

Environmental promises of products from regional parks

The decision making process of environmental promises

Diploma thesis

Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich

Institute of Agricultural Economics

Zurich, September 2006



Submitted by Patricia Steinmann

Examiner: Prof. Dr. Bernard Lehmann

Second examiner: Prof. Dr. Peter Rieder

Supervisor: Sophie Réviron



Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich
Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich

Agri-food and Agri-environmental Economics Group
Head: Prof. Dr. Bernard Lehmann
Institut für Agrarwirtschaft IAW

Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich ETH
Agri-food and Agri-environmental Economics Group
Head: Prof. Dr. Bernard Lehmann
www.iaw.agrl.ethz.ch

Institute for Agricultural Economics IAW
ETH-Zentrum SOL
CH-8092 Zurich

Tel. +41 44 632 53 92
Fax +41 44 632 10 86

Acknowledgement

During my industrial placement at the Swiss Farmers Association I had to write a statement about the revision of the NHG. I considered the idea of improving the potential of marginal areas by establishing parks so interesting that I decided to dedicate my diploma thesis to this topic.

I would like to thank the ETH for the education that helped me write this diploma thesis. My special thanks goes to Bernard Lehmann, Peter Rieder and Sophie Révion, not only for their interesting lectures, but also for the supervision of this diploma thesis.

When I learned park products can be labelled, I was even more in favor of the idea. When I shop I try to buy food from nearby or from organic production, as long as my restricted student's budget allows this. Because I have been absorbed with writing over the last few months, my room mate Martin, his girlfriend Carmen and my boyfriend Sam were more or less feeding me. They kindly took my regional and organic wishes into consideration. They did a great (and delicious) job, for which I am very grateful.

As indicated above I no longer live at home. Nevertheless, my family is very important to me. I want to thank my parents for supporting me in and being proud of my studies. Special thanks go to my siblings Philipp, Lexa and Cyril for occasionally distracting me from my studies.

Writing a diploma thesis allows thorough absorption into a topic. It becomes difficult to understand that not everybody is perfectly acquainted with the topics of food labeling and park establishments. I would like to express thanks to Marguerite and especially to Madame Révion for reading and rereading my work! In addition I thank all my friends, especially to Christian and Sam for endlessly listening to the progress of this diploma thesis.

English is not my first language, and although I enjoy expressing myself in this language; some expressions are not perfect. I want to thank Nathi, Sarah and Peter Damary for correcting the most noticeable mistakes.

Last but not least I want to thank all the interviewees for the most interesting conversations we shared. Furthermore, they showed me that it is one thing to study agro-ecology, but another to implement it!

Summary

The Nature and Cultural Heritage Protection Act (NHG) is currently under revision. Due to discrepancies between Switzerland and other European Countries, it was perceived necessary to establish a legal framework for parks. This framework aims to improve the potential of marginal areas. This is, because hilly and mountain regions often suffer from economic problems.

The revision of the NHG describes three types of parks. This thesis will concentrate on Regional Nature Parks. Once a park is registered on a federal level, it is possible to label products. Parks imply ecological or extensive production. Therefore, a park label would link both ecological criteria and place of production to the products. By linking symbolic capital to products it might be possible to get higher prices from consumers, which would, in turn, enhance marginal areas.

National and park specific criteria for park products will be developed. National criteria will be decided on a federal level. Producers of park products will have to comply with these criteria. Each park must have park specific criteria aiming to enhance the region. Arising questions will be covered in this report. Questions such as: will park specific criteria include specific environmental requirements, for example organic production? Who will make the decision and how? To answer these questions, using theoretical results from economic sociology and political sciences, an in depth study of parks establishments was carried out, because the establishment will influence the decision making process of park specific criteria.

Interviews carried out in the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch and Parc Ela showed that organic production is not feasible as park criterion for those regions, because it would lead to strong opposition. Furthermore, organic production is not necessarily the best way to increase park's potentials when compared with extensive integrated production, what could be marketed to consumers as "local food". Nevertheless, organic production may become more important.

The implementation of the ecological quality decree (ÖQV) on one hand complies with many of the park aims and is on the other hand unlikely to evoke opposition. Therefore, for the two case studies the implementation of ÖQV is suggested as possible park specific criterion. Furthermore, the definition of park criteria has to be dynamic for which in both studied regions decision structures are present.

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Glossary:

Code of Practice (COP): Definition of criteria about how a product is to be produced (industrial or artisan), which ingredients are allowed (auxiliary materials), where the ingredients have to come from, and so on.

Integrated production (IP): IP is a production method that combines ecological, economic and toxicological justifiable measures in order to keep harmful organisms below the threshold and reach high quality yields. In Switzerland this is usually referring to the PEP, but because there is a private label (IP Suisse) with slightly higher requirements than the (→) PEP, there is often confusion on the side of consumers. In this diploma thesis, IP is referring to PEP if not otherwise indicated; the private label is of minor importance for this topic.

Ecological Compensation Area (ECA): High stemmed fruit trees, hedges, extensive meadows, dry masons, fallow lands with domestic seed mixtures and other measures that enhance biodiversity fall in this category. Those structures have to be maintained with hardly any pesticides and in the same course as flora and fauna (low-intense meadows for example are to be cut no sooner than plants have bloomed; or hedges have to be cut in the winter, when birds and insects are rare). They can be accumulated to fulfil the required 7% for the (→) PEP, and the specifically valuable measures are rewarded with additional direct payments.

Proof of Ecological Performance (PEP): In Switzerland, farmers only get direct payments, if they are producing according to PEP. Because direct payments constitute a considerable part of farm incomes, 98% of Swiss farmers fulfil the PEP. The requirements are:

- Well adjusted fertiliser balance and regular soil analyses
- Appropriate share in ecological compensation areas (7% of (→) ECA)
- Organised crop rotation
- Adequate soil protection
- Specific use of plant treatment agents
- Animal –friendly livestock husbandry

Öko-Qualitätsverordnung (ÖQV): This ecological quality degree provides incentives for quality of (→) ECA and for linking ECA. Quality of ECA is defined through the existence of certain species. A farmer gets special direct payments if a given number of indicator plant species is existent. Depending on the region other indicator plants are required. Also there are more plants required in mountain regions, because biodiversity is higher. Linking ECA is rewarded with additional special payments. The requirements for linking ECA are defined by the cantons. It is possible to get special payments for both quality and linking for the same area.

Regio-Plus: Regio-Plus, which is also referred to as “Regio + Net” is a funding program of the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs. It aims to give impulses for structural change in rural areas. Organizational, conceptual and institutional projects are provided financial starting aid, which is clearly limited in time, because the projects should later be able to persist without subsidies. Furthermore, the initiators of a project have to provide a significant share of the overall project costs. This share can be financed through sponsors and often the canton and communities are also providing financial means.

Abbreviations:

ANT: Actor-Network-Theory

BLN: Bundesinventar der Landschaften und Naturdenkmäler von nationaler Bedeutung (federal inventory of landscape and natural monuments of national importance)

FOEN: Federal Office for the Environment

EE: Echt Entlebuch (regional label for products of the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch)

FAT: Eidgenössische Forschungsanstalt für Agrarwirtschaft und Landtechnik (Federal research station for agro economy and agricultural technology)

ECA: Ecological Compensation Area

GMO: Genetically modified organism

IP: Integrated production

IPE: Integrated production extensive

IPI: Integrated production intensive

NP: National Parks

NEP: Nature Experience Parks

NHG: Natur- und Heimatschutzgesetz (Nature and Cultural Heritage Protection Act)

OPP: Obligatory passage point

ÖQV: Öko-Qualitätsverordnung (degree about ecological quality)

PEP: Proof of ecological performance

RNP: Regional Nature Park

SA: Supporting association

WTO: World Trade Organization

WTP: Willingness to pay

1 Introduction

1.1 Initial situation

The „*Natur- und Heimatschutzgesetz NHG*“ (Nature and Cultural Heritage Protection Act) is currently under revision. This revision is planned to provide the legal base for three forms of parks: National Parks, Regional Nature Parks and Nature Experience Parks. Once a region fulfils the criteria for parks, Swiss government bestows the title ‘Park of National Importance’ upon the region. There will be strictly protected areas, such as the core areas in National Parks and Nature Experience Parks or fenland areas in Regional Nature Parks. To protect those fragile areas from damaging influences, protected areas always have to be surrounded by zones with extensively used cultural areas or forests.

Although it has to be in an extensive way, it is nevertheless possible develop economic activities in those surrounding zones. Products, for example wood, meat or milk and services such as board and lodging, can be labelled as originating from the park, as long as they fulfil certain requirements. This label indicates the extensive production and the origin for the consumer. The label’s aim is to add value to products and services in order to provide a better income for people living in the park region. Because parks are usually in sparsely populated areas, e.g. in mountain areas, this type of label could provide crucial support to these economically weaker regions.

1.2 Objective: Evaluate environmental promises of the future park label

The goal of this diploma thesis is to evaluate environmental promises of a future park label and to explore organic production requirements. Parks are usually in regions with extensive agriculture. Extensive agriculture in combination with the name park product is an implicit environmental promise. How can this implicit promise be described? Consumers will link park products with the park’s name and its origin. Due to the currently small amount of park products they are to a great extent only available in park regions. The target audience is either people living in the area, or tourists visiting the area. If interested, they can control the promises by monitoring their surrounding. It is therefore important that the promises of a park are justifiable.

Some regions, particularly in Grisons, have high proportions of organic farms. Consumers tend to trust products labelled organic and therefore higher prices are paid. It might be useful to promise organic production and link it to the trust created by known origin. Furthermore, organic production is proposed as a possible requirement for park products. Therefore, it has to be considered whether organic production is already common practice in the region or whether organic production would be accepted by a lot of farms. Furthermore, could organic production be linked with the promise of a “local food” labelled production?

If organic production is not accepted or not common in the region, what other promises could producers of a park make? How could they be implemented in a code of practice in order to earn consumers’ trust? A code of practice has to be negotiated. Therefore, consideration of how decisions are handled in those regions has to be made.

In this respect, the following obstacle was found during the course of the diploma thesis: in order to assess future decision making process for product criteria, it became necessary to consider the decision making process of the establishment of the park. The collective strategy chosen for establishing a park will influence the decision process of specific product criteria. The producers’ and processors’ individual power on decisions of how to use the park label appeared to be crucial. Therefore, an in-depth study was carried out in regards to the establishment of the park. How is initiative seized in rural areas? For such processes there are often important actors, some put in a huge effort to launch a project, whereas others try to hinder a project. It was a challenge to identify both leader figures and hinderers.

Due to this additional exercise of studying park establishment, interviews with the initiators of the park project became very important. Therefore, it was not possible to interview shop retailers. Whether retailers prefer organic or local food, still needs to be revealed. The question about relevant markets for park products (direct sale, specialized shops, gastronomy, and retailers) was briefly addressed but not studied in detail. It was also impossible to carry out a literature review about European parks. Description of how park products are likely to be implemented in Switzerland proved to be more important.

1.3 Structure of the paper

In the following chapter the parks' concept of parks will be introduced. How the need for parks arose and how future categories of parks are regulated will be illustrated. The legislation about parks in Switzerland is not yet finished. But the consultation about the revision of the NHG showed that currently proposed ideas are likely to be implemented. There is a proposal from Agridea concerning environmental promises of the future label for park products. To show the detailed promises of this label the state of the art of the legislation about parks and park products is shown. Regional Nature Parks are being scrutinized, because of the potential for product sales.

Chapter three presents relevant theoretical aspects. Firstly, how “symbolic capital” can be associated to goods by relocalisation will be illustrated. It has been proven that products need “conventions”. Conventions evoke either opposition or involvement. A possible convention for parks is organic farming. Based on literature reviews environmental effects of organic production will be evaluated and consumer trust generated by organic production will be considered.

Chapter four presents methods for the two case studies UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch and Parc Ela. The results of these studies are developed in chapters five and six. Firstly, how the parks were established will be concentrated upon in order to see how decisions are made in those regions. Later how conventions about park products are debated and whether conventions might evoke opposition will be considered. In chapter seven case study results will be compared and discussed. Comparison should assist the definition of general success factors for a park establishment. Later, how park specific criteria are debated will be examined. Furthermore, the probability of criteria becoming a convention, particularly organic production, will be estimated for parks in general but for these two case studies in particular.

2 Parks in Switzerland

In this chapter we first see why it was perceived as necessary to give parks a legal base in the NHG. In a second step we consider the requirements for the three park categories, particularly those for Regional Nature Parks, because we are then narrowing our view on this category. We shortly present the visions of ten regions with already established park or developed park projects. In the last section of this part we focus on the labelling procedure for park products.

2.1 The need for broad protection leads to a new legal framework

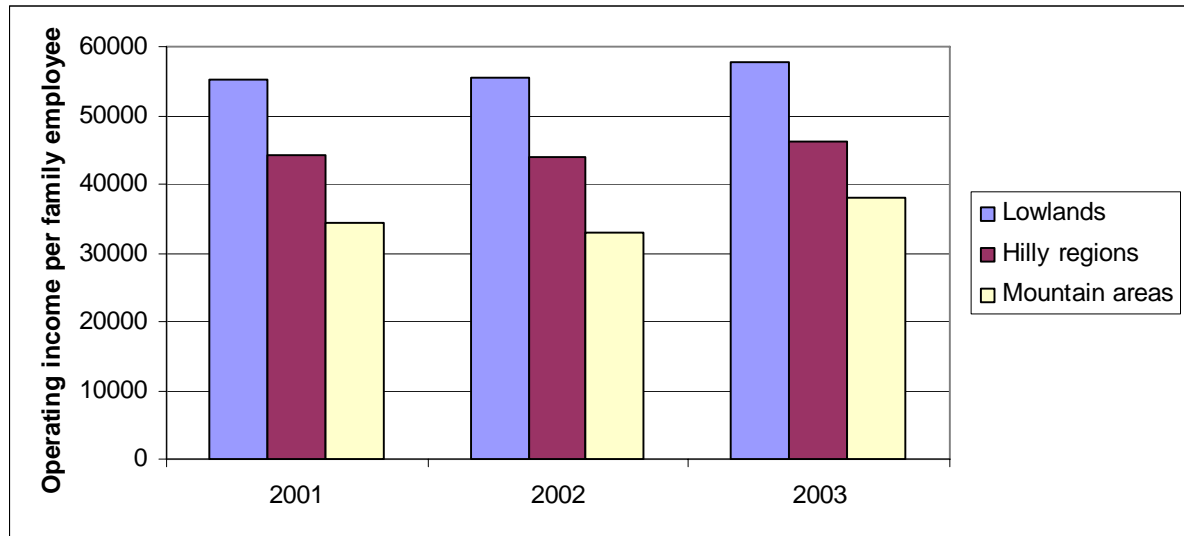
We first consider differences of regions in Switzerland and implications of those differences on spatial planning. This is followed by an overview of environmental protection measures in Switzerland. We see that in combination with initiative of different regions to establish a park this had led to parliamentary initiatives which resulted in the revision of the NHG.

2.1.1 Regional policies and spatial planning

Switzerland is a country with a high density of population, 237 habitants live per productive square kilometre. In agglomeration areas the population density increases to 590 habitants per square kilometre (BfS 2006). Nearly three quarters of the population live in urban zones, namely in the regions of Zurich, Basel, Berne and the area around the lake of Geneva (Combe 2004). In those regions access to rural landscape is limited, because lots of space is needed for buildings and infrastructure. Agriculture around agglomeration zones is rather intensive. Nevertheless, demand for rural or natural landscapes for recreation is high in those regions.

Agriculture in mountain areas has aggravating disadvantages compared to the midland. Soils are less fertile, vegetation period is shorter and topography complicates using machines. However, biodiversity and landscape beauty are higher in mountain areas which is valuable for tourism and is seen as common property. Also, Swiss government tries to maintain decentralized settlement. Agriculture plays an important role in decentralized settlement through the demand for regional products and the safeguarding of jobs. Therefore, there are – in addition to regular direct payments – special direct payments for farmers in mountain areas, for example if fields are steep (Rieder and Anwander Phan-Huy 1994, p. 17f). Despite special direct payments, operating income per family employee is considerably higher in lowlands than in hilly regions and mountain areas, as can be seen in figure 1.

