4 - radical)

b) Economic sustainability

Economic sustainability is an important issue for everyone, but the difficulties of getting bills paid and earning enough to save some money for the future is not a problem for all the interviewees.

In terms of personal energy displayed, material costs, employees, mortgage etc., organizations declaring higher incomes, some are not plenty satisfied of the revenues. Their economic dissatisfaction is balanced with the happiness of the style of life they choose, gratification for moral integrity, proud of quality of production. Among these richest ones, we don't find anyone of more radical actor.

Between the mortgage, the employees that at the end of the year come to 35-40 thousand euros, more water and gas. There are costs! The revenue is through restaurant and doctor office, but since we pay taxes for everything, there are no big margins at the end of the month. Our style is this. Otherwise, you have to change your strategy to halve costs. (UC2)

We do a whole handicraft production, but... from the economic point of view, today agriculture is not good, if I make economics calculation, it's crazy, but then.... unfortunately, if you do not have that form of madness you cannot do anything! (UC1)

Ways for finding real sustainability is a future project for some, but there are some obstacles, like the dimension of the farm, which is too small to produce enough to be competitive on the market and increase the turnover, or the lack of funding to restore part of the building.

Farms and organizations in the lowest and middle turnover level express the same difficulties and ideological aims:

Yes, positively maintaining the company. I still have no chance to hire people.
I have papers in order to tell the new PSR how to get my resources, to renovate

this space. For example: a shed that is a shed, facing the house, it would give me the opportunity to work all year without incurring meteorological variability. (UA2)

Or you do the business that goes to the money, or you do ... I float but I do not sink, but I know I have the conscience in peace. Sales of garden vegetable is not doable because we do not have the strength to make it big enough. If you cannot do things right, it's useless to do it. We breed pigs and chickens. We grow cows until end of career. (IB2)

Still living here, I am not yet self-sufficient, if I should go to live out who pays for my rent? Who pays for expense? Now, here I am with my parents who still endure me and I give them a hand, so let's hand one with each other and we have the opportunity to spend less. (UB1)

Among radical people earning low wage, concern is relatively contained. Some decide to change their life choosing to give a different value to money:

All this... and I do not have an economic interest, I always say it clearly to guests! Thanks to them we can live this life, but there is no business plan, the interest is for that to continue to exist for all. What we try to convey is that if they pay a contribution, then they support this experience and we ensure that anyone from anywhere in any condition can come. We have a standard price of 25 euros. Who would stay longer with us and doesn't have it, we ask them what they can do in exchange, who comes and has moneys often gives more, it happens naturally because you see what we do every day, I put my heart in it because I believe it. (IA1 - radical)

We have other jobs, but all inherent. We have the centre that supports us, who pays the expenses, but it does not pay us a wage, at the end of the year we

count Centre activities allow us to maintain itself. So this job is for free, we pay bills, flyers ... (UA3 - radical)

More radical actors explain their difficulties in integrating their choices with the market. Actually, some decisions made their products not-certified and then illegal, and do not allow them to compete in the official market:

The problem is that: we are not able to legally sell products. I cannot access an authorized market, and we have been forced to create illegal ones, hence unlicensed, tax-free markets. The level of autonomy and agility is very subjective. For us there is self-consumption that saves us, but we cannot afford any excess. Because we know that this lifestyle does not enrich you, and luxury will not come out. (IA3 - radical)

We bend over backwards! We ask for a membership fee for joining the association, a really ridiculous share, 10 euros a year. This is for supporters, but those who do not want to support us make a 2 euros card. However, we do not have large entries, because we do not even have a home, we cannot afford it. And then every now and then we make some funding to support some initiative, but in fact we have no money. (UB4 - radical)

3.5 FINDINGS

I report below the findings by topic: neo-rurality; bottom-up innovation; neo-rural morality and quality-based markets; selling value: neo-rural radicalism as brand of quality.

3.5.1 Neo-rurality

From a qualitative point of view, interviews show actors involved in a variety of activities, not only productive but also organisational and educative ones. They all act based on similar ethical considerations, differences have been found mostly in actors' relation with market, distinguishable in two types: moderates who seek to create explicitly a new niche of market, and radicals who are ideally hostile to conventional market and aim to introduce barter and other forms of exchange.

Multifunctional agriculture is key for neo-rural organizations. They operate at the same time in different sectors connected to rurality, from agriculture, to transformation process and trade, to tourism, education and training activities.

Going back-to-the-land is a choice to turn the life into something better. That is the great difference with previous generations. Neo-rurals made that choice, in the name of a simple life where time is in their hands. It does not matter if the working-time and the life-time come to overlap. They understand that the free-time, intended in industrial calendars, is short (or inexistent) because it is all spent on the job or for ethical activities, for self-realization, and turns back as source of satisfaction. This makes the neo-rural work something close to other art craft jobs, very common in our contemporaneity (cf. Ocejó, 2017).

