

# **Towards understanding limited visibility of Alternative Food Initiatives**

**- An analysis of outreach practices –**

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## 1. Introduction

Alternative food networks (AFNs) appear to provide promising solutions for our conventional food system that is increasingly criticized for its unsustainability in economic, environmental as well as social regards. A variety of alternative food initiatives (from community gardens to companies retailing organic food) intend to reshape prevailing food regimes by establishing new producer - consumer alliances that create multiple alternative ways to access food in a more sustainable way. Depending on the initiative, the ethical values promoted include aspects such as animal welfare, environmental protection, safeguarding of the livelihood of local producers, the production of quality food and the provision of healthy food for disadvantaged groups. However, the promotion of ethical awareness for the consumption of food is easier said than done.

A major problem in consolidating alternative food chains is the still lacking broad consumer support and lacking visibility of existing initiatives. Even if initiatives are increasingly emerging, alternative food systems still do not seem to attract broad consumer groups. Although several initiatives often co-exist in a certain area, a limited amount of people appear to be aware of their existence. Since the establishment of alternative food supply chains will only be able to further develop if initiatives find sufficient long-term support from members and clients, it is of great importance to investigate factors which are relevant for outreach practices of alternative food systems.

In consideration of the identified problem, the underlying aim of this research is to expose factors relevant for the outreach of alternative food initiatives. In order to do so, the analysis is going to focus on the actual approaches of initiatives to attract and recruit supporters: outreach practices. Despite the frequently analysed problem of the limited visibility and exclusivity of initiatives, surprisingly little academic research deals with the act of alternative food initiatives to establish relations to its environment. Going beyond a regular marketing analysis, this paper aims at incorporating relevant conceptual tools that e.g. geographers and social scientists frequently relate to alternative food networks. Addressing this gap in existing literature, this research not only aims to investigate and expose challenges to outreach practices, but also to suggest directions for further research.

In order to pursue the outlined aims, a threefold research question will be addressed: *Firstly, how do initiatives perform their outreach practices? Secondly, why do they perform them in a certain manner? Thirdly, to what extent can the way outreach is being practiced explain existing barriers to broader consumer support?*

The analysis of relevant factors that determine outreach will be deduced from two different case studies and their comparison. Both, a well established brand for regional products in Germany and a grass root local initiative in the Netherlands will serve as subjects for investigation. The case analysis will be embedded into a framework of existing literature that combines a marketing approach with wider conceptual tools. Based on the case analysis, the conclusion will give an outlook for further research.

## **2. Theoretical framework**

Academic literature does not provide one clear definition of ‘outreach’ - it is important to look at the context in which the word is used. In this paper, outreach is utilized as a general term for all kinds of practices that aim to establish relations between an organization and its consumers and supporters. In the following, certain concepts will be identified which are believed to have special importance for the outreach of alternative food initiatives.

### **Marketing**

For a big part outreach can be understood as marketing practices. Depending on the literature, marketing is defined differently. However, in the widest sense, as the economists Kotler & Levy (1969) stated it: “Marketing is seen as the task of finding and stimulating buyers for a firm’s output”. It is important to note that marketing goes beyond the simple idea of advertising a product, but several factors influence the way an organization tries to communicate its products to the consumer. The marketing mix, developed by Kotler (2000), includes several tools that are important for exercising marketing. These interrelated tools are classified into four main groups, also known as the four Ps: product, price, place and promotion. All of these aspects are important, since they determine the way a company presents itself and its product to the consumer. The choice of the product, its labelling, branding and packaging are of particular importance since from a marketing point of view it is the product which mainly appeals to the needs of a customer and gives satisfaction to the purchaser. Besides that, price will also determine the responsiveness of customers. Prices should be adequate for the product and the target group. The place relates to the location in which the product is being distributed. According to the theory of the marketing mix, place matters since it has to meet the expectations of the customer in terms of where to easily find and consume the product. Last but not least, promotion is an important tool since it is the method to make a product more familiar and visible to the consumer. When establishing a

strategy for promotion, a company should consider all available channels for communication (e.g. internet, newspaper, television etc, the use of public relations) and choose the most suitable ones for its target group (Baourakis, 2004).

It is important to note that marketing has been identified not only as a strategy of firms but also observed with non-profit organizations that do not necessarily sell a certain product for profit, but which aim to sell as well a certain idea to alter people's behaviour. This form of marketing is called social marketing and is often related to e.g. environmental organizations, health promoting organizations, organizations that aim to promote education or organizations that want to endorse some kind of spiritual value (Gromberg, 2006). Considering the fact that alternative food initiatives aim to transmit certain sets of ethical values to their consumers, the strategy of social marketing (no matter whether a strategy is pursued consciously or unconsciously) seems to come close to what describes their outreach practices.

However, there is evidence to believe that the marketing of alternative food products deserves special investigation. An analysis could be incomplete when merely sticking to a marketing analytical approach which doesn't incorporate special factors that relate to the networks for alternative food supply. As stated by Li (2000), outreach is influenced by marketing, but the whole framework behind the marketing needs to be considered as well.

#### Further conceptual tools for analyzing AFN outreach

The investigation of alternative food networks has been predominantly researched by geographers, regional and urban planners as well as social and political scientists that developed conceptual tools for the analysis of alternative food chains. Different authors make the claim that alternative food initiatives are often rather narrow and exclusive in their outreach (Doherty, 2006), and acknowledge the fact that the sale of global food with its universal standardization is easier than e.g. the activity of promoting local food that requires knowledge about "culinary cultures, traditions and tastes" (Istemic, 2010, p. 175). However, little research has truly focused on the analysis of outreach practices. Based on the general literature and on the empirical data collected from the case studies, in the following the paper outlines concepts which relate to the general process of creating alternative food chains and have as well a concrete meaning for the analysis of outreach practices. These concepts serve to extend the marketing perspective.

Literature on alternative food systems has identified that the consumption of food and especially of alternative food is tightly knit to the identity building of individuals and groups

(Kneafsey & Holloway, 2000; Scholliers, 2001). Identity building refers to the process of “a person’s own definition in terms of group membership which entails intergroup behaviour or the identification of a person with the norms, ideals and manners of a group” (Scholliers, 2001, p. 5). People build up their identities on different kinds of economic, social, cultural and political conditions. Food plays an important role in the creation of identities; food has an important link value and can become a symbol of group identification (Brunori, 2007). People identify with food and food defines them at the same time – we are what we eat and we are also what we don’t eat (Belasco & Srancton, 2002; Baourakis, 2004). This has been a phenomenon observed throughout history (Robinson, 2002). Only recently, with globalized, industrialized food chains the importance of food for identity formation has been blurred: standardized products are supposed to appeal to everyone. However, with the turn to alternative food production, food consumption becomes a more politicised issue which is closely interlinked with the promotion of different values. When people eat alternative food, they consume also an idea or a social value through which people define their identity. One could, however, claim that it is even more: not only does the food product itself serve as a source of identity, but for instance also the context in which the product is sold or consumed could play a role. Kneafsey and Holloway (2000) claim that not just the product itself is consumed but the whole place in which alternative food is being consumed has an important symbolic value that provides a base for identification. The relevance of alternative food for a consumer’s identity gives reason to make it a relevant concept for the investigation of outreach practices of alternative food initiatives. It provokes questions of whether food initiatives appeal to certain consumer identities and if this also influences the boundaries of outreach.

Next to the importance of identity formation in the selling of food products, other conceptual tools are crucial. The notions of local and social embeddedness of alternative food systems as well as the importance of community need to be mentioned in this respect. In this paper, it is being supposed that those factors are important to analyze the channels for outreach of alternative food systems. Whereas the modernization of the agro food sector rather individualizes food consumption and displaces it from its social and local environment the purchasing of alternative food shows the tendency to be re-embedded into social networks (Brunori, 2007). Social embeddedness refers to the extent of social relationships between local food system actors and the surrounding community (Hinrichs 2000). People challenge the idea of scientific discourse on food safety and rather put trust into familiar locations,

personal relations, trust, friendship and care (Kneafsey et al., 2004, Lowe, 2009). Kneafsey et al. (2004) further state that individuals might feel powerless to act alone against the conventional food system. This is what makes alternative food systems often characterized by collective behaviour. Since the importance of local and social embeddedness in reconnecting actors is particular to alternative food networks, it is eventually an important factor to consider for the way organizations build relations to their consumers and supporters.

### 3. Methodology

In order to collect concrete empirical data on outreach practices, two cases of alternative food initiatives have been examined. The first initiative investigated is the ‘Regionalmarke EIFEL’<sup>1</sup> situated in Prüm (Germany). The organization has produced a regional quality brand which is given out to particular producers of the Eifel region. ‘Regionalmarke Eifel’ constitutes a thick, multilayered case: the organization has established a strong network of several producers using the brand and several other organizations supporting their goals. Additionally, ‘Regionalmarke Eifel’ has developed an elaborated strategy of marketing, seen in the design of their webpage, multiple published references, and a marketing expert in their team.

While ‘Regionalmarke Eifel’ constituted the main focus of the analysis, it is important to extend it by focusing on the outreach practices of a very different kind of alternative food initiative. The analysis of different cases will not give a complete picture on the various ways of outreach practices. However, differing case studies can tackle more aspects of outreach practices and make the analysis of similar patterns and variation in barriers to outreach stronger. The second initiative is, therefore, the ‘Landbouwbelang’<sup>2</sup> (LBB) situated in Maastricht (the Netherlands). The LBB initiated a community garden<sup>3</sup>, a vegan/vegetarian dinner café (working once a week)<sup>4</sup> and a food cooperative<sup>5</sup> in which persons order food collectively and pick their orders up every Friday. Even though this case might not be as thick in respect to outreach practices, it will serve to shed light as well on other characteristics of outreach practices performed by non-profit oriented grass root food initiatives.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.regionalmarke-eifel.de/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.landbouwbelang.org/lbb2/>

<sup>3</sup> Community gardens are mostly public spaces in which people have the possibility to grow their own vegetables

<sup>4</sup> The dinner café cooks all kinds of organic, vegan/ vegetarian meals

<sup>5</sup> The food cooperative is composed of a group of people that orders its food itself from farmers or retailers which they want to support.

Within the framework of the case analysis, a network analytical approach will be important for illuminating relevant structures of relations within the initiative as well as relations to external networks. As Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) claim, these structures can help to understand social behaviour. The characteristics of networks relate in this case to several aspects of the analysis, it shows potential channels for communication and exposes local and social ties of an initiative which again relate to more aspects of the analysis.

Throughout the study, three instruments helped to nourish the analysis. Firstly, semi-structured interviews within 'Regionalmarke Eifel' were conducted with the main responsible for brand and product design. Moreover, three users of the brand (a butchery owner, a manager of a hotel and restaurant, and the manager of a super market) have been interviewed. For the LBB, several people, actively engaged in the food projects, constituted appropriate interview partners. As Lindlof and Taylor (2002, p. 195) confirm, the openness and flexibility of a semi-structured interview left space for reacting to the peculiarities of the cases.

Secondly, content text analysis which allows defining the main message and keywords of wordings (Neuendorf, 2002), provided a closer insight into the way outreach is framed. Texts for analysis represented the web-sites of the initiatives, flyers, newspaper articles and promotion e-mails.

Thirdly, visual observation provided a means to interpret the way designs and pictures on information material and food products characterises outreach practices. However, as claimed by Emmison and Smith (2002) visual observation ought to go beyond images and photos since the whole appearance of spaces and places considerably influence people's behaviour (p.6). Thus, on site observation allowed to get an impression of how the features of places for consumption relate to the way initiatives make themselves visible to their consumers.

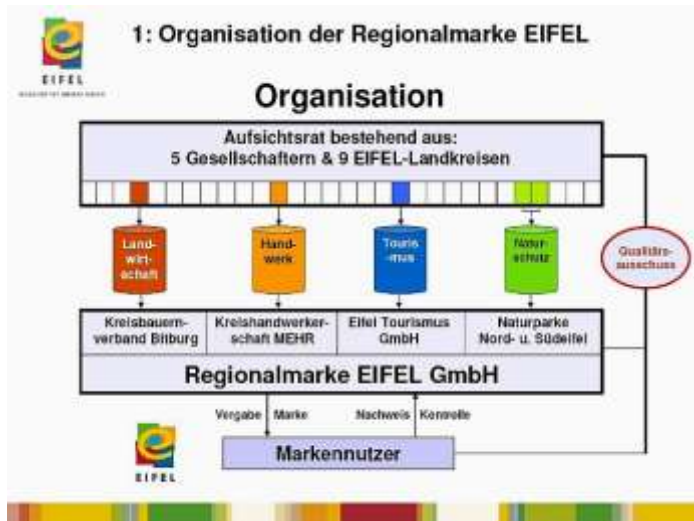
All of these instruments serve to outline relevant factors for outreach and the nature of the channels that are being used for outreach. These observations will be especially important to tackle the first two research question of *how* outreach is being performed and *why* it is done in this way. Furthermore, the outlining of the scope of outreach and the perceived barriers of outreach intends to answer the third research question which combines the relevant factors for outreach to the limited visibility of alternative food initiatives.



## 4. Case analysis- main findings

### a) Case one- Regionalmarke Eifel

#### 4.1) The organization



Retrieved:  
<http://www.regionalmarke-eifel.de/regionalmarke-eifel-organisation.htm>

Mapping the structure of the organization is an important preliminary step in order to understand the way outreach is organized. Most importantly, it illuminates the network within which the organization performs its outreach. As illustrated on the organization's website, the Regionalmarke Eifel GmbH is being advised by a body of regional representatives that come from different backgrounds of agriculture, traditional manufacturing, tourism and environmental protection. In line with their advices, the Regionalmarke GmbH developed a regional brand that serves to certify regional products according to certain quality standards. The Regionalmarke Eifel has by now created a network with about 300 users of the brand that either produce products themselves<sup>6</sup> or use regionally produced products in their professions (be it a bakery a butchery, a supermarket, or an hotel). Each of these producers and salesmen do their own promotion for their Regionalmarke Eifel products. Besides having established a network with the brand users, the Regionalmarke Eifel has enrooted itself in the region by creating contacts to municipalities and also to private institutions like banks which provide some financial support. According to my interviewee Mr. Balter (2011)<sup>7</sup>, the additional

<sup>6</sup> Small and middle scale farmers

<sup>7</sup> In charge of brand and product design- Regionalmarke Eifel

network relations serve as an important extension of the promotion platform and sometimes also represent sources of funding.

#### **4.2) Aims and philosophy**

The information text on the internet page as well as flyers and the interview with Mr. Balter provided a very clear picture on the philosophy and aims of Regionalmarke Eifel. The regional brand was created in order to foster economic growth<sup>8</sup> of the region and at the same time to promote sustainable ways of food consumption. The aspects which the Regionalmarke Eifel especially values are shorter transport ways, certified quality products that are healthy, tasty and environmentally friendly, animal welfare, the safeguarding of regional traditions, protecting the unique landscape of the Eifel region and promoting a regional identity.

#### **4.3) Data on outreach practices**

With its Regionalmarke, the organization intends to reach two kinds of supporters: Firstly the producers, stores and gastronomy enterprises which use the brand and, secondly, the regular consumer that purchases the product. While it is not possible to completely separate the one from the other, for the research question it is of special interest to rather analyze how the regular consumer is being addressed. The analysis of data on outreach follows the framework of the above outlined marketing mix: product, price, promotion and place.

All products promoted are natural products and range from fresh and processed meat, cheese, fruits, vegetables, honey, bread to milk, beer, liquor, juices and mineral water. The most important aspect is that they are regional products, which for Regionalmarke Eifel means that all stages of processing are carried out in the region. Regionalmarke defines and promotes its products as authentic and special quality products. The discourse used in the promotion material shows very well how Regionalmarke defines its products. The description of the products online and on flyers relates the products to several value laden words. One finds predominantly the attributes “quality”, “special”, “authentic” “identity”, “taste” next to expressions like “natural”, “origin”, “closeness”, and more words that evoke trust into the product such as “transparency”, “security”, “personal”, “trust”, “traditional”<sup>9</sup>. These attributes are then often set into relation with the Eifel Region. Slogans on the product say for example “the special way to enjoy the Eifel”, “with respect for the traditional culture of the Eifel”,

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<sup>8</sup> The region’s rural economy is characterized by a variety of middle size companies/farms. These are the enterprises which Regionalmarke Eifel wants to protect.

<sup>9</sup> All quotations used from the interviewees of Regionalmarke Eifel are translated by the author (Katharine Kolmans) from German into English.

“time for quality, time for identity, time for Eifel” (Website Regionalmarke Eifel, flyers and messages on the products, 2011). This image of the products as special quality products, authentic, natural and, thus, trustworthy is supported by the design of the product and the visual look of the information material describing them. The pictures on the products show forests, flowers and grassland. Within the brochures and on the webpage, pictures are shown of animals in their natural environments, farmers in their traditional clothing and the products are photographed on wooden plates surrounded by green plants. In short: everything creates the image of rural authenticity of the Eifel quality products. Also the colors used in the design are all natural and soft colors.

A factor that is not unimportant to communicate the product and the philosophy of the organization is the price. Mr. Balter (2011) in the interview confirmed that for the Regionalmarke Eifel, quality of their products can also be partly mirrored in pricing. “Quality has its price” and the affordability is not an important aspect for promotion. The products are rather in the high category of prices which matches the image of “high quality” and “specialty” products (ibid.).

Even if it is not an explicit marketing guideline of the Regionalmarke Eifel, the places in which the products are being promoted, bought and consumed underline the image of specialty and quality food. Ms. Arens (2011)<sup>10</sup> commented that she is rather able to sell Regionalmarke Eifel products at her restaurant than on regular public places, and confirms that the place can have an importance for outreach. Moreover, it was interesting to observe that the places visited are rather less modern and several things and images fit into the picture of the rural and the Eifel Region. Even in the REWE supermarket which is a very conventional place for shopping, several other promotion slogans at the place made a reference to the Eifel region and showed pictures of a rural landscape.

The channels of communication and promotion are firstly, the webpage of the Regionalmarke Eifel which reveals a lot of information. Secondly, flyers are important promotion material. Thirdly, Regionalmarke Eifel tries to appear regularly in local newspapers. Moreover, the company organizes from time to time public events in order to make the brand more of an experience for Eifel producers and consumers. Additionally, the little Eifel logo (a yellow “e “ in front of four colored squares) is being printed on t-shirts and pullovers which are offered to the users of the brand (Interview Balter, 2011). Interestingly,

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<sup>10</sup> Manager of *Landhotel am Wetzelbach*, a restaurant and a catering service in Prüm

Mr. Balter said that mouth to mouth propaganda is also very crucial. This was very much confirmed by the users of the brand themselves. All of the three users interviewed confirmed that personal relations in doing outreach are very important. They promote it to costumers personally and, thus, it is especially persons that come often to their shops whom they convince about the products (Arens, 2011; Fuchs<sup>11</sup>, 2011; Tix, 2011<sup>12</sup>).