Figure 1: Operating income of farmers in different regions of Switzerland

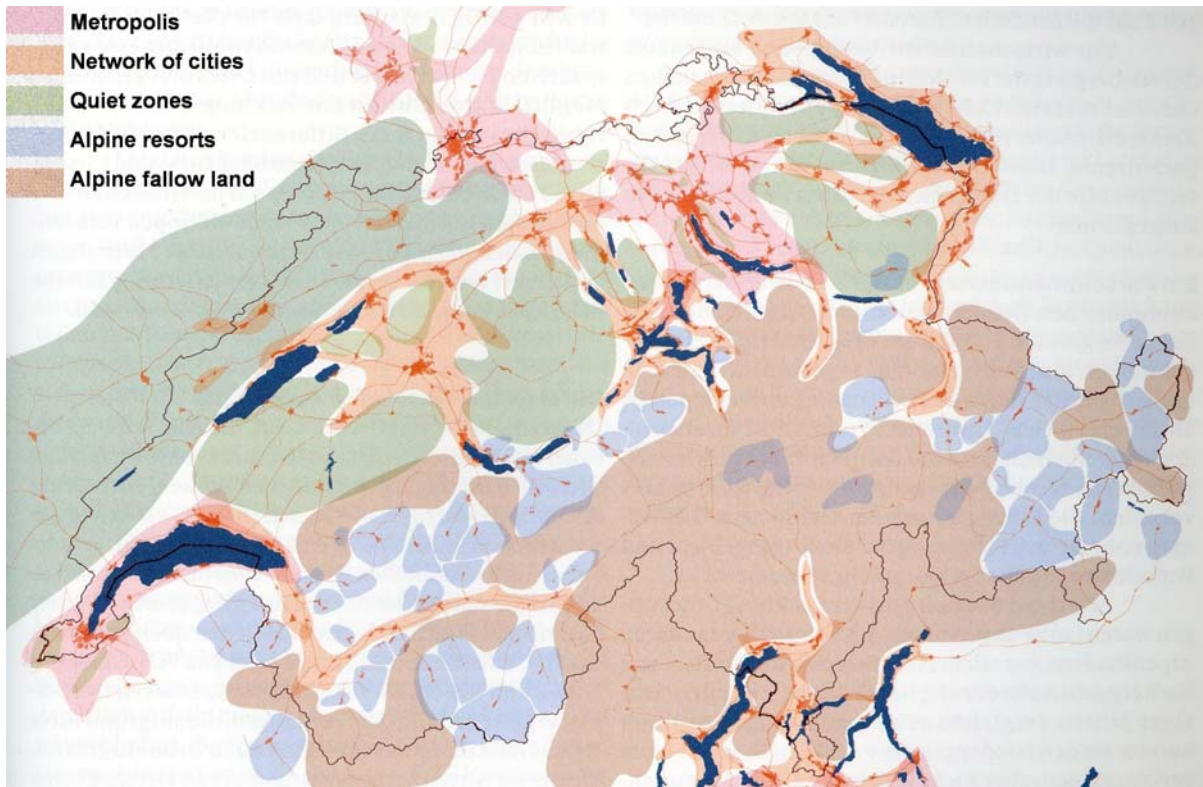


Source: Own illustration with data of FAT 2004

Up to the present the Swiss government tried to overcome the differences between regions by enhancing single sectors (namely agriculture) and focussing on the assistance towards disadvantaged regions. The OECD suggests opening the scope of regional policies by creating tools for all types of regions. Furthermore, assistance of particular sphere of actions or sectors should be replaced by indirect aid for a whole region. Such indirect aid would result from a development strategy based on attractive values. National Parks should be established and provided with financial aid. Regional Nature Parks should be assisted in cooperation with cantons; local brand names should be protected and markets for attractive values are to be created. It is specially noted that those strategies worked well in other countries (OECD 2002: p. 18-20).

Differences in population density and economic strength, suggest different spatial planning measures for the different regions. For this reason, various spatial planners, architects and think tanks have tried to divide Switzerland into spatial planning zones. In figure 2, we see one example differentiating metropolis, networks of cities, quiet zones, alpine resorts and alpine fallow land.

Figure 2: Regions of Switzerland divided in spatial planning zones



Source: Diener et al. 2005; adapted

By phasing-out frontier protection as required by the World Trade Organization (WTO), competition on food markets will increase and prices will drop. There are two strategies to face this: The first strategy is to lower costs of production. In midland areas this could be achieved by growing in scale or other rationalisation strategies. With flat cultural land and available machinery more land can be cultivated. However, in the midland no land is available and in mountain areas there is only limited use of machinery due to topography.

The second strategy is differentiating production. Swiss foodstuff has an image of quality that facilitates differentiation. The high standards of production are known, Swiss foodstuff has advantages concerning trust of consumers (Müller 2006). Consumers see qualities of the region in a product and are willing to pay a premium price for such products. Mountain areas are specially qualified for this strategy due to high biodiversity. Moreover, agriculture is traditionally extensive due to sparse population. Landscapes in mountain areas are diverse; topography creates sights that are unique in the world, as for example the flow of tourists to the Matterhorn indicates.

2.1.2 Environmental protection in Switzerland

Switzerland has a tradition of protecting objects; there are many inventories of objects of national importance. There is a federal inventory of landscape and natural monuments of national importance (BLN); there are inventories of raised bogs, water meadows, fenlands, amphibious spawn areas, fenland areas of exceptional beauty as well as water and migratory bird areas – all of national importance. The inventory of dry meadows and pastures of national importance is in progress (FOEN 2006a). For those inventories concrete protection measures exist. Two international agreements ensure transnational protection of fenlands (Ramsar) and endangered species and biotopes of Europe (Smaragd). There are also forest reserves, but these are under the jurisdiction of the cantons (FOEN 2006b).

Since 1992 farmers have the possibility to get special payments for ecological compensation areas (ECA). In the first year, there was only the instrument of extensive meadows. A year later 16 types of ECA – of which several justify for special payments – were defined. Since 1998 farmers have to maintain at least 7% of the cultivated area as ECA in order to get direct payments. In 2001 a decree concerning the quality and interconnectedness passed (ÖQV). Farmers could get extra payments for high quality ECA and also extra payments, if the ECA were linked, for example if hedges are next to low intensive meadows. The Confederation is only paying 70 to 90% depending on how well-financed the cantons are (FOEN 2006c). Because the cantons are forced to save money, they only reluctantly authorize new interconnection projects.

So Switzerland has at least 7% of its cultural area somehow dedicated to nature, but the quality of those areas is unsatisfactory. Furthermore, these areas are badly connected and often disrupted by large areas of intensive farming. Lacking in the environmental protection of Switzerland are therefore large areas that are dedicated to nature. Though Switzerland has established a national park as early as 1914, there has been no new project until recently, when the region of Entlebuch took an innovative step and created a biosphere reserve. If we take a look across the border, we can see there are many more parks. In Germany there are more than 90 Nature Parks, in Austria 44 Nature Parks and France counts 40 Parcs Naturels Régionaux (Günther et al. 2004). Of course those countries are bigger than Switzerland, but there is a potential for more parks.

2.1.3 The parliamentary initiatives and the revision of the NHG

Josef Löttscher, a National Councillor, submitted the interpellation “*Projekt ‘Lebensraum Entlebuch’*” (project biosphere Entlebuch) to in 1998. His concern was backed by 14 councillors. He stated that up to that time no biosphere reserve existed in Switzerland, but he reported the efforts of the region Entlebuch to create a biosphere reserve. Löttscher asked the Federal Council to assist the project. The latter acclaimed the initiative, consented to consider assistance and promised to register the project at the UNESCO (Löttscher 1998).

In the fall of the same year Silvia Semadeni – backed by 96 councillors – claimed to create a frame decree concerning reserves of national importance. She based the claim on the discrepancy between Switzerland and Europe concerning park area. Furthermore, she adverted to the various new found projects, which were struggling to move on. Semadeni related this to lacking general framework. The confederation had no objectives, no minimum standards, no regulation of competences and no development funds for parks. She indicated that the upcoming revision of the law for the national park would be a good time to create frame decrees. The federal council replied by highlighting the strictly protected fenlands, saying the problem of the environmental protection in Switzerland is not missing legal foundations but execution. Again the federal council welcomed projects but refused to interlink the revision of the law for the national park with the general discussion about reserves (Semadeni 1998).

1999 Christian Grobet made the ambitious request to convert 20% of land coverage into reserves, an idea proposed by Pro Natura, a conservation organization. The federal council replied that reserves can not be decreed by the federation, local participation if not initiative is needed. But he consented to take care of frame decrees if necessary (Grobet 1999).

In 2002 the consultation on the revision of the “*Natur- und Heimatschutzgesetz (NHG)*” (Nature and Cultural Heritage Protection Act) was launched. On the expectation of two new National Parks, six to ten Regional Nature Parks and three to five Nature Experience Parks, the annual expense was estimated to be CHF 10 millions (UVEK 2002). The result of the consultation was overwhelming. 21 cantons were approving, four cantons mentioned critical points, but none was disapproving. As to parties, five centre or left-winged parties were approving, the liberals were critical. Only Swiss People’s Party (SVP) and a spin-off of the

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liberal party were opposed to the revision. Environmental and cultural pressure groups were nearly all approving. Concerning parks, 22 of the 23 answering committees were approving, only the “*Komitee für Freiheit statt Reservat*” (Committee for freedom instead of reservation) disapproved. Spatial planning bodies were in majority approving, as well as silvicultural institutions. Agricultural associations were equally approving, critical and disapproving (FOEN¹ 2003).

At the end of 2003, there was a changeover of power in the federal council. For financial reasons the revision of the NHG was discarded in February 2004. This was followed by four parliamentary initiatives in March: the fractions of the Christian Democrats, of the Green Party, and of the Social Democrats requested the resumption of the NHG revision. Furthermore, there was a motion by Dick Marty also requesting the resumption of the revision. The federal council proposed to refuse the motion, but the parliament accepted the motion (Marty 2004).

Therefore, the federal council presented the communication concerning the revision of the NHG in February 2005, but he had cut out the article about financial aid that was present in the consultation phase. The Council of the States reintroduced the article on the recommendation of the responsible commission (Federal Convention 2006). In the winter session 2005 the National Council as well ratified the revision (Tenz 2006). At the moment, a consultation of the decree about parks is about to start.

Differences in both population densities and economic strengths led to the idea that different spatial planning measures for the different regions are advisable. Previous environmental protection was protecting objects, besides the National Park there have been no huge areas under protection. Through the initiative of the region Entlebuch a biosphere was established. Because there have been no legal requirements for a biosphere, the parliament requested legal frameworks for parks. In the next section we see the status quo of this legal framework.

¹ Bundesamt für Umwelt (BAFU); Federal Office for the Environment (FOEN), formerly the Bundesamt für Umwelt, Wald und Landschaft (BUWAL); Swiss Agency for the Environment, Forest and Landscape (SAEFL).

2.2 The three park categories and the focus on Regional Nature Parks

In this section we see which park categories are possible after the revision of the NHG and what their requirements and their aims will be. It is explained why the focus of this diploma thesis is laying on Regional Nature Parks. Consequently, the official criteria for this park category are studied in more detail. We then see often mentioned aims and objectives of ten established park projects in order to compare them with the official requirements.

2.2.1 The three categories

Swiss government plans to create three categories of parks that deserve the title “Park of national Importance”: National Parks (NP), Regional Nature Park (RNP) and Nature Experience Parks (NEP). The similarity of those parks is that they are in regions with high natural and landscape values. Also, only parks that are based on regional initiatives and are integrated in a cantonal program will be assisted by the government. This bottom-up approach wants to secure that park initiatives are carried by its surrounding population. In other aspects there are considerable differences between the park categories, which are listed in table 1.

The most important difference lies in the aims parks are trying to reach, which has huge impact on possible use of the land. In both National Parks and Nature Experience Parks a core area exists in which human activities are very restricted. In the surrounding area human activities are possible. In a Regional Nature Park human activity is basically possible everywhere (except of course in conservation areas), but it has to occur in a sustainable way.

The impact on possible land use in combination with size requirements are already indicating that different parks will be created in demographically different areas. National Parks require a core area of at least 50 km², where human activities are not tolerated. Therefore, NPs will be established in areas that are not populated. Current projects aiming to establish NPs are in the cantons Uri, Valais, Ticino and Grisons – cantons with many mountains and low population.

Within the projects for RNPs, many of them are also in mountain areas. But because the restrictions according to land use are lower – human activities are allowed but have to be sustainable – also regions in the midland area are interested in establishing RNPs. But here again, these regions are hilly and sparsely populated. Only projects for Nature Experience Parks with 6 km² requested, are found in agglomeration areas. The nearness to agglomeration

areas is made a requirement in order to give people living in cities the opportunity to make natural experiences (NHG 2005a Art. 23 f-h and NHG 2005b).

Table 1: Differences between Parks of National Importance

	National Park: Art. 23f	Regional Nature Park: Art. 23g	Nature Experience Park: Art. 23h
Size	Core Area: at least 50 km ² in the midland area; 100 km ² in the Alps. Surrounding area: 75 to 150% of the core area.	Whole park: at least 100 km ² .	Core Area: at least 4 km ² . Whole park: at least 6 km ² .
Land use	Core Area: no human activities, access restricted. Surrounding area: sustainable use is allowed, but must provide a buffer zone, to protect the core area from negative impacts.	Agriculture and forestry are possible if ecological standards are satisfied. To enhance landscape quality, the park association creates a charter with aims for the park.	Core Area: no human activities. Surrounding area: used to mediate natural experiences.
Requirements	Typical land use in surrounding area, infrastructure well fitted in landscape.	Current land use on high ecological level.	Park is near agglomeration, access via public transport
Objective	Recreation, education, natural experiences and research	Valorise quality of nature and landscape. Strengthen sustainable economy, enhance marketing of products and services	Make natural experience possible

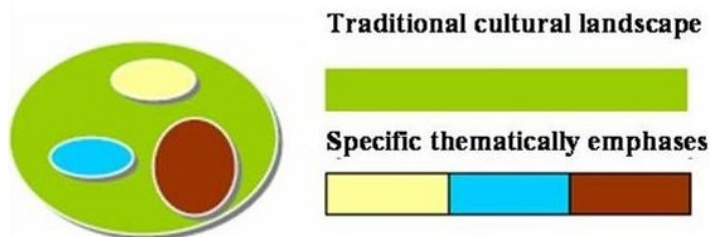
Source: NHG 2005 a, Art. 23f-h and NHG 2005b, p. 2155f and p. 2161-2164

2.2.2 The focus on Regional Nature Parks and criteria for this park category

The FOEN lists 34 regions that are interested in building a Park of National Importance (FOEN 2005a). This diploma work focuses only on Regional Nature Parks. Human activities are very limited in National Parks as well as in the Nature Experience Parks. Products can only be produced in the surrounding area, which is of minor interest for Nature Experience Parks due to its small size. The only currently existing National Park was built in 1914 without a surrounding area (it is planned to expand it). Furthermore, the vast majority of projects tend to build RNPs, 28 regions are interested in this park category. Therefore, this diploma thesis focuses on RNPs.

We now study the requirements for RNPs in more detail. According to the FOEN, a RNP is a populated rural area, which features high landscape and nature values and in which the buildings and constructions are well fitted in the overall appearance of the locality. Moreover, the concept of a park is based on thematically emphases as we can see in figure 3. Depending on existing particularities of the region (tourist attractions, handcrafts, values of nature and culture etc.) different emphases will result in different parks and in different regions of the park.

Figure 3: Criteria for park concepts



Source: FOEN 2005b, adapted

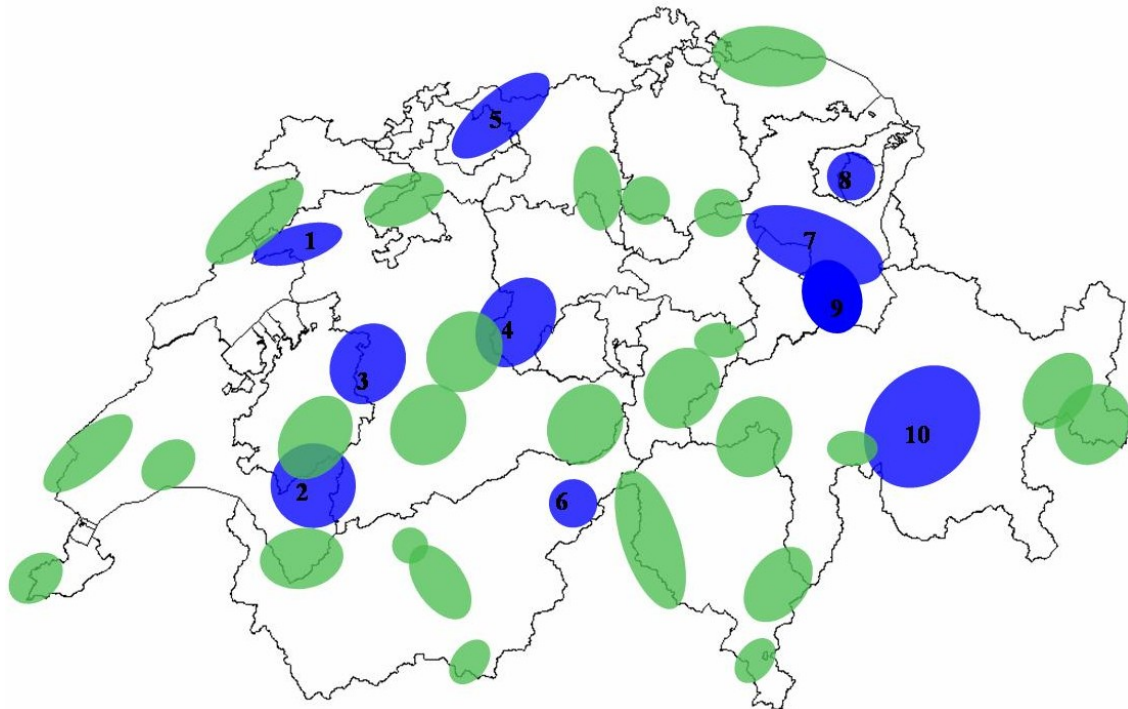
The priority of a park is to add value to the known and inventoried biotopes and monuments. Therefore, it is not necessary to mark new zones. A RNP is a useful tool for socio-economic activities of the local population. The FOEN (2005b) lists the aims of parks as following:

- Preservation, caretaking and rebuilding of natural, landscape and cultural patrimony
- Measures for valorisation as integral element of a park concept
- Preserve a harmonic rural area with a settlement typical for the landscape and assist sustainable socio-economic development
- Boost sustainable activities in tourism, mobility, energy etc.
- Cooperation of the communities of a park at spatial planning activities in the area
- Strengthening multifunctional agriculture through quality products
- Add value to the forest considering its diverse functions
- Encourage environmental education, discovering natural and cultural patrimony as well as raising awareness of sustainability of visitors and the local population
- Enhance cooperation of cantonal and regional research about sustainable development

2.2.3 Ten regions with established park projects and their visions

In figure 4 we see regions that plan to establish a park (all categories) highlighted with ovals. The blue ovals show regions that plan to build a Regional Nature Park and have their objectives and bylaws published on the internet. Often mentioned aims and visions stated by park associations are summarized on the next page (considered bylaws and objectives are listed in Appendix I).

