

# Approaches of territory's promotion to strengthen family agriculture and biological and cultural diversity

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They are multiple steps to promote a territory that are initiated by a variety of stakeholder. These systems that are all based on a paradigm of family forms of production are an asset to the valorisation of territories, the maintaining of biological and cultural diversity and the enhancement of products whose quality is linked to the origin. Some issues seem to deserve particular attention, being: approaches lead by public or private stakeholder, the taking into account of family forms of production in defining the procedures, the joint product/territory.

Facing multiple crises and processes of economic and cultural globalization, many territories are exploring the way of valuing local products whose quality is linked to the origin. Based on particular biological resources, local expertise, different organizational and production methods or proper food cultures, these products escape to some extent in standardization, price competition, the levelling of quality downwards. The judicious marketing of these differences may in turn contribute to the preservation and enhancement of local resources: biological, cultural, and organizational. New forms of organization and public and private governance are often necessary.

## Public approaches of promoting a product or a territory: processes often too receding

The system of protection of denomination by Geographical Indications, born in Europe, now has legal frameworks in most countries, following the TRIPS agreement of 1994. But each country has freely inspired itself on the short definition that figured in the TRIPS to define its own rules, and applies it in its own way. We can therefore describe a multitude of different practices (link to workshop 5), with contrasting impacts on the preservation of biological diversity, taking into account of local knowledge, respect of the rights of communities. The necessary government involvement can result in excessively receding approaches and authoritarian management of product definition, of its methods of production, of the demarcated area, of the mode of governance...

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### Case 1: Territorial Network RESPECT

The Faculty of Science and technology of Er Rachidia (FSTE), in partnership with Slow Food, have established a network of producers and tourist operators to promote the products of the Oasis of Tafilalet region and forms of productions specific to these ecosystems and to contribute to sustainable and inclusive development of the territory. This network is based on a charter, defined in a participatory way among local stakeholder (producers, tour operators, restaurant owners, etc.), that have to ensure to consumers the quality and origin of products, equity production in respect to environmental oases and the maintaining of traditions and specific knowledge.



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Local brands, which use the legal instrument of the trademark (collective brands, certification brands) to label the products of a territory that meet certain conditions, are generally easier to implement than a GI registration. Local brands have in principle the advantage of not being limited to a product, but they do not escape the risk of a receding approach.

## Private approaches, more inclusive?

Private initiatives, such as the Slow Food Presidia (What is a SF Presidia?), can also be identified. Informal in most countries where they take place, they are formalized by the use of a common brand and some forms of control in the countries where they are the most numerous: Italy, Switzerland. Sometimes in contradiction with public procedures (IG, local brands), they explicitly aim to preserve and enhance at once biodiversity, local knowledge, local communities... But what guarantees that they are not adapted by some minorities not much representative?

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### Case n°2 : Biocultural Heritage Indicator System

The IIED, in collaboration with the University of Leeds and the ANDES Association (Peru), has developed a proposal for a new system of indicators of bio-cultural heritage, and works with farmers and small producers, to validate this system. This system aims to link farmers and small producers, with their territories, biodiversity and culture, elements that have given unique qualities of their products.



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## The consideration of family forms of production

Family forms of production are often associated by public and certain private stakeholder (supermarkets) to out-dated production methods, low productivity, not respectful to food safety, few able to deliver homogenous products and prone to supply shortage. Yet numerous experiments show that capacity building, a technical support, a support to investments enables family forms of production to overcome these handicaps (which are sometimes only clichés). Thus, for example, in France the farmers producing raw milk cheeses were able to adapt the difficult sanitary requirements of this production.

Moreover, these family forms of production are only able to exploit certain environments and resources, and thus guarantee the originality of products, such as to enhance the entire territory. Although the role of family farmers in the governance (dealt with by the workshop 2) obviously plays a key role, their consideration is not limited to this aspect, but should also be considered technically and organizationally.

## The joint product/territory.

The contradiction sometimes raised between promoting a product and promoting a territory deserves our full attention to be exceeded.

If the GI scheme is by definition limited to a product, its implementation can have a positive impact on a territory. Indeed, the efforts of promotion and marketing can play a role of mutualisation: thus a local marketing cooperative that has integrated channels of distribution with flagship product with a GI can use this ability to promote other products of the territory.



Local brands have the advantage of not being limited to a product. However, they do not involve either to demonstrate a link between the territory, the local resources and the product quality. There is therefore a risk of banalisation of products that they gather if the aim is mainly commercial. In the case of territorial brand carried by institutions whose purpose is the preservation of an area, such as parks (whose rights do not apply to an administrative territory, but a coherent bio-cultural area), the joint product / territory is central to the approach. The valorisation of the products quality is directly related to the local skills and knowledge and natural resources.

## Case n°3

The team of the Mediterr program of the IRD proposes a comparison between dynamics of territorial development based on the valorisation of quality products related to the origin and preservation of identity and local resources, between Corsica (France) and Morocco.