Image of the Regionalmarke Eifel  
logo retrieved:  
<http://www.regionalmarke-eifel.de/>

#### **4.4 Scope of outreach and barriers**

Organizational structure and network show that Regionalmarke Eifel has a relatively big scope of outreach. A high number of producers are involved and seen from a geographical perspective Regionalmarke's outreach covers almost the whole of the Eifel region. However, the philosophy and ethical values also binds the company and its outreach to their region. Except for one producer that sells a few products in Berlin, all products are sold within the Eifel. Firstly, Regionalmarke Eifel's concept of short transport ways inhibits them from selling to faraway places (Interview Balter, 2011). Secondly, Mr. Balter (2011) stated that it does not make a lot of sense to promote the Eifel products further than 40-50 kilometers outside of the Eifel since outside this area no one would identify with Eifel products anymore.

It is interesting to note that Regionalmarke Eifel was founded with the idea to produce in the rural area and then sell the products to where most of the consumers are: the bigger urban spaces at the borders of the Eifel region. However, throughout the years Regionalmarke Eifel had to change its target group. In the city the organization had no success in communicating its ideas to the consumer. The company realized that it had to start by addressing the consumer in the rural area of the Eifel region. This finding relates to an important aspect that will deserve further examination in the wider analysis of outreach

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<sup>11</sup> Manager of REWE Supermarket in Prüm

<sup>12</sup> Manager of butchery *Metzgerei Tix* in Prüm

practices: The relevance of the identification with the values and the concept of the food organization. As Mr. Balter (2011) confirmed in the interview it was rather the Eifel inhabitants themselves that saw their identity confirmed in the concepts and reacted to the outreach practices of the company.

However, the scope of outreach is not only limited in regards to the boundaries of the rural part of the Eifel region. Also within the region, Regionalmarke's outreach practices attract only a certain target group. As confirmed by Mr. Balter (2011), the target group is defined by persons that originate from the higher middle class, and are mostly above 30 years. According to Mr. Balter, the main reason for this is that high prices remain an important obstacle to reach young people and people with lower incomes. Moreover, he explained that promotion channels would need to be modernized and also other ways like social media (e.g. Facebook) would have to be used. Additionally, the persons that consume products of the Regionalmarke must be willing to put a little bit more effort and time in purchasing the products since, like in the example of Mr. Tix's butchery, people have to go to special stores distributed throughout the city instead of buying everything in the supermarket (Tix, 2011). Moreover, although Regionalmarke sells a variety of products, the range is still limited and customers feel Regionalmarke Eifel products are rather complimentary to their regular shopping (Interview Balter, 2011; Interview Fuchs, 2011).

Next to issues in finding the right way to communicate with consumers that identify with the products and its price, a problem in outreach perceived are resources: money and human resources to make the brand present as much as possible. Whereas the money problem is related to the aspect of economic sustainability, the problem of limited human resources relates as well to the aspect that the channels of communication are upheld a lot through personal communication: with the users of the brands and with the consumers (visits to the producers and presence at public events) (Interview Balter, 2011). The more the organization grows the more difficult it becomes to live up to the goal of keeping good social relationships and making the concept of the brand an experience and lifestyle (ibid.).

### **b) Case two - Landbouwbelang (LBB)**

It has been confirmed that the LBB case is not as multilayered and thick as the case of the Regionalmarke Eifel, at least when it comes to the aspect of outreach practices. This is true, since the LBB does not pursue a clear strategy for their consumer outreach. Nevertheless, the

data collected serves to extend the observations on outreach practices of AFNs, especially since many food initiatives are (similar to the LBB) rather grass root organizations.

#### **4.5 The organization**

The Landbouwbelang is a big, squatted, industrial building which hosts not only food projects but also art projects and cultural events. The LBB is inhabited by 14 persons who are also the main organizers of the initiatives taking place under the umbrella of the LBB. However, the structures in the LBB are very fluid and, thus, also other people outside the LBB involve in the organization of projects. Organizational issues are as well managed in a rather unstructured way: Everyone is responsible for his or her project and only where coordination is necessarily needed a committee meets. The initiatives dealing with food issues are a food cooperative, a community garden and an organic/vegan dinner café. Producers that provide the food for the initiatives are all situated within the close surroundings of Maastricht. Other connections are rather loose and based on personal connections and, therefore, quite difficult to map. An example represents organizers of music festivals with alternative concepts which contact the dinner café to sell food (Webpage LBB, 2011; Interview Browers, 2011<sup>13</sup>, Interview Kuhnleinn, 2011<sup>14</sup>, Interview Speek<sup>15</sup>, 2011)

#### **4.6) Aims and philosophy**

As the structure already suggests, there is an overall philosophy of the LBB but no clearly defined goal. The interviewees made very clear that LBB has a policy of non-profit, of giving everyone the freedom to do the projects s/he wants to do and of creating a feeling of communality. Using the expressions of “anarchistic”, “democratic” and “alternative” as well as stressing the no-profit policy, one of the interviewees described it as a rather left wing, idealistic philosophy that the LBB represents (Kuhnlein, 2011). According to this overall philosophy, the three interviewees that coordinate the food projects present stronger or even politicized aims and motivations for promoting alternative food consumption. Speek (2011) for instance uses the term of “social responsibility” and claims that the actions are directed towards seeing something wrong in the society and this is why “you try to fix it” (ibid.). Kuhnlein (2011) claims that people have to “go back to the roots”, that the actions are

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<sup>13</sup> Organizer and initiator of the dinner café

<sup>14</sup> Organizer of the community garden

<sup>15</sup> Organizer of the food cooperative

“political in a way” and uses the terms of “environmentalism” and “activism” to describe the ambitions that relate to her engagement.

#### **4.7) Data on outreach practices**

The products sold at the LBB (or cultivated in the community garden) do not have specific designs or slogans to describe them. In contrast to the Regionalmarke Eifel case, the labels of the products are not being emphasized nor communicated to the consumer. The promotion-email of the food cooperative merely says: “ecological and social responsible food available at reasonable prices” (2011). In combination with the interview results, the impression is given that the main aspects to food products should be ideally that they are self-grown, organic and very importantly: affordable. An important aspect is also that no meat is being sold or offered. No matter on which event in the LBB: everything is organic, vegetarian and as affordable as possible (Interview Speek, 2011). This suits to the LBB’s anti-capitalistic philosophy that nothing should be exploited for profit (Interview Browsers, 2011; Interview Speek, 2011). The products are, thus, also closely tight to values that are being communicated explicitly or implicitly to the consumer. Reference to ‘quality or ‘specialty’ or rural images are not made. While the intrinsic attributes of the product do play a role, the outer appearance is not as important as in the Regionalmarke Eifel case.

The place of consumption is again not unimportant since its “atmosphere” (Interview Browsers, 2011) portrays a very particular picture of the initiatives. In contrast to the consumption places of Regionalmarke Eifel, everything is rather provisional and has the special flair of a squatted building. When people come and pick up their food from the food cooperative, they find themselves in a rather dark, big hall next to art works and have to look themselves for their food on tables and floor (Observation at the place).

The channels of communication used by the food cooperative, the community garden and the dinner café vary from case to case, but they have one thing in common: they are very personalized. The cooperative promotes itself through a mailing list which the organizers created through their personal connections. Moreover, Facebook promotion was used in all three cases, however not exhaustively. The web page of the LBB gives some information, but also not extensively. The main channel of promotion is indeed the “mouth to mouth thing” (Kuhnlein, 2011) and can, thus, in this respect be compared to the Regionalmarke Eifel case (Interviews and promotion material of the LBB).

#### **4.8 Scope of outreach and barriers**

The scope of outreach is by far smaller than the one of Regionalmarke Eifel. Geographically, the outreach does not really go beyond the city of Maastricht (except for occasional food sales at music festivals). When it comes to their target group within Maastricht, the interviewees confirmed that the easiest target group to reach with their concept is students. This is “for convenience” (Interview Speek, 2011) since the organizers themselves are mostly students and just communicate it to the people in their reach. While all of them would desire that also other groups of people are included, indeed mostly students are attracted and see themselves as part of the community of gardener or of the food cooperative. Only the dinner café which exists now for more than 10 years has managed to expand its network to persons outside of the student community - however, this was a lengthy process. Kuhnlein (2011) stressed that “it is really hard to get beyond students”.

Next to the issue of not being able to be broader in the target group, the interviews revealed the problem that financial and human resources are quite limited. Since the initiatives function with a non-profit philosophy, the aim is not to do heavy commercial promotion. And since people are working there as volunteers and not full-time, there is often not the capacity to invest more time in outreach practices (Speek, 2011). Capacities of space are limited as well: the restaurant cannot have more than 100 persons and the community garden is rather small. Kuhnlein (2011) explained that “it wasn’t also the purpose for the group to be big”. This is why the LBB does not even necessarily want to grow in this respect. Moreover, the main responsible for the food cooperative doubts whether the growth of the cooperative would still allow upholding commitment by all, and a community feeling amongst the members (an issue which will be taken up again later in the analysis) (Speek, 2011).

Moreover, although this problem was not voiced by the interviewees themselves, one can see a barrier to the LBB’s outreach when considering its organizational structure. According to Li (2008), a relationship exists between the degree of outreach of an organization and the clear structure and definition of the goals and structure of the organization. The clearer the overall aim, and the more structured, the more outreach possibilities an organization will have. LBB’s definition of goals is rather imprecise and the structure very fluid. Thus, its organizational structure impedes the LBB to easily grow.



## **5. Mapping wider implications**

### **5.1 Signifying values and identity to the consumer**

Both cases are crucially different in several regards: The philosophy, the structure, and the way of promoting 'alternative' food. But there is one very important similarity: In both cases the outreach practices are not value free, but several aspects signify the philosophy of the organization, the set of values therein and construct an identity of the initiative that is clearly visible to the outside. The products that are chosen and prepared for sale, the pricing, the location for distribution and the channels and ways of promotion, have all proven to serve as signifiers of these values and all of this is being consumed by the customer. Customers get to see more than the product - people do not make neutral choices, but consume the product in relation to all the values which the initiatives promote.

#### Regionalmarke Eifel

In the case of the Regionalmarke Eifel, it is the Eifel regional, rural, traditional identity, connected to high quality and authenticity, that is being communicated through the marketing of the products. These are the values that the consumers support with their purchase and this provides a base for consumers to build their identity upon. Several examples show that the identification with the promoted ideas is crucial in determining the scope for outreach.

As has been outlined before, young people, looking for a modern affordable life-style are rather not considered potential buyers for traditional regional, high price products. Moreover, the analysis of outreach practices revealed that people living in bigger cities do not feel as connected to regional products as people that live in the rural Eifel region and, thus, identify with the Eifel. It also seems as if it is due to the fact that the regional Eifel identity is strongly promoted that people beyond the Eifel are not interested either. A very good example serves to demonstrate this: Mr. Balter (2011) explained that there is one user of the brand – a milk producer (Milchunion Hocheifel) - that sells milk within as well outside the Eifel Region. Although the milk which is being sold is the same everywhere in Germany – within the Eifel region the product is marketed as a regional product and outside the Eifel region the packaging of the milk does not wear the regional brand anymore, but emphasizes its organic aspect without linking the product's quality to a specific origin. The examples show that buying Regionalmarke Eifel products are difficult to comply with a wide range of consumers, but appeal especially to those that have a connection to the Eifel region, that have a certain age and a certain income level. A similar, although very general observation has been made

by Wetterich (2006, p. 77) who works for the German farmers association and who claims that many groups of consumers simply do not respond to the marketing of regional quality products.

### Landbouwbelang

Although the LBB does not have a clear strategy for outreach practices it, nevertheless, transmits its overall philosophy and values through the act of promoting alternative food. On the one hand, there are general issues voiced within the philosophy of both organizations (Regionalmarke Eifel and LBB): Discontent with mass production and mass consumption in the conventional food system, environmental concerns, animal welfare, unfair pricing and the resulting need for change (Webpage of Regionalmarke Eifel and all interviews conducted). On the other hand, the idea how to bring about change varies from initiative to initiative and the prioritization of certain values is very different. The LBB case even provided explicit evidence that the organizers see themselves representing a different ethic than that of organic or regional food sold through labels in supermarkets (Interview Speek, 2011; Interview Kuhnlein, 2011; Interview Browsers, 2011). Kuhnlein (2011) for instance claims that “you never can trust the labels - you don’t know what they mean” and Speek (2011) sees the problem of making products more expensive “just because”. In the end, the way the products are promoted, including the emphasis on vegetarian meals, the importance of affordable prices, the flair of the place of consumption, the channels used to communicate these aspects, all attract a certain type of consumer that reacts to the values communicated to him/her. Kuhnlein (2011) expressed that “it is important to share these believes, otherwise it doesn’t happen”. Two of the LBB interviewees confirmed this by saying that a certain type of students that share “this kind of alternative thing” (Interview Iris, 2011) were coming to the LBB and engaging in the food initiatives. This confirms the frequently voiced observation that people feel connected to the food’s characteristics and food binds the people and creates group identification (Belasco & Srancton, 2002; Baourakis, 2004).

## **5.2 Local and Social Embeddedness, Community, Trust**

As stated by several scholars, the nature of AFNs (their philosophy to work against the globalized conventional food system) triggers the importance of the local relations, embedded in social networks that are shaped by trust and even aim at provoking a feeling of community. These aspects were also deemed to be important in the interviews and text analysis since the

kind of relationships that are upheld, naturally define the way outreach is done. Both, the mapping of the network in which the organizations are in (partly presented in section: ‘organization’), as well as the discourse in the interviews confirmed the importance of locality, tight social networks, trust and community. The data, however, also shows that the relevance of closeness and personal social relationships in outreach varies between AFNs.

### Regionalmarke Eifel

Throughout the analysis it became clear that the Regionalmarke Eifel is very much locally embedded into the Region to which its name refers. Its philosophy of short transport ways and the emphasis on the importance of tradition and origin binds outreach to the Eifel region. This is why also the network of Regionalmarke Eifel will probably never expand beyond the place which gives the food its identity (Interview Balter, 2011).

Furthermore, the investigation has shown a relatively high degree of social embeddedness. The relations between the company, the producer and the consumer show the importance of trust, care and even friendship. The company considers it as crucial to have good and personal relations with the producers and also to keep good relationships among the producers. Events and meetings serve this purpose. In this way, producers develop identification with the brand and the products (Interview Balter, 2011). Moreover, as mentioned before, interviewed producers and people distributing the products stressed that their outreach methods are very personal. Directly talking to people is an important outreach method and, as Ms. Arens and Mr. Tix stressed, the products were especially sold to people who consume at their places regularly and “have trust in them” (Interview Tix, 2011). Ms. Arens even claimed that just marketing the logo didn’t help a lot, especially when products were sold at places where people just pass by (e.g snack bars at public events). She observed more success in selling the products at places where she had her regular customers who know her and talk to her (Interview Arens, 2011). In contrast to the individualized consumption of food in the conventional way, Regionalmarke Eifel is re-embedded into a concrete locality and social relationships play an important role. Thus, this is also what partly limits the scope within which its outreach takes mainly place and through which the values of the food are signified.

### Landbouwbelang

After interviewing the people of the Landbouwbelang and looking at the network they created it became obvious that, here, locality and social relations play an even bigger role. As many

other food initiatives, the Landbouwbelang does not really aim to reach people beyond the city they are situated in, but act very locally.

In the case of the Landbouwbelang there is no special branding and little strategy for outreach. As touched upon before, the value of consuming ‘good’ food and being part of an alternative food network is predominantly transmitted through personal relations. Trust in the product is almost entirely based on personal connections - there are no special labels or price indicators to assess food quality. The food cooperative started with a group of friends and grew bigger by inviting more friends to join. Mr. Speek confirms that most of the people that come to the cooperative he either knows directly or via another friend (Interview Speek, 2011). Also Ms. Kuhnlein (2011) of the community garden explained that the people engaged in the garden are merely people she knows personally. Mr. Browsers (2011) said that they had never made real promotion for the dinner café but it was also by friends telling other friends that the thing started to grow.

The issue that came up in all three interviews and which is generally part of the LBB is the importance of community: connecting to the food but also doing this with other persons as a group and strengthen conviviality. In a way, this concept has proven to be as well important in the case of Regionalmarke Eifel. However, in the LBB case, the value of community in food consumption is much stronger and, thus, seems to be necessarily more enrooted into social networks. The outreach to bigger consumer groups seems, therefore, also naturally more difficult.

Making food is not only an issue of individual consumption, but also an issue of lifestyle and conviviality. It also means to engage people in more than just the most simple way of consumption. In the case of Regionalmarke Eifel, more effort is demanded by the consumer since he has to go to special stores or even go directly to the place of the producer to buy the products (Interview Tix, 2011). Attendance of social events also increases the level of engagement (Interview Balter, 2011 & Interview Arens 2011). In the case of the LBB, it is, however, even more: the consumer is encouraged to grow the food him- or herself, to organize the orders for the food cooperative and, in the case of the dinner café, people are always encouraged to volunteer to cook (Interviews LBB, 2011). This might also have an effect on the identification and attraction of the consumer to the initiative: The more time and engagement is demanded, the more difficulties one can have in catching the attention of busy professionals and people with families which have rather rigid, full time-tables. Thus, the high

social involvement adds as well to the factors that make alternative food initiative's outreach rather narrow.

Moreover, a special challenge that Kuhnlein (2011) observed is a "cultural barrier" within the locality of the city. She calls it "tricky" to reach the Maastricht local population since many international students are active at the LBB and rather communicate in English than in Dutch and are consequently also less familiar with the Dutch mentality.

### **5.3 Relationship between the extension of outreach practices and loss of ethical values**

As is shown by the data of both case studies, the consumption in alternative food networks is closely knit to the communication of certain sets of values that differ from initiative to initiative. It has also been shown, that these values define the scope of outreach to rather limited local and social groupings. On the one hand, going beyond the local and constructed social spheres could increase consumer support and, thus, make the initiative economically more sustainable. But on the other hand, it sometimes also means to lose ethical credibility and to alter the aspects with which the consumers identify. At least in the cases analyzed, evidence has been given that this is perceived as a potential danger. For example, the Regionalmarke Eifel recently took up some 'cheaper' products into their assortment, which was discussed intensively within the company since they saw the danger of communicating a wrong image that would not define them as high-quality - specialty brand and, thus, reduce the trust of the persons within their target group. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Regionalmarke will never aim at reaching people beyond the region, firstly, because they believe that there is not the potential for it (due to the importance of identification), but, secondly, because they would betray the value of consuming regional (Interview Balter, 2011). On top of that, Mr. Balter (2011) made clear that the success of outreach cannot only be measured in quantity, but that successful outreach would also mean to really put the philosophy into practice and have a positive impact on the quality of life of the producers and the consumers. When growing bigger, however, one of the main difficulties is to still hold personal relations to all producers and assess their improvements.