Figure 4: Map of regions with park projects (green) and focused projects (blue)



Source: FOEN, adapted

1. Parc Régional Chasseral
2. Pays d'Enhaut Château-d'Oex – Rougement – Rossinière
3. Region Gantrisch
4. UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch
5. Dreiklang.ch Aare – Jura – Rhein
6. Binntal pur
7. Region Werdenberg
8. Natur Erlebnispark Schwägalp / Säntis
9. Geo Park Sarganserland – Walensee – Glarnerland
10. Parc Ela

The aims, bylaws and objectives of the ten regions are, like the aims listed by FOEN, dedicated to the three pillars of sustainability, which are the economic, environmental and social pillars. Both the FOEN and many parks also emphasize the aspect of education. Therefore, a first quest of the interviews in the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch (oval 4) and Parc Ela (oval 10) was to get a rating of those four aspects. The bylaws and the objectives of park initiatives are very similar to the aims listed by FOEN. In a second step it was tried to get a rating of often mentioned visions, which are shown in table 2.

Table 2: Often mentioned visions of ten park projects

Primarily environmental visions	Preservation and valorisation of cultural landscape
	Build tourist activities in harmony with nature
	Protection of fragile ecosystems
	Improvement of public transport in the region
Primarily economic visions	Maintaining and creation of workstations
	Marketing of regional products
	Encourage and assist innovation
	Diversify tourist offers
	Increasing regional added value
Primarily social visions	Anchoring the park in local population, generate regional identity
	Strengthening supply chains and regional circuits
	Networking in the region and with actors outside
	Boost traditional activities
Primarily education visions	Educate the understanding of natural and cultural concerns
	Enable direct contact of people with nature and culture
	Build institutions for education of natural and cultural topics

Source: Bylaws and objectives of the ten above-mentioned park projects

Regional Nature Parks address the three pillars of sustainability with economic, environmental and social aims. Furthermore, there is emphasis on education. Aims and objectives of the parks in focus are similar to park aims of the FOEN. For environmental aims, preservation and valorisation are crucial. Economy shall be strengthened with the marketing of regional products and tourist activities that are in harmony with nature. Social aims shall be achieved with cooperation and networking. And last but not least education shall enable the population to have direct contact with culture and nature and therefore assist understanding of those topics.

2.3 The process of labelling

In this section we first consider the necessity of labelling. We then evaluate national criteria for parks and later park specific criteria. Because the topic of this diploma thesis is environmental promises of parks, it is very important to identify the requests of Regional Nature Parks on a national level. Those requests for products are similar to promises given to consumers.

2.3.1 Benefit of labelling

Once a park is established and all legal requirements are fulfilled; Swiss government awards a quality label “Park of National Importance” to the park association. This park label shall boost tourist added value. Swiss National Park for example gains CHF 10 million every year directly with tourism and another CHF 7 million with indirect income and employment effect. Besides these benefits of tourism, the association is enabled to pass a product label to producers that are active in the park region. Specific qualities of landscape will improve market potential of park products, for example agricultural products or tourist services. Both the park label and the product label are limited in time, the park label is awarded for ten years; the product label is awarded for three to five years. After this period, the label can be renewed, which of course implies that the sustainability of the projects is still guaranteed (NHG 2005b, p.2153-2168).

The revision of the NHG has not yet been brought into effect, but the consultation showed that cantons, parties and organizations welcomed it. Therefore, it is likely, that the revision will pass the legislation process without problems. The legal base with precise requirements for parks (quality of landscape, size of conservation areas, measures for valorisation etc.) and national criteria for products will be listed in a park act, on which consultation has not yet started.

It is important to note that specific requirements of a label act like a promise given by the producer to the consumers (Glannaz 2002). Agridea got a mandate to make suggestions for product criteria. The proposed procedure at the time of writing will be the basis for consultation and still needs official approval. Peter Damary, the person in charge for this mandate, explained the principle procedure of labelling as following:

2.3.2 National criteria

As Peter Damary² explained, producers of park products guarantee three elementary qualities:

- **Naturalness:** Products, manner of manufacture and services are particularly environmentally compatible and in line with nature and landscape. In the park act for example the question whether the ingredients are allowed to be genetically modified is addressed as much as if products can be produced hors-sol.
- **Origin and authenticity:** Products and services originate from the park region. Mainly local resources shall be used and the methods of manufacture should be based on local traditions. In the park act the percentage of ingredients from the park region will be regulated.
- **Artisan manufacture:** People and their know-how are in the centre of the product. For guided tourist offers for example, a guide is required to be either trained in park issues, or he has to come from the park region, with profound knowledge about park territory.

The label Product of Park of National Importance will be owned by the confederation. To achieve credibility on a national level, the level of requirements is the same among all parks and shall be increased according to the three above-mentioned qualities. National criteria for agricultural products will define the minimum standard of production system. The ingredients have to be produced at least according to the Proof of ecological performance (PEP). There is also clear legislation on the aspect of local origin, in order to prevent opportunistic behaviour.

These national criteria have to be fulfilled by every producer of park products. Additionally, every park has to complete national criteria with park specific criteria, which are presented in the next section.

² Private information in a conversation with Peter Damary, responsible for agrarian food chains, Lausanne, 16.05.06.

2.3.3 Park specific criteria

Every park builds its own charter. In this charter specific potentials of each park are valorised. If a park wants to promote local breeds (for example “*rätisches Grauvieh*” in Grisons) a criterion might be that only meat or milk from this breed will be labelled. To promote landscapes with many high stemmed fruit trees a defined percentage of fruits from such trees might be requested to make labelled juice. To enhance traditional manufacture and know-how of agricultural products, a request might be that only raw milk is used in cheese production. Table 3 gives an overview.

Table 3: Process of building a charter

Strategic objectives	Operational objectives	Specific requirements for products
<i>General aims that justify the creation of a park in this region</i>	<i>Identification of action levels in relation with strategic objectives</i>	<i>Translation of operational objectives into controllable requirements for the users of the label</i>
Maintain and valorise traditional characteristics of the region	Promote local breeds	Milk and meat carrying the label are to be 100% of local breeds
Maintain and valorise traditional cultural landscape	Maintain and promote high stemmed fruit trees	Products on the base of fruits are to be produced with at least 80% fruits of high stemmed fruit trees
Maintain and valorise traditional know-how and production methods	Maintain the traditional production method for cheese	Use only raw milk in cheese production

Source: Information from Peter Damary

It might be useful to combine the two promises of organic production and local origin. Buyers of organic products in German speaking countries and the UK express a preference for buying organic food from the region: “For some regular consumers, the fact that a product is of local origin is sufficient reason to trust the product” (Zanoli et al. 2004, p. 137). The proposal of Agridea suggests organic production as possible specific requirement for park products. Therefore, acceptance of organic production in park regions was of special interest in the interviews.

The responsible working group of each park will create Code of Practice (COP) for each product qualified for labelling. This COP regulates production processes in detail. There is a list of possible park specific criteria for production, which aims to help the working group to

create the CRS. The proposed criteria are neither exclusive, nor have they all to be fulfilled. But it must be guaranteed that the mode of production is definitely enhancing the park aims.

For this reason a consultative group will be established, with delegates from all concerned parties. The state is represented by different governmental delegates (responsible for environment, agriculture and economy), delegates of persons in charge for the protection of nature and landscape, cantonal chemists and other experts. On the private side there are representatives of the parks, people from consumer protection agencies, delegates from environmental pressure groups, farmers associations, gastronomic associations and the craftspeople sector. Those experts will consider the COP. Besides their task to guarantee enhanced quality according to the parks charter, they try to keep the standards of all parks comparable. If their expertise is satisfactory, they suggest to the FOEN to award the park label for a certain period of time.

We have identified that the need for broadminded environmental protection in combination with the intention to assist development in mountain regions had led to the revision of the NHG. The new legal framework provides for three park categories. Regional Nature Parks include at least 100 km², in which beautiful landscapes and fragile ecosystems are to be valorised. There will be protection zones, extensive agricultural zones and zones with thematic emphasises.

Products of this extensive agriculture can be labelled as park products, if some requirements are fulfilled: National criteria require abundance of PEP and regional origin. Furthermore, each park has to define its own park specific criteria for park products. Park specific criteria shall enhance the aims and objectives of a park. One possibility is to label only organic products.

It will be a task of park producers to successfully link the parks' image to their products. If they find something particular and unique in the region, which also is of common knowledge, a product carrying this image would likely be distinguishable from others.

As a next step we consider relevant theoretical studies about rural development and involvement. This helps us to understand the decision making process for park criteria. Later, in the interview section, the acceptance of the above mentioned criteria for parks are being discussed. Furthermore, park specific criteria, which are possible for the two studied regions shall be identified.

3 Theoretical aspects

In this chapter we look at theoretical aspects of rural development. We first consider theories about relocalisation. We then argue how relocalisation can be implemented, and if a Regional Nature Park is one possible way. Later we consider how opposition or involvement towards a project originates and particularly towards park specific criteria. In the last section we see through a literature review if organic farming is feasible to fulfil park aims.

3.1 Relocalisation: building and maintaining symbolic capital

In this section we first see how the need of consumers for relocalised food emerged. We then see how this led to the neo-endogenous approach of rural development. Later we become acquainted with the theory of embeddedness. In the last section we argue why parks can be seen as measure to relocalise food.

3.1.1 Food crisis and the loss of confidence of consumers

The food sector has been crisis-ridden by epidemics such as the Foot and Mouth Disease, the BSE-crisis and most recently by avian flu. This has huge effect on how consumers perceive food. In a consumer survey in Germany in 2001, interviewees were asked to give free association to the term meat. 37% answered 'BSE', followed by 19% saying 'good taste' or 'I like to eat it'. On the third rank was again a negative association, 'it shouldn't be consumed too much'. That meat is an 'essential and important aliment' was named as much as 'Foot and Mouth Disease' and 'factory farming'. Associations with meat are far more negative than positive (Bruhn 2001, p. 12).

As we have seen, epidemics contribute largely to those negative associations. Ray (2002) argues that "the BSE outbreak can be seen as, in essence, an example of the failure of quality control" and "the Foot and Mouth outbreak, however, reminded us of the connectivity within the agricultural system (farm producers, market places, abattoirs, etc.)". Murdoch (2000, p. 411) highlights that the impact of BSE has been particularly evident in the UK, where British beef producers have been hit hard by the loss of export markets. "The viability of many farms, especially those located in the marginal agricultural areas (...) is at risk."

Ray is indicating that the lack of quality, in combination with the high connectivity that allows disease to spread in the system and the fact that “agricultural crises translate into rural crises and vulnerability” present a three-fold challenge:

- How flows through the system might be restructured to achieve better quality control. Moreover, can this regulation be built into production “so that regulation becomes a vital and positive feature (rather than a restriction on production and profitability)?”
- Can the system be changed in a way that agriculture’s impact on rural areas (particularly the socio-economically vulnerable) is in a positive way?
- “How, theoretically, could agriculture be re-embedded into the general well-being of rural areas (...) – not for the rural economy to equate with the agricultural sector, but to see agriculture as (...) one of the integrated players in a rural economy.”

He concludes that the territorial or neo-endogenous approach to rural development is able to provide answers to these questions (Ray 2002, p. 226).

3.1.2 The neo-endogenous approach to rural development

Traditionally, rural development agencies sought to strengthen rural economies in the post war period by the promotion of ‘exogenous development’. By offering floor space, rent and rate reductions, infrastructure improvements etc., new industries and their associated technologies, skills and patterns of working were tried to be attracted. This vertical or sectoral approach has a number of weaknesses, “most importantly an over-reliance on state support, a dependence on large firms often operating in single-sectors and a consequent marginalisation of small-scale, local enterprises operating in diverse markets” (Murdoch 2000, p. 412).

Those weaknesses led to renewed interest in ‘endogenous development’: “Participatory approaches to rural development have thus been emphasised in order to ensure that existing rural resources are put to the best use.” But here again a fully endogenous approach has its weaknesses. Processes tend to be either dominated by powerful local actors, which results in further marginalisation of already marginal groups, or local apathy undermines processes. Murdoch argues that it is senseless to discuss whether the endogenous or vertical approach is better than the exogenous or horizontal approach. He concludes that “combinations of both will, or should, be the norm.” This ‘third way’ between state and market, or endogenous and exogenous, leads to the emergence of new institutional and economic forms, which are

Theoretical aspects

thought to be networks. He emphasizes that innovation is needed: “It is now widely believed that economic performance within the global economy is heavily reliant upon the capacity to *innovate*” (ibid: p. 408-412).

According to Ray, the neo-endogenous approach has three main components. First, development has to focus on territories needs rather than focussing on certain sectors of the rural economy. Second, “economic and other development activity are reoriented to valorise and exploit local resources – physical and human – and thereby to retain as many of the resultant benefits within the local area“. Third, the development focuses on the needs, capacities and perspectives of local people. There will be an ethical dimension in the development model “by emphasising the principle and process of local participation in the design and implementation of action and through the adoption of cultural, environmental and ‘community’ values” (Ray 2002, p. 228).

With this spatial or horizontal approach, “the capacity of local actors to gain access to markets and to other economic opportunities is heightened” because a range of activities located within an area are tried to be coordinated. Moreover, strengthening local productive capabilities shall occur “in ways that benefit the rural economy as a whole” (Murdoch 2000, p. 412).

Brunori (to appear soon) argues that different actors have different reason for relocalisation, which supports the remark of Murdoch that the rural economy will benefit as a whole:

- **Small farmers and rural communities:** They see relocalisation as strategy to gain a better position in the globalisation of the food system by creating new economic spaces.
- **Consumers:** They have two reasons for favouring relocalised food: First, as an answer to their growing anxiety caused by food crises, and second, to meet the growing need to consume unique and excellent food.
- **Politicians:** They see relocalisation as means to promote sustainability, to consolidate regional identity and / or to improve the competitiveness of the food industry. Because a strong link between local food and rural development is suggested, relocalisation can also be seen as element for rural development.

3.1.3 The concept of embeddedness or linking symbolic capital to products

As we have seen in the precedent part, different actors have different reasons for relocalisation. This shows us that a product is not only important for producers, but also for consumers, politicians and rural community as a whole. Therefore, Brunori argues to quit conventional economic theory, where “quality is taken for granted and assumed as perfectly known, so that the relationship between producers and consumers can take the form of pure calculation.” We have seen with the example of the BSE crisis that quality can not be taken for granted. “As soon as quality becomes an object of scrutiny, it becomes clear that quality should be conceived of as a shared meaning constructed within a network”. In other words, a product has to be embedded in a social network, where all actors know about the intrinsic quality of a product. Brunori argues that processes of relocalisation can be analysed in terms of re-embedding local economies into local nature and society. With that process, embeddedness is on one hand an endogenous resource to develop local quality food products. On the other hand, embeddedness can reinforce the relationship between consumers and producers.

To explain embeddedness further, Brunori (following Harvey 1990) shows how people interact with their environment – lived, perceived and conceived. “Agricultural, environmental, land use planning, cultural policies among others can affect the way territory is lived, perceived and conceived. Information and education, for example, can give local people the necessary categories to recognize the value of territorial capital” (Brunori to appear soon). The recognition of territorial capital is very important. As Ray puts it: “the action of local private businesses (...) would be influenced by their being aware of the benefits of contributing to the accumulation of forms of capital in the territory”. He defines territorial forms of capital as “being both means and ends of production” (Ray 2002, p. 229f).

We have to make a detour to symbolic capital to understand the valorisation of territorial capital. Applying Bourdieu’s concept (1998) to rural development, Brunori finds that: “symbolic capital is generated when ‘terroir’ is recognized and given value by external observers as well.” This means that the terroir – the name of the place, the typical landscape etc. – acts as a symbol that is perceived by externals in the form of notoriety, reputation or trust (Brunori to appear soon).