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Producers adjust as they can to these various «offers», which are not exclusive to each other: the IG provides legal protection to the name, the Slow Food Presidia promotes among networks of experts and territorial brands provide a power of collective marketing... This means paying attention to how, in practice, stakeholders of the territories «play» different possibilities to which they have access. Whether to seek coherence and complementarity of the various devices, it is also important to trust the creative abilities of the stakeholder.

Finally, territorial approaches of promotion of the origin, as diverse as they are, are essentially based on the valorisation of natural and cultural resources of a territory, although the links between product and territory are not always at the heart of these approaches. Existing approaches are multiple and carried by different types of stakeholders, but the involvement and ownership by family production units is limited, still too supplanted by receding processes. Yet it is these family forms of agriculture that contribute to the image of products and territories and are the guarantors of cultural and biological diversity.





# Case 1

## Producers and professionals network of tafilalet ecotourism (RESPPECT)

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### Abstract

The producers and professionals Network of Tafilalett ecotourism (RESPPECT) is a framework for collaboration between ecotourism professionals and oasis producers. It aims at the promotion, development and mutual reinforcement of partners and implementation of valorisation actions and promotion of local products, terroirs and traditions and cultures of oases while preserving its environment and its biodiversity.

This network brings together chefs, growers, artisans and tourism professionals who share the values of solidarity, green, environment, fairness ... It is also a framework for exchange in services and products.

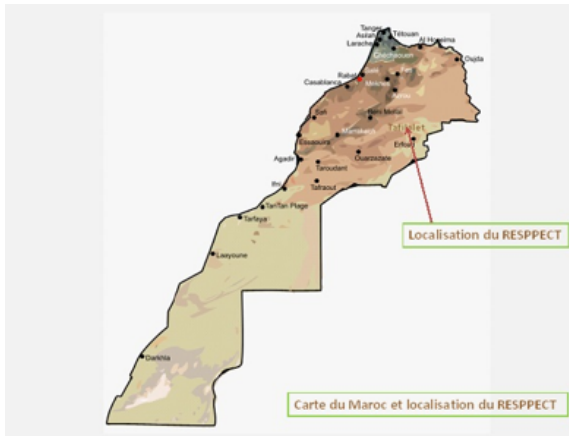
This network was initiated by the Faculty of Sciences and Techniques of Errachidia (FSTE) as part of its research and development and is based on a charter that is respected by all partners. The partners organize and conduct ecotourism, marketing (land market and itinerant Souk) and workshops of valorisation of local product and local gastronomy.



## Introduction

The RESPECT network works in a participatory approach to valorise and develop the oasis of Tafilalet, the oasis producers and products from the oasis. It is aimed as an exchange network of commercialisation and solidarity between different partners / beneficiaries organized in professional associations, unions and NGOs.

The partners and producers of local products and professional of responsible tourism, ecotourism and solidarity tourism are engaged in an approach of establishment of an alliance aiming their promotion, development and mutual reinforcement, with respect to the environment and oasis biodiversity.



Oasis inhabitants are aware those oases are part of the network of biosphere reserves since 2000. Indeed, they contain a biodiversity and an ancient civilization with know-how and good practices ensuring good management of space, water and biodiversity. This thanks to production systems that have enabled the oasis inhabitants to maintain themselves and even thrive in extreme natural environments and ensuring sustainable development. This system is based on the date palm, structuring element of space, society, resources production and a major factor in climate change adaptation.

The outstanding genetic diversity of date palm and associated crops are a biological and economic wealth of the most significant (almond, pomegranate, fig, apple, olives, cereals, alfalfa, vegetables, henna, rose, other aromatic and medicinal plants...) associated to a small farm of which conditions an agroecological system in balance and providing various services.

## Network identification

This is a special alliance that aims to promote terroir, local products and tourism products.

The products of this network are famous to be:

- Of exceptional quality;
- Linked to the specific geographical area of the oases;
- Handcrafted/ traditional products and at small scale production;
- Products according to fair procedures;
- In connection with the traditions and habits of the oasis.

The alliance aimed at:

- Promote sustainable, traditional, local and artisanal production;
- Enforce by producers national and international norms standards and standards of quality in respect of the specificity of these products related to origin;
- Ensure the promotion of products in the context of sustainable development.

In order to develop RESPECT and valorisation actions and promotion of the products and traditions of the oasis, research institutions (FST Errachidia), NGOs (Slow Food) and other partners are currently working to develop the alliance between small producers and ecotourism professionals, chefs, artisans ... It is a network of partners who share the values of solidarity, green, environment, fair and have the will to support small producers using and / or selling their local products at their establishments

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## Commitments of member of the project «RESPECT»

Partners work together to ensure an exchange of products and services that meet the following requirements:

- 1) Be of good quality;
- 2) Related to the memory and identity of a geographical area, a group of local producers and traditional products of the oasis;
- 3) Having the stamp of the oasis environment;
- 4) Being linked to historical and socio-economic oases;
- 5) Being produced according to traditional «best practice», by farms or small-scale processing;
- 6) Meeting the expectations of the consumer and visitor of the oases.