A second characteristic of this work is where they set the goal for growth. For those of them working as entrepreneurs, the aim is not to point at the exponential growth, in terms of dimensions and turnover, but to reach an equilibrium that satisfies their needs, gives their family something to live with, and keeps them in peace with nature. The reality is that such goal is often difficult to reach for many.

The relationship between city and countryside grows through the transfer of innovation from city, as knowledge and technical transfer, and comes back from the countryside as health, environment, food and job opportunities.

There is rurality and neo-rurality. Rurality has met with contemporaneity, exploding for plastic and disposable objects in the last 20 years. Then, of course, the shepherd, or the fisherman, who throws the polystyrene into the sea while fishing anchovies in traditional manners, is not the most destructive.

I think today, in neo-rurality, we are in a historic moment, we have the awareness to carry this rurality in a more conscious direction, because rurality has been invaded by 'progress'. (IA1 - radical)

This brings us to consider that neo-rurality is expressed through different examples of agriculture and food production, more connected to social networks, and through a wider conception of environment, care for health and human justice. As a matter of fact, a principal characteristic of neo-rural exponents is to promote a new relationship between producers (mainly in inner areas) and consumers (mainly in central areas). Neo-rurals measure and communicate the value of high-quality local food in a different way, bridging the gap between supply and demand in the market through a collaborative approach. This is in line with recent studies on how agriculture and rural life have changed their role in post-modern society, and there we also see trajectories for inner areas' development.

3.5.2 Bottom-up Innovation⁴

The concept of rural innovators has been introduced in the theoretical part, and developed between the lines, as it is a controversial concept. Respondents, both located in inner or urban areas, bring knowledge from the city (university or previous job), live in the countryside and bring back good food to the city, or live in the city and become a bridge

⁴ Acknowledgment: paragraphs "bottom-up innovation" and "selling worth: neo-rural radicalism as brand of quality" are included in the published article by Orria B. and Luise V. (2017) "Innovation in rural development: 'neo-rural' farmers branding local quality of food and territory". Italian Journal of Planning Practice, 7 (1), 125-153.

for food and knowledge from the countryside. In the case of neo-rurals, innovation assumes a variety of senses, in many ways tracing back to the fact of adding something that is missing. It involves different dimensions: social, environmental, health, technology, ICT.

Innovation is in many ways in a dialogue with tradition, which is a key for many not radical actors. Ways of growing and animal husbandry is inspired by old methods of farming, recipes are based on grandmothers' traditions.

Innovation influences inner areas introducing technologies and organisational forms that are borrowed from the collaborative peer production economy (Bauwens, 2005), and affects social and cultural dimensions. It contributes to a redefinition of economic value and to set off higher standards of quality and authenticity of local food. In this sense the innovation process follows a double strategy: it has as first outcome the creation of new organizational forms; second, it contributes to set off higher standards of quality and authenticity of local food, that reflects on a redefinition of economic value.

The implementation takes place thanks to bottom-up practices which develop rural social innovation processes in inner areas. In this sense neo-rurals not only oppose the conventional system but actively try to overcome distortions of that model through innovative practices. Recalling Constance's four analytics questions we find: on environment, the valorisation of biodiversity as ecological capital; on food, the self-provisioning to reduce external input in the agricultural productive process; on soil, the distance placed from global agro-food business, the dynamic co-production with nature; on emancipation, the resistance as rediscovery of pre-capitalist rural value, the creation of extended networks through AAFNs and new niche marketplaces (Van der Ploeg, 2010).

Neo-rural farmers are not only a reaction to dominant global model of agro-food system, but they are forms of innovation and cooperation between producers and consumers, in other words, transformative bottom-up practices lead to active social innovation. Our results are in line with Bettina Bock (2012) highlighting correspondences between social innovation practices and rural social innovation processes. We recall the three main interpretations of social innovation: the social mechanisms of innovations, the social responsibility of innovations and the innovation of society (see chapter 2).

Both Bock as scholar and our interviewees as workers explain that to any practice corresponds an aspect of rural social innovation, such as the co-production of rural

innovation, the responsiveness to market failure and unmet social needs, and the change of rural society.

Firstly, we consider the aspect of collective and creative learning which is no longer structured as a linear transfer, but becomes a shared, social and circular process, in which the combination of different sources and types of knowledge creates something new (Oreszczyn et al., 2010; Stuiver et al., 2004). In this sense the rural social innovation is built on networking and communication among different actors and takes place during markets, conferences, private meetings and festivals.