Theoretical aspects

Within the relations of exchange, material aspects are inextricably linked with symbolic ones. The relations of exchange can only be put into operation and perpetuated if this link remains perceptible. Therefore, it is not possible to reduce those relations on a base of geographic, economic or social nearness (Bourdieu 1992, p. 63). It seems obvious that material aspects of a product – in other words quality – are irreplaceable. But obvious things are often forgotten, so they can not be mentioned enough. Also to rely on concepts such as reputation and trust might be dangerous, or as Freidberg (2003, p. 98) puts it: “relationships that appear to operate on trust (...) are often just situations where one or all parties has no choice but to hope for luck or mercy”.

Symbolic capital is so important for us because it “can be turned into economic capital as it broadens potential markets, permits the setting of a premium price for local products, gives a greater power to local producers on the value chain, facilitates a good reception of new initiatives” (Brunori to appear soon). To turn symbolic capital into economic capital, a capital of relations and commitments is needed. This relational capital can only be used at the right time if relations were established long ago and have been kept alive as if the relation were the purpose (Bourdieu 1992, p. 70).

To give a practical example of embeddedness we look at a study described by Winter (2003). After the crisis in the food sector food safety was expected to be the key concern. Winter assumed this concern to be reflected primarily in purchases of organic foods. He was surprised to monitor “purchases of local food being significantly more common than organic food.” This could be seen within all habitants of the regions, but locals – people living more than ten years in the questioned region – were reported to buy even more local food. In a comparison of different regions, consumers of Norfolk and Devon, where local food initiatives had taken place, “were more than twice as likely to make weekly purchases of local food than in our Hampshire study area, perhaps reflecting a stronger regional / local identity in those localities”. The mentioned reasons for buying local foods “reflected an interest in supporting local farmers and the local economy with some emphasis also given to taste or freshness and local knowledge of the food’s provenance.” Furthermore, “considerable evidence of an ideology of localism based on the sympathy for farmers” was found (Winter 2003, p. 28f).

3.1.4 Parks as a strategy of relocalisation

There are two ways to relocalise food. One way is direct selling. Farmers that sell products on a local market or directly at the farm gate provide consumers the possibility to know where products come from. The personal link to the farmer created by direct selling is highly esteemed by the consumer, and provides trust (Zanoli et al. 2004, p. 134f). The other way to relocalise food is collective action. Farmers can ally to horizontal networks, e.g. in order to open a store with a broader product range than one farmer could provide alone. Together with butchers and feedstuff suppliers, farmers can also build vertical networks, e.g. in order to guarantee a constant quality of the meat (Schmid et al. 2004, p. 48). We argue that building a park is one form of collective action as a strategy of food relocalisation.

A park project will be a mix of endogenous and exogenous approach by definition. To get exogenous financial aid from the government, the initiative for the park project has to be endogenous. The communities have to show willingness to establish a park (e.g. by voting) and usually financial aid from outside is only provided if the locals provide an equal amount of means. With this bottom-up approach it shall be guaranteed that the initiative is carried by locals.

As we have seen, the revision of the NHG – which will provide the legal base for building parks – requests high cultural or landscape values present in the region. By the possibility to get a park label, the valuable landscape can be linked to the product. Because the park label is only awarded if specific ecological criteria are fulfilled, products carrying the label provide a double promise to consumers: the promise of origin and the promise of ecological production. With those promises symbolic capital – implemented by the name park product – is attached to the products. The plan is that symbolic capital can be transformed into economic capital by achieving premium prices on the market.

Parks can be seen as collective strategy to relocalise food. The park name links the symbolic capital of the region to the products and combines ecological promises with known origin. To understand how the implementation of food relocalisation works, we consider the relevant theory. One way to describe collective action is the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) that is presented in the next section. Later we consider conventions theory.

3.1.5 Actor-Network-Theory and the translation cycle

Rural development seems to have a life of its own. Both state agencies and private-sector firms sought for a secret recipe for economic success in the countryside. But “rural areas continue to follow their own stubborn logics of change and stasis. Seemingly hopeless rural economies either remain hopeless, despite the best efforts (...) or suddenly show quite unexpected signs of health and vitality, signs that defy interpretation by even the most experienced observers” (Murdoch 2002, p. 407). Nevertheless, efforts to understand rural development never ceased. With the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) it is possible to approach this complicated topic.

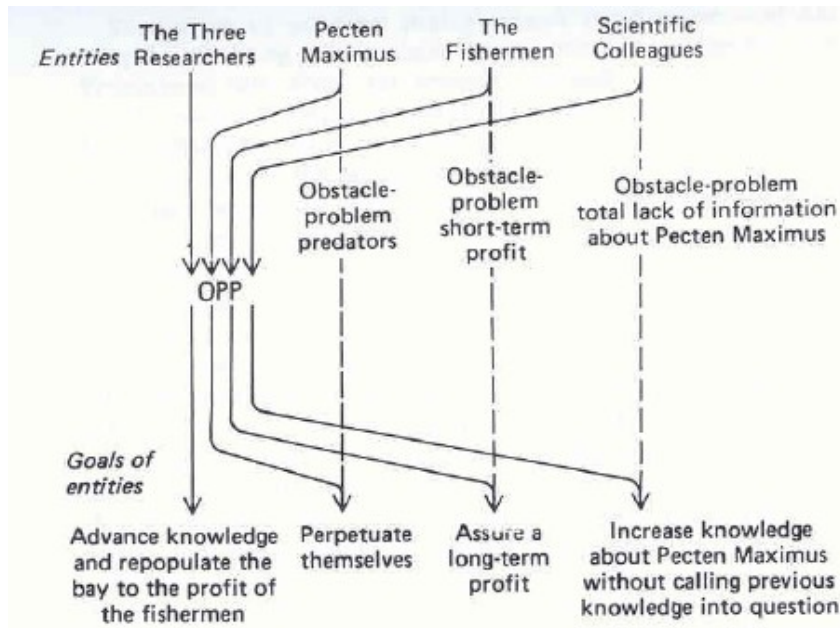
The theory emerged in the 1980s within a group of sociologists around Michel Callon and Bruno Latour at the Centre de Sociologie de l’Innovation in Paris. They disagreed with the tendency of sociologists to view organisations as purely social networks. They argued, that networks are rather composed of heterogeneous materials such as machines, nature, money, policies and of course people. ANT explores the relations between those human and non-human factors. A particular interest lies in the “growth and extension of spheres of influence and power,” through “processes of translation” or “enrolment” (Foster and Kirwan 2004, p. 1).

It is important to note, that the “power lies not within the macro actors themselves but in the link that binds the actors and entities together.” ANT examines the composition of networks and tries to show how networks gain strength and achieve scope (Murdoch 2000, p. 410). The formation of networks is described in terms of “translating perceived needs into an inscribed solution”. It examines how an idea or initiative is translated into practice and how actors are involved in that process. Callon (1986) describes four stages in an initiative as following:

- **Problematization or how to become indispensable:** Actors analyse a situation, identify and define the problem and suggest a solution. Often a crisis or critical event is the starting point of the translation cycle (Forster and Kirwan 2004). The actors suggest that the problems would be resolved “if the actors negotiated the ‘obligatory passage point’”. All actors are facing obstacles. Therefore, the obligatory passage point (OPP) is crucial to an initiative, “the actors can not attain what they want by themselves”. The OPP is a common denominator, the one thing in common that helps achieve the different aims. Figure 5 shows how different actors of a region with

different obstacles must pass through the OPP to achieve their goals (Callon 1986, p. 201-203). The case study Callon used to describe translation was analysing how researcher and fishermen searched for a strategy to stop the decline in the population of scallops in St. Brieuc Bay.

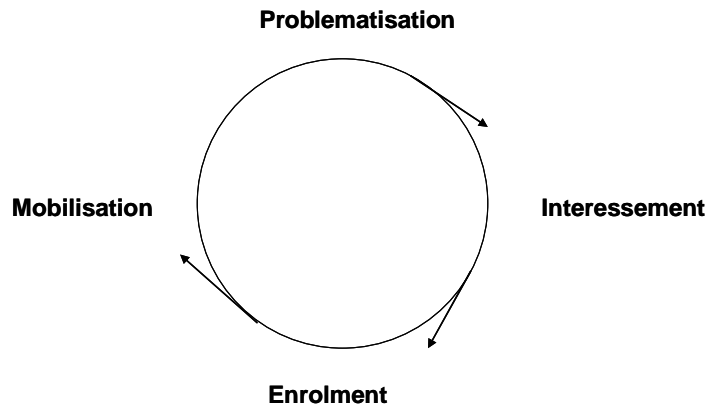
Figure 5: The obligatory passage point (OPP) of scallops, fishermen and researchers



Source: Callon 1986

- **Interessement or how the allies are locked into place:** “Each entity enlisted by the problematisation can submit to being integrated into the initial plan”. Of course not all actors are involved in the project, because there is still a lot of work to do. Naturally, those who have to win or lose most, or with other words have the highest interest in the project, are likely to join the process (Callon 1986, p. 203-205.).
- **Enrolment or how to define and coordinate the roles:** If the phase of interessement is successful, it leads to enrolment. The issue of enrolment “is to transform a question into a series of statements which are more certain” (ibid: p. 205-207.).
- **Mobilisation which raises the question: are the spokesmen representatives?** In the phases of interessement and enrolment “only a few rare individuals are involved.” A project can only be successful, if other actors that are so far only represented by those actors that took part of the translation cycle are willing to accept the defined statements (ibid: p. 207-210). The four stages of translation are often visualised as seen in figure 6.

Figure 6: Translation cycle for initiatives



Source: Following Brunori, personal adaptation

With the process of mobilisation the bases on which the project has been translated become black boxed, “which means that the ideas, policies and direction of the network, are taken as normative by its component actors” (Foster and Kirwan 2004, p. 4, following Selman and Wragg 1999). To achieve consensus over the value of territorial capital and over conservation rules is argued to be very important by Brunori as well (to appear soon). “As a community is composed of many actors, and each of them can have opportunities to communicate to the outside, very different perceptions of conceptions of the territory could generate ambiguous messages”. The need for consensus leads us to another theory dealing with initiatives: the conventions theory.

3.1.6 Conventions theory

Conventions theory examines “the underlying systems of negotiation that configure modern economies.” Moreover, it sees productive activity as a form of collective action “which relies upon the coordination of various entities within some type of action framework (network, filiere, chain). At the heart of this collective action are conventions”. Such conventions may be practices, routines, agreements and so on (Murdoch et al. 2000, p. 113).

Conventions theory was first used to analyse conventions in the labour market. The sociologists involved in that theory then detected that “not only labour but commodities in general suffered the deficiencies of ‘incomplete contracts’, therefore requiring rules, norms and conventions for their production and exchange” (Wilkinson 1997, p. 309). Let us explain that more clearly. As long as the product in questions carries all information necessary for exchange, it is unimportant who the exchange partners are. But with food, we often have no

idea, where the product comes from and how the animal for example was raised and fed. When such uncertainties about the quality of products arise, the “organization itself serves as the support, the guarantor of the exchange” (ibid: p. 321).

“We can assess goods themselves as the (framed) outcomes of such negotiation. For instance, some actors succeed in attaching strong combinations of commercial worth and public recognition (quality attached to brand) to goods“. It is indicated that such negotiation might result in compromises: “One key aspect of any conventions analysis will be to study how the compromises are reached” (Murdoch et al. 2000, p. 114f).

Once compromises are reached a sort of ‘framework’ contract is built and a supplier-client relationship emerges. “Exchange is now between ‘qualified’ entities, where ‘technical objects’ and not simply reputation become the means of qualification” (Wilkinson 1997, p. 321). Conventions theory proposes an escape of the food crises undermining trust: “Quality conventions are at the same time mechanisms for the control of risk. This is particularly evident in the case of food where quality covers both health and taste”. Producers underwrite quality of a product through conventions. “Such quality control (...) is guaranteed preferentially through the consolidation of network arrangements and the development of relationships based on trust” (ibid: p. 330f).

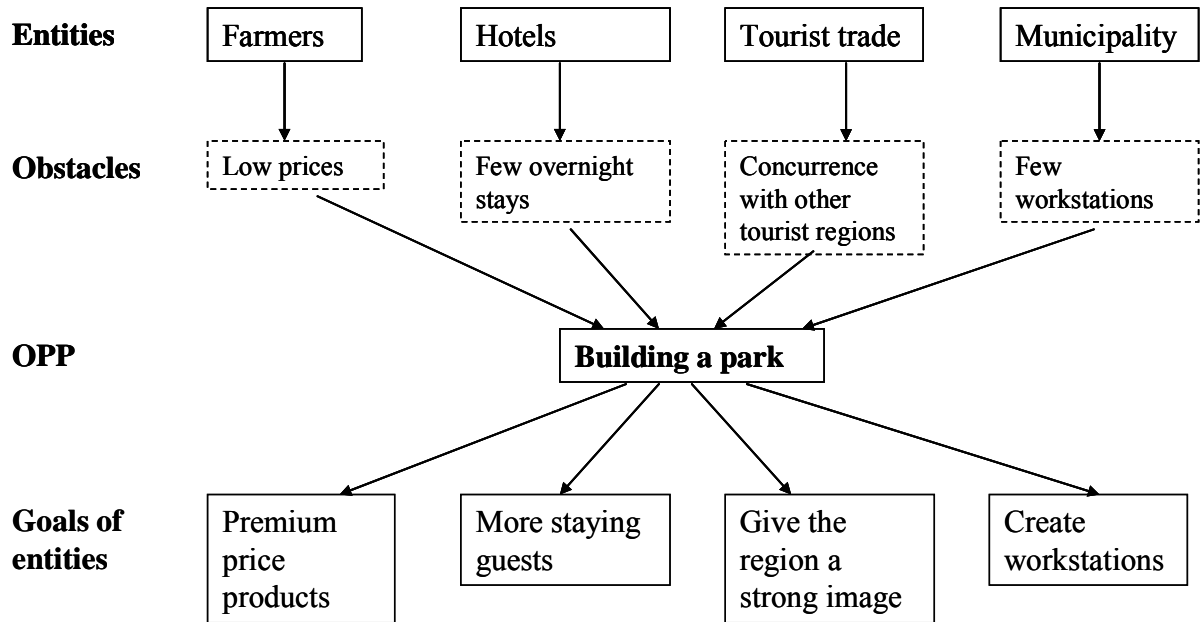
3.1.7 ANT and conventions theory applied on parks and park products

We have seen that networks are made of both human and non-human factors. For our purpose it is interesting to examine, how those factors influence the process of building park initiatives. Within the non-human factors we examine the importance of policies and financial aid. Nature is of course a crucial factor in park regions. Our aim is to figure out, how important environmental aspects are in comparison to economical, educational and social aims. Within this rating we are interested in the consensus that exists in a region. To give advice to new park projects it is useful to know at which time aid of institutions such as advisory bodies was sought.

In regards to the human-factors of the network we try to figure out, who were driving forces at the beginning of the process. As the theory states there are only few actors in the phase where problems are named and solutions suggested. The next crucial point is to find and convince others that the idea is such a good solution that effort is good invested in the project.

How such committed people can be found is also important. For our case, we can define the obligatory passage point as the time when a region decides to establish a park and the visions of the region are somehow written down. Ideally the visions are defined as a park charter as indicated in figure 7. A charter is on one hand requested by officials and can on the other hand be used to let the population vote about it.

Figure 7: The obligatory passage point (OPP) for parks



Source: Following Callon 1986, personal adaptation

The name park product carries information about the place and mode of production. Producers of a park will be forced to ‘frame’ their products, to define how a park product is produced. However, usage of conventions theory in this work is restricted by the fact that the legislation process is not yet finished. Therefore, it is not possible to monitor the finding of compromises. But we look at possible product criteria – in other words conventions – that parks have to fulfil. We also evaluate for which criteria it might be difficult to find compromises. In the next section we try to predict how compromises concerning conventions will be reached.

3.2 Involvement / Indifference / Opposition towards a project

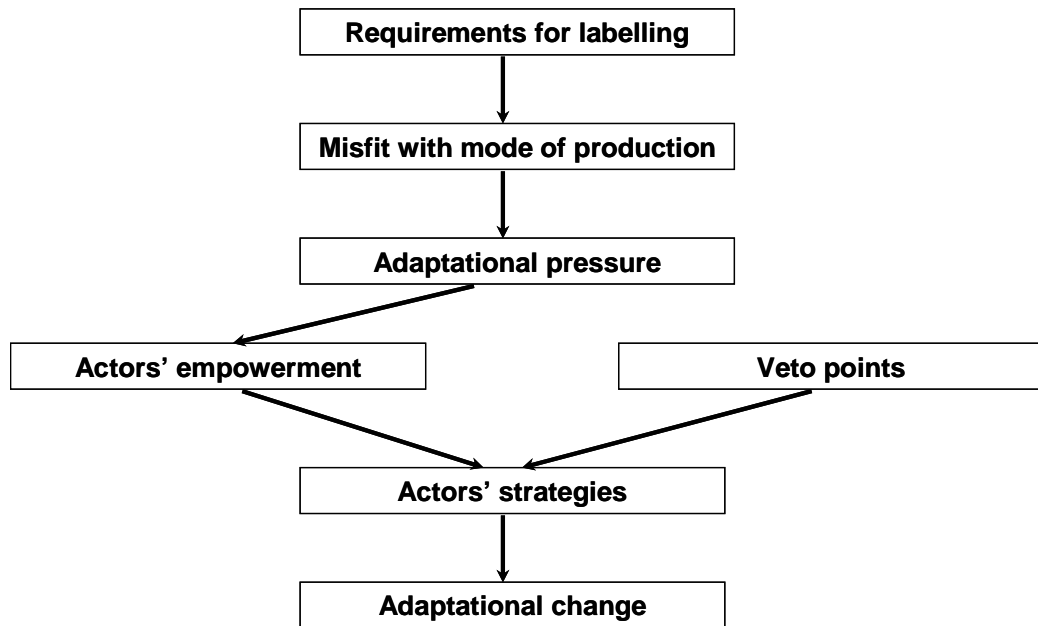
We have seen in chapter two that criteria for park products are established in a double decision making process, there are national and park specific criteria. We first consider a theoretical concept about involvement, indifference and opposition. We apply this concept on national criteria in order to be able to estimate potential opposition. Later we do the same with park specific criteria.