Producers and professionals of oasis ecotourism have for common goals to:

- Present concrete and virtuous examples of a new model of partners working with quality services, the preservation of knowledge and good production practices and traditional uses, respect for the environment and consumers welfare, etc.
- Promote products of high quality and rooted in the culture of the oasis.
- Develop products based on respectful working conditions of people, their rights, their culture, and guaranteeing a decent life.
- Promote the establishment of a strong alliance between manufacturers / producers and consumers.
- Ensure the grouping and organization of producers / farmers and tourism professionals and structuring the activities of their members.
- Agree on a charter and symbol (s) of the network that makes partners visible.

## Opportunities for respect

- Enable valorisation of oases local products;
- Develop and implement the action plan of the alliance;
- Ensuring sustainable spatial development of oases that benefit from biodiversity, local products, rich landscape and an exceptional gastronomic and cultural heritage;
- Enable small(s) producers, ecotourism professionals, cooks, artisans and partners to commit to value and sustainably preserve oases, their products, their history, their traditions, their environment...;
- Translate the valorisation of oasis through the use of their products in a network of inns (hotels,...) and local restaurants together within said RESPECT;
- Allow all players to wait for the main goal of satisfying the demands and delights the visitor / consumer / co-developer at the oasis.

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## Charter of partners of project « RESPECT »

Partners of RESPECT project have agreed on a charter and undertake to respect it. This charter is likely to be revised in a coordinated way and in a participatory, supportive, fair and respectful approach of the commitments listed above.

RESPECT members commit to:

### Side « ecotourism professional »

- 1) Use every day at the local food and tourists establishments products issued from cooperatives and associations alliance partners by promoting local products.
- 2) Use local products (crafts and others).
- 3) Develop local traditional menus.
- 4) Set up a direct relationship with producers who provide the raw materials, handicrafts and local products.
- 5) Make visible the products and producers in the documents, services, products and local institutions.
- 6) View symbol (s) of the network when all these criteria are met, so as to highlight the commitment and distinguish the work of all the actors of the network.
- 7) Communicate and promote the network.
- 8) Organize at least once a year, an event on the network by involving producers to support the overall project RESPECT.



### Side producers

- 1) Provide daily chefs and tourism professionals with local produce of quality.
- 2) Make visible tourism professionals and chefs at the production sites.
- 3) Establish a direct relationship with tourism professionals and chefs.
- 4) Get clients of tourist establishments and restaurants for workshops around the products on site.
- 5) Ensure visits at field level and production units of local products within the activities of tourist circuits.
- 6) View symbol(s) of the network when all these criteria are met, so as to highlight the commitment and distinguish the work of all the actors of the network.
- 7) Communicate and promote the network.
- 8) Organize at least once a year, an event on the network involving tourism professionals and support RESPECT as a whole.

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### Side « partnership and collaboration »

Members of the RESPECT project undertake to forge collaborations and partnership:

- 1) Support and promote the network through various means.
- 2) Assist partners in the organization of the network and its promotion.
- 3) Ensure good communication over the network.

Identify partners to:

- 1) Provide coaching partners in the implementation of the network.
- 2) Support partners when drafting and signing of partnership contracts between producers and tourism professionals that formalize the network.
- 3) Help to promote the network.

The network RESPECT currently has around ten ecotourism professionals and around ten cooperatives and associations of small producers.

Members of RESPECT network are organized according to products and services they exchange. Activities are carried out within the framework of bilateral partnerships or as part of an event (Celebration / Festival Fair / Souk, ...) that brings together all members.

Current thinking is conducted by members of RESPECT network to develop a biennial action plan to achieve several objectives, including:

- Institutionalize and develop the network.
- Support and technical assistance of the network.
- Support and assistance of members for the valorisation of local products.
- Organization of events, festivals, fairs.
- Organize and conduct actions for recovery and preservation of knowledge and local biodiversity.
- Garden design and development of family agriculture.
- Setting up sites and natural resource development workshops.
- Organization of tours and eco tourism and thematic loops.



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## CONCLUSION

RESPECT is a network that was initiated by the Faculty of Science and technology in the context of its research development of oases, it was implemented in a participatory manner. It is the result of reflections on sustainable spatial development, enhancement and preservation of land oases and oasis products. Its main actors are producers / growers organized in cooperatives and professional associations and professionals in ecotourism.

The network RESPECT works for a partnership that respects charter and conditions developed in a sustainable development of oases.

RESPECT members are small producers living from family farming and artisan. Their production system is based on local products and traditional oasis «good practices». This helps to preserve the use of local varieties and breeds have been maintained for thousands of years in the oasis.