Secondly, social responsibility is shown replacing the 'bio-economical', productivist modernisation paradigm by a system in which agriculture is place-based and relocated into 'the regional and local systems of ecological, economic and community development' (Marsden, 2012). It seeks to replace what is indicated as the farmers no longer aim to maximize production against minimal costs but instead develop new products and services, such as local, high quality food, nature conservation as well as rural tourism and green care (Roep, Wiskerke, 2004) and in doing so meet newly emerging social needs.

Concerning the change of the rural society, the call for a sustainable agro-food economy, and 'real ecological modernisation' (Marsden, 2012) may serve as an example to summon radical changes in society and its systems of production and consumption.

Intertwining of levels of action is clear in a producer's quote, pointing out social and political relevance of their rural commitment:

I'm talking using 'us' because for most producers this point is very clear. Our effort makes sense because it converges in this logic. You can survive selling to consumers and building on social and political action towards the future. (IB4 - radical)

On one side, the neo-rurals challenge the sustainability failures of the industrial food systems proposing alternative businesses and organisational models. On the other side, they are intertwined with the global system competing in conventional markets with 'local typical food' (see 'nested markets' below).

The relation between these two sides has often encountered radicalism, especially in rural phenomena, claiming localism as a normative solution to globalization.

Indeed, according to DuPuis and Goodman (2005), localism can reveal on one hand defensive politics rather than a strong turn-to-quality based on organic and ecological production, and on the other hand the production of alternative standards that are vulnerable to corporate co-optation.

Neo-rurals adopting a more radical approach develop forms of innovation and cooperation between producers and consumers, that are bottom-up practices leading to active social innovation.

The core of what I'm doing is a struggle rising from the bottom. It does not come from institutions or associations which are hierarchical organizations, but comes from the bottom and involves people and institutes which are interested in this aim. (IB4- radical)

3.5.3 Neo-rural morality and quality-based markets

The concept of moral economy is especially appropriate in rural scenarios, as well as in the case of neo-rurals, where discourses about prices and accessibility of goods, about quality of food itself, food production and social responsibility, frequently recur.

Neo-rurals are putting on stage a reflexive activity on market. They assume that markets evolve and, like species, become differentiated and diversified. As Callon et al. (2001) noted such evolution is grounded in no pre-established or predictable logic, it is not simply the consequence of a natural tendency to adapt. In this sense, economic markets are caught in a reflexive activity: involved actors explicitly question markets organization and, based on an analysis of their functioning, try to conceive and establish new rules for the game.

Discussions about the evolution of markets take place in public spaces, the specific structuring of which is yet to be defined. They are also called 'hybrid forums' for the variety and heterogeneity of the actors involved, and for diversity of disciplines and approaches to the issue (Callon et al., 2001).

Neo-rural markets have some definite, and rather innovative, features. Quoting Van der Ploeg et al. (2012), I refer to such markets as 'nested' markets; they are imbedded (or

'nested') in the main markets in so far as they are a specific segment of these wider markets, and are susceptible to the same influences. They are "rooted in the social movements, institutional frameworks and/or policy programmes out of which they emerge". They are often related to local and regional resources and connected to regional markets. Also "multifunctionality (at both the enterprise and regional levels) frequently emerges as an important feature" (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012:139).

Nested markets differ from niche market, which has fixed and non-permeable boundaries. On the contrary, nested markets have flexible boundaries that might very well change overtime. A niche market often associates with rigidity (due to regulatory schemes), whilst nested markets show considerable flexibility and innovativeness (Heblink et al., 2014). The emergence of new markets is made possible by the development of the main markets for agricultural commodities, which are increasingly governed by large food empires. "The increasing gap between the prices received by agrarian producers and the prices paid by consumers materially creates the space to do so. This space literally allows for the construction of 'by-passes'" (Van der Ploeg et al., 2012 :139).

Regarding what Beckert (2009) calls the second way to avoid competition, that is proposing products that are differentiated enough, White (1981) argues that markets would be differentiated by firms occupying different positions in the niche, and, to the degree that firms were in fact not competing, this could result in niche partitioning or the creation of new markets.

Neo-rurals are effectively creating a niche partitioning (or new markets). They set themselves outside conventional market places, not in supermarket nor selling their products to intermediates. They organize specific markets where meeting consumers in person, often far from municipal market squares, sometimes in private gardens or cortiles, or they choose specific shops to deliver their food, shops that sell organic food and fair trade. They are oriented to informed consumers, who are often consciously choosing one seller instead of another and are fully aware of what they are buying.

3.5.4 Selling worth: neo-rural radicalism as brand of quality

Neo-rurality as a narrative-based brand collects various ideals, values and marketing behaviours, representing different economic actors in a common narrative.

The concept of 'brand' includes a set of marketing and communication methods that help distinguish a company or any productive subject from competitors, and to create a lasting impression in the minds of customers. Originally brands referred to producers, as a trademark or a 'maker's mark' that worked to guarantee quality or to give an identity. Now the brand, or the 'brand image', refers also to the significance that commodities acquired in the minds of consumers (Gardner, Levy, 1955; Arvidsson, 2005).