3.2.1 Theory about involvement / indifference / opposition towards reforms

Within each decision making process it is – to some extent – possible to influence the outcome. It is possible that actors are involved in a project and try to enhance the process. Actors can also be indifferent towards a project, or they are not satisfied with the project and take opposition. In this section we like to focus on some theoretical aspects about how the need to influence a process arises. For this purpose we rely upon a paper about the Europeanisation of Switzerland (Fischer et al. 2002). It is important to note that the scope of the paper is completely different from our scope. The paper treats the decision making process on a national level concerning immigration policies. Though the revision of the NHG is also taking place on a national level, the specific criteria for park products will be defined within a working group of the park. We argue that actors behave similarly on a national and a community level and that it is possible to extend the theory to the community level.

Fischer et al. argue that actors are likely to try influencing decision making processes, if two conditions are given. First, there need to be a misfit between the new requirements and the current praxis, which creates adaptational pressure. Second, “there should be some facilitating factors, actors or institutions, responding to the adaptational pressures” (Fischer et al. 2002, p. 145). For our case, which is illustrated in figure 8, this means, if there is misfit between the requirements for park products and the current mode of production, adaptational pressure results. If there are veto points – possibilities for the actors and institutions to change something or hinder the process – the actors choose strategies to get adaptational change. For our case possible veto points are on one hand the national legislation process regarding the revision of the NHG. On the other hand there is the legislation process in the working groups of the parks to define park specific criteria.

Figure 8: Influence of veto points on adaptational change



Source: Following Fischer et al. 2002, p. 146, personal adaptation

3.2.2 Involvement / Indifference / Opposition towards national product criteria

We now try to estimate how likely actors' strategies are concerning national criteria. The only way to change national product criteria is to get active during the consultation phase. A group has to mobilise its members that are willing to give their signature for a referendum. In Switzerland 50'000 signatures – collected within 100 days – are needed for a referendum.

The national criteria demand a production type that is more or less standard on all Swiss farms (98% of Swiss farmers fulfil PEP). This should not cause any problems in adopting. Therefore, the other criterion of regional origin works as a yes or no criterion. Producers that are able to make products out of territorial ingredients will join the cooperative, others are not. Because origin requirements are leant on existing labels it is unlikely to create opposition.

To summarize, it is unlikely that 50'000 people are as dissatisfied to be interested in taking action on a national level. The adaptational pressure is not high. Furthermore, people that are not satisfied would have to agree on less strict requirements. Because the regions are facing different problems, the costs of finding and mobilising the ones that are not satisfied in the same way would be too high. Therefore, we can say that for national criteria, veto points are not reachable.

3.2.3 Involvement / Indifference / Opposition towards park specific criteria

The park specific criteria will differ in a greater extent from the common mode of production. Parks aim to increase the potential of a product; therefore, a higher standard than usual is needed. Furthermore, it is easier to promote a product that is distinguishable from others. Not all producers will be able to fulfil the criteria. Adaptational pressure of the specific park criteria is higher. The possible specific requirements for parks proposed by Agridea (though they are neither exclusive nor to be all fulfilled) do always exclude some producers. If a region wants to promote local breeds, producers of other breeds will be excluded. If organic production is promoted, conventional producers are likely to have a problem with that, whereas organic producers will see possibilities of marketing. As Fischer et al. puts it: “the actors who have the most to lose (or win) are the most likely to mobilise” (2002, p. 150).

It is easy to see, that the more producers with the production mode in question are initially in the region, the more likely it is that the charter will require this production method. Therefore, it is of interest for this diploma thesis, how many organic producers are present in the considered regions. But a high abundance of organic farmers is not enough to guarantee the criterion of organic products. There is also the aspect of the veto points. Because a charter is the result of a negotiating process in a working group, it is important to know who is represented in that working group. There again, a high abundance of organic farmers does not necessarily imply that organic farming is a requirement in the charter. It is also important how likely other producers are to change their mode of production. This is influenced by the ability of leader figures to convince other producers that their mode of production is good for the region.

In the interviews we evaluate who the important leading figures are in each region. Furthermore, which actors will be involved in the working group creating the criteria for park products? What criteria would create involvement and would be feasible? What could be criteria that create opposition? Who could possibly create opposition? Which actors are likely to propose weak criteria and which are arguing for strong criteria? We get an idea of who are important actors through the answers to questions mentioned in the part about Actor-Network-Theory. It will be interesting to see, in which direction important actors are heading.

3.3 Performance of organic production

In this section the performance of organic production (OP) is discussed in order to justify the emphasis on OP of this diploma thesis. Only when aims of parks are either similar to aims of organic agriculture or can be achieved by OP, a focus on this production method is valid. A park should be sustainable; as demanded by officials and as set as aim in park bylaws. Sustainability is a holistic concept that gives equal attention to the three pillars ecology, economy and social policy. Therefore it is examined in what way organic production can contribute to economic, ecological and social aims of a park. As seen in the section about embeddedness, it is not enough for a product to have symbolic capital; this capital has to be turned in to economic capital. Therefore, we consider how organic is perceived by consumers and by gastronomy. In the last section the potential of organic production to contribute to landscape and biodiversity is reviewed.

3.3.1 Organic production and its effects on the environment

Environmental effects are achieved slowly, hence differences between production systems only reveal in long term studies. We consider two long term trials: One is the DOC-trial – comparing dynamic, organic and conventional – which was launched in 1978 (Mäder et al. 2002). The other trial is in Burgrain and was started in 1991 (Zihlmann et al. 2004a). Burgrain compares organic production to an intensive and an extensive approach of integrated production (IP). In a park no intensive approach will be allowed. Therefore, it is useful to compare both the extensive version of IP (IPE) and organic production (OP) to the intensive version of IP (IPI).

We first take a look at the efficiency of production. Mäder et al. pointed out that though nutrient input in the organic systems was 34 to 51% lower in the DOC-trial; mean crop yield was only 20% lower on average. Therefore, organic production is considered as efficient (Mäder et al. 2002 p. 1695). The Burgrain-trial found crop yield on average 14% (IPE) and 19% (OP) lower than with the conventional approach. The Burgrain-trial showed that performance of low input production is particularly favourable in grassland. Though the amount of liquid manure was 25% (IPE) and 40% (OP) lower compared to IPI, the yields were only 5% and 7% lower for IPE and OP respectively (Dubois et al. 2004).

⇒ **The efficiency of organic production is good, particularly on grassland.**

We now consider life cycle assessment, which is a useful tool to compare environmental effects of production systems. First we have to note that results of life cycle assessment can be misleading. If fertilizer is reduced, environmental impact is bound to decrease if area is chosen as reference. However, if the reference is the amount of produced substance (kg potatoes for example), the environmental impact of less fertiliser is only decreasing when yields do not decrease too much. Because a park region does not want to become more dependent on imports, the figures of IPE and OP refer to the reference of produced solid substance (referred to area, both extensive systems performed better than the conventional system).

Energy use was significantly lower for organic production than for both IPE and IPI. The potential to contribute to the greenhouse effect was lower in OP and IPE than in IPI. Concerning toxicity, IPE performed best. OP performed better than IPI in aquatic toxicity; in terrestrial toxicity the two systems were equal. In eutrophication and going stale, OP performed worst, IPE and IPI showed no differences (Nemecek et al. 2004). That toxicity of organic production might be higher is also affirmed by other sources: "Generally, pesticides (...) in organic farms are less hazardous than those used in conventional systems, but there are some clear exceptions to this rule". For apples ten times higher impact score than in integrated pest management strategies were reported. It is important to note that OP uses pesticides of natural sources, such as sulphur and copper. Copper is used in fruit, wine and potato production. Because earthworms are sensitive to copper, OP of those cultures is questionable. Furthermore, sulphur and copper are not renewable (Edwards-Jones and Howell 2001, p. 38-43).

⇒ **Life cycle assessment shows best energy use for organic production. Potential contribution to greenhouse effect is similarly lower for extensive integrated production and organic production. Concerning toxicity organic production, particularly of fruits, wine and potatoes, is questionable.**

Now we look at some aspects of micro fauna, microbiology and soil structure. Soils with active microbiology and micro fauna are likely to have better soil structure due to the ability of integrating organic matter into the soil. Furthermore, excretions of micro fauna and mycorrhiza are gluing soil particles together. Good soil structure in turn prevents erosion, wherewith the fertility of soils can be preserved in a long term.

Earthworms are very important in agriculture due to their ability to aerate soils. The DOC-trial showed 1.3 to 3.2 fold higher abundance of earthworms (Mäder et al. 2002 p. 1696). The Burgrain-trial indicates 12 and 13% more earthworms for IPE and OP respectively (Jossi et al. 2004a). The DOC-trial found average density of carabids, staphylinids and spiders almost twice in the organic plots, compared to conventional plots (Mäder et al. 2002 p. 1696). The Burgrain-trial as well showed 22% and 8% more ground beetles, for OP and IPE respectively. This however can not be used as argument that OP is better than IPE, because strips of the latter were in the middle of the field and therefore further away from hedges (Jossi et al. 2004b). But we can conclude that extensive farming systems – be it OP or IPE – are beneficial for arthropods.

The root length colonized by mycorrhiza was reported to be 40% higher in the DOC-trial. Also there was “a strong and significant increase in microbial diversity” (Mäder et al. 2002 p. 1696) and “organically managed soils exhibit greater biological activity than the conventionally managed soils” (ibid: p. 1695). The Burgrain-trial on the contrary showed no systematic influence of production systems on microbial characteristics (Oberholzer 2004).

In the DOC-trial soil aggregate stability was 10 to 60% higher in organic plots (Mäder et al. 2002 p. 1695). The Burgrain-trial however showed no significant differences between production systems concerning quality of soil structure. Because all three plots were treated with large portions of solid manure, which tends to stabilize soils, this is not surprising (Zihlmann et al. 2004b). Stolze et al. (2000 p. 43) as well reported of higher biological activity and no differences in soil structure. But they state that “organic matter content is usually higher in organically managed soils than in conventional ones” and that “organic farming has a high erosion control potential.”

⇒ **Organic farming might contribute to soil structure and less erosion.**

3.3.2 Economic performance of organic production

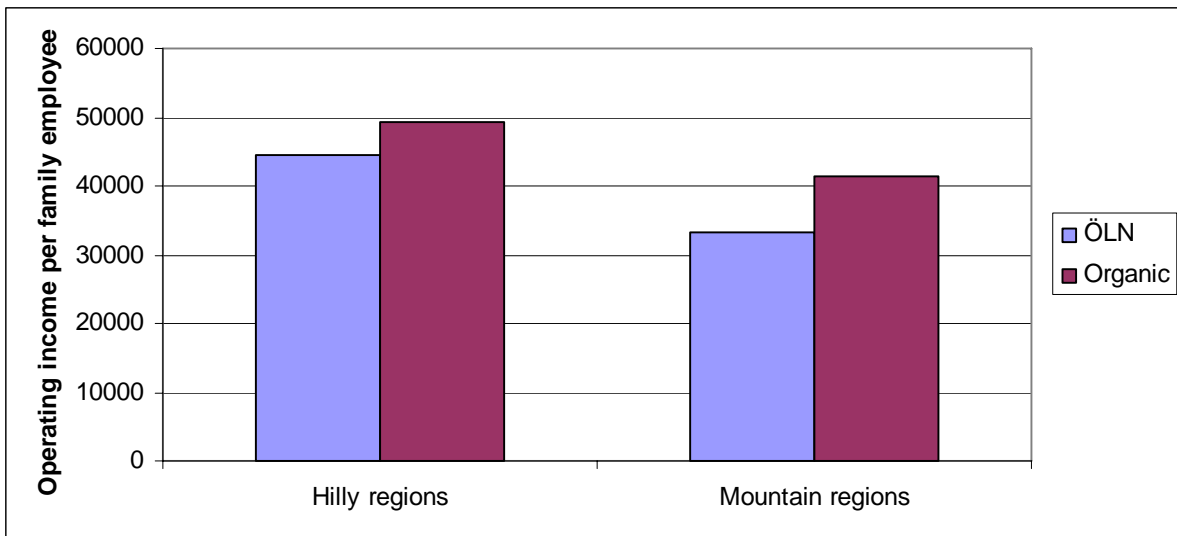
Concerning economic performance, we first look at the stability of the crops. The differences in yields augmented during the research period. The descent was more distinctive in organic production than in extensive integrated production. Also the variations of yields were highest in organic production (Tschachtli et al. 2004a). Because a park aims to be sustainable, yields should not decrease. For this aspect it is important to know that the Burgrain-trial took place

in a region with usually intensive production; the research area was maintained intensive till 1991 when the trial started. In park regions that were producing intensively, the decreasing in yields could be a problem. Yet park regions are often in mountain areas, where production is often extensive.

⇒ **It is possible that yields do not decrease as much in IPE as in OP**

The economic performance of organic farms in Europe is pleasant. Profits of organic farms are more often than not higher on organic farms than on conventional farms. This statement has to be used carefully, because the variation of the results is very high (Offermann and Nieberg 2000, p. 55f). Due to this variation, we specially look at results in hilly and mountain areas in Switzerland. For both regions economic performance of organic production was better than performance of conventional farms. Operating income per family employee was around CHF 3500 higher for hilly regions. In mountain region differences are even higher: on average CHF 7700 (figure 9).

Figure 9: Operating income per family employee in hilly and mountain regions



Source: Own illustration with data of FAT 2004 (2001-2003), data from FAT for 2004

The figures of farms producing “*Verkehrsmilch*” (milk that is drawn away from the farm to sell it as fresh milk or process it to dairy products) are specially evaluated by FAT (2004). Differences between conventional and organic farms producing “*Verkehrsmilch*” are often bigger than the difference between all conventional and all organic farms, particularly for hilly regions. This indicates that there are more incentives to convert to OP for milk producers than for other farms.

Theoretical aspects

Organic production reached the highest contribution margin in the Burgrain-trial. This was mainly achieved because the prices for organic products are considerable higher than for integrated production. The extensive version of integrated production performed worse than the intensive version, due to lower yields. IPE performed only better than IPI in winter wheat, where a contribution for extensive production is paid and a surcharge for labelled production is possible (Tschachtli et al. 2004b).

⇒ **Premium prices allow better incomes for OP than for IPE, particularly for milk.**

The above mentioned better incomes refer to a great extent to farmers that market their products through conventional channels, meaning that they sell their products to an enterprise which is processing the products, for example milk into cheese. This aspect is certainly going to stay important, because it might be difficult to sell all products directly or in cooperation with other farmers. Therefore, it would be important to reach premium prices for products marketed through conventional channels. On the other hand, products sold directly or in cooperation with other farmers under a park label would contribute more to the economic well-being of rural areas if there is higher willingness to pay (WTP) for organic products.

Bruhn (2001, p. 17) reports that buyers of organic products in Kiel were stating in consumer surveys that they would accept around 20% price surplus. In Switzerland, consumer prices are on average 50% higher for organic products than for conventional ones (Sanders et al. 2004). The fact that consumers pay 50% more for organic products in retailers does not automatically imply that WTP for directly marketed products is equally high.

⇒ **WTP for organic products might be higher than for conventional ones.**

In the nineties there was a constant market growth for organic products, driven by an increasing demand. Recently however, market growth is getting smaller. For some product categories, saturation is reached, particularly for animal products, where an excess of supply can be observed. 30% more organic milk is produced than consumed, for beef 143% and for sheep meat 329%. Considering animal products the only exceptions are poultry that equals the demand, and eggs, where 11% more is consumed than produced (which of course means that the rest is imported). Cereals, oil seeds, vegetables and fruits are imported in organic quality (Sanders et al. 2004).

When supply exceeds demand, it is hard to achieve premium prices for organic products. Either premium prices drop or organic products are sold in conventional channels, which means that no premium price is paid at all. Not surprisingly organic farmers are strongly advised not to produce products with excess of supply, but to produce vegetables, fruits, poultry and feedstuff (Hamm and Gronefeld 2004, p. 30-33). But parks are often in areas with high shares of grassland, to produce poultry would not be conform with park aims, because feed pellets had to be imported, and vegetables and fruits are often not feasible because of the climate.