The exchange of services and products between producers and professionals in ecotourism can create activities generating income that are profitable for members.

Improving the mutual visibility of members by visits of palm grove and workshops of cooperatives and the organization of activities around products and local gastronomy enables better customer and consumers satisfaction, and contributes to the increase in number of overnight stays at bed and breakfasts and inns.



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# Case 2

## Biocultural Heritage Indicators (BCHI)

Krystyna Swiderska (IIED)



### MORE INFORMATION on the projet in the Flyer

Biocultural heritage territories are made up of a mosaic of land uses, deeply linked to knowledge systems embedded in cultural traditions. Born of indigenous peoples' memories and experiences, they embody and protect their world views, spiritual values, customary laws, institutions and stewardship practices. They form the backbone of local economies, and are home to critical genetic resources for food and agriculture. Across the world, years of local adaptation and traditional knowledge have shaped them into highly diverse, productive and resilient management systems that integrate sustainable development with biodiversity conservation.



#### Case 2

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Krystyna Swiderska (IIED) presented a proposal for a Biocultural Heritage Indicators (BCHI) system to protect/promote products based on biocultural heritage, based on a draft paper by Graham Dutfield. Biocultural heritage is the inter-linked traditional knowledge, biodiversity, landscapes and culture of indigenous peoples and local communities. The need for a new BCH Indicators system arose following the bureaucratic difficulties experienced by the Potato Park (Peru) in trying to formally register a collective trademark.

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## MORE INFORMATION : VIDEO

<http://biocultural.iied.org/new-photofilm-profiles-biocultural-heritage-territories>

The film documents a visit to the «Guardians of diversity» in the park of the potato: a photo-film of 6 minutes on Territories bio-cultural heritage that provide the basis for the development of products related to biocultural heritage and Indicators of Bio-Cultural Heritage (BCHI) system.

English, Spanish

The BCHP system aims to be easily accessible to indigenous communities, regardless of location, language, literacy levels, and legal skills/understanding. It also aims to have an explicit focus on strengthening cultural values as well as biodiversity. The BCHP would be a graphical sign applied to goods and services that embody or promote the BCHP of indigenous peoples, which could be used alongside the name of the indigenous group or community.

A certification scheme certified by large and distant organizations (like the Forest Stewardship Council) or a GI could be burdensome for small organizations, especially if a range of products have to comply with detailed requirements. Labelling places more responsibility on the producers, which may be preferable in this

context. However, given that we envisage communities around the world using the Indicator, there must be some institutional oversight and some independence from producers. Labels do not have such a sound legal means to protect products from infringement as certification trademarks, collective trademarks or GIs, but labels can be trademark protected.

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## MORE INFORMATION : VIDEO

<http://biocultural.iied.org/film-documents-visit-guardians-diversity-potato-park>

A 15-minute film which documents a meeting of farmers from indigenous communities around the world to exchange knowledge and ideas on the protection of biodiversity and culture as the basis for adapting to climate change.

English

The scheme would need an organization to oversee monitoring and implementation, which should either be an indigenous peoples' organization or one which they trust and are directly involved in, eg. through an advisory board or steering committee. The scheme would help to protect biodiversity and culture by enhancing markets for biocultural products, and by requiring active stewardship of biocultural heritage. For it to work, efforts are needed to raise consumer awareness of the value of biocultural heritage. IIED will soon publish a consultation document and survey to obtain feedback to further develop the scheme, especially from indigenous peoples and small-scale producers.

### Case 2

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## Case 3

# Can heritage valorization of local products make family farming more competitive and resilient ?

Some lessons from Morocco and Corsica

Geneviève Michon (IRD, UMR GRED et LMI MediTer, France),  
Jean-Michel Sorba (INRA, LRDE, France)



This presentation is derived from an article published in French in 2014 in the journal *Revue Tiers Monde* (Senil N., Michon G., Aderghal M., Berriane M., Boujrouf S., Furt J.M., Moizo Bernard, Romagny Bruno, Sorba J.M., Tafani C. 2014. Le patrimoine au secours des agricultures familiales ? Eclairages méditerranéens. In : Acloque A. (dir.), Gasselín P. (dir.), Rouillé d'Orfeuille H. (dir.) *Agricultures familiales : trajectoires, modernités et controverses* (I). *Revue Tiers Monde*, 2014, 220 (1293-8882), p. 137-158)

Current dynamics of mobilization and valorization of local specificities of Mediterranean agriculture and territories have in some cases, improved their competitiveness. However, results are not always proportional to challenges and actual or potential drifts are numerous. From Moroccan and Corsican examples, we will discuss diverse dimensions of these situations, trying to understand how and to which conditions can this heritage approach effectively contribute to a sustainable consolidation of the family farming systems.