Our producers have no official organic certifications, but we know them and we guarantee for them, we serve like a platform. Then local farmers interact directly with consumers, can create their specific trust relationship. (...) This approach creates a completely different value; farmers are people who open up their company. (UB4 - radical)

We look at brand through practices that make it real. In our case study, we found that material practices of caring for the earth and products, as well as immaterial ones like a reinvented imaginary linked to a collective ancestral collective consciousness, involve people to commit on different levels (productive, consumerist, narrative).

Practices connect behaviours, performances, and representations through a sharing of procedures, understanding and engagement (Shau, Muniz, 2009). First, procedures, are explicit rules, principles, precepts, and instructions, called 'discursive knowledge'; second, understandings the knowledge of what to say and do, skills and projects, or know-how (i.e., tacit cultural templates for understanding and action); and third, engagements are ends and purposes that are emotionally charged insofar as people are committed to them (Duguid, 2005; Warde, 2005).

The brand of 'neo-rurality' creates a sense of belonging, through procedures, understanding and engagement, through practices of resources sharing and their valorisation. We assert that an emergent sense of membership and identity arises from the

trajectory, or the development of practices that foster the exchange of collectively defined and valorised resources. This is consistent with prior work on communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). Resources may compose cognitive elements of practices (e.g., knowledge of procedures and rules), status elements (e.g., self-esteem), and emotional elements of practices (e.g., commitment, pride), but they may also include elements such as services, money and accessory goods.

The neo-rurality represents a meta-brand (Carmagnola, 2017) which is constructed around both the ethical conception of market relationships and the collective elaboration of a cultural frame focused on local typical food. “The Brand is an imaginary entity whose ‘power’ is the ability to ‘make people feel’ ” (Carmagnola, 2017: 44).

Carmagnola (2017), speaking of Made in Italy brand, argues that identity and distinctive characteristics of a collective meta-brand have an extraordinary economic value, which is anchored to the continuous narrative production around it. Indeed, Bonetti (2004) focusing on meta-brands in the typical-products industry, argues that one of the main points is the management communications in a coordinate way among economic actors. On the contrary, in the case of neo-rural farmers meta-branding is not a coordinated activity and each farmer contributes autonomously to build up and aggregate characteristics inside the neo-rurality frame.

The new-rural brand is based on autonomous practices of collaborative but not coordinated subjects, who take advantage of network of communication. Such is the case of recent movements, risen from interaction of activists’ use of digital technology and media, from texting to Facebook and Twitter (Bennett, Segerberg 2012). This is the transformation of the traditional form of collective action in the connective action.

Innovation is represented by the new kind of digital communication, for me the web has enormous power. (...) I have a web page where I want to create the farmer 2.0 he has in one hand the hoe and in in other a tablet (...) Today communication is faster, stored, sharable, so if I make good things, people can get it directly. (IC1)

Logic of connective action applies increasingly to life in late modern societies in which formal organizations are losing their grip on individuals, and group ties have been replaced by fluid social networks (Castells, 2000). These networks can operate through social media,

and their logic does not require strong organizational control or symbolic construction of a united 'we' (Bennett, Segerberg, 2012).

Protagonism is a key in change making, and the logic of connective action gives space to individuals and single associations or organizations. Benkler and Nissenbaum (2006) propose that participation becomes self-motivating as personal content is shared with, and recognized by, others who, in turn, repeat these networked sharing activities.

In this connective logic, taking public action or contributing to a common good becomes an act of personal expression and recognition or self-validation achieved by sharing ideas and actions in trusted relationships. Neo-rurals act in a networked, connected way, that doesn't give them back a complete picture of the movement, they are not totally aware of the magnitude of their impact. Each actor contributes to innovation through different elements, on material and immaterial levels. There is no unified or defined ideology, while the opposition reference is clear: they are against a certain 'industrial' agriculture, food production, imaginary and lifestyle. They constitute stars of a galaxy.

3.5.5 Result

Interviews and fieldwork bring to conclude that the research question has a negative answer, the hypothesis is falsified.

Are values and social relationships a separate thing from the market? No, values, identity and markets find a pragmatic balance in practical solutions.