⇒ **For the main products of parks, organic production has reached saturation.**

3.3.3 The performance of organic production in social networks

Henning et al. argue that “Organic agriculture is both a philosophy and a system of farming, grounded in values that reflect an awareness of ecological and social realities” (1991, p. 877). An awareness of ecological and social realities would be beneficial for parks. Yet if a park decides to make OP the standard for labelling, it is possible that farmers convert to organic farming in order to have better marketing potentials for their products. Under such circumstances, awareness of ecological and social realities is not guaranteed. Though OP does not automatically contribute to the awareness of social problems, it can contribute to networking. “Organic farming (...) aims for social, environmental, and economic sustainability and animal welfare by: minimising use of external resources, maximising use of locally-derived renewable resources” (Edwards-Jones and Howells 2001, p. 34). OP tries to get all available resources locally, wherewith local networks would be strengthened. This is however no evidence that OP is contributes more to local networks than an extensive approach of integrated production.









OP has the disadvantage that more weeds occur due to the waiver of herbicides. Particularly the control of broad-leaved dock (*Rumex obtusifolium*) in grasslands causes handwork (Streit et al. 2004). More labour can on the other hand be watched as positive: “organic farming is thought to offer significant prospects for strengthening rural economies due to its tendency to utilise more labour than is similarly required on conventional farms” (Smith and Marsden 2004, p. 345).

⇒ **OP might contribute to social networks, but not necessarily better than IPE.**

3.3.4 How is organic production perceived by consumers and gastronomy

The number of labels increases in a startling way. In Switzerland there are at least eight labels for organic products alone as shown in table 4. There are two production modes of organic farming (bio-organic and bio-dynamic); meat, eggs and vine have each a unique label; as well as each retailer often uses its own label. Often, particularly in Coop, there is the retailer label and the label of Bio Suisse on the same product.

Table 4: Labels for organic products in Switzerland

	<p>Label of Bio Suisse, the holding organization of Swiss organic farmers.</p>		<p>Label for organic vine.</p>
	<p>Label for dynamic produced organic food.</p>		<p>Label of Coop, the leading retailer for organic products in Switzerland.</p>
	<p>Label for organic meat.</p>		<p>Label of Migros, the biggest retailer in Switzerland.</p>
	<p>Label for organic free-range eggs.</p>		<p>Label of Manor, a retailer with premium price products.</p>

Source: Own illustration

So far the situation for organic labels, but there is a huge number of other labels, indicating production method or origin. It can be assumed that there are more than a hundred labels in the Swiss market. This is providing a double risk: First, the transfer of information is aggravated, possible consumers are disoriented and overwhelmed by all those labels. Second, the more labels are on the market, the easier it is for impostors to create fake-labels with no real surplus for consumers. And if such deceits are revealed, consumers trust for labels in general will sink (Müller 2006).

Let us first address the question whether consumers know the labels for organic production. If they do not recognize the product as organic because they have never seen the label, they are not going to be poised to pay a higher price for the product. The highest awareness is reached by the label of Coop; between 1997 and 2003 at least 72% but up to 88% recognized the label. The label of the biggest retailer, Migros, was recognized by 50 to 70%. The recognition of the bud, the label of Bio Suisse, has gained continuously from 38% in 1997 to 70% in 2003 (Richter 2003). Because the bud is used for direct marketing and future organic park products might use the bud additionally to the park label, this is a gratifying development.

⇒ **Consumers recognize the bud label.**

Now that we know how familiar consumers are with the bud, we want to address the question of associations with the bud. “Healthy food” was named as much as “natural production without chemicals” (49%). “Guaranteed quality / really organic” was also mentioned frequently (43%), followed by “too expensive” (28%) and “good animal husbandry” (27%), whereas “contribution to environment protection” was only rarely mentioned (Richter 2003). The often named association with health and guaranteed quality are indicating a trust in the bud label.

OP is not only in Switzerland perceived as healthy, in Europe it has shown to be a way out of the food crisis mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. “Organic farming offers an effective means of satisfying consumer demand for healthy and safe foods” (Smith and Marsden 2004, p. 345). However a park primarily wants to enhance the environment, which is not a main motive of organic buyers. “In most European Countries, environmental concerns are a motive for buying organic, but less strong than (...) one’s health or food as enjoyment” (Zanoli et al. 2004, p. 131). Nonetheless, it won’t do any harm if consumers trust the label for health reasons.

The association “really organic” is on one hand also a sign for trust, but on the other hand it can be seen as a sign for the above mentioned disorientation by too many labels. Though Migros for example has the same standards for organic production, consumers – particularly those who buy organic food regularly – have problems in trusting the Migros-label (Richter 2003). In contrast to other sustainable farming practices, the practices of organic farming are well-defined. The “history of regulation makes a discussion of what organic agriculture actually is considerably easier, since there exist published standards which producers must

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comply with” (Rigby and Cáceres 2001, p. 26). It is easy to explain organic production to consumers as the above-mentioned association “natural production without chemicals” indicates. Extensive approaches of integrated production however are more difficult to understand, though they might – be as we have seen for potatoes and apples – less damaging for the environment.

⇒ **Consumers trust the bud and know something about the requirements.**

An important target group for park products is gastronomy. A hotel or restaurant can achieve a park label; they have to fulfil requirements regarding energy use, have to inform guests about the park and on there have to be local products on the menus. Hofmann and Richter analysed why in Switzerland – though it is the country with the highest per capita consumption rate of organic products – the penetration rate in the hospitality sector is low in comparison with Germany, France or Italy. They see the growing competition in the course of the abolishment of the patent to be a host as one possible reason. Since 2003 every person in Switzerland is allowed to open a gastronomic business without professional education. Under such strong competition, prices are getting a very important factor.

In a trial with decision makers of kitchens with or without organic products, reasons for using or not using organic products in gastronomy were sought. Establishments that use organic products do so because of the owners’ philosophy, or because of firm intern defaults. Remarkable was that many users of organic products do not use a label. The explanation was that the use of a label brings along higher costs, but the label in turn does not acquire more clients. Organic products are nevertheless used because of higher quality, for product safety reasons or because of personal attitude towards organic products. The non users of organic products gave the following reasons: higher product costs, more effort for acquisition, few customers with a desire for organic products, needed further education of personnel and problems with the division in product-flow. Asked, what organic products non users could imagine to introduce, it was milk, milk products, eggs and meat that were mentioned most often (Hofmann and Richter 2005, p. 495-498).

Hotels trying to stand out have also the possibility to offer regional menus. Since spring 2006 there are national minimum requirements for regional brands that were developed by actors of affected sectors, moderated by the Federal Office for Agriculture. A regional dish has to be composed of not less than 75% regional ingredients. Hotelier reports that both Swiss and

foreign guests appreciate regional dishes. Furthermore, an hotelier from Grindelwald was stating that guests are willing to pay more for regional dishes. Additional costs are not necessarily covered with the surplus price, but it was indicated that regional ingredients are not more expensive than Swiss products. Though regional products face the same problems with availability like organic products, there is at least one cash and carry that offers a broad range of regional products (Schlenczek 2006).

⇒ **For gastronomy regional products might be more attractive than organic products.**

3.3.5 The performance of organic production landscape and biodiversity

Due to broader crop rotations in organic farming, more crops are cultivated (Edwards-Jones and Howells, p. 41; Stolze et al. 2000 p. 24). If more crops are cultivated, the landscape gets more diverse. Also more ecologically diversified areas can be found in OP. Organic farmers often use “direct measures such as planting hedges and creating biotopes.” However, this depends on individual activity of the farmer. Stolze et al. (2000, p. 30f) conclude “that organic farming has the potential to provide positive effects” on landscape. Due to a smaller average field size and the retaining of boundary features, organic farming might help maintain traditional agricultural landscapes (Edwards-Jones and Howells, p. 43). However, with the decree about ecological quality, an extensive approach of IP might do the same.

⇒ **Organic farming might enhance landscape.**

“Organic farming contributes to the preservation of species and natural habitats by means of the reduced inputs, its high share of grassland within holdings, its greater use of indigenous breeds and plant varieties” (Commission of the European Communities 2002, p. 28). The authors of the DOC-study suggest that higher biological activity and diversity in initial stages of food webs likely provide positive contribution to higher food web levels including birds and larger animals (Mäder et al. 2002 p. 1697). Stolze et al. as well state that more arthropods are found in organic systems. Also butterflies showed higher abundance in organic fields. In regards to bigger animals, “breeding densities of sky larks as a key species were significantly higher on organic farms than on conventional ones” (Stolze et al. 2000 p. 27). Especially higher abundance of butterflies and birds might be interesting for parks, because they are visible and generally gladly looked at.

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The effects on floral diversity are more varies. “Field edge strips next to organically farmed fields showed more blooming vascular plant”. “Up to 6 times more species on organic arable land or grassland than in conventional ones” can be found and “a higher presence (50 – 80%) of one or more endangered species” was reported. But the effects on faunal diversity depend on the potential for diversity – in regions with low potential the positive effect of organic farming is not very distinct, but “in regions with a high potential for biodiversity, organic farming promotes numerous and highly varied flora” (Stolze et al 2000, p. 25f). Diverse flora is certainly interesting for parks and because parks are often in mountain areas, where the potential for diversity is given, OP could be a useful tool to enhance this diversity.

⇒ **Organic farming possibly enhances faunal and floral diversity.**

We have seen that due to the crisis in the food sector consumers lost trust in products. This led to the need to relocalise food, to embed products into the specific context of a region. By this process, features of land use, which is extensive in park regions, are attributed to products. By knowing something about the region, consumers regain trust into the products. When consumers trust a product, they are willing to pay premium prices.

Because only one negative picture is on the other hand enough to destroy this trust, clear conventions are needed and have to be applied rigorously. As we have seen in chapter two, there will be park specific criteria that have to be fulfilled in order to label a product as park product. With this it shall be prohibited that the trust generated by a park name can be destroyed by farmers that do not produce appropriate for a park.

But what is appropriate for a park? Is it organic production? Parks have to enhance environment, economy and social networks. Farmers and consumers shall be sensitized in questions of sustainability by means of education. It is a challenge of this work to identify park specific criteria that enhance park aims, but are on the other hand not too restrictive. As we have seen in the section about opposition, we assume that if requirements for parks are too far away from common mode of practice, veto points arises and actors are likely to block a project.

In chapter five and six we develop two case-studies to verify this hypothesis based on theoretical reports. In the next chapter, we present the methodology we used for the case study analysis.

4 Methodology

In this chapter we first see how the questions that arose in the last chapters are tried to be answered. To see how rural development initiatives work and how decisions are made we look at the establishment of parks. This is described in the discussion with the concept of translation introduced by Callon. Conventions Theory has shown us that there is the need of actors to get together and define modes and practices for park products in order to gain trust by consumers. Such conventions are the national and park specific criteria introduced in Chapter two. The interviews try to answer if national criteria are accepted and what possible park specific criteria could be. Special interest lies on the question if organic production could be a park specific criterion. We then explain how the interviews were evaluated. In the end we discuss some weaknesses of the methods used.

4.1 Selection of the case studies

Two parks were surveyed with a total of 22 Interviews. The first is the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch (UBE) in canton Lucerne, which was officially inaugurated in May 2002. The second is Parc Ela in canton Grisons, which was officially inaugurated in June 2006. That they are both launched was one reason to choose them out of the ten parks introduced in chapter two. Due to insufficient knowledge of the language, parks in French speaking parts were out of question. Other launched parks in the German speaking part of Switzerland were not chosen because their scope is further away from a Regional Nature Park. Nature Experience Park Schwägalp / Säntis is a mixture of Regional Nature Park and Nature Experience Park with strong emphasis on education. Geo Park Sarganserland – Walensee – Glarnerland focuses strongly on geological topics.

Furthermore, the two parks are ideal for the question about organic production. As we will see UBE has very little organic production, whereas Parc Ela, typically for canton Grisons, has a high proportion of organic farms. Being the region that partly initiated the demand for a revision of the NHG, it would be a pity not to study UBE. Last but not least, when we remember figure 2 in chapter two with the spatial planning zones of Switzerland, UBE lies in a quiet zone, whereas the area of Parc Ela is labelled as alpine fallow land.

4.2 The interviews

4.2.1 Interviewed persons

In each park, eleven persons were interviewed. In table 5 we see interviewed persons of UBE; on the next page in table 6 interviewed persons of Parc Ela are shown, in both cases in the sequence of the interviews. Theo Schnider, director of UBE, and Joseph Sauter, coordinator of the project Parc Ela were interviewed first. Because both were driving forces of the establishment of the parks, they were asked to indicate who have been other important actors.

Table 5: Interviewed persons in UBE

Person	Profession	Role in park project
Theo Schnider	Former head of tourist information centre Sörenberg	Director of UBE (responsible for economy, marketing, communication and labelling)
Urs Meyer	Former official of the agency for nature and landscape	Responsible person for fenland protection and parks in Lucerne
Willy Kuster	Hotelier	Partnership with UBE as restaurateur, attends forum of restaurateurs
Fredy Studer	Cheese maker with sales outlet	Producing and selling of regional products, member of label commission
Stefan Felder	Former director of agricultural school	Implementation of fenland areas, now president of the supporting organisation
Gody Studer	Borough councillor of Escholzmatt	Implementation of fenland as member of the board in the regional planning group
Christian Schnider	Farmer (non-organic)	Sells labelled strawberry products, attends forum for agricultural products, was active in implementing ÖQV
Bruno Schmid	Cantonal councillor, forester	Subsidiary Director, Manager of UBE (responsible for community and politics)
Walter Büchi	Regional planner	Regional planner
Martin Zemp	Farmer (non-organic)	Sells labelled milk-based ice cream
Engelbert Ruoss	Doctor of biology, member of UNESCO commission	Manager of UBE(responsible for education and research), environmental advisor in project phase

Source: Interviews

From those important actors that were named by Sauter and Schnider, ten persons were chosen. It was carefully considered to have similar interview partners in both parks. This could be achieved in most cases: in both parks it was possible to interview the regional planner, the responsible person from the canton, someone related with tourism, a borough

councillor, an hotelier, at least two farmers and the responsible person for environmental protection in the concept phase. The differences are that in UBE there was a cantonal councillor who is very active as regional manager, as is and was the former director of the agricultural school in Schüpflheim. Also, industry was more active in UBE, we will see in chapter six that cheese makers and butchers of Parc Ela are not interested in a park label. In Parc Ela on the other hand there was very important actress that dedicated herself completely to cultural aspects. The secretary of the regional planning group and one farmer more than in UBE were interviewed.

Table 6: Interviewed persons in Parc Ela

Person	Profession / mandate	Role in park project
Joseph Sauter	Regional planner	Coordination of project
Joseph Waldegg	Hotelier	One of the few hoteliers that participated at working groups
Christian Geiger	Executive director Pro Natura Grisons	Delegate of Pro Natura, environmental advisor
Georg Ragaz	Official of the agency for nature and landscape Grisons	Responsible person for parks at the canton
Vendelin Coray	Head of tourist information centre	Delegate for tourism
Lucia Netzer	Manufacture of blankets made of sheep's wool	Delegate for holiday homes, took active role in cultural aspects
Michael Luzio	Electrician, borough councillor of Sur	Delegate of borough councillors Sursees (Alp Flix is located in Sur)
Johann Gruber	Secretary of the regional planning group	Administrative work arising of the project
Cordo Simeon	Farmer (organic)	Was not active during project phase, candidate for labelling
Peter Heinrich	Farmer (non-organic)	Was not active during project phase, candidate for labelling
Bruno Salis	Farmer (organic)	Delegate of agriculture (President of farmers association Albula)

Source: Interviews

Methodology

We have seen that all interviewed persons are somehow involved in the park process. Through their involvement they are experts, because they have particular knowledge about the topic in question. Therefore, the interviews can be described as expert interviews (Bühmann 2005). By the technique to ask the first interviewed person which have been other important actors (which were by the way affirmed as important during the other interviews), we can describe the chosen approach as reputation technique (Schäfer 1995, p. 11)

4.2.2 Questionnaire

The interview questions, which are presented in the appendix, were used as a guideline. Some questions were answered by the narration related to another question, and it was tried to build the questions as fluently as possible into the interviews. The interviewees were first asked to introduce themselves and to explain what their role in the park project has been. In most cases the interviewees covered the question of a concrete trigger to establish a park with their explanation of the role they had in the park project.

As seen in the section about the labelling process, it is important to know, which persons or institutions are relevant at which time. Following Fischer et al. (2003) the interviewed persons were asked to indicate “very important actors”, the “three most important actors” as well as the “single most important actor”. They had to name those important people both for the starting phase of building a park and the phase of defining criteria for the charter (though that was later in the interview). To define veto points against the park project, it was asked if there had been opposition and how this opposition was dealt with. It was also asked how people willing to contribute to the project could be found and how advisory bodies were involved.

The first interviewed persons, which were driving forces during the establishment of the parks, were asked if there had been important financial backers, and if the project would have taken place without such financial backers.

Interviewees were asked to name the most important strength of their region. Then they had to allocate 12 Points to the main aims of a park, namely economic, environmental, educational and social aims. When they thought all aspects equally important, every aspect got three points. When they thought one aspect more important, they consequently gave this aspect more points and less to others. After that, the often mentioned visions of the ten parks we saw in chapter two were shown to the interviewees. They were asked to indicate how important

those visions are for their region. Those questions shall give us an impression of the image of a region. It was then asked, when the most important time for park visions or the image of the region was, at which time visions have been defined and written down. This was done in order to identify an obligatory passage point (OPP) for the establishment of the park.