As outlined before, the ethical values promoted by the LBB are quite different from those promoted by the Regionalmarke, but the fact that both put importance on a set of values that they promote contains them from measuring outreach success merely by the number of consumers supporting them. Firstly, heavy marketing is unlikely to be a goal of the initiatives of the LBB. Since they follow a non-profit philosophy they have quite limited resources for

outreach (financially and in regard to volunteers). Moreover, it is, thus, also not necessarily the aim of the LBB initiatives to grow bigger in their outreach; a bigger outreach could endanger the philosophy of the initiatives. A clear example constitutes the dilemma that Mr. Speek encounters with the development of the food cooperative: On the one hand, he would like to extend the outreach and let more people know about the cooperative's concept of food consumption. On the other hand, he would put in danger the concept of a cooperative since he wants people to be involved in the act of organizing food and wants to maintain this feeling of a community. If it grows too big, however, the cooperative could develop into something similar to a store where people just come to pick up their food instead of also helping in the organization. The community feeling and the special connectedness to the food would be lost (ibid). One can also make a similar claim when it comes to the problem of a fluid organizational structure. On the one hand, it impedes the organization from developing clear aims and growing fast and, on the other hand, it is part of the LBB philosophy to leave as much freedom in the organizational structures as possible.

## **6. Evaluation**

*How do initiatives perform their outreach practices?*

The answer to the question on how initiatives perform their outreach has proven to be very complex. Even though both initiatives call for a change in the conventional food system, the initiatives promote different kinds of products, for different prices, use different ways of promotion and places for promotion and consumption are very different as well. The difference can mostly be explained by the fact that the philosophies and values which define the organizations are quite different.

However, despite their dissimilarity, there are comparable rationales in their outreach practices: firstly, the signifying of values is very important - they become visible in all aspects of the organizations' marketing. Secondly, their networks are very locally and socially embedded and, thus, outreach builds upon personal relations of trust and friendship. As a consequence, outreach practices and target groups are determined by the local and social environment in which the organization is set. Thirdly, there is a relevant relationship between the extension of outreach and the loss of ethical credibility. This means, the values that the organizations' promote are not always compatible with the aim to extend outreach. These three aspects are interrelated. In both cases, social closeness is part of the values that the

organization promotes (although to varying degrees) and building up on those values organizations intend to find the balance between growth and ethical justice.

*Why do they perform it in this way?*

Alternative food systems define themselves by being opposed to the conventional food system. This has been expressed by existing literature and has been confirmed by the case studies. Both initiatives claim to be more ethically just than conventional food systems – this is one of their main justifications to exist and to sell or promote their products. The promotion of ethic values consequently plays a crucial role in their outreach. Food is not just sold as a neutral product, but the whole idea behind it is supposed to be consumed. The consumption of food is seen as a kind of life-style. People do not make neutral choices - the values they consume define their identities and delineate the group they belong to (Belasco & Srancton, 2002; Baourakis, 2004). As in the case of the Regionalmarke Eifel, identity is even marketed very consciously. The strengthening of an ‘Eifel identity’ is promoted in information material.

When it comes to the importance of personal relations in outreach practices, it can be claimed that the re-embedding into local, social structures is an important aspect in signaling opposition to the conventional food system. Global structures and scientific discourse are rather seen as uncertain, unreliable and unjust. As confirmed by the case analysis, people, thus, put trust into familiar localities, producers and sellers. Organizations need to mirror the local social needs of their environment.

Since the set of values that the organizations promote, justify their being and their consumer support, the loss of ethical credibility is a very important consideration when the organization intends to increase its outreach. This is why, in the cases at hand, successful outreach is not necessarily measured in quantitative expansion in supporters, but also in terms of the degree to which ethical values are being put into practice.

*To what extent can the way outreach is being practiced explain existing barriers to broader consumer support?*

The problems in outreach that were voiced by the interviewees vary between the initiatives. The interviewees of the LBB stressed the problem of lacking support of volunteers that could provide the capacity for further outreach. Moreover, the high degree of involvement prevents people from engaging in the projects. The LBB faces a challenge by its fluid organizational structures. Problems of lacking funds for promotion were voiced by both initiatives. And in

the case of Regionalmarke Eifel, it became clear that the range of products is likely not to satisfy all consumer demands for food. However, these problems seem difficult to generalize, since some initiatives demand more involvement than others; some sell high quality food, while others grow food themselves. Others work on a voluntary, non-profit base, while others are companies with good incomes and employees that have to be paid. It is, thus, difficult to make the claim that these specific problems are the main causes for a general lack of visibility.

In more general terms, however, it can be said that the problems in outreach that the organizations face all appear to stand in relation with the ethical values that they seek to promote. The organization's aim to promote ethical justice is at the same time their challenge in outreach. Not only does this become visible in specific problems such as finding volunteers or the problem of keeping close, social relations when growing. But it seems, as if, in general, the nature of AFNs is to be rather specific and narrow in their outreach. The way they design their outreach suggests that they serve particular groups of consumers that associate themselves with a certain set of ethical values and particular long term objectives. The limits for outreach seem to be defined by a specific target group which shares the values of the initiative. Food can become a form of group symbol and those who identify with other aspects of food and are less likely to be reached by the outreach practices.

The challenge seems also to lie within the act of meeting the needs of the locality they act within. These needs have to be carefully mapped. The Regionalmarke Eifel, for instance, had to change its marketing strategy when they experienced that their products found more resonance in rural than in urban areas. In the case of the LBB, the initiatives face the problem of cultural barriers between international students and the local population of Maastricht. Moreover, as the purchase of alternative food is often based on personal trust, these personal relations need to be firstly established which means that the expansion is much slower than in a conventional standardized food system.

## **8. Conclusion**

The analysis of outreach practices has shown that the way of alternative food initiatives to establish relations to its consumers and supporters varies as the philosophy of the organization and the place they are situated in varies. Nevertheless, there are aspects that are specific to the outreach practices of alternative food systems. Important factors are the signaling of their values through their marketing, as well as the importance of personal relations in purchase



and engagement. The organizations have to stick to their proclaimed values and create trust through social closeness since this is what justifies their existence and sales. However, often a growth in outreach would mean to endanger ethical credibility. Thus, there exists a possible negative relationship between economic sustainability and ethical justice.

It is also their specific set of values that makes food initiatives' outreach rather narrow in their target group. Although all alternative food initiatives share the idea to bring about change in the conventional food system, the cases showed that they have different perceptions of how to bring about this transformation. These different sets of values attract different groups of people who seek to identify with these values. As a consequence, alternative food initiatives can be narrow in their outreach groups (e.g. alternative minded students in contrast to well situated persons of a rural environment).

The narrowness in outreach is however, partially also a natural consequence of the social and local embeddedness of initiatives. As shown in the case analysis, organizations have to adapt to the needs of their local environment and the most powerful links for outreach are based on personal relationships. Thus, outreach has also to mirror specific needs of its local and social network.

Throughout this analysis it has also become that there is no 'one fits all solution' to problems of outreach. But every organization is so different that it needs a case to case approach for closer investigation. This analysis faced limits in the sense that it could only include two cases and, thus, consider a limited range of factors. However, what can be generally concluded from these cases is that a general standardization of alternative food schemes and marketing is neither likely, nor desirable to occur. To be successful in terms of ethical justice and to preserve the multiple ways of access to food that the conventional system cannot provide, alternative food networks need to respond to their local and social environment and be especially aware of the fact that different consumers search for a base to build their different identities upon.

In regard of this conclusion, the only way to improve general visibility and wider outreach of alternative food initiatives is seemingly to support the proliferation of many different food schemes that are able to incorporate different consumer groups that build upon different consumer identities. However, for this, further research needs to be done. Firstly, more research is necessary to shed light on the often voiced idea that merely the "white middle class beard and sandals brigade" (Kneafsey et al., 2007) and an economic elite can

identify with the aims of alternative food initiatives and their products. As Kneafsey et al. (2007) claim, there is not really a typical alternative food consumer and, thus, it is important not to dismiss certain consumer groups of being uninterested in AFNs. If this is the case, success in ethical terms would mean to aim at addressing all kinds of consumers and make the idea of alternative food networks visible with all different groups of society.

Moreover, this analysis can be used as a starting point to find solutions on how to concretely support the proliferation of various schemes that address identities that do not only fall into the stereotype of the 'green worrier'. The results of this analysis suggest that it is rather unlikely that one initiative will be able to map the variety of local needs since they emerge also rather unorganized and are an initiative of a certain social grouping. It could, therefore, be an important step to transmit responsibility to regional or local policy makers. Their policies could respond to the local needs and variations and, thus, support and also initiate the process of proliferating different schemes.

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## **II) Interviews**

Regionalmarke Eifel:

Arens, A. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 5<sup>th</sup> 2011, in Prüm (Germany).

Balter, A. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 4<sup>th</sup> 2011, in Prüm (Germany).

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Landbouwbelang:

Browsers, J. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2011, in Maastricht (The Netherlands).

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Speek, D. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2011, in Maastricht (The Netherlands).

# Appendix

## I) Interviews Regionalmarke Eifel

a) Arens, A. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 5<sup>th</sup> 2011, in Prüm (Germany)

**Frage: Sie leiten hier das Hotel?**

Arens: Mit meinen Eltern zusammen. Wir sind ein ganz typischer Familienbetrieb. Mutter Vater und Kind. Die Aufgaben sind natürlich ein bisschen verteilt jeder hat so seinen Bereich und ist dann auch eigenständig dafür verantwortlich – aber gehören tut uns der Betrieb gemeinsam.

**Frage: Was ist ihr Aufgabenbereich?**

Arens: Rezeption, Buchungen , alles was so mit Technik zusammenhängt sag ich mal, Interne, unsere Website, Buchungen, Buchungsbestätigungen, Angebote erstellen , dazu kommt dann Restaurant, Service dazu gehören dann auch wieder die Angebote im Restaurant, Speisekarten Erstellung, Aktionen vorbereiten. Alles was rund um Restaurant eigentlich zu tun hat. Und das Büro dummerweise auch noch... alles was mit Steuern zu tun hat.

**Frage: Wie viele Mitarbeiter haben sie?**

Arens: Wir haben nur Aushilfen wir haben gar keine Festangestellten und Aushilfen haben wir insgesamt. Hier im Haus acht und dann noch 30 für die außer Haus Veranstaltungen. Wir haben viele Events außer Haus. Festlichkeiten wo dann Personal eingesetzt wird. Es gibt auch so eine Veranstaltungsreihe hier in Prüm – der Prümer Sommer da arbeiten da auch so 40 Leute....

**Frage: Sie haben also viel Bezug zu anderen Veranstaltern? Und sie Bedienen sie als Catterer?**

Arens: Ja genau.

**Frage: Was sind das dann so für Veranstaltungen?**

Arens: Wie gesagt Prümer Sommer, die Krenzlandschau, Prümer Kirmes. Ja das sind so die großen, ... Pferdemarkt. Also das sind die die immer wieder jedes Jahr stattfinden. Das sind dann so in jeden Jahr – 14 Feste.

**Frage: In Prüm?**

Arens: Ja eigentlich nur in Prüm. Dazu kommen dann wechselnde Veranstaltungen wo man dann kurzfristig gebucht wird. Manchmal ist es ne Hochzeit, manchmal ist es ja... irgend ein großes Event wie ne Firma die ein Jubiläum feiert. Das allerdings dann teil meines Vaters.

**Frage: Was mich besonders interessiert ist, dass sie Markennutzer der Regionalmarke Eifel sind. Und seid wann beziehen sie diese Marke und wie kam es dazu?**

Arens: Wie sind so einer der ersten Betriebe die da mitgemacht haben. Ich weis gar nicht wann das gegründet wurde... 2005. Wir sind bei der Regionalmarke Eifel seid 2005. Vorher gab es nen anderen Zusammenschluss- Genuss für Leib und Seele hieß das. Das lief schon 10 Jahre vorher.

Wie man dazu kommt?... Irgendwann, ja also wir reden jetzt von einem Zeitraum der 20 Jahr zurückliegt, die Produkte die wir bekamen waren immer schlechter . Überall wo man essen ging bekam man nurnoch die gleichen Fertigprodukte. Es war mal so ne Zeitlang da war Kartoffelgratin modern und überall wo man hinging bekam an das gleiche Kartoffelgratin von ner bestimmten Firma. Und dann kam die Sauce Hollandaise – egal wo man hinging gab es das und wir haben genauso gekocht. Das kanns ja nicht sein. Das ist ja furchtbar. Dazu kommt dann ich bin hochgradig allergisch gegen Geschmacksverstärker und die waren überall drin. Ganz früher waren die nirgendwo drin das war dann aber auch so seid 20 Jahren da waren die überall drin und ich konnte nirgendwo mehr essen gehen ohne das ich aussah wie so ein Pustelchen.

Da haben wir dann irgendwann bei uns im Betrieb gesagt- das ist es doch nicht – ne Tüte aufmachen und in die Pfanne kippen. Das war die Entwicklung und da haben wir uns umgeschaut – und wenn wir dann schon richtig kochen im Gegensatz zu den Kollegen – da kam die Eifel Sache ins Spiel. Da kam auch so ein Event dazu von nem Geschichtsverein die haben jedes Jahr ein traditionelles Eifel essen. Und dannach haben wir angefangen zu recherchieren – was wird denn eigentlich in der Eifel gekocht. Und also diese Gruppe genuß für Leib und Seele gegründet wurde da waren wir eine der ersten die da mit eingestiegen sind.

**Frage: Gibt es diese Gruppe noch?**

Arens: Ne, die sind dann irgendwann von der Regionalmarke abgelöst worden. Das war ein fließender Übergang.

**Frage: Aber die Qualitätskontrolle hat sich verändert?**

Arens: Ja natürlich. Die Regionalmarke Eifel hat das alles viel professioneller gemacht. Man muss bestimmte Produkte einkaufen. Man muss nachweisen, dass man auch wirklich die Produkte verwendet. Man muss diese Lehrgänge mitmachen. Vorher waren das alles Workshops – das war alles mehr locker. Da hat auch keiner gefragt wo kommt den das Schweinefleisch eigentlich her. Aber dann mit der Regionalmarke wurde das professioneller.

**Frage: Welchen Nutzen haben sie darin gesehen? War es nicht nur mehr Anstrengung?**

Arens: Natürlich ist es anstrengender zu schauen wo bekomm ich gute Produkte her. Da hat aber die Regionalmarke aber auch den Einkauf erleichtert. Wir sind früher an einem freien Tag in der Eifel rumgefahren und bei den Produzenten eingekauft weil das so kleine Betriebe waren- die haben nicht geliefert Durch die Regionalmarke Eifel wurde wirklich so ein Vertriebssystem aufgebaut. Wir bestellen bei einem und der liefert was wir brauchen. Das hat dann doch vielen für uns dann vereinfacht. Den Einkauf auf jeden Fall.

**Frage: Haben sie da auch an die positiven Seiten der Vermarktung gedacht?**

Arens: Man denkt natürlich immer irgendwie an seinen eigenen Nutzen. Man gibt ja kein Geld aus wenn man keinen Nutzen will. Nur das ist eigentlich nicht so stark. Ich hab nicht das gefühlt das dadurch so viele Gäste mehr kommen. Das heißt nicht, dass es nicht doch irgendwann mal so sein wird das der Gast sagt, - ach ja hier ist ja das bunte e mit den 4 Farben. Aber im Moment sind die Leute vlt noch ein bisschen überfordert. Für den Moment heißt das für den Kunden nur – ach ja die sind aus der Eifel. Ich glaub jetzt nicht, dass das die große Masse erreicht. Ein paar Leute können das auseinander halten aber die große Masse weis wahrscheinlich nicht was das bedeutet.

**Frage: Was war für sie wichtig- es gibt ja verschiedene Arten die Produkte die man kocht aufzuwerten. Da könnte ja auch einfach ein biologisch essen herhalten. War es für sie wichtig dass das aus der Eifel kommt.**

Arens: Ja es war uns wichtig das es aus der Eifel kommt, dass die Transportwege kurz sind. Das ist uns vor allem in Bezug auf Fleisch wichtig, dass da ne Artgerechte Tierhaltung ist. Grad bei Fleisch ist es unheimlich wichtig. Gemüse haben wir ja hier in der Gegen bisschen Schwierigkeiten?

**Frage: Warum ist es ihnen wichtig?**

Arens: Wir haben selber eine Angusherde- es ist uns einfach ein Greul- die Vorstellung das einfach ein Schwein über tausend Kilometer nach Polen ankommen. Die Hälfte kommt an und hat einen Herzinfarkt und die andere Hälfte stirbt unter Stress und wir sollen es dann essen. Das können wir einfach nicht. Allein die Vorstellung so ein Huhn essen zu müssen das in einem Käfig gelebt hat... Wenn ich das bei anderem im Einkaufswagen sehe da krieg ich ja Tränen in den Augen. Ich bin halt so aufgewachsen- das ist schon immer so.

**Frage: Denken sie denn das die Konsumenten die zu ihnen kommen auch dieses Bewusstsein teilen?**

Arens: Ja ich denke schon. Ich denke ein Großteil weis einfach, dass wir unsere Rinder selber halten und deshalb auch wissen, dass das Fleisch super ist. Also das schon mal und es sind auch viele dabei, die schon speziell kommen weil sie wissen das wir da großen Wert drauf legen.

**Frage: Legen die Leute auf wert darauf, dass Eifel Gerichte gekocht werden.**

Arens: Ich weis nicht genau. Wir kochen schon Eifelgerichte aber es sind schon moderne Gerichte. Die Gerichte sind schon modern umgesetzt. Es gibt Dippekuchen- es gibt schon viele traditionelle Gericht aber die sind schon aufmodernt. So wie sie man sie heute isst: weniger Fett, bisschen leichter...

**Frage: Haben sie einen höheren Absatz ?**

Arens: Vlt. durch die ganze Entwicklung im Haus... ob das jetzt nur an der Regionalmarke Eifel liegt weis ich nicht obwohl es das ganze schon unterstützt.

Positiv sind auch die Lehrgänge die haben mir persönlich einfach viel Gebracht. Unterschiedliche Dinge – einfach Sachen aus anderen Blickwinkeln zu sehen und auch der Kontakt zu den Kollegen das find ich auch ganz toll – das hat man ja sonst nicht. Man geht am Ruhetag mal einen Trinken aber man lernt sich nicht so gut kennen. Aber auf diesen Lehrgängen lernt man auch mal in nem größeren



Rahmen kennen und auch Leute aus anderen Dörfern. Also dass fand ich auch wirklich Klasse, dass man Erfahrungen ausgetauscht hat und über normale Dinge reden konnte.