Values and claim of alterity become a brand, adequate to a specific market, which works with specific identification rules recognized by offer and demand.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSION

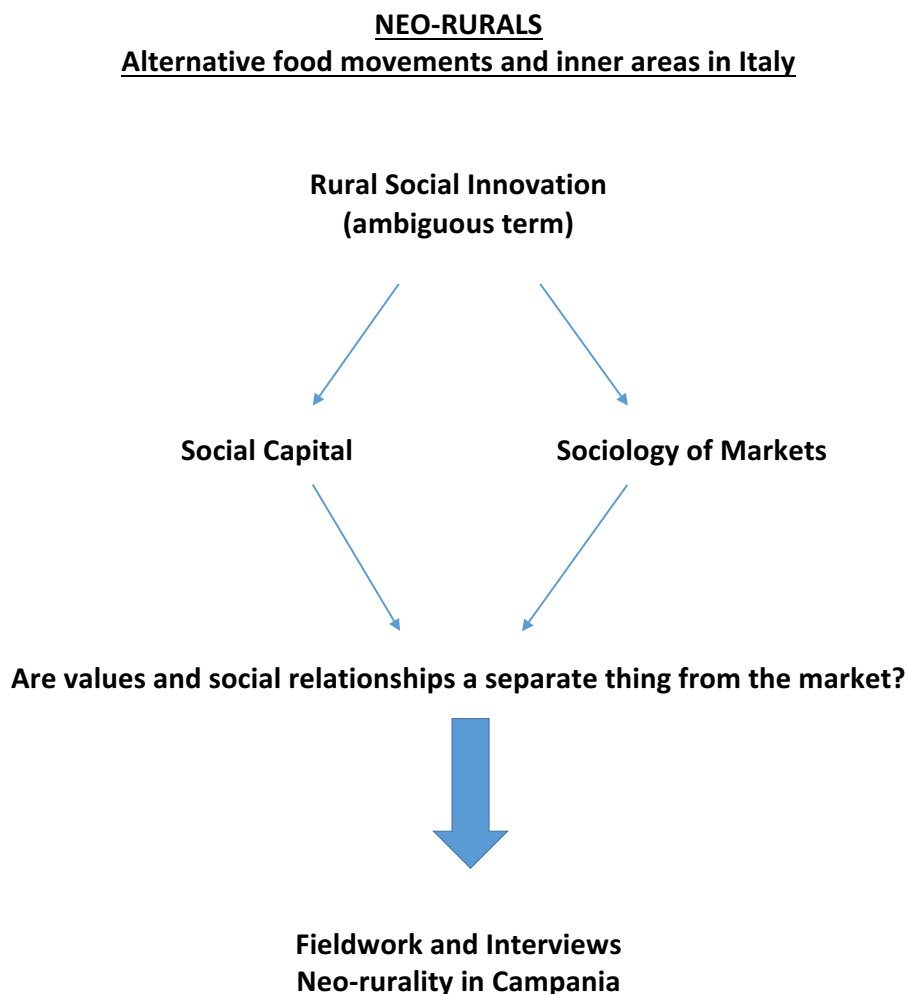
Let's re-start from the beginning.

In the introduction, the schematic representation of the research focused on the main topic - neo-rural phenomenon, and the explanation started from a first approach – the rural social innovation, to move on two more elaborated theories – social capital and sociology of markets.

From these theories a research question emerges: Are values and social relationships a separate thing from the market?

Seeking for an answer, the fieldwork in Campania, studying neo-rurality in inner and central areas, would shed some light on the question.

Graph 25 - Introductory schema



4.1 Are values and social relationships a separate thing from the market?

Are values and social relationships a separate thing from the market?

The answer is no. Social relationships and values are internal to the market.

They go together, reinforce each other. And they help understanding rural social innovation.

I resume here main concepts and findings drawing the road to come to the conclusion.

I highlighted how neo-rural farmers propose a novel combination of economic practices and value production in the frame of Alternative Agro-food Movements, and I focused on the moral tension that stands behind their action.

Moving from the concept of rural social innovation, to knowledge given by social capital and sociology of markets, the importance of moral economy arises: neo-rural exponents promote a new relationship between production and consumption. They are not only anti-consumerist: they articulate in a different way sustainability, visions of market relations, values and practices.

In scientific literature the new farmers are named in several ways, always referring to people passing to agriculture as vocation, often migrating from urban areas to the countryside. However, neo-rurality means much more than the new-farming. As emerged during interviews, boundaries between rurals and urbans thins down: the disintermediated market, that bridges the gap between producers and consumers, and new organisational forms based on peer-to-peer architectures blur the borders of categorisation.

Ferraresi (2013) describes 'Neo-rurality' as a new, social and complex economy. In my research it turns out as a narrative-based brand collecting various ideals, values and marketing behaviours, representing different economic actors in a common narrative. From the point of view of economic sociology, as first result, this study points out that through the collective narrative farmers and intermediaries are constructing a 'neo-rurality' brand of local quality food and promotion of territory.

My research is in line with that strand of recent studies on rural development that sees in farms a resource and are keen on new forms of rural empowerment. Such change passes through valorisation of social networks and weak ties, in fact, as pointed out also by Van der Ploeg et al. (2012:136):

it is about young and often well-educated farmers (wherever they may be located), about farms of all sizes and about new networks that link the rural and the urban. It is also about robust social movements that have been able to change rural society in many respects.