In order to see what the interviewed persons would consider as appropriate convention for park products, they were asked what national criteria they expect. After being told that national criteria are PEP and regional origin they were asked if they are content with these criteria. In regards to park specific criteria, they were first asked if there is need for a new working group defining such criteria. They were asked to indicate important actors in the decision making process of park specific criteria, and if they can think of persons trying to get influence and arguing for (too) weak or (too) strong environmental criteria.

To denominate possible park specific criteria, the interviewees were asked, what environmental promises they would expect or require of a trustworthy park product. It was also asked if they can think of production modes that should be prohibited in a park in order to estimate what might destroy trust of consumers. To designate possible veto points considering product criteria, the interviewees were then asked if they can think of criteria that might evoke opposition, or whether there are criteria that would cause them to take opposition.

It was carefully avoided to mention the criteria proposed by Agridea until this stage of the interview. But at this point the interviewed persons were asked to estimate potential opposition that the criterion of promoting local breeds and the criterion of organic production would cause. Because both regions are characterized by large proportions of grassland, animal products such as meat and milk are predominant, and the two mentioned criteria put themselves forward as possible criteria.

The interviews were done in one or two hours, depending on narration style of the interviewees. If there was some time left (and if they did not mention it by themselves) they were asked, what possible markets for park products could be.

4.3 Evaluation of the interviews

The interviews were taped. There have been two sheets to fill out, one with the allocation of twelve points to the main aims of a park – economy, environment, social networks and education. On the other sheet interviewees had to rate how important or unimportant more specified aims of parks are for their region. Those sheets were evaluated quantitatively.

For the other questions qualitative content analysis was made. First the answers were written down and associated with the questions. Answers concerning the establishment of the parks were summarized to translation cycles as we will see in the results. When many persons narrated the same, this was indicated by counting them in order to estimate the reliance of the results. Narrations that fitted the description of the establishment of the parks particularly well were recorded word-for-word and displayed as complete sentences at the appropriate stage. This is a method that is used in sociology in order to allow the interviewees to speak.

Answers to questions about product criteria were analysed by inductive category development. This method develops categories for evaluation out of the material (Mayring 2000). The answers to the question about opposition toward organic production for example were categorized into ‘opposition’, ‘indifference’ and ‘approval’. Personal requirements for park products for example were summarized to ‘regional origin’, ‘animal welfare’ and ‘specific ecological criteria’. When answers were not possible to summarize in those criteria, they were specially mentioned. Answers complying with the categories were counted in order to weigh them.

4.4 Weaknesses of the methods

Eleven interviews per park are not much in order to get scientifically based results. For the questions that were evaluated quantitatively this means that the results have to be interpreted with caution. The part of the questions about criteria and opposition towards criteria, which was evaluated in a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approach, might be biased as well. The other questions about the establishment of the parks, opposition and involvement to the project and the identity of the region were evaluated qualitatively and should not be affected by the small number of interviews.

The persons I spoke with are very committed. Most of them are in many commissions (also not from the park), they are people that are used to engage in new projects and contribute to the community, their interest group or their region. Therefore, the results from the interviews are not per se applicable for the whole population of the two regions, particularly for the questions about the strength of the region and topics about identification with a project. As we have seen this is the problem of the mobilisation phase, or as Callon puts it: “Are the spokesman representative?” (Callon 1986, p. 207).

There are strengths and weaknesses of expert interviews. The strengths are that expert interviews are versatile and by asking several experts the same questions, which we did, alternate patterns in perception can be objectified. The weaknesses of expert interviews are: At the beginning of the study the interviewer has only minor information about the topic; with that experts are able to warp or retain facts. But through asking several experts the same questions, this weakness is alleviated. Furthermore, there is the danger that experts get of the point (Schäfer 1995, p. 12). This actually happened, but besides complicating the evaluation concerning time exposure, the results themselves should not have been threatened.

As to the interview questions, Porst (2000) highlighted ten rules for question wording. There is a rule to avoid questions about information that the interviewee might not have. This could not be fulfilled in questions about product criteria, because the revision of the NHG is not finished and the criteria for park products are not known yet. Another rule, that the context of a question shall not influence the answer was tried to be followed by first asking the persons what product criteria and opposition towards those criteria they expect. Only in a second step they were asked whether organic production might evoke opposition. But during the interviews it became clear that the sequence of two specific questions was badly chosen. It was asked first, if the criteria about a local breed would evoke opposition. The reactions were often forceful. By the following question about organic production as a criterion, the interviewees seemed somehow soothed. It can be assumed that the answers about organic production would have been more negative if the sequence was different.

Using the described questionnaire, two case studies were analysed. The results, which are mostly evaluated qualitatively, are presented in the next two chapters.

5 Results from the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch

In this chapter we look at the results from the interviews in the UBE. First we present the region. In a second step the establishment of UBE is shown. We then take a look at the profile of the UBE and in the last section; we see how the criteria suggested by Agridea were accepted, and what the interviewed persons would take as criteria. All results, also those of Parc Ela of chapter six, will be discussed in chapter seven.

5.1 Presentation of the region Entlebuch

In this section we shortly introduce the region of Entlebuch. As we have seen in chapter three in the part about organic production; which production system is sustainable depends much on the context. Therefore, it is important to have an idea of the context of the region. Of special interest is land use, because as we assume in chapter three, the more organic farms there are, the less likely is opposition towards organic production. Later we shortly see some features of the typical landscape.

The UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch (UBE) is in the canton Lucerne. It is almost congruent with the district Entlebuch, which is the valley of the little Emme. The communities Doppleschwand, Entlebuch, Escholzmatt, Flühli-Sörenberg, Hasle-Heiligkreuz, Marbach, Romoos and Schüpheim are within the perimeter of the biosphere (UBE 2006a) as we can see in figure 10. The community Werthenstein belongs to the district Entlebuch, but not to the UBE; it is in a different regional planning group.³

Around 17'000 people live in the UBE, the extent of the region is 395 km² (UBE 2006b). The agricultural area is 16'739 ha; 0.3% or 50.5 ha are ploughed, the rest is grassland. There are 1'168 farmers in Entlebuch of which only 64 farms or 5.5% are producing organic.⁴

³ Private information during an interview with Gody Studer, borough councillor of Escholzmatt.

⁴Private information by e-mail from Thomas Meyer, employee of canton Lucerne, agriculture and forest, department ecology and direct payments, 02.08.06.

Figure 10: The district Entlebuch within canton Lucerne



Source: http://www.lu.ch/amt_entlebuch.gif

The Napf region comprises forest areas in canyons that are difficult to approach. This is a habitat of endangered species such as wood grouse, eagle owl and lynx. Alongside the little Emme is a leaf forest of national importance. There are many fenlands and fenland areas (see figure 11) of national importance in the UBE (UBE 2006a). We will see later that the high proportion of protected area (around 50%) was an important factor to establish the UNESCO Biosphere.

Figure 11: Fenland area in Entlebuch



Source: http://www.biosphaere.ch/pages/frame/fa2_3.html

The UBE has unique geological features. The impressive karst top of Schrattenflue we can see in figure 12 belongs to the landscapes of natural importance (FOEN 1977). Karsts are landscapes that are shaped from solution processes of weathering. Preconditions are soluble rocks and a humid climate (Wikipedia 2006a). The region of Entlebuch has high precipitation, in combination with the lime base of the Schrattenflue this led to particularly rugged karst fields.

Figure 12: Schrattenflue in the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch



Source: http://www.biosphaere.ch/media/a/a2_1.jpg

5.2 The establishment of the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch

In this section we look at the establishment of the UBE. For this reason we first consider important actors named by the interviewed persons. We then see what caused the region to undertake such a project, and how the project evolved, using the phases of the translation cycle introduced in chapter three. The last section is dedicated to dealing with opposition that such projects evoke. The study of those topics allows us to understand how and by whom decisions are made in the Entlebuch. We see how important it is to involve producers into the decision making process in order to reach criteria accepted by many producers. In the last section we see how the identification with the park project is perceived nowadays.

5.2.1 Important actors

Following the method of Fischer (2002), we assume that actors are important when they are perceived as important by other important actors. During the interviews, it was also tried to identify important advisory bodies because it might helpful for other park initiatives to know which advisory bodies have to be addressed.

5.2.1.1 Actors within the project

The regional planning group has played an important role in establishing the UBE, it was mentioned six times. Joseph Emmenegger, borough councillor of Flühli and a member of the regional planning group, was also mentioned six times, as was Theo Schnider, director of the UBE. The two other managers, Bruno Schmid and Engelbert Ruoss were mentioned five and four times respectively. Stefan Felder, former director of the agricultural school in Schüpheim and Heinrich Hofstetter, president of the regional planning group were mentioned four times. Table 7 gives an overview on the most common answers.

In regards to the most important person, it was mentioned five times, that one could not single out one person; it was the team that was important. The present director of the UBE, Theo Schnider was mentioned four times; Joseph Emmenegger, borough councillor of Flühli, and the habitants of Entlebuch were mentioned each one time as the most important actor.

Results from the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch

Considering the three most important actors, the answers were very coherent. During the interviews it became clear that there have been two phases where different actors were important. The first phase was when the idea arose and first discussions with affected persons were made. At this time it was tried to get public funding from Regio-Plus. For this first phase Walter Büchi, the regional planner, was mentioned seven times as one of the three most important actors. Heinrich Hofstetter, president of the regional planning group was mentioned five times as was Joseph Emmenegger, borough councillor of Flühli and member of the regional planning group. Stefan Felder, at this time director of the agricultural school in Schüpflheim was mentioned four times.

The second phase was when funding was granted, a concept for registration at the UNESCO was planned and habitants of Entlebuch were involved to a bigger extent. At this time three managers were engaged to deal with registration and with acceptance in the population. Those three managers, Theo Schnider, Bruno Schmid and Engelbert Ruoss, “*die drei Architekten*” (the three architects), were mentioned ten times as the three most important actors.

Table 7: Important actors in the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch

Actor	Times mentioned
Regional planning group	6
Joseph Emmenegger (borough councillor, member regional planning group)	6
Theo Schnider (director of UBE, former manager of UBE)	6
Bruno Schmid (manager of UBE)	5
Engelbert Ruoss (manager of UBE, former director of UBE)	4
Stefan Felder (former director of the agricultural school)	4
Heinrich Hofstetter (president regional planning group)	4
Different forums (mentioned were: landscape, tourism, gastronomy, agriculture)	4
Borough councillors in general	3
Actors from tourism	3
Walter Büchi (regional planner)	3
Politicians / opinion leaders	3
Mainrad Küttel (responsible person at the FOEN)	3
Urs Meyer (agency of nature and landscape canton Lucerne)	2
Others	4

Source: Interviews

5.2.1.2 Advisory bodies

Three interviewed persons stated they do not know about which advisory bodies were contacted. It was said four times that different advisory bodies were contacted at different times, but that none of them played a significant role. FOEN was mentioned five times, the agency for nature and landscape of canton Lucerne four times. Both canton and FOEN were mentioned as source of technical advice. Another person said that those agencies rather had an observant attitude. One person mentioned governing council and cantonal council of canton Lucerne as important.

It was asked whether Pro Natura or other environmental protection groups were important in the project phase. Three persons said Pro Natura was useful to argue the need for guidelines towards the federation, but was not a significant actor. Twice it was mentioned that integrating Pro Natura would not have been wise because of fenland protection (this will later be explained in detail): *“Die Leute in der Region hatten das Gefühl, die Umweltschützer haben ihnen mit dieser Rothenturm-Initiative ein Kuckucksei gelegt”* (People in the region had the impression that environmental protectors laid them a cuckoo in the nest with the initiative of Rothenturm).

5.2.1.3 Financial backers

The UBE has been a Regio-Plus project. Theo Schnider was asked whether the project would have been undertaken if there had been no financial means from Regio-Plus. *“Sag niemals nie, aber ich denke eher nicht. Zumindest nicht in der Form, wie es heute daherkommt, durch die Unterstützung waren wir in der Lage, ein professionelles Management aufzuziehen”* (Never say never, but I do not think so. At least not in the form it is presently having, through the assistance we were able to raise a professional management). The federation and the canton currently pay nearly half the cost. The communities contribute a share as well. Furthermore, UBE is generating revenues itself, for example with excursions, or with mandates from the communities.

For the UBE the regional planning group and the regional managers have been important actors. Advisory bodies were contacted if needed, for example the FOEN and the agency for nature and landscape. But advisory bodies did not play a significant role. The project would presumably not have taken place if there had been no financial backers.

5.2.2 Translation cycle

Following the theory of chapter three we divide the process of the establishment of a park into the four phases introduced by Callon: Problematisation, where a problem is defined and a solution is sought; interessement, where other actors are involved; enrolment, where roles of the actors are defined and mobilisation, where the question arises if the proposed solution is valid for all actors.

5.2.2.1 Problematisation

The answers to the question about a concrete trigger for establishing the UBE were very coherent. Ten of the eleven interviewed persons told me what trouble the Rothenturm-initiative caused in the region. In December 1987 fenlands and the surrounding landscapes of extraordinary beauty were agreed to be objects to protect by 58% of Swiss voters. Neither building constructions nor changes in soil should be allowed (Federal Authorities of the Swiss Confederation 2006).

It was often said that implementation of fenland protection was badly done. Officials flocked to the Entlebuch and recorded plants, as it was said without asking farmers. It was decided to protect big parts of Entlebuch, particularly in the community Flühli. This was perceived as deciding over the heads of the population and led to heavy opposition. *“Das ist eine bekannte Geschichte, als der ganze Sörenberg mit Mistgabeln auf die Grünen losging”* (It is a well-known story as the entire Sörenberg was attacking the Greens with dung forks). Some cases, for example where building land was converted to fenland by decree, were brought as far as the Federal Supreme Court. At least half of the interviewees told me a story about Theo Schnider or asked if I already heard it. At this time he was responsible for tourism in Sörenberg. He disguised as American Indian and stated in an interview that fenland protection is making a reserve of Entlebuch, where inhabitants are kept like American Indians – with no chance for development.

The responsible person of the canton indicated that farmers started to realize that nothing will change for them. With fenland protection they only got more money for the work they always did. *“Das war ein psychologisches Problem. Das ist ihr Land und da soll nicht einer von Bern kommen und ihnen sagen, wie sie ihr Land zu bewirtschaften haben“* (It was a psychological problem. It is their land and nobody shall come from Berne to tell them how to

administer it). Various actors – also in Parc Ela – referred to the story of Wilhelm Tell, speaking of “*Gesslerhut*” (expression for a setup that only aims to enforce tributary performance) when they were speaking of something decided in Berne or the cantonal capital.

In a second phase of fenland protection, landscapes around fens were recorded. Fenland areas are less strictly protected than fenlands. Nevertheless, “*Es war klar, dass in einem Gebiet, welches zwei Jahre zuvor noch kurz vor der Revolution stand, mit der Bevölkerung zusammengearbeitet werden musste*“ (It was clear that in an area that was on the brink of revolution two years ago, cooperation with the population had to be sought). The regional planning group decided not to let the canton implement the protection of fenland areas, but to link it with regional planning. It was thought to create less opposition when the regional planning group, which consisted of borough councillors, implemented the second phase of protection.

Though he spoke of an “*undankbarer Job*” (ungrateful job), Stefan Felder, at this time director of the agricultural school in Schöpfheim could be gained to assist the regional planning group. Walter Büchi, Stefan Felder and Gody Studer (a member of the regional planning group) all told me that it was their aim to reveal development opportunities instead of only implementing protection. The motto should be “*schützen und nützen*” (protect and utilize), with clear zones of protection – a third of the district Entlebuch, half of the community Flühli – but also with zones where tourism and agriculture are possible.

To explain what the protection of fenland areas meant – and that this protection is not as strong as the protection of fenlands themselves – affected farmers were invited twice. At the first meeting farmers “*händ müesse de Chratte leere*” (had to blow off their steam). At the second meeting some possibilities to use the now existing protection area as a chance were shown, for example establishing kind of a rancher system where tourists are guided through fenlands. This time farmers started to convince each other that protection of fenland areas is not altogether bad.

Joseph Emmenegger, borough councillor of Flühli was preparing a general orientation for tourism in Flühli-Sörenberg, the “*Konzeptskizze Erlebniszentrum Moorlandschaften*” (draft for experience centre fenland landscapes). This activity was not esteemed by everyone; it was felt that it should not be some tourist project of Flühli. Nevertheless in 1994 a “*Synthesebericht Moorschutz und Tourismus*” (synthesis report fenland protection and tourism) was developed.

Mainrad Küttel, the responsible person for fenland protection at the BAFU – he was referred to as one of the most unwelcome persons in the Entlebuch – saw the concept, and told Walter Büchi that it would suit the requirements of an UNESCO Biosphere. Büchi brought the idea into the regional planning group and was surprised that the idea was approved of. A friend of Walter Büchi informed him how to get funding for the project.