**Frage: Der Herr Balter sagte zu mir, dass es ganz wichtig ist das die Identität unter den Kollegen und zur Eifel gestärkt wird... Denken diese Identifikation ist gestiegen in den letzten Jahren?**

Arens: Ich war schon immer stolz auf meine Heimat. Aber ich denk auch andere Kollegen sind wacherüttelt worden, dass wir hier in einer tollen Gegend leben und auch das wir tolle Produkte haben. Aber ich war schon immer stolz das ich aus der Eifel komme. Wenn ich irgendwo hingeh sag ich auch immer ganz stolz dass ich aus der Eifel komme.

**Frage: Wenn sie Kunden hier oder auch auf den Veranstaltungen haben- wie werben sie die?**

Arens: Werbung fürs Hotel machen wir natürlich durch Zeitungswerbung. Überall in diesen Buchungsplattformen sind wir gelistet. Ja- man wirbt natürlich permanent bei unseren Stammgästen damit die wieder kommen...Bei besonderen angeboten werden e-Mails an die Kunden rausgeschickt. Man versucht immer die Leute zu motivieren wieder zu kommen...Man kann nicht permanent und ständig Annoncen machen. Die Leute müssen wieder kommen oder Bekannten bescheid sagen. Wir sind auch in diesem Eifel Katalog- das bringt auch was.

**Frage: Sind das Leute aus der Eifel oder von außerhalb die hier her kommen?**

Arens: Die im Hotel sind aus Nord- Rhein Westfalen.

**Frage: Und die Zeitungen die sie nutzen sind auch nur in Nord- Rhein Westfalen?**

Arens: Ne wir sind zum Beispiel auch mal in der Süddeutschen.

**Frage: Und die Veranstalter die sie Buchen?**

Arens: Das sind Ausschreibungen bei denen wir uns Bewerben. Da sind halt Sachen dabei- man hat das immer gemacht also wird es auch im nächsten Jahr so sein.

Ja und das im Restaurant. Das sind vor allem Leute aus der Region... Und viele Geburtstage oder Hochzeiten oder so.

**Frage: Kennen sie die meisten ihre Kunden?**

Arens: Ja also die meisten sind Stammgäste. Schon recht viel ja.

**Frage: Sind eigentlich ihre Preise gestiegen, dadurch, dass sie Regionalmarke Eifel Produkt haben?**

Arens: Ein bisschen vlt. Aber wir müssen halt im Allgemeinen auch immer mit teureren Produkten rechnen wenn man auf dem Bio-hof einkauft. Das ist halt teurer dann muss mans halt auch ein bisschen teurer weg geben.

**Frage: Sie könnten ihr Restaurant auch vergrößern und billigere Angebote rausgeben?**

Arens: Ne das könnt ich nicht. Das ist ja unser Haus. Wir leben hier und essen auch die Dinge die die Gäste auch essen. Ne das kommt nicht in Frage.

For zwei Jahren auf der Krenzlandschau da hatte mien Vater ein Festzelt und da hat er dann auch Regionalmarke Eifel Produkte zu verkaufen. Den Leuten wars aber wirklich egal... in diesem Festzelt in diesem Imbiss Betrieb das war denen völlig egal ob das Fleisch von nem Luxusbetrieb kommt. Da muss man halt auch überlegen... da kann man die Wurst halt nicht doppelt teuer machen. Da spricht das die Leute nicht an. Man kann ja nicht bei jeder Wurst erklären die kostet mehr wie das Fleisch von nem Biohof kommt. Also bei diesen Imbiss dingen klappt das nicht.

b) Balter, A. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 4<sup>th</sup> 2011, in Prüm (Germany).

**Frage: Wie kam es zur Gründung der Regionalmarke Eifel und was war die anfängliche Motivation?**

Balter: Als die Regionalmarke 2001 durch die Fördermaßnahme- nennt sich Region aktiv- Ein Bundesprogramm vom Ministerium für Verbraucherschutz ins Leben gerufen wurde- und der Aufruf war das die ländlichen Regionen Deutschland sich Gedanken machen sollten – und ein Entwicklungskonzept entwerfen wie sie ihre Region zukunftssicher machen. Das kann auf verschiedene Wege passieren über den Tourismus zum Beispiel oder wie bei uns über eine Regionalmarke. Der Tourismus war bei uns in der Eifel schon recht fortgeschritten Es gibt hier die Eifeltourismus GmbH die also schon sehr früh erkannt hat welches Potenzial in der Eifel steckt sie touristisch zu Vermarkten. Und dann gab es eben durch dieses Programm ausgelöst die Idee eine Regionalmarke Eifel zu gründen und zu sagen wir haben ja hier qualitativ Hochwertige Produkte, Produzenten und Dienstleistungen und die dann unter einem Dach nämlich unter diesem kleinem gelben e vor 4 farbigem Hintergrund das ist das Qualitätszeichen der Eifel dann zu vermarkten. So ist das ganze ausgelöst worden, da war dann eine ganze Reihe von Akteuren die sich zusammengesetzt haben an einem Tisch- das war auch neu in der Eifel: Das man so plötzlich Bauernverbände Kreishandwerkerschaften, Tourismusverbände etc. an einem Tisch zusammen gesessen haben.

**Frage: Das sind die Gesellschafter?**

Balter Ja das ist richtig es waren auch am Anfang mehr Akteure die am Tisch mit gesessen haben aber 5 - das sind das sind dann die heutigen Gesellschafter. Das ist die Eifel Tourismus GmbH die beiden Naturparke Nord und Südeifel dann die Kreisbauernverbände der Eifel, die Kreishandwerkerschaften. Das sind die 5 Gesellschafter.

**Frage: Was ist mit den anderen Institutionen passiert?**

Balter: Die waren damals in einer sogenannten Regionalentwicklungsgruppe zusammen also gebündelt und als das Förderprojekt beendet war haben die sich offiziell aus diesem Teil der Regionalmarke verabschiedet nichtsdestotrotz sind sie unsere Ansprechpartner in allen möglichen Belangen und engagieren sich auch heute in dieser Geschichte.

**Frage: Was ist denn dann jetzt die Rolle von den Gesellschaftern?**

Balter: Die Gesellschafter. Also wir als Marken GmbH, sind eben dafür zuständig das dieses Qualitätszeichen zum einen mit Qualitätskriterien hinterlegt ist und wir müssen auch sicherstellen dass die Produzenten und Gastgeber dann auch diese Kriterien erfüllen und dann auch eben die Vermarktung dieser Betriebe und Produkte und die Gesellschafter spielen eine Rolle da wir also alle Strategien oder alles was zur Weiterentwicklung für diese Marke notwendig ist so alle 3-4 Monate mit diesen Gesellschaftern durchsprechen , diskutieren und die müssen natürlich dann auch dem ganzen zustimmen oder eben auch ihren Einfluss mit da einfließen lassen . Also, - darüber hinaus gibt es noch einen Aufsichtsrat. Diese Gesellschafter sind da mit drin und wir haben 10 Landkreise im Boot. Die Eifel Region die ist im Kern Bitburg-Prüm und Vulkaneifel , zu hundert Prozent Eifel aber darüber hinaus gibt es noch 8 Weitere Landkreise und sogar die DG – Die Deutschsprachige

Gemeinschaft Belgiens . Die ist auch dabei. Und aus jedem dieser Landkreise gibt es einen Vertreter. In der Regel ist das der Landrat und jeden Monat schickt er meistens einen Vertreter in diesen Aufsichtsrat und die sprechen dann eben auch mit wie man diese Marke in diesem Landkreis weiter etablieren kann. Es unterstützen uns praktisch in dem sie uns Kontakt auch liefern, neue Produzenten Vermitteln usw. und so hat man ein riesen großes Netzwerk geschaffen das ist die Aufgabe der Gesellschafter und des Aufsichtsrats.

**Frage: Welche Potenziale kann man schöpfen aus diesem großen Netzwerk?**

Balter : Das ist natürlich zum eine das wir alle in Prüm sitzen wir sind ja auch nur ein ganz kleines Team mit 4 Leuten – wir können auch nicht alle Produzenten und Dienstleister kennen und dieses große Netzwerk schafft die Möglichkeit das wir mit mehr zusammen arbeiten und natürlich haben wir auch das Ziel dass und Produzenten genannt werden und die treffen können Info Veranstaltungen durchführen können und dann doch mit einem kleinem Budget.

**Frage: Die Motivation scheint ja zunächst einmal zu sein die Region wirtschaftlich zu fördern und wie kam dann dieser Aspekt entgegen Massenkonsums dazu? War das auch eine Motivation gleich zu Anfang?**

Balter: Ja das war auch von vornerein eine Motivation. Und zwar geht's darum die ländlichen Regionen müssen sich ja insgesamt – ja ich sag mal einen Gegenpol bilden zu diesem Thema Globalisierung und das ist dann so gewesen dass man gesagt hat die Qualitäten liegen auch ganz klar in der Landwirtschaft das heißt eben auch in dieser Form der Tierhaltung, der artgerechten Tierhaltung die hier Vorherrscht und das muss eben bekannter werden- also auch in der Eifel aber auch außerhalb der Eifel. Wir haben ein sehr großes Absatzgebiet mittlerweile auch Köln Bonn Aachener Raum weil die Eifel eben auch ein sehr positives Image hat und sie letztlich ein sehr positives Image erarbeitet wird und diese Aspekt auch viel –diese Artgerechten Tierhaltung die war von Anfang an wichtig da die in der Eifel - ich würd fast sagen- zu 90 Prozent sowieso praktiziert wird. Das aufrechtzuhalten, auch dann die Kulturlandschaft und die Naturlandschaft so wie sie gewachsen ist weiter Bestand haben können ist es wichtig dass die Landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe überleben – das ist Kernthema.

**Frage: Das war auch in den Infomaterialien online „ Kulturlandschaft Eifel“ Was genau meinen sie damit?**

Balter: Zum einen der Naturraum ist das wenn sie aus dem Fenster rausgucken sehen das heißt also wirklich diese Landschaft die offen gehalten wird also nicht zuwächst wir haben hier also sehr weite Felder also auch sehr viel Wald. Die Eifel hat einen sehr großen Prozentansatz an Wald. Die Flächen die offen gehalten werden - passiert nur durch eine gesunde Landwirtschaft wo die Tiere dann auch Draußen stehen und nicht nur im Stall gehalten werden. Die Kulturlandschaft ist natürlich geprägt von vielen Sachen. Tourismus spielt da hauptsächlich ne Rolle, die Leute kämen nicht in die Eifel wenn sie komplett zugewachsen wäre das spielt also alles eine tragende Rolle und greift ineinander und Kultur heißt letzten Endes auch- [Unterbrechung]

Die Kulturlandschaft ist natürlich auch geprägt von den Bräuchen die es in der Eifel gibt etc. Das spielt natürlich auch eine ganz große Rolle da haben wir natürlich jetzt weniger Einfluss drauf aber

trotzdem ist die Verbundenheit – die Verbundenheit zur Region der Eifler ist natürlich sehr stark und sehr Fest und da spielt eben so eine Regionalmarke auch eine wichtige Rolle da sich die Leute auch damit identifizieren können und das ist dann auch ein Teil dieser Kultur.

**Frage: Das hab ich auch immer wieder gelesen „ Stärkung der Identität der Menschen in der Eifel. Würden sie also sagen die Identität der Eifel ist da?**

Balter: Ja ein- es ist so beim Großteil ist sie schon da-. Wenn sie vor 10 Jahren über die Eifel gesprochen haben- ich hab da ja in Bonn studiert und man hat gesagt man kommt aus der Eifel da war das noch negativ- das hieß da kannst du ja nichts machen da kannst du ja nichts werden- und das hat sich in den letzten 5 Jahren sehr stark gewandelt ich bin aber der Meinung ist gibt noch sehr sehr viel Arbeit also die Menschen dahin zubekommen zu was die Bayern zum Beispiel in ihrem Bundesland geschafft haben .- da müssen wir noch hin da müssen wir noch dran arbeiten aber ich denk da trägt die Regionalmarke stark zu bei.

**Frage: warum ist so eine Identität so wichtig?**

Balter: Das ist dann so wichtig – ich stell das in Produzentengesprächen fest - also wenn mir ein Eifler selbst sagt – was soll denn an einem Eifel Rind oder Eifel Käse besser sein als ein Käse aus dem Holland oder ein Käse aus dem Hunsrück oder aus dem Taunus dann stell ich eben fest – die Leute- das ist zwar alles richtig- die Produkte müssen nicht schlechter sein aus anderen Regionen aber wir müssen das Bewusstsein schaffen das die Leute nicht sagen: es gibt ja hier nichts- aber das wir sagen: wir stehen nicht nur landwirtschaftlich zu dieser Region sondern auch wirtschaftlich zu dieser Region. Deswegen brauchen wir auch dieses Qualitätsmerkmal. Sonst ist es auch einfach für junge Familien zu sagen ich geh nach Köln oder Frankfurt oder ich geh ins Ausland und da müssen wir die Identität schaffen—das die Leute sagen ich kann mich hiermit identifizieren und ich brauch das hier.

**Frage: Und ist es dann auch so das sie dann nur innerhalb der Region vertrieben werden?**

Balter: Man muss jetzt unterscheiden also die Regionalmarke Eifel fing damit an zu sagen wir haben einzelne Produkte die nach speziellen Qualitätskriterien hergestellt werden und eben auch einer einheitlichen Verpackung mit diesem Dreiteiler- Logo- Bild und dann eine Spezielle Hinterlegung. Damit fing die Regionalmarke Eifel an und Sinn und Zweck war es tatsächlich aus dem Ländlichen Raum heraus eine ganze Reihe von Produzenten zu finden die in die Städtischen Region Trier, der Aachener Bereich, Köln Bonn dann mit diesen Qualitätsprodukten beliefern.

Man muss aber sagen dass das nicht so erfolgreich war wie wir uns das vorgestellt hatten. Das hat mit der Marktdurchdringung zu tun. Im Köln/ Bonner Bereich ist man bereit ein bisschen mehr zu zahlen, in Aachen wäre es man vlt. auch aber jetzt haben wir eben wieder das Thema der Identität- möchte der Aachener denn auch wirklich auch so viele Eifler Produkte haben oder wo bezieht der seine Produkte her oder in Trier es gibt auch Mosel Produkte etc. Und wir sind seid 3 Jahren eben auf dem Weg, dass wir sagen wir möchten das auch IN der Eifel stärker vermarkten die hatten sich zunächst nicht so gut durchgesetzt– Derjenige Konsument der in der Eifel sitzt warum muss ich den Premiumschinken kaufen – im Supermarkt für 3 , 29 wenn ich meine Metzgerei hab der ich schon seid 20 Jahren vertraue und so haben wir angefangen Metzgereien und Bäckereien intensiv zu akquirieren , die nachweislich und das ist der springende Punkt , die eben auch nachweislich Tiere

auch hier aus Region von heimischen Landwirten nach artgerechtere Tierhaltung beziehen müssen. Uns als wir das vor 3 Jahren in der Eifel angefangen haben dachten wir die werden das alle machen das machten die aber lange nicht alle. Das heißt es gibt auch eine ganze Reihe- und da ist das Thema Identität – die einfach da ihr Fleisch die schlachten nicht mehr selber – das Fleisch kaufen die dann wo es am günstigsten ist und dann kann es sein dass die Tiere aus Nachbarländern kommen oder aus der engeren Region. Es kann aber auch sein dass sie von ganz weit weg herkommen das weis aber der Verbraucher nicht weil sie denken wenn sie zu dem Metzger um die Ecke gehen dass der noch selber schlachtet das ist aber noch bei den wenigsten der Fall. Dieses Bewusstsein schaffen wir auch und ist ein ganz wichtiger Punkt auch die Marke in der Region zu etablieren und den Leuten klar zu machen wenn ihr da einkauft dann unterstützt ihr auch nachweislich die Region. Kurze Transportwege, artgerechte Tierhaltung und die Landwirtschaft überlebt.

**Frage: Und jetzt ist es im Endeffekt so dass es in der Eifel selber erfolgreicher ist als in den Ballungsräumen.**

Balter- Ja – also man muss sagen , im Moment wird in der Region immer Stärker immer erfolgreicher weil wir sagen weg von dem einzelnen Produkten hin zu der Einbindung von ganzen Betrieben, und Gastronomie Betriebe müssen auch einkaufen von den Landwirten und dürfen eben nichtmehr ihr Fleisch in der Metro oder sonst wo einkaufen und das einzige Ballungsgebiet wo ich wirklich momentan sagen muss was erfolgreich ist auch mit diesen einzelnen Produkten ist tatsächlich Köln Bonn- Gebiete wir sind auch sehr bemüht gerade im Aachener Raum stärker Fuß zu fassen. Ich hab auch eine Metzgerei in der Städtereion – ja Aachenland in Rüttgen in der Nähe von Monschau da haben wir sogar eine Bäckerei in Aachen das ist die Nobis Printen die sind ja auch bei uns und also auch da fassen wir immer mehr Fuß aber es ist noch – ja ganz am anfang- .

**Frage: Denken sie das hat auch mit der Identität zu tun also dass Eifler eine viel größere Motivation haben Eifelprodukte zu kaufen als jemand aus Aachen der keine Verbindung zum ländlichen Raum hat?**

Balter: Ganz genau. Also ich würde sagen das ist mit ein Hauptproblem. Also es gibt auch sicherlich in Aachen, das ist ja jetzt auch nicht so weit weg von der Eifel weg –man sieht ja an Nobis - fühlen sich mittlerweile mehr Richtung Eifel als es früher der Fall war. Aber es ist tatsächlich so – unsere Produkte würden in Friesland oder in Berlin oder sonst so – kaum Sinn machen. Vlt nur irgendwo Punktuell – da würden die Leute denken - tolles Produkt – weils mir schmeckt nehm ichs mit aber wir werden ich sag mal in einem Radius von außerhalb der Eifel in einem Radius von 50 40 Km nicht weitergehen -

**Frage : Und kann man denn auch in der Eifel sehen dass es verschiedene Konsumenten anspricht. Also – ein Artikel den ich gelesen habe der sagte, dass Regionalprodukte vor allem von älteren Menschen gekauft werden. würden sie dem zustimmen?**

Balter: Ja also es ist so , dass tatsächlich zunächst nur diese Einzelprodukte überwiegend ältere Menschen kaufen es ist tatsächlich so weil hier auch natürlich manchmal bedingt – im Rentenalter da sind die Kinder außer Haus- dass die jungen Familien mehr aufs Geld achten müssen- die Produkte sind nun mal etwas teurer als die Wurst beim Aldi – Aber ich seh es zum Beispiel auch an mir muss ich sagen- mit 20 oder im Studium da hab ich auch gedacht wenn man mal grillen wollte dann hat

man auch nicht überlegt – dann hat man Fleisch vlt auch mal beim Discounter oder so gekauft und heute muss ich sagen – mit Mitte dreißig jetzt- das man da eben auch schon Familie etc. hat – man achtet schon mit auf- grade diese jüngeren Familien in der Eifel- ich sag mal um die dreißiger Generation- die jetzt auch vermehrt auch tatsächlich zu Eifelmetzgereien uns. einkaufen gehen. Die wirklich ganz bewusst drauf achten – also dieses Feedback hab ich schon von vielen bekommen – also mehr Zulauf bekommen und auch von jüngeren- und das ist interessant weil wir uns auch nicht in die Preispolitik einmischen die Produkte werden durch uns nicht teurer. Sondern wir sagen das ist nachweislich – die Betriebe haben sich prüfen lassen – wenn ihr das bunte logo seht da könnt ihr euch sicher sein das ist von hier aus der Region. Und immer mehr junge Leute gehen jetzt dazu über. Und dann muss man sagen, wir haben Kooperationen mit zum Beispiel mit dem Mineralbrunnen mit dem ... Brunnen etc. die Wasser haben dass durchaus bezahlbar ist. Das ist also eine 2. Marke wie zum Beispiel das Eifeltaler- das sind Kistenpreise die liegen um die 3 Euro – unter drei Euro- also wo wir wirklich sagen auch das ist Qualität aus der Eifel und wir auch feststellen , dass immer mehr auch jüngere dazu greifen alleine schon deswegen , wegen dem bunten Eifel logo – und damit wiederum identifizieren können- und sagen finden wir Klasse ist ein Eifelprodukt was wir hier alles zu bieten haben – und je mehr Produkte wir hier rein kriegen- und je mehr wir da rein kriegen- man sieht das Eifel logo immer mehr. Auf verschiedenen Produkten und bei Produzenten.