Neo-rural actors include non-productive participants, which are part of the neo-rural phenomenon too as supporters in the distribution, information and consumption. The back-to-the-land concept must be rethought in the light of new technologies, and new social, cultural and economic practices that connect inland people with urban areas.

The product-territory connection has an extraordinary importance. The territory, understood in its entirety and complexity, is the source of agricultural products and agro-food, and it conveys its identity against any counterfeiting. The stronger, visible and certified the product-territory connection is, the more the product is protected and the stronger the agricultural producers are. If this connection is broken, the product becomes undifferentiated, loses value in addition to the loss of the producers of that particular territory.

Territory is the space where rural development is met, namely the global and integrated development of inner areas and multifunctionality. It is, or rather, the ability of agriculture to develop a variety of activities and functions: production functions like healthy and quality food; territorial functions like landscape care, maintenance of land; inclusive conventions between local institutions and producers; social functions like rural vitality, depopulation; environmental functions like biodiversity, energy alternatives - wind and biomass; cultural functions like recovery and valorisation of local traditions and knowledge.

Multifunctionality tells us that agriculture can be so many things; rural development tells us that agriculture is not everything. In the territory, the expansion and the limit of agriculture, they can find a high and modern point of balance and development aimed at creating new employment, new professionalism and new subjectivity.

Rural Social Innovation results from promotion of local quality food and of cultural and environmental resources.

In fact, neo-rurals are innovators because of their approach to collective and shared knowledge, responsibility for the environment, and the look at the planet as an arena where social change takes place. Their challenge in the conventional food system is not to fit into interstices, or around margins.

Social innovation is about how social and technical systems can co-evolve to make a more effective use of territorially specific assets, social resources and local knowledge; it is a strategic site to study social change and the shifting boundaries among economy-society-politics.

Study on Rural Social Innovation recalls a focus on social capital and sociology of markets to understand the complexity of the neo-rural phenomenon.

In the case of neo-rurals, innovation assumes a variety of senses, in many ways tracing back to the fact of adding something that is missing. It involves different dimensions: social, environmental, health, technology, ICT.

Innovation is in many ways in a dialogue with tradition, which is a key for many non-radical actors. Ways of growing and animal husbandry is inspired by old methods of farming, recipes are based on grandmothers' traditions.

Neo-rural farmers are not only a reaction to dominant global model of agro-food system, but they are forms of innovation and cooperation between producers and consumers, in other words, transformative bottom-up practices lead to active social innovation.

Social capital is a concept that is becoming more and more important to understand contemporary economic development, and its role in the institutional context is attracting a growing interest. Starting from the sixties, from Bourdieu to Portes, over time the concept received multiple definitions and applications.

The role of norms and values is key for understanding how people display their resources, in order to make economic choices, cooperating in building up the institution of the market. Moral foundation of economic actions gives rise to the moral market.

In terms of P2P production, we see the importance of social capital in relation to collaborative economy: actors are involved in local and productive communities, using

marketing and digital reproduction; consumers and producer are internetworked and the production of value is increasingly socialized.

Different social capitals create different markets; this is true in many ways in the theory of markets. Markets are highly demanding arenas of social interaction, if one views market action from the perspective of the three coordination problems, the focus is on the interaction between actors and their institutional, cultural, and social embeddedness (Beckert, 2009).

The concept of a moral economy, elaborated by E. P. Thompson (1971) was taken from riots in the English countryside in the late eighteenth century. It is now, more than ever, especially appropriate in rural scenarios, as well as in the case of neo-rurals, where discourses about prices and accessibility of goods are frequent, as well as about quality of food itself, food production and social responsibility.

Moral judgement can impede that “any man should profit from the necessities of others and [believed] that in time of dearth, prices of ‘necessities’ should remain at a customary level, even though there might be less all around” (Thompson, 1971:132).

Moral economy includes the various manners in which tradition and social pressure compel economic actors to conform to norms and conventions, even at the expense of profit. As a counterpart of classic economic theories, moral economists argued that the individualism, calculation, and material orientation presupposed by these economic theories are found only in disembedded, market economies (Prasad 1999).

Neo-rural farmers perform a process of enrichment (Boltanski, Equeerre, 2016) through the use of a narrative device that highlights certain qualities.

Value is related to the ability to create and reaffirm affective bonds (Cova et al, 2007). The promotion of local quality food and of cultural and environmental resources available are key factors for Rural Social Innovation. In fact, neo-rurals are innovators for their approach to collective and shared knowledge, responsibility for environment, and the look at the planet as an arena where social change takes place. Their challenge to the conventional food system fit into interstices, or around margins (Maye et al., 2007).

Quality conventions become signals which are essential for supply and demand to meet (Barbera, Audifreddi, 2012) and embed trust and tradition within a moral economy of place and provenance (Goodman, 2003).