# 1 – Local product and heritage development in Corsica: an «identity economy» victim of its own success?

At the turn of the 1970s, the economy of inland Corsica was still based on small-scale, family-based farming systems, often considered as archaic and unable to cope with agricultural modernization. Building on the momentum of *riacquistu* (a protest movement from the late 1970s dedicated to revitalize cultural and economic activities identified as embedded within Corsican identity, history and economy), rural actors engaged in the revival of emblematic agricultural productions of the island (wine, honey, cheese, olive oil, chestnut flour) and associated know-how that were still central in village culture (Photos 1 to 4). The process also incorporated a collective reflection on the meaning and content of rural heritage as well as on the renewal of socio-territorial identities. The example of chestnut revival illustrates these dynamics.

## Chestnut revival in Corsica



For more than four centuries, chestnut used to be a major component of the natural and human history of inland villages. It collapsed after World War II due to rural exodus.

In the chestnut revival movement, the effort of farmers associations focused altogether on 1/ the definition of the heritage value of chestnut products, 2/ digging-up traditional know-how on tree management and fruit processing, and 3/ production system improvement (rehabilitation of aging chestnut groves, electrification of chestnut flour mills, product certification, with a PDO for chestnut flour obtained in 2006). This process developed as a truly bottom-up approach, with the chestnut growers themselves conceiving and developing the heritage reconstruction, while also developing technical, institutional and financial partnerships to sustain their initiative. Producers succeeded in mobilizing a whole chain of actors, from skilled elders who passed their know-how on young chestnut growers, to consumers and technical staff in agricultural institutes, from local representatives to Euro-

pean donors. Within fifteen years, this development based on the valuation of specific assets of mountain farming has lifted chestnut from domestic to market economy, while anchoring it in a true heritage perspective).

A core of “identity products” presently shapes the reputation of Corsican agriculture. Know-how and professional experience that were recently on the verge of extinction have been revived and acknowledged, and get institutional and financial support from development agencies.

So far, the whole chain from production to processing and sales still develops at the family farm's level. Consumers' awareness, participation and support have been gained through annual rural fairs that are important places for the transformation of formerly disqualified local products into highly valued identity products.

After 30 years of such heritage revival process, the commercial success of Corsican products is unprecedented. But what are the consequences and prospects?

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While the original intention of farmers was to reassess the anchoring of production into specific and diversified terroirs, and reinforce on-farm integration of activities, public policies designed to support heritage revival tend to consolidate a sector approach that erases the diversity of existing terroirs. By doing so it standardizes products, weakens the autonomy of family farms, and starts prompting discrepancy between production, processing and commercialization, which are not integrated at the farm level anymore, but more and more considered as specialized activities. This sector logic also paves the way for external entrepreneurs as well as large

retailers to move in. The example of brocciu (a special cream-cheese made from whey, currently one of the most symbolic Corsican products) qualification provides an illustration of the rise of these external actors at the cost of local producers and the related threat of normalization of island heritage productions

## Brocciu development: a qualification process that disqualifies local production systems



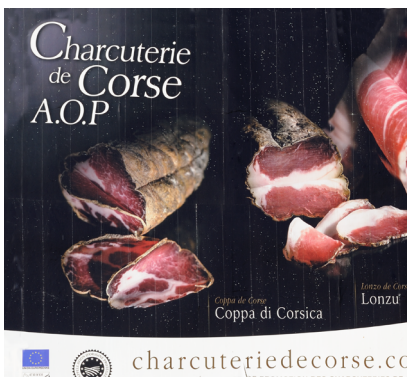
Brocciu is a special cream cheese made from whey, currently one of the most symbolic Corsican products.



Due to the economic weight of local dairy industries that nowadays control more than 70% of milk processing, combined with brocciu commercial success in large retail shops, the qualification of one of the most emblematic products of Corsican cheese tradition has reinforced formerly existing conflicts between farmers and industrial producers. Farmers, who produce this local cheese following the traditional method, tend to massively withdraw from the PDO certification obtained for brocciu in 2003. By doing so, they are not anymore allowed to sell the cheese under its original name “brocciu” whereas dairy industries, which operate with standardized methods, often relying on imported milk, and sell their products to large retailers all year long, whereas brocciu is a seasonal product, take the full benefit from the certification.

The commercial success of Corsican products has also led to a situation where demand far exceeds supply. However, this demand largely depends on tourist customers, who are usually poorly informed, which represents a threat for products authenticity. The example of pork products shows how easily the question of local origin can be distorted and how weak are components of heritage in face of uninformed consumers.

## Pork products, between tradition and counterfeiting



Whereas the gustative and dietetic quality of Corsican pork products depends on a local pig breed farmed in the wild and feeding on chestnut and acorn, 90% of the products sold on the island are now processed from pork imported from non-Corsican industrial farms. Producers hope that PDO obtained in 2013 for three main pork products (lonzu, coppa and prisuttu), which guarantees that the products come from local pigs raised in the traditional way, will help moralizing the pork issue in Corsica.