**Frage: Sie sagten dass dieses Wasser in einer niedrigen Preisklasse zu finden ist. Wie wichtig ist denn der Preis für das Marketing? Es ist ja doch ein Qualitätsmerkmal oder nicht?**

Balter: Das ist eine gute frage die kriegen wir öfters gestellt. Grade in Gesellschafter Kreisen wurde uns auch diese Frage gestellt, verwässern wir nicht diese Marke damit oder diesen Qualitätsgedanken-

Denn man muss sagen Qualität hat seinen Preis aber es kommt ja auf das Produkt an. Und beim Mineralwasser- es wir hier in der Eifel gefördert, die Produktionsanlagen sind da und natürlich wird Wasser oft über einen Gewissen Namen verkauft. Ich mein, Gerolsteiner ist weltweit bekannter als Eifeltaler oder Eifelquelle- es wird auch nur Regional vertrieben dieses Wasser. Für die anderen Produkte, für die Erstmarke wird auch mehr Geld erzielt obwohl sag ich mal das gleiche Wasser ist. Es ist halt wirklich Thema des Marketing. Wenn sie Fleisch haben wollen zum Beispiel- wo ne ganz andere Wertschöpfung dahinter steckt – vom Landwirt der seine Wiesen hat, der seinen Stall hat, bis hin zum Fertigen Produkt , da steckt ne ganz andere Wertschöpfung dahinter und die muss anders Bezahlt werden. Da wird der Preis auch nicht runter gehen.

**Frage: Gibt es in dieser Auflage wie Produkte vermarktet werden soll, was ist da alles genau drin? Design, das Bild, der Hintergrund... was noch?**

Balter: Das ist so bei diesen Einzelprodukten. Wobei, das gibt's so wie sie auf dem Bild sehen immer noch im Markt wir sind aber dazu übergegangen das wir sagen das wichtigste ist das Eifellogo das kann verwendet werden wenn alles erfüllt wird das Design überlassen wir dem Produzenten. Er kann also im Prinzip seine Erstmarke nehmen. Wir haben hier ein Beispiel der Muh- das ist die Milchunion Hocheifel- Eine der größten H milch Produzent in Europa übrigens- ist hier 10 min mit dem Auto entfernt. Vor Jahren haben wir schon mit denen gesprochen und haben gefragt wie können wir was zusammen machen und zuerst wollten wir nicht und vor 2 Jahren kamen die zu uns und meinten im Markt passiert was regional wird immer mehr gefragt – und unsere Milch ist Bio-Milch die aus der

Eifel kommt wird nichtmehr unter Muh vertrieben sondern heißt mittlerweile Rewe bio- ist aber tatsächlich aus der Eifel und wird deutschlandweit im Rewe Vertrieben und dann auch für viel weniger Geld. Plötzlich kamen Märkte und haben gesagt wir wollen wirklich diese Regionalität herausstellen und dann hat die Muh gesagt wir wollen das auch mit unsere Milch machen und es garantiert ein Eifel Produkt machen. Und wie sie sehen die Marke ist hier wie ein Gütesiegel hier drauf. Aber wir machen ja mehr- viel Werbung, viel Marketing auch für diese Betriebe, das war das erste Beispiel wo wir gesagt haben- die Verpackung da haben wir nichts dran geändert- aber die Muh hat es geschafft damit in viele Märkte reinzukommen – und das kam dann den Landwirten wiederum zu Gute.

**Frage: Wenn die deutschlandweit vertrieben wird dann erscheint das Logo auch deutschlandweit?**

Balter: Deutschlandweit vertrieben meint ich die Milch aber da steht dann Rewe drauf. Das sind insgesamt 30 oder 40 millionen KG die in der Eifel erfasst werden und nur auf 2 millionen kg aber immerhin – finden sie genau die Verpackung mit dem Eifellogo. Und die wird nur in der Eifel verkauft.

**Frage: Gibt es auflagen zu den Orten an denen verkauft werden soll?**

Balter: Nein da gibt es keine Auflagen, wenn die Produzenten es schaffen. Berlin oder sowas, da hin zu kommen. Also ich weis das im KDW da stehen sogar Produkte von uns. Also ein Produzent schafft es den Premiumschinken da zu platzieren. Ist aber ne Ausnahme. Da gibt's keine Auflagen.

**Frage: Ich meinte auch – das man Spezialitätsprodukte eher in Spezialitätenläden verkauft werden sollten?**

Balter: Was wir auf jeden Fall vermeiden wollen ist das unsere Produkte irgendwo , ja- wirklich im hard Discount stehen – das wollen wir eigentlich nicht und – ja- ansonsten wie gesagt , natürlich ist Feinkost, ja ist schon immer so etwas wo wir auch gerne hinmöchten – da haben wir auch schon mit verschiedenen gesprochen – mit Käfer oder Dallmayr mit denen wir auch schon mal gesprochen haben – Das wär natürlich klasse, wobei wir sagen müssen allein auf diese Produkte kann man die Marke dann doch leider nicht aufbauen. Aber so ein Eifel Bio- Ziegenkäse werden sie wahrscheinlich immer nur in Spezialgeschäften bekommen – ist dann ein Premiumprodukt- Ein bisschen Unterscheidung zwischen Qualität gibt es.

**Frage: Und in Rewe märkten haben sie auch Sachen stehen?**

Balter: ja aber da muss man sagen da steht und fällt der Erfolg, das kommt dann auf den Marktleiter an. Leider haben dann auch nicht alle die auf der Website aufgelistet haben alle Produkte manche haben dann nur die Wurst oder nur den Edelbrand das machen die davon abhängig was in dem Laden läuft.

Frage; Haben sie eine Zielgruppe vor Augen? Wir haben schon ein bisschen drüber geredet aber so ganz genau welche Menschen wollen sie ansprechen?

Balter: Da haben wir uns schon oft Gedanken gemacht. Haben halt auch eben verschiedene Produkte- von diesen Einzelprodukten die diese Zielgruppe hatten, den besser Verdiener und die die in Ballungsräumen wohnen. So nach dem Motto – wir sind quasi vom Land der Lieferant für die – die-



der Versorger der Großstädte mit Qualität und natürlichen Produkten. Heute variiert das und ich muss sagen die Zielgruppe ist nicht ganz klar definiert wenn ich mir jetzt den gastgeben Bereich angucke dann sind das vorwiegend Tourismus, Tagesgäste oder Leute die Kurzurlaub in der Eifel machen. Wenn ich mir den Bereich jetzt angucke, Fleisch-Wurstwaren oder generell Lebensmittel die im Lebensmitteleinzelhandel zu finden sind- Wasser und Milch dann sind das eigentlich alle wobei ich sagen kann das ist so eine Altersgruppe von 30 Jahren also drunter sprechen wir wenig an. Überlegen wir uns auch wie kann man noch die jüngeren ansprechen. Man muss vlt. noch ein bisschen emotionaler rüber bringen es geht los bei der Internetgestaltung die ist altbacken da muss also mehr passieren- wir haben auch schon verschiedene Veranstaltungen und Feste gemacht – ein ganz tolles Fest in der Vulkaneifel und dann hat man ein Landfest gemacht- Produzenten, Schäfer mit dahin gebracht- also da hat man gemerkt da ist auch die Marke erlebbar – durch die Events oder social Media- denk jetzt grad facebook oder sowas – auch das sind Sachen die müssten wir in Zukunft einfach angehen aber wie gesagt Zielgruppe – ab Altersgruppe 30 im Moment ca. ...

**Frage: Und Einkommensklasse?**

Balter : Ab mittleren Einkommen. Die Familien muss ich ganz fair sagen wo der Mann Alleinverdienern ist, drei Kinder hat, hier in der Eifel wohnt, das ist vlt. Das diese Familie sich das mal leisten kann für sich oder als ein Geschenk- mal so ein präsent Korb oder so – da sehe ich aber unser Sortiment nicht so für den Alltag platziert bei dieser Gruppierung. Allerdings da wir uns ja breit aufgestellt haben kenn ich auch viele in dem Bereich, die sagen ich kauf das trotzdem ich kauf die Bio-Milch weil wir was gesunden für unser Kinder tun wollen. Also kaufen die auch Regionalmarke Eifel

**Frage: Wie wichtig ist es für sie nicht nur die Beziehung zwischen der Marke und dem Konsumenten zu schaffen aber auch unter den konsumentierten und Markennutzern zu schaffen?**

Balter : Also Identität bei dem Konsumenten ja aber man muss auch mal anfangen bei den Produzent. Ist auch interessant - die Regionalmarke arbeitet ja in diesen 10 Landkreisen und ich komm ja aus der Eifel und ich dachte früher, naja das Gebiet ist zwar groß aber jeder Produzent kennt ja schon voll jeden und das ist aber gar nicht so und wir versuchen also auch die unterschiedlichsten Produzenten mit einander zu verbinden also so haben wir es schon geschafft das in Metzgereien zum Beispiel Honig angeboten wird. Aber die kannten sich auch bisher sich gegenseitig nicht die Produzent. Also das wir den Metzger zu dem Käseproduzenten bringen um dann auch da mal die Identität zu bringen und wenn das geschafft ist das die sich damit identifizieren können und voll dahinter stehen und diese Vernetzung sehen unter einander dann schaffen wir es auch noch mehr den Verbraucher zu erreichen . Und social media oder so sind ja auch wichtige Hilfsmittel aber zunächst muss der Produzent überzeugt werden und sie kennen und leben vor allen Dingen. Das ist wichtig.

**Frage: Ich hab gesehen, dass sie jetzt eine Partnerschaft mit Weis Intermedia ist das genau das Ziel diese Marke aufzupeppen oder warum gibt es diese Partnerschaft?**

Es ist so wir haben also schon oft überlegt ob wir von hier aus das ganze Marketing aber da sind ja der Herr Pfeiffer und ich auch Kaufleute und haben auch einen Marketing Hintergrund brauchen aber auch Equipment um das umzusetzen und so war uns wichtig das wir gesagt haben wir müssen die

Marke- die muss irgendwo einheitlich dargestellt werden und wenn sie jetzt zum Beispiel die Sachen sehen – von den 2 Metzgereien- dann sehen die diese Flyer sehen immer gleich aus und das sind im Prinzip Vorgaben und auch das sind Vorgaben wo der Verbraucher sehen kann was ist die Regionalmarke Eifel wo wir den Metzgerei auch Hilfsmittel an die Hand gehen und sagen hier präsentierst du dich sehr hochwertig du brauchst dafür jetzt erstmal nichts zu machen und du kannst Kosten sparen das Kunden mitgeben und deswegen die Kooperation mit Weis Intermedia. Und wir haben auch eine Kooperation mit dem Wochenspiegel und laden auch andere Presse ein und wenn dann ein neuer Produzent dazugekommen ist- dann druckt der Wochenspiegel das auch in der Regel immer mit Foto und allem und das ist natürlich für den Produzenten eine gute und kostengünstige Werbung. Und Weis Intermedia macht Flyer und Internetauftritte, der immer einheitlich ist. Wir werden diese Farben der Produzenten immer mit rot sehen, wenn sie Eifel Gastgeber haben dann wird das in einem orange gehalten und um dass auch den Leuten immer mehr rüberzubringen, klarzumachen was dahinter steckt ist Weis Intermedia der perfekte Partner. Alles aus einer Hand. Die grafische Gestaltung. Design, Text, des fertig Produkts.

**Frage: Was ist für sie ein erfolgreiches Marketing. Ich hab bei Ihnen auch auf der Seite gelesen, es geht ja auch darum die Lebensqualität die Lebensqualität der Menschen zu erhöhen. Wie steht da Quantität und Qualität in Relation?**

**Wird es zum Beispiel schwieriger je größer der Betrieb wird die innigen Beziehungen noch aufrechtzuerhalten?**

Balter: Das ist ein wichtiger Punkt. Je mehr Produzenten dazu kommen. Je mehr ist es schwieriger diese Betreuung aufrechtzuerhalten. Wir müssen aufpassen wir sind ein ganz kleines Team. und bei den vielen Produzenten die wir mittlerweile haben müssten sie jeden Tag 1-2 Produzenten betreuen. Das schaffen wir bald garnichtmehr. Mensch, jetzt haste den aber schon lange nicht mehr besucht das darf nicht passieren.

Den Erfolg einer Marketing Aktion zu messen ist natürlich schwierig wenn sie eine Einzelmarke haben und sie haben da Umsatz und sie haben ne gewisse Besucherzahl bei einer Veranstaltung erreicht -ok das war der Erfolg den ich haben wollte -unsere Erfolgsmessung geht aber auch dahin das wir auch regelmäßig mit den Markennutzern sprechen und nachfragen wie es den Leuten mit der Marke ergeht. Und das ist dann auch ein Erfolg für uns wenn wir wissen denn Produzenten bringt das auch wirklich was.

**Frage: Was sind die Hauptbarrieren im Marketing**

Balter: Intern natürlich kosten .Das heißt das ganze Marketing muss ja in einer Form finanziert werden und sie müssen einfach ständig präsent sein. Wir müssen wenn wir da mal 2 Wochen nicht irgendwo präsent sind – auch in der Städteregion Aachen – da hab ich jetzt den ersten Produzenten aufgenommen da ist das noch nicht so stark vertreten und das ist natürlich das größte Hemmnis sehe ich also darin es muss breit gefächert sein aber es muss auch irgendwo bezahlt werden. Wir sind nicht gefördert mehr. Seid 2008 sind wir freischwimmen also das ganze System wird getragen von den Marken Nutzern über die Gebühr. Und ja wenn man solche Events machen will- so große Veranstaltungen – gibt es noch Sponsoren- gibt es da vlt Partner und Banken ansprechen die

sponsern ja auch Sportfeste und so und man muss die dann gezielt ansprechen das können wir einfach noch nicht selber bezahlen.

**Frage: Ist es so, dass die Regionalmarke Eifel auch nie über die Eifel hinaus expandieren wird? Oder längere Transportwege als die Eifel hinter sich legen wird?**

Balter: Ja das würde dem widersprechen was wir eigentlich machen wollen. Ja wenn ich einen Produzenten habe der sagt er kann auch nach Köln liefern dann sag ich ja wenn der das kann oder einer schafft es nach Berlin zu machen dann ist ok aber es widerspricht eigentlich dem Grundsatz von der Region für die Region. Und das ist auch Teil unsere Aufklärungsarbeit – Aber ich denke nicht, also wir haben auch in der Eifel noch unglaublich viel Potenzial – hab auch noch viel Absatz Potenzial da ist noch viel da aber ich sehe da jetzt nicht das wir jetzt wahre 500 km weit transportieren werden. Das ist auch gegen den Grundsatz.

Ich denke da sollte jede Region auch in Deutschland für sich das machen das ist ja auch der Grundsatz von der Region für die Region. Das ist ja auch dann das gleiche wenn ich nach Bayern fahre dann will ich auch wirklich Region genießen.

**Frage: Eine allgemeinere Frage: Es geht ja entgegen diesem Massenkonsum in der konventionellen Lebensmittel Produktion? Wie wichtig ist es für sie das man die breite Masse im Endeffekt anspricht? Sehen sie das Potenzial, dass das Lebensmittelsystem wirklich reformiert werden kann?**

Balter: ne das glaub ich nicht da bin ich dann zu viel Realist ich sehe das auch bei der Regionalmarke oder halt auch allgemein, da gibt es ja Zahlen die sagen das auch 20 Prozent auf dieses Thema Regionalität steht und die setzen es dann auch zum Teil um regelmäßig kaufen. Ich glaube nicht, dass man das ganze System reformieren kann. Dann ist ja auch die Frage was bedeutet Region. Bedeutet das nur, das der Facharbeiter in der Region sein muss oder das die gesamte Ware nicht wo anders einkaufen kann da gibt es unterschiedliche Definitionen und ich glaube nicht das man das ganze System reformieren kann weil es auch zu vielen egal ist und auch dem System das wir heute haben auch einfach vertrauen und es ist ihnen persönlich egal ob Tiere in Spanien gezüchtet werden und dann nach Deutschland transportiert werden und die sagen wenn das Fleisch sicher ist und sicher gestellt ist dann reicht mir das ich glaub diese Leute wird es immer geben ich glaub aber auch das dieses Potenzial mit den 20 Prozent noch nicht ausgeschöpft ist aber da schaut man dann schon weit in die Zukunft.

(Minute 42)

[...]

( Minute 45)

**Frage: Wie haben sich denn größere Kosumtrends auf den Absatz ausgewirkt? Hat man das gemerkt?**

Balter: Das auf jeden Fall und was uns natürlich immer in die Karten spielt das sind Skandale das ist zum Beispiel auch zu sehen bei den Produkte umgesetzt wurden sind Eifel Eier und als der Skandal um Dioxin kam da ist das ganze nochmal in die Höhe gegangen. Und der eine hat im Prinzip seinen

ganzen Umsatz verdoppelt. Und der hat einen ganz tollen Betrieb mit Freilandhaltung hat auch auf Gentechnik freies Futter garantiert umgestellt das sind ja auch alles Sachen die in diesen Konsumtrend einfließen das merkt man schon ja . Und deswegen meint ich auch der Prozentsatz von den Leuten die regional kaufen da ist noch raum nach oben und die Skandale spielt uns voll in die Karten.

c) Fuchs, S. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 6<sup>th</sup> 2011, in Prüm (Germany).