Value and qualification of goods (Callon et al. 2001), on the producer side, talks about the production design and processes, while on the consumer side it shows how much they value the product, and consequently the price deserved in their opinion, according to their needs or preferences. Positioning and evaluating inevitably leads to the classification of the people attached to those goods. That is, the other way around, consumers actively position themselves preferring a product, a seller, a way of trading, etc. (Bourdieu, 1984; Leonini, Sassatelli, 2008).

The extraordinary recovery of the popularity of the farmers' markets and other similar forms of direct sales of agricultural products, recorded in recent years, is distinct from the traditional neighbourhood markets.

Neighbourhood food markets have been for a long time been one of the main sources of fresh produce (fruit and vegetables, dairy products, meat and fish) for city dwellers, but their importance has rapidly declined because of the evolution of the food industry and the advent of large organized distribution, on the other hand, the change and differentiation of lifestyles and consumption and the role of women within the family.

There is currently a commercial dimension in which food supply is wide, standardized, flattened on more or less well-known brands (mall / hypermarket) and the dimension of personal relationships and products of high quality (peasant market, organic shops and typical products, buying groups).

Neo-rurals are putting on stage a reflexive activity on market. They assume that markets evolve and, like species, become differentiated and diversified. Neo-rural markets have some definite, and rather innovative, features: they are 'nested' markets (Van der Ploeg et al., 2010); they are imbedded (or 'nested') in the main markets in so far as they are a specific segment of these wider markets, and are susceptible to the same influences.

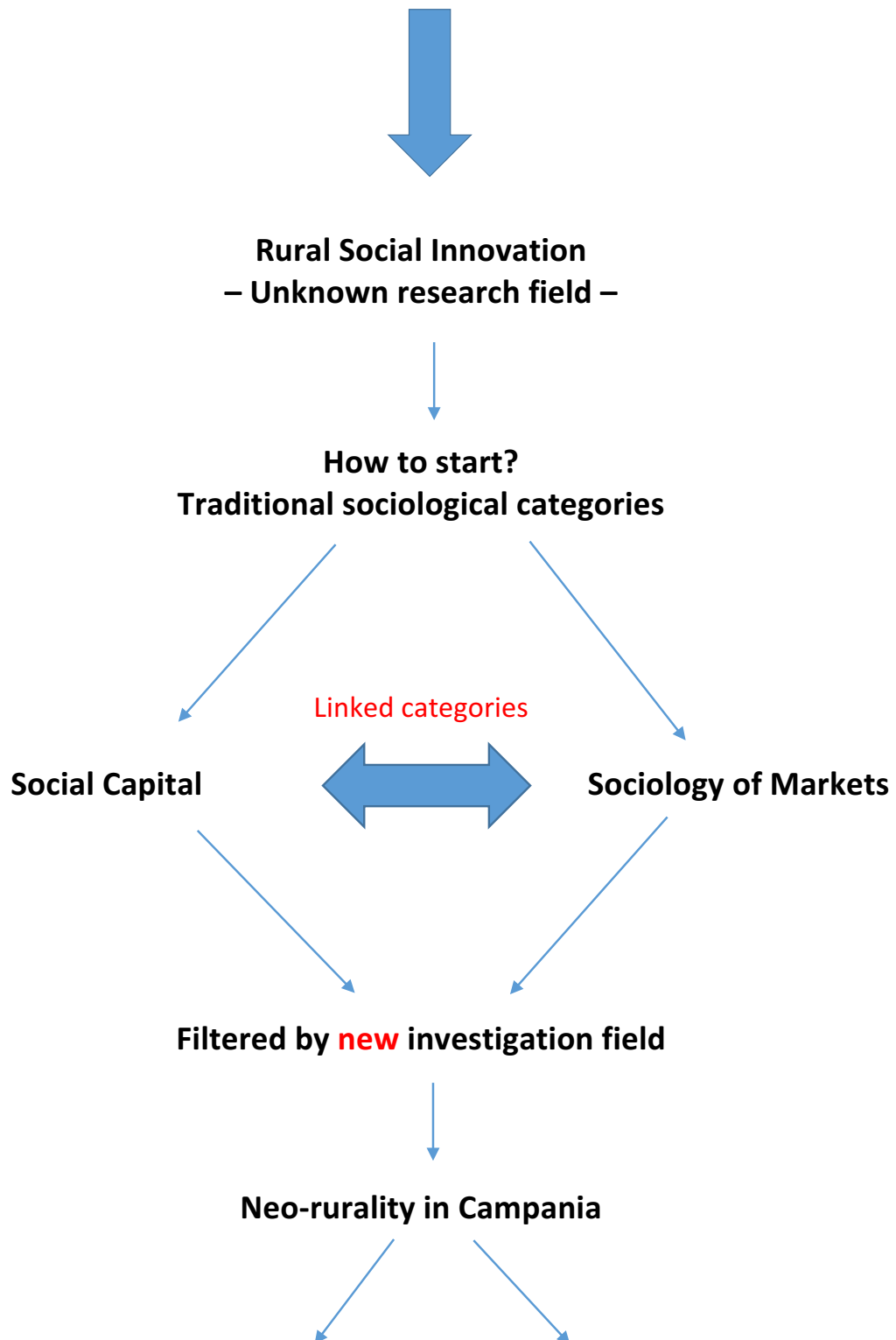
'Neo-rural' brand as platform for action. The concept of 'brand' includes a set of marketing and communication methods that help distinguish a company or any productive subject from competitors, and to create a lasting impression in the minds of customers.