Globally, public and private operators are tempted to take advantage of the symbolic value of Corsican products. In the name of promoting “identity economy”, they multiply terroir products shelves in large retail shops, mixing authentic local products with industrial or semi-industrial production, which competes with rural fairs and encourages counterfeiting (Photo 15a).

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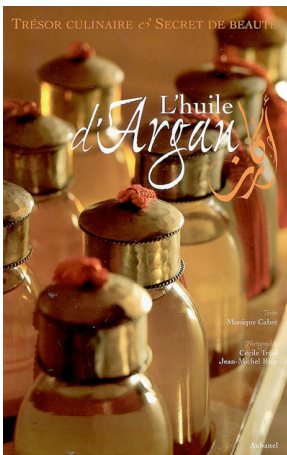
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These recent developments highlight the ambiguities of a successful heritage development process: the commercial success and the official recognition and certification of heritage products favoured new economic groups more powerful than farmers associations. These changes modify deeply the heritage development movement initiated by local farmers. Nowadays, heritage development no longer appears as a process leading to the strengthening of family farming or of social solidarity in rural areas.

## 2 - Local product and heritage development in Morocco: challenges of burgeoning heritage development

The diversity of local agro-silvo-pastoral systems in upland Morocco has given rise to a variety of landscapes, traditions and products with high specificity. But the valuation of this rural heritage for the benefit of small farmers is slow and difficult. The example of argan oil illustrates perfectly these difficulties.

### Argan oil development



Argan oil is a trendy product that was granted the first protected geographical indication (PGI) in Africa. It is derived from the kernels of the argan tree (*Argania spinosa*), a species endemic to southwestern Morocco that constitutes the keystone of a socio-ecosystem covering almost one million hectares, and of a diversified economy supporting more than 2 million people. In the early 1990s, thanks to its nutritional qualities and its potential for cosmetic use, argan oil drew the attention of development agencies. Very quickly, projects started focusing on commercial promotion through the exhibition of the oil's heritage attributes and the establishment of women's cooperatives for production and sale. This heritage process has projected the argan oil in the centre of major economic and trade issues. How has it impacted family farms and rural development?

The rapid increase in argan oil prices on international markets still has little impact on rural populations who are only involved in fruit harvesting and manual crushing of nuts: farmers get between 0.15 and 0.3 € per kg of dried nut, women in cooperatives get between 3 and 6 € per litre of oil, while the selling price to the European consumer exceeds 100 € (Romagny 2010). Cooperatives provide only a small part of total processed oil. Downstream agents (mainly companies in Morocco or abroad) involved in oil processing and conditioning for the cosmetics sector capture most of the added value.

Even though local producers and women in cooperatives get the smaller share in the valorisation chain, the argan oil development process yet displays strong social, territorial and heritage references, among which the link between the product and territorialized knowledge and traditions, as well as women development and poverty alleviation in rural areas. But argan oil valorisation has mainly focused on the development of the processing and trade chain, regardless of the relationship between the product and its productive base: the total lack of reference to technical and social practices that lead from the tree to the oil, thus led to cut off a large part of the ties that link the oil to farmers families and lands. The trade issue that prompted Morocco to react to the threats of production of argan oil by Israel (who supposedly has engaged in large-scale argan tree cultivation) has also erased the diversity of local terroirs: the PGI certification «Argane» applies to the one-million hectares argan area regardless to the local variations of the socio-ecological argan system.

Other examples of heritage product qualification in Morocco (saffron, rose, olive oil, cheese: photo 22 to 27) follow the same pattern: 1 / a renowned local product, 2 / top-down intervention of State agencies and external private actors, 3 / fundraising for the establishment of «cooperatives» for processing, packaging and commercialization, and 4 / product promotion based on a heritage reference, but on which no consolidation effort is undertaken. Thus, the links between heritage development and improvement of the conditions of small farmers are rarely highlighted, and exclusion of local people in favour of foreign actors (national and international experts, migrants, urban investors) is widely observed.

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The following tables summarize the respective construction (table 1) and evolution (table 2) of family farming promotion in Corsica and Morocco

**Table 1 : History and development of “local product” development strategy**

Corsica	Morocco
Old dynamics (30 years)	Recent dynamics (<10 years)
Initiated/developed by groups of local farmers and rural actors	Initiated/developed through public policies
Linked to political movements and local concerns for identity/ territory /economy reinforcement	Linked to concerns for agricultural modernization/poverty alleviation in marginal areas
Efforts put on origin/quality certification (GI:AOP, IGP)	Efforts put on origin/quality certification (GI)
Heritage development: reference to collective memory, «tradition» and emblematic products of rural culture/agriculture	Product development (economic promotion): collective memory and «tradition» mobilized for promotion rather than for heritage consolidation
Family production development: production / transformation / commercialization carried-out by family members, on the farm	Trade chain development: dissociation between production, transformation and commercialization
Collective action, community concern, integrating enrollment of external actors (consumers, tourists)	Private actors (investors = «aggregators») + cooperatives for product collection / transformation
Linked to local food systems and local markets (èlinking culture and identity, market development and reinforcement of social interrelationship)	Linked to industries and distant markets (èno connection between culture and identity, market development and reinforcement of social interrelationship)
Strong entrenchment: the process produces social solidarity and territorial cohesion	Weak entrenchment: no coupling between product and production systems, but territorial cohesion still present
Effort on quality and traceability	No traceability, effort on quality still to be done