**Frage: War das schon immer ein Rewe betrieb hier?**

Fuchs: Der ist 2002 – jetzt muss ich überlegen. Zum ersten Februar 2002 sind wir zu Rewe gewandert. Vorher war das ein mittelständiges Privatunternehmen.

**Frage: Seid wann sind sie hier?**

Fuchs: Ich hab diesen Markt zum ersten Januar 2002 übernommen.

**Frage: Da ich mich vor allem für die Regionalmarke Eifel interessiere- Wie kommt das denn , dass die Produkte hier im Sortiment gelandet sind? Hatten sie da frei Hand oder wer bestimmt das?**

Fuchs: Bei der Rewe ist es so , dass wenn die Rewe ein Markt als Filiale betreibt dann bestimmt der Konzern. Betreibt die Rewe einen Markt mit meinem Partner, dann bestimmt der Partner. Das heisst ich bin Partner- entscheide also auch über mein Sortiment- selbstverständlich habe ich die Regeln der Rewe einzuhalten kann aber nach rechts und nach links abweichen um die Regionalität in meinem Markt eben zu forcieren.

**Frage: Seid wann haben sie Produkte der Regionalmarke Eifel?**

Fuchs: Ja mit beginn- Mit Start der Regionalmarke hat man das hier eingeführt – ich glaube ich war einer der ersten. Die andere Geschichte- Eifel Rind – Eifel Schwein ist schon früher gestartet das dürfte so 2003 gewesen sein.

**Frage: Was ist da der Unterschied?**

Fuchs: Das ist ein anderer Anbieter. Aber auch nicht billiger.

**Frage: Und die Leute sind das halt gewohnt, dass sie das hier bekommen?**

Fuchs: Ja also dir Kunden die hier einkaufen sind auch oft Erzeuger solcher Produkte das ist für mich immer wichtig. Aus der Region für die Region so würd ich das mal definieren. Damit kann man auch Kundenbindung schaffen.

Frage: Sie haben sich dazu entschieden nicht nur Regionalmarke Eifel produkte beim Fleisch zu haben sondern auch das Eifel Rind und Eifel Schwein weil es die Kundenbindung beibehält?

Fuchs: Ja das ist so.

**Frage: Und was war dann so für sie der Hauptauschlagpunkt das sie gesagt haben, dass die Produkte der Regionalmarke Eifel werden eingeführt.**

Fuchs: Damit stärken wir unsere Heimat, schafft Arbeitsplätze. Bietet die Chance die Eifel bekannter zu machen. Man merkt es ja selbst wenn man in Österreich ist das bringt man sich ja gerne nen Schinken aus der Region sein und ich denke mal so wird es auch hier funktionieren. Man kauft sich etwas wo man war und man trägt damit den Namen in die Welt.

**Frage: Und wie reagieren die Kunden drauf?**

Fuchs: Sehr positiv wir machen viele Präsentkörbe wo ausschließlich Eifel Ware drin ist- Gewünscht. Ein schöner Präsentkorb wird als sehr hoch angesehen.

**Frage: Und das sind dann auch Leute aus der Region die diese Körbe kaufen oder nur Touristen.**

Fuchs: Ne aus der Region die werden als Geschenke für Nachbarn oder Freunde und so weiter benutzt. Also schon ne ganz gute Sache.

Frage: Machen sie damit auch größere Umsätze?

Fuchs: Von großen Umsätzen kann man noch nicht reden. Dann sind mittlerweile feste Umsätze die mir fast keine Abschriften mehr produzieren. Bei vielen Produkten hat man das Risiko- das Datum läuft schnell als die Ware und da hat man das Problem. Da sind wir mittlerweile auf einem gesunden Level das es anfängt Spaß zu machen. Aber es hat mich nie davon abgehalten die Produkte zu führen. Ich denke jeder ist der Region in der er wohnt was schuldig. Wenn er die Möglichkeit hat die Produkte zu vermarkten dann soll er auch das Durchhaltevermögen zeigen die Sachen nach vorne zu bringen.

**Fragen: Warum werden die Sachen nicht so einfach verkauft?**

Fuchs: Weil sie im Preis höher angesiedelt sind. So ein Glas Honig ich glaub der kostet 5, 49 das 500gramm Gläschen. Ich bin etwas älter als sie ich rechne das im Kopf um und wenn ich dann 10 DM im Kopf habe dann frag ich mich ob das sein muss- aber trotzdem funktioniert es.

**Fragen: Was sind das für Leute die das kaufen?**

Fuchs: Ja die die sich das leisten können aber sonst könnt ich das nicht genauer einordnen.

**Frage: Hat die Einführung der Produkte nur was damit zu tun, dass man der Region helfen möchte oder unterschreiben sie auch die anderen Ideen der Regionalmarke wie z.B. entgegen des Massenkonsum etc.**

Fuchs: Ja die Transportwege sind ja viel kürzer. Alles das schont unsere Umwelt. Und diese Nachhaltigkeit kann man ja nicht vor sich her schieben und denken nach mir die Sintflut das ist ne wichtige Aufgabe die wir da haben und die kann man auf verschiedene Art beeinflussen. Nachhaltigkeit wird bei uns auf die Fahne geschrieben mit verschiedenen Projekten

**Frage: Bei der Rewe?**

Fuchs: Ja bei Rewe da passt das gut in die Philosophie rein.

**Frage: Ist das auch was Wichtiges für sie beim Marketing?**

Fuchs: Ja schon etwas. Der Konzern macht die Werbung und wir machen regional dann- wir haben so Flyer die wir an der Kasse verteilen. Marketing- wenn sie hier auf den Parkplatz fahren da sehen sie dieses Schild- Eifel Schwein sehen sie da. In Broschüren sind dann auch Eifel Produkte mit vorne drauf.

Frage: Ist die einzige Barriere für die Promotion der Preis?

Fuchs: Ja aber da sind wir auf dem richtigen Weg. Ich will jetzt nicht die Produkte billiger machen um da ne Drehzahl rein zubekommen. Da muss man dann durchhalte vermögen zeigen. Das ist Handwerksarbeit- mit Spitzenqualität die der Kunde bekommt und die hat halt ihren Preis.

Frage: Sehen sie auch im größeren Rahmen dass wir unser globales Lebensmittel System verändern zum positiven hin.

Fuchs: Ja wir müssen uns versuchen vor Ort wieder selber zu ernähren mit unseren Produkten. Dazu brauchen wir aber noch andere Anbieter denn die Produktpalette ist noch zu klein. Fleischwurst und Honig reicht dazu nicht aus. Da müssen noch andere Dinge mit rein.

**Frage: Denken sie auch dass es möglich ist, dass es auch mal die Leute erreicht die nicht so viel Geld in der Tasche haben erreichen kann?**

Fuchs: Das ist nicht das Problem. Das Problem stellt sich ja jeden Tag für jeden Kunden anders. Wir haben verschiedene Produkte mit verschiedenen Preisklassen. Wir haben die ja Marke- das Günstigste wir haben die Handelsmarken- die mittel Teuer sind wie haben auch Eigenmarken die vergleichbar sind mit Industrie Produkten – wir haben premium Marken der Industrie... Ne Spannweite von Arm bis Reich würd ich mal sagen

**Frage: Ja aber ein Ja Produkt ist ja weniger nachhaltig als ein Regionalmarke Eifel Produkt.**

Fuchs: Ja das ist richtig.

**Fragen: Denken sie das ist ok oder sollte man mehr auf das Regionale gehen?**

Fuchs: Das werden sie nicht ganz schaffen. Den Schalter kann man nicht ganz umlegen. Die Ja Marke brauchen wir um gegen die Discounter ankämpfen zu können. Bei uns kann der Kunde Alles- beim Discounter kann er normalerweise nur billig. Bei uns kann er sich wirklich eindecken mit den Preislagen die sein Budget halt eben zulässt.

**Frage: Kennen sie eigentlich noch andere Initiative die Lebensmittelsysteme verändern wollen außer Regionalmarken?**

Fuchs: Also gut.... Bekannt sind mir auch die Selbstvermarkter die mittlerweile auf ihren Höfen Verkaufsstände haben um sich was zum Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Gibt mittlerweile auch wieder... Oder auf den Märkten, da wir auch Regionalität gelebt.

**Frage: Die Regionalmarke fördert ja auch die Idee dass die Regionale Identität wiederbelebt wird. Sehen sie dass das auch passiert?**

Fuchs: Ja das Gefühl hab ich denn unter der Marke Eifel laufen ja auch begleitgegenstände. Mützen, Jacken, Schirme oder was... das ist so am laufen. Ja Leute sind stolz auf ihre Heimat.

Wir haben hier mal eine Führung gemacht mit der Feierwehr und was die gesagt haben war- Mensch ihr wohnt so schön guckt euch an was ihr habt – wo ihr wohnt da machen andere Urlaub. Und da hat er Recht. Es ist wunderschön hier.

**Frage: Gibt es denn unter den Regionalmarke Produkten auch welche die beliebter sind als andere?**

Fuchs: Es gibt immer Renner und Penner. Das ist auch bei der Eifel- bei den Produkten so. Kann man aber jetzt nicht so vereinfacht sagen. Das Sortiment das wir hinten anbieten das läuft ziemlich Gleichmäßig.



d) Tix, S. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 4<sup>th</sup> 2011, in Prüm (Germany).

**Frage: Eckdaten des Betriebs? Mitarbeiter? Woher wird Fleisch bezogen wohin wird beliefert?**

Tix: Das Fleisch kommt nur aus der Region – ca. 40 km im Umkreis. Beliefert werden Großküchen, Gastronomie, Zwei Theken Geschäfte - bis Trier. – Alles in der Region.

**Frage: War ihr Grundsatz schon immer Qualität?**

Tix: Ja schon immer- wollte nie den Preiskampf mit den großen – da kann ich nicht mithalten, preislich. Und außerdem wollten wir da auch nicht mitmachen. Bei dem wie sonst so die Tiere behandelt werden. Da kommen die meisten ja schon halbtot hier an wenn die von weit her transportiert werden und schütten Adrenalin aus das schmeckt dann auch nicht mehr.

**Frage: Warum waren sie am Anfang zögerlich bei der Regionalmarke Eifel mitzumachen?**

Tix: Am Anfang war noch in der Planung, dass alle Metzger die gleiche Rezeptur verwenden das wollte ich allerdings nicht machen. Die Leute kommen ja hier her weil sie meine Fischwurst kennen so wie sie ist. Ich wollte meine Rezeptur beibehalten.

**Frage: Wann und warum sind sie dann im Endeffekt beigetreten?**

Tix: Januar diesen Jahres. Weil es mir dann erleichtert wurde. Ich kann meine Rezeptur behalten aber bekomme meine Zertifizierung trotzdem da ich mein Fleisch nur aus der Region beziehe. Für mich gab es dann auch keine Veränderung. Die Dokumentation musste ich auch so immer aus anderen Gründen vorher machen und das heißt ich habe einen Prüfungstermin für alles und kein extra aufwand.

Im Grunde passt unsere Philosophie ja perfekt in die der Regionalmarke Eifel hinein- es war halt nur die Sache mit der Rezeptur weshalb wir nicht Mitmachen wollten.

**Frage: Was für Vorteile sehen sie in Ihrem Beitritt zur Regionalmarke Eifel?**

Tix: Werbung und Image. Verteilen von Information das hat es erleichtert. Man hat auch einen besseren Zugang zu einem Großen Netzwerk bei dem man präsent sein kann.

**Frage: Wie machen sie denn ihre Öffentlichkeitsarbeit?**

Tix: Flyer Druck, Zeitungsartikel, Internet. Seit Februar ist der Umsatz auch schon gestiegen. Die Leute kennen die Regionalmarke Eifel die die Vorher dabei waren, die begrüßen das und andere die das jetzt erkennen sind neu dazu gekommen- Leute die in den Laden reinkommen.

**Frage: An was für Orten verkaufen sie? Auch auf Festen und Imbissbuden?**

Tix: Es rentiert sich an festen Standorten zu verkaufe, da wo die Leute immer wieder hinkommen und – Stammkundschaft ist wichtig. Leute die nur in der Durchreise sind die schauen vlt. eher nach dem Preis aber die Leute die wiederkommen achten auf die Qualität und merken auch wenn die anders

ist. Die wollen wissen was sie bekommen. Wir haben nur die beste Rindfleisch Qualität . 15 & Fett usw.

**Frage: Und sie beziehen alles nur aus der Eifel? Warum?**

Tix: Hat zum einen mit dem Transport zu tun- Ich kenne die Landwirte persönlich- da hab ich noch Einfluss auf die Rohware- „eine persönliche Einwirkung“. Da weis ich das das gutes Fleisch ist und nicht irgendwoher aus Spanien oder Italien wo dann das Fleisch total verwässert ist. Bei den Landwirten bei denen ich das Fleisch bekomme da haben die Kühe noch Namen. Wir haben einfach eine starke Landwirtschaft in der Region warum soll ich dann weit weg gehen.

**Frage: Hat das auch mit sowas wie einer Identität mit der Region zu tun?**

Tix: Ja ich sag auch mal die die sich nicht mit der Region identifizieren können die werden auch nie bei der Regionalmarke beitreten.

**Frage: Meinen sie auch die Konsumenten haben diese Regionale Identität?**

Tix: Ja ich denke auch, dass die Leute die hier einkaufen stolz darauf sind das es gute Produkte aus der Region sind. Die müssen ja den Wert darin erkennen – zum Aldi gehen passt nichtmehr

**Frage: Haben sie eine Bestimmte Zielgruppe?**

Tix: Ja ich denk mal das ist die „gehobene Mittelschicht“ der Preise einfach wegen. Da müssen dann schon beide arbeiten. Sonst kann man sich das ja auch nicht immer leisten.

Außerdem sind es auch nur bestimmte Leute, die sich die Mühe machen dann noch einen Abstecher bei uns zu machen als alles im Supermarkt einzukaufen. Manche machen dann nicht die Anstrengung.

**Frage: Verkaufen sie auch in die Großstädte hinein?**

Tix: Ja wir hatten auch mal Anfragen aus der Stadt. Aber da ist dann nie ein Geschäft zu stande gekommen. „Die denken auch die Eifler sind eingeschlafen“. Das war denen dann zu teuer. Aber man hat ja dann auch seinen Transportweg und so- ja das war Ihnen dann auch nicht wert.

Hier in der Region geht das gut- da haben die dann auch auf der Speisekarte vermerkt das das von uns kommt.

## II) Interviews Landbouwbelang

a) Browsers, J. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2011, in Maastricht (The Netherlands).

**Question: Tell me, how did the Kometen thing? What was its purpose and who did you do it with?**

Browsers: We started ten years ago in another squat – a little Restaurant and the restaurant there was still some things from the old kitchen and there was another group of squatters -they did a dinner café there and they were vegetarian so we started to do a vegan version on every Monday. Just with some friends we started it up. The place was already there. Yeah so ...

**Question: And there were many people coming?**

Browsers: In the beginning it was just 5 people and having a lot of stress not knowing how to do it and we didn't even know how to cook in these days but after a year it started to grow. There was a maximum capacity of 40 people and at the end after 3 Years we were always full.

**Question: How did that develop? Just friends coming?**

Browsers: Yeah in the beginning it was just friend we did some flyering we put them for example in organic shops or at parties. And mainly people also talked to each other and say they should come.

**Question: How many people fit in here and is it always full?**

Browsers: 100 people. Almost always full.

**Question: Why did you do the change?**

Browsers: We had to leave the squat and for some moment we had two dinner cafes and we did ones times a month at the place with a movie and the other month at the other place. And then we wanted to join it together again because both squats were ending and then we started it here.

**Question: What was the motivation? Was there a profit motivation?**

Browsers: No it has nothing to do with money. Yeah we cook three causes for 5 Euros. 50 cents go to charity and 4, 50 –yeah – just go into food or maybe or maybe if we have some leftovers with money then it is going to buy new light , pots, -yeah a new pot or whatever, or spoons or whatever... That is where the money goes

**Question: And the 50 cent charity goes where exactly?**

Browsers: That depends mostly we have foundations which do something for nature or are working in the organic sector or for animals.

**Question: And where do you select those?**

Browsers: That is a difficult thing. The last half year we are still , didn't take the money to somebody but that is just because – yeah- in this moment we have a little bit the problem that we have too less people cooking and taking the organization from the dinner café- so – It is now like you have three main people that are doing it every week and so some things stay a little bit behind. So we still didn't new foundations because – yeah-

**Questions: You remember one of the names? From longer ago?**

Browsers: What we did as foundation? We did – how do you call that- where they can bring your animals there – you can also go there and take an animal. [...] But also the garden at St. Pieter where they try to grow food-

**Question: If it is not for profit, what is your motivation? Why vegan? Why biological?**

Browsers: When we started the motivation to be vegan was bigger than it is now. It came less... But for example I was vegan and 10 Years ago and a friend of me who also started the kitchen was Vegan and we wanted to make it accessible for more people. So it is not only the vegan thing but nowadays we cook one time in the month vegetarian because cooks sometimes like to make a cake with eggs it is so much easier , it tastes so much nicer. So we decided to go little bit away from Vegan and be more Vegetarian. And the think is we try to keep as much as possible- What we do is that people that are allergic from nuts, or milk or weed, so we try to arrange that a little bit. Everybody can come and eat here- if you send us a friendly e-mail – you should send us an e-mail- I am allergic from Bananas or what ever- and then we will make something without. So we try to organize it that everybody can come here. And the vegetarian thing is that most of us are vegetarian and also when we started to do it it was from the view- hey this mass production from food in the meat industry and that kind of stuff- 10 years ago there were not so many organic products in Norma supermarkets. Albert Heijn didn't have organic products. It was 9 Years ago they started to introduced organic mushrooms and that stff. But in the beginning we had to go to organic shops and try to find it.

**Question: Everything you cook is organic?**

Browsers: Always. Everything.

**Question: Is it more a health thing you are doing it for or also a political thing?**

Browsers: It is mainly to be open for everybody to come over here. It is that everybody can come and enjoy the atmosphere an I think that is the main thing. That for us is the most valuable thing. It is more like making a social happening out of it. People come here it is like networking. Meeting each other. Sometimes two groups sitting here and get to know each other. And then there exists from that downstairs a party again.

**Question: If this is the main aim, why do you do it with food?**

Browsers: I think it is – I never really though about that. I think if you sit and eat together it s another atmosphere than when you are going in a bar most plans just finish up being drunk. Here is just a good atmosphere. People are really talking with each other and they have a moment they sit, they know they have to wait for their food. And the only thing you can do is being social. Yeah and ...