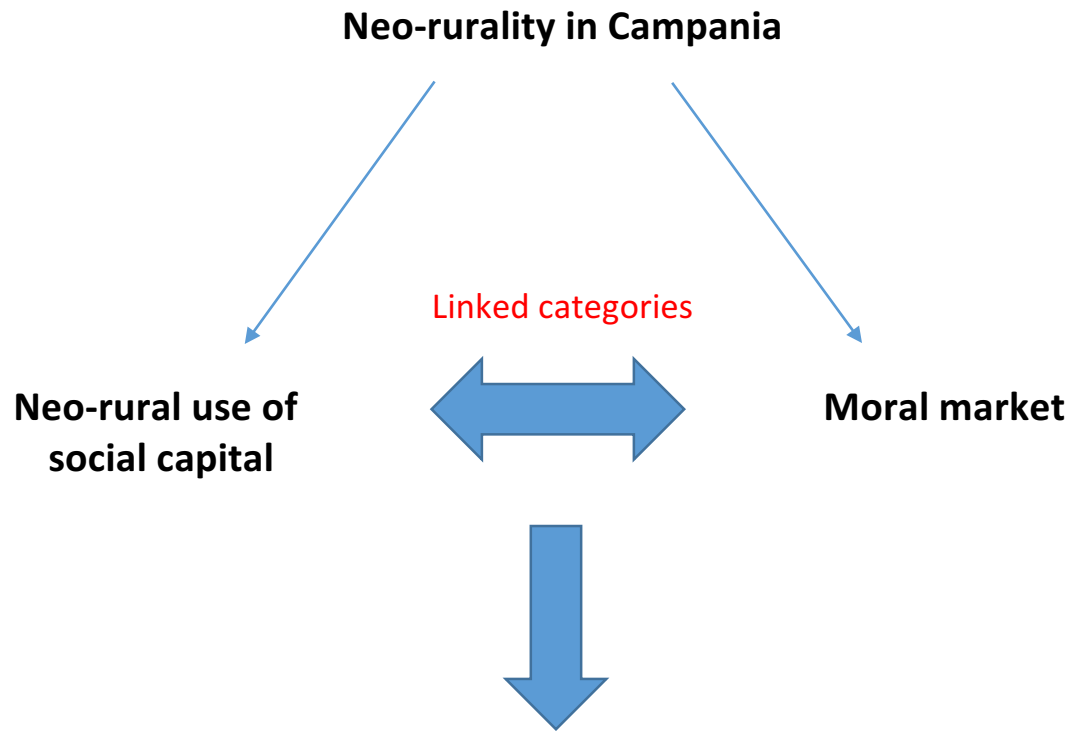
Originally brands referred to producers, as a trademark or a 'maker's mark' that worked to guarantee quality or to give an identity. Now the brand, or the 'brand image', refers also to the significance that commodities acquired in the minds of consumers (Arvidsson, 2005). The brand of 'neo-rurality' creates a sense of belonging, through procedures, understanding and engagement, through practices of resources sharing and their valorisation.

Future development trajectories move towards the re-appropriation of material, cultural and social factors in the production of high-quality local food. Indeed, the neo-rural economy is based on a novel combination of material and immaterial values. They communicate this value in a different way. This study points out that neo-rurals are constructing a 'neo-rurality brand' that works as platform for action (Arvidsson, 2005) through a common narrative. According to findings, they are promoting a collective narrative, based on a form of bottom-up collaboration that recalls the connective action strategy (Bennet, Segerberg 2012). Neo-rurality is a brand through which they construct an ethical and disintermediated approach to the food market, where the products' value is not defined only by economic aspects, but is also founded on human and social components (Arvidsson & Peitersen, 2013). Furthermore, this brand collects various ideals, values and marketing behaviours, representing different economic actors in a common narrative.

Graph 26 - Final schema

Research question:
Are values and social relationships a separate thing from the market?





**The answer to the research question is NO.
Values and Social relationships are not a separate thing from the
Market.**

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