**Case 3**

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**Table 2: Recent evolution**

Corsica	Morocco
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Touristic boom, but no impact on family farming</li> <li>• More and more involvement (encroachment?) of public institutions through promotion of « authenticity » + adhesion of large shops &gt; local action tends to be blurred</li> <li>• Demand &gt; offer &gt; counterfeiting</li> <li>• Professionalization and trade chain &gt; new dissociation between production, transformation and commercialization</li> <li>• Farm specialization with segregated productive activities or decoupling of formerly associated activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family farms as producers of “raw product”</li> <li>• Specialization, dissociation, counterfeiting</li> </ul> <p>But</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cooperatives as active agents for entrenchment and promotion</li> <li>• Creation / strengthening of the links between local products, rural tourism, cooperatives</li> <li>• Emergence of territorial identity</li> <li>• Numerous social / socio-territorial dynamics</li> </ul>



### 3 – Some food for thoughts

#### a/ Heritage: a resource for rural development or a commercial alibi?

Heritage dynamics in Corsica and Morocco show how a high diversity of objects related to family agriculture and rural culture can stimulate original forms of development based not on the commercialization of generic resources but on specific agricultural specialties and landscapes related to family farming.

Heritage approaches have resulted in the multiplication of territorial qualification procedures and diversification of products offered to consumers. Referring to heritage, by stimulating collective action also helps mobilize and / or reconstruct socio-territorial identities. However, if heritage development refers to localized products and knowledge transmitted from one generation to the next, it also contributes to redefine products and knowledge, or pass it onto external

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stakeholders which raises questions about the depth of this heritage valorisation in which drifts and pitfalls are actually or potentially numerous.

We have pointed to the several risks: gradual shift towards standardized or counterfeit terroir products (brocciu, pork products in Corsica), increased specialization of territories around banners productions (argan country = argan oil), confiscation of a large part of the valorization process the benefit of external actors (large retailers or industrial producers in Corsica, aggregators and industrial entrepreneurs in Morocco) or marginalization of the most vulnerable actors (small farmers). In a context marked by widespread circulation of products and people, or regulatory compliance with health and taste standards, heritage development may easily turn into classical, de-territorialized sector development, and slip from local heritage stakeholders to extra-territorial forms of social organization. Heritage products can therefore become the support of either capitalistic strategies driven by logics that are quite opposite to those of local farmers, folklorisation of production processes, dispossession of local populations (argan oil), or monopolizing and reformatting of local initiatives by external actors endowed with powerful economic and political resources (Corsica).

### **b/ Top-down or bottom-up heritage development?**

The relationship between bottom-up and top-down approaches is far from uniform and evolves over time, with uneven benefits to local producers.

The success of bottom-up heritage approaches in Corsica is well acknowledged. This does not prevent their monopolization by public or private actors who distorted the initial objectives in order to meet their electoral, political or commercial goals. Initiatives such as summer display of terroir products in large retail shops or multiplication of terroir markets where it is impossible to guarantee products' traceability, clearly capitalize on the work done over the last thirty years by producers, without redistributing financial and symbolic benefits to legitimate stakeholders. In Morocco, the benefits of top-down heritage development for local people can still be questioned. However, in areas where these approaches first emerged, local actors seem to slowly re-appropriate the heritage process and redefine it to their own purposes, which boost interactions between stakeholders and challenge local governance.