**Question: You said in the beginning the going again Mass production of food is an important factor. Is it still important?**

Browsers: Well to be honest nowadays also organic food is becoming mass production and for example the logo from eco , for example- the eco stuff, stamp on every products. Standards from this stamp is becoming lower and lower and lower. EU has changed it even once again, made a logo to do a logo for everything that is organic and they decide what is organic and not. I think it is kind of popular – and giving people a lot of food – you cannot take the risk and go to the organic shop and they don't have what you want to cook. And so, and also we used to go with our bike to three different shops and go to the organic market on Thursday and it took you two days to go to the stores and buy the food. Nowadays, we made it easier because we have so less people who are helping us. The food is now delivered by Voko. So we buy everything by computer, Friday it is delivered at home. And the company is quite cool it is organic and they also try to do something for the environment. But it became too big to still to the little things. We used to go to the organic store outside of Maastricht and a farmer and buy his potatoes and then go to another place and buy his carrots.

**Question: Is that something that you regret?**

Browsers: Of course that is something that- yeah – but from the other side we cannot do it. No volunteers. No people coming in the main group and helping us out. It is still over here and it is still alive because last year we were with 8 main people and now we have 3 left over. That means the 3 have to do the work from the other ones.

**Question: You know the motivation of the volunteers?**

Browsers: Well two of them are like, they like cooking and making experiments. They are also quite good. I think for the others it is more – this social thing and they have ...

[...]

**Question: I am interested in what you said, that the biological food is becoming more mainstream. DO you think that is bad? Are there better and worse ways how to change the food system?**

Browsers: Yeah of course. Albert Hijn is also a big chain. A Supermarket that has to do with mass production. So I think, if you really wanna do something about it you should also do it yourself and not go to the big supermarket. For example I like to experiment with the garden here outside and go back to that an also know how a carrot grows and that it comes from the ground and not from the tree. And I think children 80 % often don't know if it comes from a tree or from the ground. I think if you want to really do something organic if I go to Albert Hijn and buy organic mushrooms you should feel good but you should go deeper. You know Demeter they are the strictest label. Of course but you should also have the money to get it. That is always the other thing. That organic food is expensive.

**Question: You thing money is important for aware food consumption?**

Browsers: If you do it yourself than it is maybe not so. But if you look in the supermarket if you look in the organic shop I find it terrible – for example I support organic but you will not see me not more than one time in the month in the organic shop. I cannot afford it.

**Question: What kind of people is it that come here to the dinner cafe? Did it change over time?**

Browsers: Well, changed... It is always a little bit the same. Students- to elderly people – children- artists, musicians but also business people , people from politics, from Maastricht , they also come to eat over here and that makes also the networking so great. Sometimes you have somebody from politics over here and sometimes you have someone who wants to do something in the city and they talk to each other on how to do that. It is the mixture that makes it a really nice happening.

**Question: How could you attract to different kind of people?**

Browsers: I think there are two aspects that made it so – now for instance it is so popular that 100 people – and one week in advance we are already full for the next week. So first I think the room itself- it is a special place you will not see this in another area in Maastricht and a second thing I think is the cooking that is happening here for this price. With organic food . The cooks that are working now over here they are really high skill professionals – one of them used to work in Berlin in a restaurant and then there is another girl who is already 10 Years cooking everywhere. We also are asked to cook at festivals- the fusion in the backstage kitchen for 1500 people everyday. But it is not just here but we are being asked- you have some experienced. The food is always good people know that. And the atmosphere that is being created is also always nice.

**Question: How do people know about you? How do you get the contacts?**

Browsers: With the fusion we just send them a mail. A friend of us over there is doing coffee- we sent him a mail and ask if they have anything to do for us and we would like to support you. It is because fusion is a cool idea behind it the whole idea behind it.

**Question: Is it a certain type of festivals?**

Browsers: Actually, yeah it is mainly the alternative ...

**Question: And do you think everyone would come to the eetcafe and say I enjoy vegan or vegetarian food?**

Browsers: I think for example we always have some people that eat meat over here and they are really skeptic at the beginning mostly when they are finished with their meal they say they didn't expect that it could be so tasteful. It is because of the cooks they now ... Nobody is missing something

**Question: Do you think it needs some kind of awareness of food that you would come here?**

Browsers: You mean if also the organic aspect connects them? I think – you have different groups again. I think older people are really connected to the aspect of organic and then maybe you have some young people who connect to the vegetarian aspect I think also more German students are

connected to the fact that it is organic and I think Dutch students they don't care they are just here for the atmosphere.

[...] Minute 25

**Question: How does the concept of the dinner café fit into the whole LBB philosophy?**

Browsers: The dinner cafe is a little bit a special thing we moved in here 6 years ago there was no café over here they only had downstairs the parties we were looking for new location and LBB was quite happy to have us over here because we attract people every week and why it fits over here is that you can say like it is none profit nobody is earning money it is 100 percent voluntary, it is organic, the vegan, vegetarian aspect. That is also what they try to do downstairs also during parties you cannot buy meat and everything is organic. The beer the drinks the food as well. Everything is voluntary, that is the same line.

**Question: Is there some kind of hierarchy in here?**

Browsers : No. You have square you are working inside the square only if you are going outside you have to talk with the others. So it is not necessary to talk about it. And the dinner café is a little group. SO I am living here so for me I have many meetings... It is a little bit in a chaos pattern

**Question: Do you still do promotion?**

Browsers: No not anymore it doesn't make sense we are always fully booked

b) Kuhnlein, I. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2011, in Maastricht (The Netherlands).

**Question: You are one of the main responsible persons for the garden in front of the LBB?**

Kuhnlein: Yes. With the workforce we wanted to have a hands-on project we wanted to work with the Demotec but since I was already interested in gardening we took this as our hands on project.

[...]

So, yeah we then stated with this small working group with gardeners and ... Yeah in the beginning we were really ambitious we wanted to get a land and squat a land outside of the BB and make then our garden there. Not just a workforce LBB thing but to get more people from the university. More students. But because, none of us is really an expert in gardening- we decided to start small- around the LBB- and that is already quite a lot of food- much more than we actually expected. So yeah now every Sunday we work there for a couple of hours, but – I feel a bit – well not disappointed – but because we work just one day a week and just for a few hours there is not much of a contact with the garden really because none of us also lives there. We go there we do it and then we leave. And gardening really means a lot of time and care and observation. So at home its better I feel more connected to the plants and all that.

The idea is that once we have the small garden to also make vegetable boxes and put them on the roof cause then ... Well there are some vegetables but the yield is very small it is more like a demonstration of perma culture. Kind of a model- ah this is how you could do it.

But on the roof we want to make a system where we can really harvest stuff. And have our workforce dinner from the food we grow.

[...]

**Question: What is it that motivates you to work in the food issue?**

Kuhnlein: The food issue? It is a really long story in a way. I actually started to study and-study about environmental issues and all that. The more I realized that we have to get ourselves to the ground and just do it. And to- Yeah just get back to the roots in a way. Instead of complaining about the food in the supermarket is so bad and bla... Just try yourself to learn how to make it. So what my big motivation is try to learn to bring to my own life this sustainability aspect.

**Question: What is the sustainability aspect for you?**

Kuhnlein: When I was really young I had the rejection for the system. It was this really teenage thing. Fuck capitalism and all that. As I grew up these things were making more sense and you know I realized that it was a really serious thing. So me and my friends we want to make an eco center- like a eco village in brazil. One hour from Sao Paolo- there are a lot of possibilities there. Once we fix that plan. All of us realized- if you really want to promote sustainability so we have to really start doing it



our self in our own lives in the minimal aspects. So food is yeah – is definitely an important issue. Yeah but we are really far from the ideal thing.

**Question: Is it a political thing for you?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah it is kind of political one could say.

**Question: And what is exactly your main motivation?**

Kuhnlein: First I think it is my values. I grew up in that context of environmentalism and all that. And second the politics around all that because I reject so much what we are doing now and I want to make my whole life different. But it is not easy at all.

**Question: What are the main points you would criticize about the conventional food system?**

Iris: Well, there is so many... first the waste, how everything is so wasted because of consumerist society. But also mono agriculture, the way we do agriculture is really bad also. Not just because we are deteriorating the soil but also the food distribution system. It is really stupid that you know we have, mangos or grapes actually from Brazil and south Africa and all these global trade food- is really a mess in a way- because the food system is so oil dependent- you know- for transportation- for packaging- and because of that the whole system is not working- so eventually it will collapse. The bakeries are not going to be open anymore and what then? So all of us should have their own garden and grow their own little food- and well prepare yourself- I really have the feeling that I have to prepare myself to save my own ass so to say.

**Question: You think combating the conventional food system has to do with growing your food yourself ? Or are there other good ways to bring about change?**

Kuhnlein: Well, first , I think we should buy local to stop all this crazy transport system and then from local focus on the organic but that is usually expensive- so that is when your own garden comes in- you know- but about organic labels and all that- yeah it is good in a way but – you never trust the labels- you don't know what they mean- the coffee at Mc Donalds- the cup comes with these leaves and you say its organic but it is just a leave it means nothing- it is just a symbol. But yeah in a way it is good that there is a trend towards organic food. Maybe it is just fashion to do that but it still ok it is

[...]

**Question: Is it tight to money – accessing good food?**

Kuhnlein: Yes and no. Yes because organic and nice food is expensive but no because you have all these different ways, If you do the cycling to the farmer you get your vegetables there- amazing vegetable there. So there are always ways to go around it. But I think we are too lazy and I think to attached to comfort to not do it. And this is my big struggle also you know. I also buy some conventional stuff in the supermarket because I want to enjoy my time somehow else. So this is the fight: to fight laziness.

**Question: Do you thing when you have a profession or family, it will be still so easy to go to the farm , to grow it yourself?**

Kuhnlein: It depends on how you build kind of your routine and your lifestyle. At home we also bake lots of bread. Usually it takes like 15 min. to prepare the bread and at the morning you have to wake up early. If it becomes a habit it becomes naturally to do so. And it will fit well to your routine.

**Question: How important do you think is the community aspect? Also in the LBB community garden...**

Kuhnlein: Well, it is important because you need mutual support, right. It is good first, it is important to share all these values and believes otherwise it doesn't happen. You need this mutual encouragement. So I guess it is really important mutual encouragement. Without you are almost- I see it really hard to achieve anything in that aspect.

**Question: So that was also one of your considerations when you put effort in the LBB?**

Kuhnlein: Yes it was that and promoting the concept. There is unfortunately not much of a community feeling because we don't hang enough time in the garden. We go there for a few hours and then we go home. So you need also to live together with the people and kind of nourish this idea and this feeling of this is much nicer than conventional food or whatever.

**Question: In how far has the Community garden been successful?**

Kuhnlein: Well I don't know about the success yet because the vegetables are not grown yet . So yeah technically really not sure, there has been a success in terms of interest there are many people who come by and they are interested in it. But it has been this sort of failure – I see there is the aspect that we are not spending enough time there. [...]

**Question : You have the feeling awareness has been risen?**

Kuhnlein: I assume always that people know it- And I assume things are common sense when they are not. And I didn't realize that. So there is awareness but I can never tell how much there is actually.

**Question: How did you promote the Community Garden?**

Kuhnlein: It was really more workforce stuff. It wasn't also the purpose for the group to be too big. We were starting small so there was no point for 15 people working on this small thing. So it was more like every meeting I would have an announcement. Every Friday on the workforce. There are 30 people there. So basically the whole autumn and winter announcing stuff and we were meeting here and there but not more than that. Maybe a little bit facebook advertisement .So it was a mouth to mouth thing which was ok because we are starting small but there are some other people that want to promote more the garden but I am a bit resistant to it because now it is we don't have anything to show really. Yeah we did some stuff and you know there are no vegetables yet and all that. I find it a bit boring we talk about the importance of gardening and they leave. It is better if they do something and really see what is going on. It would be better to understand than just talking

**Question: Who would this target group be? Mainly students?**

Kuhnlein: Well what I find really challenging is- I would like to involve really more the local citizens but in general in Maastricht it is really hard to get in touch with the local people- I don't know any young people from here. Also because I don't speak dutch. So there is a language aspect. It is really hard to get beyond students. But we had the idea of, well before there was the transition town movement. Do you know that? And we wanted to revive the whole thing and then make a second community garden. Because last year we did one the neighborhood garden. There were some families involved and they really liked parents gardening with the children. It is just the perfect target- kinds and adults in a way. But then there is the whole cultural barrier going on. If it is a foreign initiative or like from young students it is a big tricky. So you need someone local representative to be the medium. So you find this free person that is interested in it who wants to push forward the thing it would be really nice.

**Question: You think this is why it failed?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah , because first we had some problems with the town hall people so we got this budget to make the neighborhood garden but the idea was a bit different . We worked really hard we almost felt used because there was this nice opening there were like I don't know 40 people from the councils and all that. They gave speeches and took pictures and then they locked the garden. And ever since it was locked also because they bought all this posh furniture which wasn't necessary. So the garden is not being used and it is being locked for people not to steal- And they feel upset with us and we feel upset with them- this is what happened. Yeah but it is time to overcome also these things and start again a relationship. I think it is- I think people would continue with this project it is just about – Yeah finding a person that is a nice medium between the town hall , the council, the people who give the money , the people who are the workers, the ones who would do it. And Yeah Bart from the LBB he was the guy actually that speaks Dutch is local and he was pushing the whole thing but he was busy then with other stuff and stepped back- so – yeah I think if he would push for it again it could also be revived.

**Question: Was it there also LBB people helping?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah and because it is all these alternative people there is also this barrier. It needs to be mainstreamed for it to work well. So ...

**Question: You see it is compatible? Because this aspect of collectivity and already formed groups? Can one overcome this? Or would you lose the aspect of collectivity?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah, but if it is only alternative people you know, you don't get- it gets really small, it gets really narrow I guess – just these hippies doing it. So ideally you do like strive for mainstream thing. Cause then first you learn to overcome these stereotypes, you know. And second because all this stuff doesn't matter, what is kind your identity, It should be really spread beyond this stuff. It would be nice if high schools would bring the kids and then there would be interest. And then you build a community. If you have a purpose or a common thing like the garden then it doesn't matter what your interests are- the binding factors is there. The community garden. And I think it would be great to overcome some prejudices. But that is really a ideal when you know –when it comes to practice it is a bit different right.

**Question: At the workforce, for example are there different kind of students engaging ? Or was it always this alternative style of students?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah it is in a way there is – people they are very different still among the workforce – it is mainly UCM but there are students from other faculties as well- but yeah there is, still a common aspect – this kind of common alternative thing.

**Question: What is this alternative identity? Is it political?**

Iris: The common thing is- Yeah it is in a way political. That is not the point I think. Because many people here also find it really cool to be kind of a – yeah engaged and stuff – I find it a bit- there is no real activism in Maastricht- I don't know- it is really insignificant in a way. It is kind of an exceptional case- the city is a bit different and really rich. – I don't know, It seems like it is a lot about also – it is just a lot of talking and not much of doing – so people have lots of posture there and maybe the posture is the common thing. I don't know.

**Question: Did people come to help regularly in the garden?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah, it is, we do the , well every Friday or Saturday I ask on facebook who can come. And usually there are three people coming and they always are different. Still from the workforce- from this group- yeah there always 4 people working which is also good because it is also not big. So it is stupid if too many people are working on the same thing.

**Question: Since you are in the workforce, you know about the LBB and the gardening thing was part of the Landhuis project wasn't it? So in general, does the LBB does it have something like an overall philosophy?**

Kuhnlein: Yeah this community aspect the squatting aspect and the no money aspect. It is prohibited to make money in the LBB. So this is a bit also the challenge for the people there. Because they cannot really earn money there. You know, but... actually in the last months or so, I saw really key people living there, leaving. So I am quite curious about what is going to happen with it because I am not so sure what exactly is going on there. I am not that close to the people also. But because the have also many different philosophies there are also clashes... [...]

They have a really political aspect they want to be anarchistic and democratic and all that but that does not always work...

**Question: How did you finance the garden?**

Kuhnlein: The workforce has a small budget from parties- selling things and all that. There were enough resources in that sense. But I also paid a lot out of my pocket.

c) Speek, D. (2011). Personal Interview. Conducted 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2011, in Maastricht (The Netherlands).

**What is your relation to Voko?**

Daniel Speek : I am sort of one of the initiators. Right now me and Philippe are the main people even though about a month ago we had this meeting where we were thinking about kind of changing some things and a lot of people showed up so we thought that there are a lot of people who want to be actively involves but it turned out that these were people who wanted to order more but ... well, yeah they are interested in organizing but we haven't make it possible yet to make it easy. You have to take some initiative yourself. So far me and Philipp do it. We took it over like one month and a half ago I guess.

**Question: It has been here before?**

Daniel Speek : Voko has been there before- like 4 Years ago. Basically It started with the 'eetcafe', they used to buy from a biological store in town but it was getting to expensive so they wanted to go to a 'groothandel' themselves so they initiated a relationship with the 'groothandel'- so they could order and people started asking them, 'can we also buy with you?'. Because for example the 'eetcafe' needed 10 kilo of carrots and people said -I take carrots as well. It was kind of annoying for them to have to coordinate all this with people. They want to be an eetcafe they don't want to be a store. Some people who really wanted it took the initiative to do the organization and stuff. It was quite small. Only the people from the eetcafe who really wanted it but they still had to go to all the biological stores in town and basically make the agree that there is a food cooperative from Landbouwbelang. That ran for a little while until the people who are actively involved left.

**Question: It was only friends of the eetcafe people doing this?**

Daniel: Yes, kind of. Maybe, it doesn't have to be friends but people who came to the eetcafe often and are interested in these things.

**Question: What happened then? When did you take over the initiative?**

When these people left Voko kind of I died for a little while than people started up again. And there was this little shop in the eetcafe. So they were actually having it as a store, but the concept doesn't really work except you put money in it to really make it a store because otherwise you have a lot of things sitting on the shelf and nobody buying it. There are still many things that haven't been sold. Money was wasted kind of. And fresh fruit for instance could not be sold it was going bad. I guess when we took it over we decided a store doesn't work let's go over to this food cooperative thing.

**Question: When did you exactly come in?**

Daniel: It is very vague how these things happen. Someone was doing the store but not very responsible but he was leaving also and then it was up to Philippe who was doing all the orders and then I said I join you and said let's try to do better. So this is kind of how it evolved. The thing is we are still not an official organization – I want to go find out but it costs a lot of money to do the paper

work- so that is why we kind of do it under the umbrella of LBB. Because they are an official organization

**Question: What is your motivation to engage in a food project?**

Daniel Speak: Ok, that is a different question. And the answer is, basically when I moved here it was somehow expected or it was kind of a cool to show that I was involved in things and Voko was a project that I thought was really cool so I kind of you now, - I am not really one who makes art or creative things or I am not one to organize bands to come and play here but Voko is something that happens and that everybody sees a value in so it was kind of a cool project that I could say that I am involved in and sort of make it easier for people to say yes to me living here. So that was one reason. And I have bigger ideas for Voko too. I think it is kind of cool to do it anyways but it didn't hurt that it fits with the whole environment here.

**Questions: What plans do you have with Voko?**

Daniel Speak: I could see Voko growing. What I mean to say is I do it because I think the idea is cool to offer food at a lower price for students to buy more organic and biological stuff. I think this is a noble goal already by itself but then it didn't hurt that it is a cool project that fits to LBB that could show that I am active here and doing things and not just living for free without contributing something.

**Question: On the description for Voko you say it is about making “ecological and social responsible food available at reasonable prices- Could you elaborate on this?**

Daniel Speak: I think basically the way that we consume food is bad. I mean, we have this huge industrial food system which is maybe efficient but is destroying the land in some cases and people, farmers don't really have a choice they produce what is demanded. And I think , I mean I am a little bit split I recently read that biological food is not as good as it sounds basically- it is not healthier in some cases- for example, you know, if you use organic pesticides you have to use 10 times as much pesticides and so you will not have a positive effect. But what is cool is the feeling people have around it- for some reason it is like a fashion at the moment and this fashion fits hand in hand with being a little more conscious of what you are consuming. And so I think this is a good thing and so- to try and promote the thing about being conscious about what you are consuming – I think it is cool to promote biological food.

I mean the problem is that it is far too expensive the grocery store they sell some biological products but they use it as a price differentiator- so rich people they can buy the expensive products that are very expensive and the others buy the normal products but the stores has no incentive to reduce the price. They want to make as money as possible- they don't have the incentive to sell more biological stuff. They just want to make the most profit which sometimes means selling less but at a higher price. And the biological stores they do not good job here. They are kind of these small very expensive luxury stores

So I think this doesn't work- We do it cheaper cut out the middle man we have very low costs. And yeah people have to do a little bit more work when you come and pick up your food here but I also think people enjoy that. It is kind of fun it is a different way of shopping

**Question: So, affordability is very important?**

Daniel: Yeas this is our main thing. And we work with a farmer Raoul de Bour. He is not really a farmer he just goes and buys at a grothandel in Germany- fresh products and he delivers this to people and he makes vegetable packets and different – he has a bunch of products that he sells- and the thing is he is not really the cheapest at the moment. You know we have some – He buys the juice and the Bionade for us at LBB so we have a good relationship with him but I have told him a few times already that you know our main thing is just the cost- if the cost can go lower than that is preferable and if we can find somebody else who offers also good quality for a lower price than we would switch immediately- cause that is the main thing

**Question: So you where saying something about that for instance at supermarkets you would also be able to buy biological food, I mean there are many other initiatives that promote alternatives ways of consuming food. Do you think some ways of bringing about change are better than others? Like for instance biological labels in the supermarket...**

Daniel Speek: I am not sure if I really have a judgment on the labels I think we sell for example – we sell a lot of beer at the Landbouwbelang and some of the things that we wanted - we wanted to show that you know- you can buy and sell a good that's made in a socially good way with ecological products and so the beer that we sold used to have a label on it – bio- eco – or whatever. We were very careful to select – and Gulpener has showed us how they run their business and I think that was actually way more important to us than the label itself. So we saw that Gulpener treats their employees in a good way and that they think about things arefully.- when they are making decisions how to run their business and so we kind of stand behind them.

But the label itself, I don't think it really matters. Because I mean in some cases the label just forces a company to incur additional costs which they wouldn't need if they wouldn't use the label and yeah what is the sense of doing a product more expensive just because. But the problem is when you go to the grocery store you are not visiting each company who is buying your food- you can't see if somebody is producing the right way – and so I guess we do need the labels in some sense maybe.

**Question: Do you think that consuming good food is necessarily tight to money? To have a good income?**

Daniel Speek: Yeah for sure. I mean there is this scene in this movie. I think it is in food inc. and there is this scene where you see this Hispanic family so relatively poor Hispanic family sitting in their car going to work really early in the morning and they are stopping at Mc Donald to get some food. They hardly have the time to prepare other food and it is somehow the cheapest way it is cheaper to buy a few burgers than to buy vegetables and the healthier things. So I definitely think the more money you have the easier it is to consume good food and stay healthier.

**Question: But do you think that initiatives like Voko that take out the middle men and try to do the price lower, that this could lead to a situation where also people from lower income groups could access healthy food?**

Daniel Speek: Yeah. I mean that is why I do it. Especially students - we go to the grocery store and we buy our food but we are not really conscious about what we are buying so I think Voko is a way to become conscious about it. But you say the word health- I am not sure if the food we are buying is actually healthier.

**Question: So what is then good food for you?**

Daniel Speek: I think any food is good as long as you put some time and thought into preparing the food. I mean of course fresh things are good ...

**Question: Is for instance the regional aspect important?**

Daniel Speek: Yes but that has nothing to do with the health on an individual level for people. I mean maybe the taste is better I mean if you get bananas and you eat them where they are grown and you pick them off the tree they are going to taste better than when they sat in a boat for 3 months but that is a taste thing that is not a health thing. I mean the idea with Voko is I think the focus is more to become conscious about what you are buying- something like social responsibility.

Yeah the idea is that you know instead of having this big system of distribution and stuff between the food and the person. That you are trying to get rid of that in some way and that it is a bit more direct between where the food comes from and the person buying it. But at the moment I think we are still too small to do that because we can't go to a farmer here and say can you deliver us 5 kilos of apples next week. This just won't happen you have to buy much much more. At the moment we ask the - the groothandel is actually from Eindhoven which is far away and the food that they get. I don't know where it comes from- Sometimes we get apples from Limburg areas that means the apples went up there and then they are coming back I mean that is a little bit stupid if you think about it : Maybe it is a little bit better at the 'groothandel' near Aachen where Raoul de Bour gets his things.

**Question: Tell me a little bit more in detail where Voko exactly gets its food from?**

Daniel: Basically we have an order form online. People put in what they want to order they can access the selection of products from the Groothandel that is in Eindhoven. That's the products you can see online. And then we offer a few products from Roul de Bour. Basically just the vegetable packets and the fruit packets. And we offer coffee from Jeroun- with Bandito Coffee. Who has a coffee business. Basically if we reach certain amounts of vegetables- 10 Kilos or 15 kilos then I call Roul de Bour and see if he can do it cheaper than the Groothandel in Eindhoven and if he says yes or about the same price than I make the order with him. But the idea is that we have three places where we are buying from but I could see that there is ten...

I could see that there is ten or twenty or many more places that you are getting from- so then you are making this cool little market place for people to sell a little bit bigger amounts. I mean it is worth it for Roul to be able to deliver 20 food packets at once instead of just selling one and delivering it to a person's house. And the idea then is that when you are buying bigger amounts you can try to get it



cheaper as well but for example I am looking for a groothandel in Germany. That would be cool as well to offer a different selection and people could , could have access to more products basically.

**Question: You are envisioning this greater idea of Voko, but then I guess you would also have to have more consumers. So you are planning on ...?**

Daniel: at the moment I am trying to get more and more people buying from Voko and at a certain point when we are selling 20 Kilos of apples every weak and then I can go to a farmer hear and say I want 20 Kilo of apples every week. But the growth has to come first...

**Question: How will you achieve this?**

Daniel Speek: Well at the moment we are promoting as much as we can. I try to convince people to tell their fiend I try to show people what kind of fun it is to order. That is just a promotion thing that is how we try – and the thing is – like for example – if you buy one kilo of tomatoes it is 3 Kilos if you buy 5 Kilos of tomato it is 2, 20 or something. So price goes way down so listing this, sharing this information with people- just makes- you know- it like of goal you are trying to reach. So it is kind of this idea of a group – or whatever- where as a group you can buy at a lower price. And I think that is really cool. It makes people feel part of a community- to buy a little bit more so if there is one kilo still missing you tell your friend- hey if you buy one kilo the price goes down for everybody. Yeah that is just a promotion thing. And I think part of it is that we need to make it easier still to order because at the moment it is still confusing to do the ordering at the first place. Thus we have to improve our systems but these are kind of longer term things.

**Question: So how have you been doing your promotion so far?**

Daniel Speek: We have our mailing list. That is our biggest thing. We build our own mailing list and we try to get – we try to add people as much as possible. At one point we got a promotion budget from the University, a few years ago but – I think they made flyers or something it wasn't.—so we could think of asking of promotion budget again-Cause basically we don't have no, no budget ourselves. And basically we could do the add and try to promote it that way to more people. But I like the thing that we are growing every weak we do have more people. But I don't want to promote and then all of a sudden have 50 people. I don't think we could handle it. We wouldn't have the structure to handle a hundred people showing up.

**Question: So how many people do you have?**

Daniel: 15- 20 people- and so this next week there will be 25- 30 people this will be an interesting task to see. What works what doesn't work.

**Question: Did you use facebook?**

Daniel Speek: We have a facebook page –yeah. I guess I should send more e-mails there so people like us on facebook. But sometime people don't read e-mails- It is quite interesting we have 100 or more people on the mailing list- we reach about 20 people to make an order- so many people just delete their messages I guess.

**Question: But there are more people behind one order?**

Daniel. Yeah that is true... But it is really interesting for example when on Monday night the order closes if I sent an e-mail that day there are more people ordering because it was a last minute remainder even though I always send a message around to please make an order 5 days before. If everyone waits until the last minute you don't that much of a selection and you don't reach the lower prices.

**Question: Your target group is especially students?**

Daniel: Yeah basically but I think that is just convenience because the workforce comes here and a group of people who are not afraid to come here. I mean I could go to the neighbourhood here and say - Hey you should come over to the food cooperate to buy a vegetable packet but I just haven't taken the time to do that.

**Question: Do you think people that have a profession or family, that they would have the time to come here and do the order?**

Daniel Speak: I mean people take the time to go to the grocery store so I don't see why,,, You know it is not much more work than- If everyone just picks a vegetable and fruit packet every week they would be in and out in less than 2 minutes – but I mean it does take a little bit of coordination- you have to remember and pick it up it is definitely not as convenient as the grocery store. And that is why I am a little bit stuck between these two sides. On the one hand we want to be a food cooperative, where basically- you know- a food cooperative are some people that are highly involved in their purchasing of food so everybody puts in some effort and a cooperative can be 2 or 3 people buying together and on the other hand we wanna reach a bigger group of people because than our prices can go lower and except not everybody doesn't have the time and will to be highly involved – so I think there is a middle way where you can have a cooperative where some people are highly involved and some people just come and pick up their stuff- but then I wonder do you still call it a cooperative or are you some kind of store- but if your goal is just to drop the prices as much as you can maybe this is still a good thing. We want to reach people who normally would not buy biological.

**Question: But still, I guess it is still very much that for convenience you just reach students but would it be a goal for the future to address other kind of people?**

Daniel Speak: Yeah! It is just you know I do it kind of a fun project – I am learning a lot from it- but I don't put ten hours into it every week but I put a few hours in making the other and stuff- but then I would have to really make a decision- ok let's make some flyers let's go around the neighborhood. Let's try to get people more involved with the LBB. But I think it will happen quite organically- we are building the Landhuis- the idea is that we are building kind of a neighborhood house. So people from the neighborhood can come and chill out. So I think once it is finished- the thing is running- will be open every Sunday and then I think it can be a place where when people come in I can talk to them about Voko- Hey pick up your things next Friday here- and I don't have to flyer around- cause then I think I am just selling a product kind of – and most people most probably through the flyer in the trash you know.

**Question: Do you make any profit with Voko?**

Daniel Speek: No, we ask for one Euro per order, which covers our administrative costs. We are trying to build a small buffer. For example the groothandel, the way it works, they charge you when you make an order, but we only make the money from people a day later – we can deposit the money until the 3 days later when the banks open on Monday. So you need to have some kind of buffer otherwise your account constantly in the red. The buffer would just make the running a lot easier. And then we could spend some money on promotion and these kind of things- nobody gets paid.

**Question: Is this kind of part of the philosophy of Voko?**

Daniel Speek: Yeah, well I mean you have cooperatives that reward their members, so I mean it is only fair if people are spending a lot of time – for example if you have one person coming to set up the whole thing and then everybody else just shows up to pick up – well everyone is participating but one person is definitely spending some more extra hours but then it is only fair to say- you might get an extra discount or whatever- because that is an exchange as well – everybody else would be rewarding that person for doing the work. For example we get food from the eetcafé. And we have an agreement that we bring up the food for them when the food arrives. SO somebody has to do that and the way that they have done is that they reward the person with a free meal in the eetcafé on Mondays. So those kind of things are fun and I think – it is a good thing to reward somebody- except with the low amount of money you wouldn't reward somebody financially- that would not work.

**Question: What do you think is the greatest barrier that you encounter when you do promotion? Now and in the future?**

Daniel Speek: Not everybody wants to be conscious about their food and talk about Voko to them. And they say I really don't give a shit- I go to the store, it is easier. That sucks because you know- you see something wrong with your society and you try to do something to fix it and others don't see the same things as wrong. And that is also ok but – I think the most people I talk to I could convince to make an order. I mean that is just a sales thing – some people are better at selling than others. I could sell Voko as a product to people. The problem becomes when you really want to reach a wider audience. You cannot make it all yourself- I couldn't – You know if I would have to convince everyone individually, than I would never grow to the size which might actually make a difference- the Voko would never grow to that size.

So then you have to get people who are involved with Voko – to convince – other people and that is really difficult. Because that is you know, it is hard to explain why you should do something like this- what is in it for you – and in the end we are still more expensive than the stuff at the grocery store. But like I mean if you buy organic muesli it is gonna cost more than the cheap muesli at the grocery store. And even some things like milk. if you buy milk from the voko it is like 1 Euro 15 and at the Jumbo it is 95 cents... which is a big difference – so than we are more expensive actually, the difference is that the company that makes the milk which we buy is more socially responsible than Jumbo biological milk. Jumbo is this huge company and they managed a way to put biological label on their milk even though in general maybe as a company in general they are not as socially responsible than the other one. But then you know- yeah that is a difficult issue- if you are more expensive how do you then ever convince people to come to Voko.

With Jumbo biological you are just supporting the current way of being you are not supporting any change.

**Question: Why is it important for you to have it as a cooperative and not as a store?**

Daniel Speek: Well as a store you would be all about making money. So already the price would go higher which kind of would be a problem. And I think it is much harder to then convince people to come to your store- why would they come to a store that it is only open once a week. The thing with a cooperative is that it is a shared effort. We do this together it is much more fun than being a store. And on top of that there are rules about competition in Holland. That when we would be a actual store- the stores could actually sue us because we get free rent for example. This is kind of an obsest argument I think. But at the same time it is how it is. They could make it shut down.

It is the same thing with the parties- if we do it commercially- the bars could say hey- they don't pay rents. It is unfair that they basically make money doing these parties and take our business away. Because we have to pay rents. But yeah... that is just the rules about competition here in Holland.

**Question: what does it mean when you say Voko based out of Landbouwbelang. Could you explain better what the LBB is. What kind of initiatives are in there?**

Daniel: LBB is a squatted factory. Basically in 2002 squatted and first they did some parties downstairs just for fun and then they thought- hey we could move in here and make something really cool out of this building. And since then thousands of hours have gone into making this place better – basically recycling all materials- building things- we have public spaces and on the other hand we have people living here. So manly the people who put lot of effort in making this place run- but there is some artists that have studios here and ...there is people who build their rooms here and who are doing other initiatives and – but I think there si some sort of ideals that people have and one of this ideas is for public events that we do only biological food at the public events- and a lot of it was only made possible because there are volunteers. And so those ideals are ideals that I share.

**Question: Can you specify a little more what the philosophy of Lbb is?**

Daniel Speek: It is hard to frame but I think one big aspect is that – you know a lot of the time things are more fun and worth doing not because you are making money from something but because of something bigger than that – and so that is something that I share. The fact that we do our parties not to make money – makes the parties in some way cool. We are just trying and make a show for people. And of course money gets earned at the parties because this place has to run but the idea is not to make as much money as possible that doesn't fit in our equation. So we would never start buying cheaper beer just because we make more profit.

**Question: Is this some kind of poitical inclination?**

Daniel: Not really we have been relatively unpolitical even though the political parties in the area are very split on the issue of Landbouwbelang. Some support us some want us out of here. But I think it is more of a conservative vs. none conservative issue. And the only political statement I have seen here is kind of 'fuck wilders'. And I think you know lot of people came to live here because rents where to high and they still wanted to be in the city so there were definitely some opportunistic

reasons to live here but at the same time it allows people who do live here to put their time into basically their own fun projects that their tiring boring job. And that is worth something. Someone puts their time into something they really care about. And it is not just making money to buy a nice apartment and a nice car. It is just a different type of living. This has a lot of value. That is really cool.

**Question; How does Voko fit in there?**

Daniel: Voko comes a little bit out of this idea of not doing something because you are making money but because you think it will better the environment around you. So I think Voko is a really good thing for people to engage. and I put hours into it because I think it is a fun and cool project and not because I have some ideas that it is going to make money even though I have bigger ideas that could be business ideas – That is not my primary motivation for doing this.

**Question: How are the relations within the LBB people? Is there some kind of hierarchy? Someone who takes the decisions?**

Daniel Speek: I think in the past, the initiatives were a little bit more vague and so a lot of the times you had the common decision taking thing. We had meetings here every month but this is a very inefficient ways of doing things. And there has been a trend to separate initiatives a little bit more- people make decisions more for themselves. So if I make a decision for Voko, probably I talk to Philippe. But otherwise if nobody else – nobody is looking over my shoulder- you have to do it this way or that way. If I wanted to ask for money from the stichting- so the stichting is this organization that we have set up here that takes care of the public spaces – just as a sort of creation in order to have the relationship with the city we needed the stichting and each individual here is part of the organization – if I wanted to ask for some money from the stichting then I would have to explain myself.

**Question: Who is in the stichting?**

Daniel Speek: People living here and other people highly involved in the Landbouwbelang.

**Question: How important is this community feeling? Is there something like a community feeling here?**

Daniel Speek: That has something to do with the aspect of living here. It is relatively good and of course with 15 people you are closer with some than with others – but I consider everyone friend and housemates. I mean we share a kitchen and a bath and a toilet. Everyone is kind of busy with their own lives their own things sometimes there has been some ideals to make this place a stronger community. You have some living communities in France or in Spain where people really live together learn together make all the decision together – we are not that close – it is impossible when people are gone a few days, a week or have girlfriends far away- those kinds of things.

But the idea of community – Yeah- but brings it home is this idea of eating together- we cook together quite often and that is where this sense of community hits. That is where its strength is I think – if you don't see someone the whole day- but you have dinner with him- ...

**Question: Do you know most of the people who pick up their orders?**

Daniel Speek : No not all of them. I try to make contact with people and chat with them. But I think most people that order know somebody else who orders so I think it is very unlikely that someone who orders knows nobody from Voko –