### **c/ Market vs. non-market: the indispensable synergy between product valorization and rural tourism**

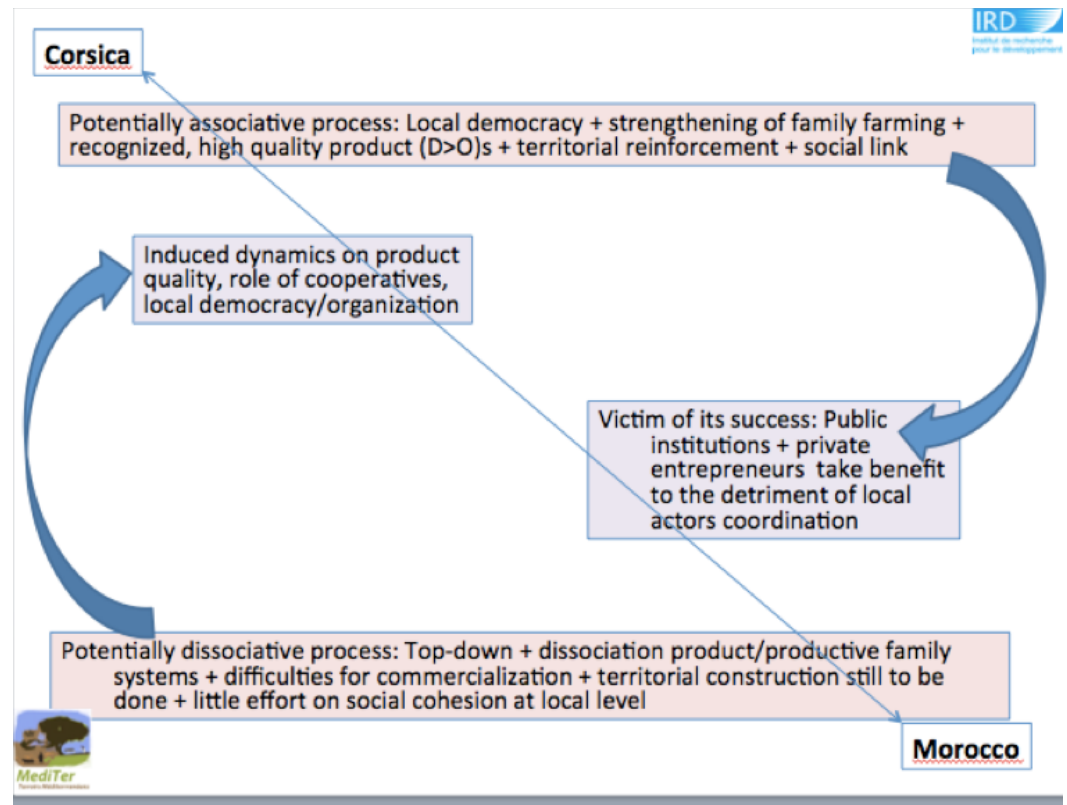
The studied examples show that heritage development is not possible without involving a relationship with the outside that is often fully mediated by purchasing and consuming heritage products. However, even if heritage reconstruction could not succeed without consumers, market is not just about buying and selling, it is also largely about social relationship. It is particularly obvious in the Corsican example: heritage objectives seem to have been achieved, but this success has gained popularity and strength thanks to the market, and particularly to local fairs. This shows that some market places can also become a mediation forum between all stakeholders, help establishing a visible and explicit link between producers, products and the heritage construction. Market places can also become part of a political strategy. Most classical market places reinforce a centralized capitalistic economy (as show the example of large retail shop that promote repackaged "terroir products" to attract consumers are just outlets that induce a real cut off between products and the heritage approach that generates them, or of cooperatives in Morocco just dramatize traditional production processes in order to lure consumers into the idea of purchasing a true terroir product). On the contrary, purchasing Corsican products in local fairs or direct sale shops is a clear act of support to an alternative economy based on locality and solidarity.

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Fig. 1 summarizes the challenges of local product and heritage development in Corsica and Morocco



## Conclusion

The multiplication and strengthening of heritage strategies in the development of Mediterranean hinterland is a given fact. Although their success can still be questioned, they allow revisiting the common assertion that globalization could threaten these areas, and show that, on the contrary, it can offer new opportunities to localized strategies and arouse or comfort alternative governance models, including the rise of various forms of local democracy, the multiplication of associations, or the emergence of new local elites. But if the global economy allows the emergence of these strategies, it can also initiate new socio-environmental crises or amplify those underway.

Heritage constructions challenge social relationship, both within communities and with external stakeholders. A particular aspect of this mutual learning process concerns the transfer and the adaptation of concepts (terroir, heritage) and related development models between North and South of the Mediterranean Sea.

The concept of heritage development and valorization of local specificities developed in Mediterranean Europe 30 years ago. Transferring this concept to the South could turn into a tricky business: when rural communities are still strongly rooted in alive and productive "traditions", they seem less concerned by heritage development. Is it necessary, then, to wait for the collapse of local agriculture and the social desertification of rural areas to see the rise of this ability for heritage (re)construction, as it happened in Europe (Auclair and Michon 2009)? Or can public policies provide suitable incentives to start the process when rural areas are lively? The question of long-term relevance of these initiatives adopted in the South to initiate rural renewal remains unanswered. Similarly, in the North where heritage dynamics are much more mature, the sustainability of heritage initiatives is challenged by emerging normalization processes. Learning, constructing and maintaining heritage is definitively a long-term process, issues of which evolve though time.

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## Porteurs



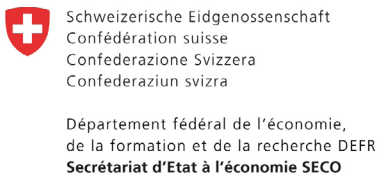
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