5.2.2.2 Interesement

In 1997, under the name “*Lebensraum Entlebuch*”, the regional planning group made inquiries if interest for a biosphere existed in the population. The actors were first anxious to use the term “*Biosphärenreservat*” because – especially after the American Indian Story of Theo Schnider – what people of Entlebuch did not want was to live in a reserve where no development is possible. Also “*ein Teil der Entlebucher können diesen Namen heute noch nicht sagen. Sie haben eine innere Schwelle. Sie haben die 10-jährige Diskussion Moorschutz dermassen brutal emotional gesehen*“ (some Entlebucher are not even now able to utter this name. They have an inner barrier. They took the discussion lasting ten years about fenland protection with a lot of brutal emotions).

Furthermore, it was thought as not wise to speak of “*Lebensraum Entlebuch*”, let the people vote about it and then media would report about a biosphere reserve. One person was surprised by an otherwise rather conventional borough councillor: “*Das ist doch Wurst. Das ist eine gute Sache, und die hat nun mal diesen Namen. Wir müssen den Leuten eben erklären, was dahinter steckt.*“ (It’s all the same to me. It’s a good cause, and it’s having this name. We only have to explain the people what it is). It was decided “*den Stier an den Hörnern zu packen*“ (to take the bull by the horns). The registration as Regio-Plus-project “*Biosphärenreservat Entlebuch*” was prepared by Stefan Felder, who then left Switzerland. Engelbert Ruoss was called in as scientific expert.

In 1998 a conference about the future of cultural landscape was held in Sörenberg, where the project was positioned nationally. Walter Büchi narrated that all actors dealing with landscape questions had been invited. “*Wir hatten anfangs das Gefühl, dass alle, die sich mit solchen Themen befassen sich begeistert hinter diese Idee stellen würden*“ (We expected first that all concerned with such topics would be excited to promote this idea). But the reactions were rather cautious; “*macht ihr mal, wir schauen dann später*” (do it that way, we will see later).

5.2.2.3 Enrolment

1998 the project was accepted by Regio-Plus, and a regional management was employed. It was said that the appointments of Engelbert Ruoss as director and Theo Schnider and Bruno Schmid as regional manager were well considered. Engelbert Ruoss is a member of the Swiss UNESCO commission and did the international networking. Furthermore, he graduated in biology, and is able to attend to environmental issues. Bruno Schmid, cantonal councillor since 1995, was able to provide the necessary connections within the canton. Furthermore, he is rooted in Flühli and considered to be an opinion leader. Theo Schnider as well is deeply rooted in Sörenberg and, as we have seen in the American Indian story, also an opinion leader. Moreover, he has been responsible for tourism in Sörenberg for 24 years.

In 1999 a competence centre was established in Schüpfheim, with infrastructure for meetings, a library, etc. For the registration as a biosphere, general principles, research strategy, educational concept, zone plan, definition of objectives and other concepts had to be evolved. Besides providing information about the biosphere and preparing basic concepts, the main tasks of the regional management were to gain acceptance in the population and to win the vote about a global credit for the UBE. To vote about a global credit was not necessary, borough councillors could have decided to spend money. *“Man wollte die Leute dazu bringen ein Bekenntnis abzulegen. Das überzeugendste Bekenntnis ist, wenn man Geld spricht“* (One wanted to get the people to make a commitment. The most convincing commitment is to concede money). Prior to the vote, there were many public events, excursions and lectures in order to inform the population. An association to promote the UBE and eight working groups were founded.

Four persons were stating that the time shortly before the vote was a time when several actors drew themselves back, or did not dare to admit they were in favour of the idea. *“Typische Politikerhaltung, zuerst einmal schauen was passiert, man war nicht dagegen, aber dafür war auch niemand so richtig“* (Typical attitude of politicians, first watching what is happening, one was not against it, but also nobody was really for it).

It was not easy for the regional managers to gain acceptance for UBE in the population. Three times they were referred to as the only people really exposing themselves, though the supporting association was also mentioned as advocate of the idea. People went to Bruno Schmid and said: *“Du wirst nicht mehr als Grossrat gewählt, du bist jetzt ein Grüner und ein*

Linker“ (You are not going to be elected as cantonal councillor again, you are now a Green and left-winger). Other personal attacks and defamations were mentioned, particularly towards Bruno Schmid and Theo Schnider, the two locals. Engelbert Ruoss stated that it was of advantage that he as director was an outsider; Schmid and Schnider were assaulted enough as regional managers. Not that he was completely left alone, but he as well reported of people vouching for the three of them when the opponents went too far, which he considered a nice experience.

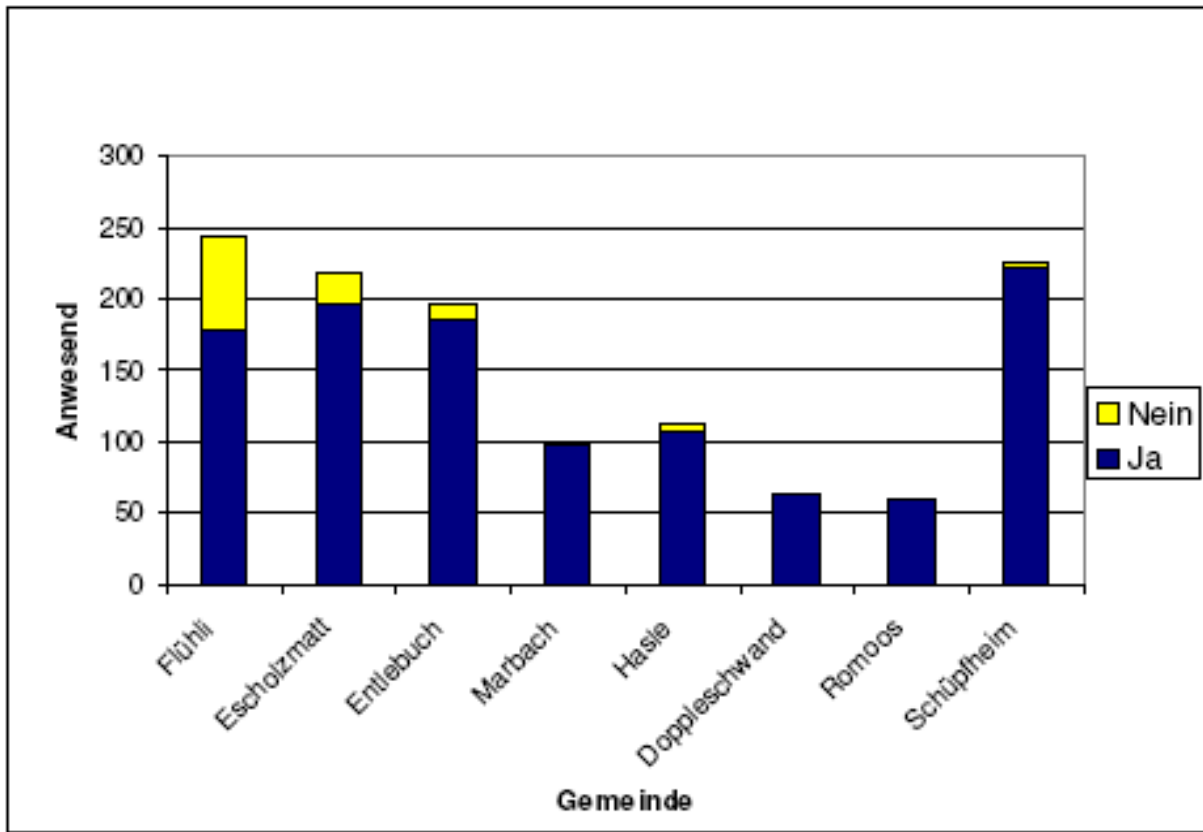
It was often said that after the vote, suddenly everybody had known for long that the idea is good, and somehow everybody had invented the park project. Though it would be understandable if the people that were maltreated for vouching for the park felt bitter about this, they were relieved that the project was accepted and saw the positive aspect of it: *“Ein Projekt ist dann gut, wenn es alle erfunden haben”* (A project is only good when everybody invented it).

5.2.2.4 Mobilisation

Every community had to vote separately on the general credit. A share of CHF 4 of each inhabitant was what the citizens had to decide about. The voting started in Flühli in 2000. This was the most critical community because it was affected most by fenland protection. Walter Büchi reported that the borough councillors of Flühli requested a secret vote⁵. This procedure was only chosen in Flühli, it was also the community where most people voted against the biosphere. The more communities said yes, the higher the proportion of yes-votes got. In the end there were hardly any votes saying no and the general credit was granted with a proportion of 94%. In figure 13 we see the results of this vote, with the communities on the abscissa and the number of voting people on the ordinate. In yellow we see how many people said no and in blue the number of approving voters.

⁵ In small communities there are usually hand raising votes for decisions that only affect the community, e.g. global credits. With raising hands people reveal themselves. If the topic that is voted about is delicate, the borough councillors or a third of the population can request to vote by writing yes or no on a sheet. This is to prevent social sanctions towards those that did not vote in line with the majority.

Figure 13: Results of the votes in the communities of Entlebuch



Source: UBE

In September 2001 UNESCO acknowledged Entlebuch as biosphere reserve. There was a change in management: Theo Schnider took over direction, Ruoss was not accepted being an outsider. Furthermore, he was often absent due to his mandate at UNESCO. A new supporting organisation was constituted, Heinrich Hofstetter first presided in this organisation, and later Stefan Felder took this job. Federal Councillor Villiger and a commission of UNESCO officially presented Entlebuch with the certificate in May 2002.

After 2002 the brand “*Echt Entlebuch*” was realized, detailed concepts were developed, information centres were established and corporate design was compiled. Cooperation with gastronomy and bakeries was sought and forums for agriculture, education, industry etc. were founded. There was also cooperation with actors outside the region, with WWF a biosphere school was realized and a “*Moorlandschaftspfad*” (pathway through fenland areas) with Pro Natura. Moreover, there was cooperation with EU projects, and many other activities.

5.2.2.5 Most important time for the visions of the park

Three times was said that there is no concrete time where visions are defined, it is a continuous process: *“Laufend: gestern, heute und morgen! Das ist ein ständiger Prozess, nachhaltige Entwicklung ist nun einmal so.”* (Continuously: yesterday, today and tomorrow! It is a constant process, sustainable development is like that). It was said twice that the visions were made prior to the vote, one time with the remark that those have only been vague visions. Also twice was mentioned that precise visions are now developed in the different forums where is discussed, how the sector in question sees itself in ten to fifteen years. Two persons highlighted that goal setting for a whole region is a completely new phenomenon. Three interviewees did not know.

In the UBE fenland protection evoked heavy opposition. Therefore, the protection of fenland landscapes was implemented by the regional planning group. This led to the idea of establishing a UNESCO biosphere in order to protect and utilize the beautiful landscape. The project was registered at Regio-Plus. To gain acceptance in the population and to prepare the concept for the registration at UNESCO, three regional managers were appointed. Though some obstacles were to phase, the vote about a global credit for the park was won. In regards to the most important time for the visions of the park, defining vision was said to be a continuous process.

5.2.3 Dealing with opposition

Four actors did not mention opposition towards the project. One person perceived critic coming more often from outside than inside. Outside, a reserve is considered to be backward. When the slogan *“Der Wilde Westen von Luzern”* (the wild west of Lucerne) was chosen, there was fuel added to the fire caused by the American Indian story.

5.2.3.1 Invalidate criticism by information

The other interviewees distinguished justified criticism, being fears of the population, and people that always say no to everything. *“Opposition ist nichts schlechtes, bei Podiumsdiskussionen sogar hilfreich, man kann Kritik aufnehmen und entkräften. Schlimm sind pauschale Biertischargumente.”* (Opposition is not bad, on panel discussions it is even helpful; one can take criticism and invalidate it. Bad are global arguments from the regulars table). We first consider the latter.

One person stated that opponents were still angry about fenland protection: *“Die haben eine Plattform gesucht um zu sagen: ‚Mir wurde so viel Unrecht getan von Kanton und Bund, die haben mich dermassen reingelegt, jetzt wollen die so ein grünes Projekt, da bin ich dagegen’“* (They searched a stage to say: ‘Canton and federation did me such great wrong; they cheated me to such an extent, now they want such a green project, I am against this’). This stage was found at Swiss People’s Party: *“Die SVP hat damals neu im Entlebuch Fuss gefasst. Die Liberalen und die CVP haben ja gesagt, darum dachten sie, sich mit einem Nein profilieren zu können.“* (Swiss People’s Party was then gaining foothold in Entlebuch for the first time. Liberals and Christian Democrats were approving, so they thought they could distinguish themselves by saying no).

Four interviewees located opposed persons to the surrounding of Swiss People’s Party. No benefit and more restrictions were their arguments. Also four times mentioned was a producer of this surrounding with an ambivalent position. He is certified to use the label *“Echt Entlebuch”*, but he still voices criticism publicly. The interviewees used him as example for people that are not and never will be convinced of benefits of the UBE. It was said there were only few such *“notorische Kritiker”* (notorious critics), but they were the ones you could hear.

The ones that could not be heard but had a problem were perceived as more precarious. It was said twice that persons were directly spoken to, when they said nothing to the idea. *“Wenn wir merkten, dass sie ein Problem hatten, sind wir auf sie zu und haben gefragt was ihr Problem sei. (...)Wir haben versucht, das Problem vorwegzunehmen und zusammen zu lösen. So hatten sie am Schluss zu wenig Argumente, um noch dagegen zu sein“* (Whenever we realized that someone had a problem, we went to them and asked what their problem is. (...) We tried to forestall this problem and to solve it together. In the end they did not have enough arguments to oppose).

Farmers were reported three times to have been sceptical about the idea in the first place. Especially feared were new requirements regarding land use. Such fears were thoroughly considered and well understood. *“Man muss Verständnis haben für diese Situation. Es gibt ein paar Branchen, die immer schon stark unter Kontrolle waren. Und gerade beim Naturschutz hat häufig kein Dialog stattgefunden, man hat einfach entschieden.“* (One has to sympathize with this situation. There some sectors have always been under strict control. Especially with environmental protection there was often no dialog, things were just decided).

Four times the importance of eliminating fears by discussion was mentioned, especially to explain them that a biosphere would not cause new laws. *“Man sagte den Leuten einfach: ihr habt das schon, ihr müsst gar nichts Neues machen.”* (One just had to tell the people: you already have that, you do not have to do anything new). Bruno Schmid reported that those explanations and reassurances needed time to be accepted. There had been two meetings in the same community with one year between, where they explained that the requirements are already fulfilled through fenland protection. A person said *“’Du Totsch, letztes Jahr hast du noch viel schlimmer geredet.’ Dann ist jemand aus dem Publikum aufgestanden und hat gesagt: ‚Das stimmt gar nicht, er hat letztes Jahr dasselbe erzählt, du hast nur anders hingehört’”* (‘You fool, last year you were telling much more severe things.’ Then a person of the audience got up and said: ‘That is not true; he told the same things as last year, you only listened differently’).

5.2.3.2 Point out benefits

It was not enough to tell the people that no new laws were planned. *“Was bringt es?”* (What advantages does it bring?) was an often mentioned question of the population. Therefore, one of the first diploma thesis realised was about added value. The population was told about possibilities that might arise out of the beautiful landscape in tourism and product marketing. Walter Büchi used to tell them: *“In der Bundesverfassung steht, dass ihr eine schöne Landschaft habt. Vielleicht seht ihrs nicht, weil ihr jeden Tag hier seid. Aber es ist so, und jetzt müsst ihr etwas daraus machen“.* (It is written in the federal constitution that you have a beautiful landscape. Maybe you do not see it, because you are here every day. But it is true and now you have to make something out of it).

The listing of advantages of a biosphere seems to have reached the population. Martin Zemp, the only interviewee not stating fenland protection as trigger, said that Entlebuch aims to be a model region for economically backward regions. When asked if he sees connections with fenland protection he proclaimed: *“Moorschutz und Biosphäre kann man nicht vergleichen! Moorschutz ist irgendwie staatlich festgehalten, und Biosphäre ist eine Region, die ihre Ressourcen sinnvoll nutzt!”* (One can not compare fenland protection with biosphere! Fenland protection is somehow written down by state and biosphere is a region using wisely its resources!).

5.2.3.3 Involve affected persons

Involvement of affected person, for example encouraging them to join the forums, was mentioned by more than half of the interviewees. *“Man hat versucht betroffene Personen – positiv wie negativ – einzubinden. Das ist in einem demokratischen Prozess sicher notwendig, sonst machen nur die von sich reden, die negativ betroffen sind“* (We tried to involve affected persons – be it positively or negatively affected. This is for sure necessary in a democratic process, otherwise only negatively affected persons are talked about). One person highlighted that it was not necessary to convince everybody, there were also open minded people that approved of the idea, but it was important to mobilise them to vote positive. Four times mentioned were hunters, they were involved from the beginning in a working group to draw a map and define sensible places, for example, where game passes are. It was tried to convince leading actors of interest groups, for example the president of farmers association, in order to let them convince their group.

5.2.3.4 Integrate opinion leaders

Not only leaders of interest groups, also opinion leaders were important to convince. *“Wir denken immer die Leute wollen selbst bestimmen, aber schauen wir doch mal zur Politik. Die Leute verstehen doch so ein Gen-Gesetz nicht, sie glauben gewissen Leuten und aufgrund dessen stimmen sie ab. Das ist doch ein menschlicher Mechanismus“* (We always think people want to decide on their own, but lets take a look at politics. People do not understand a law about genetics, they believe certain people and on this basis they vote. This really is a human mechanism).

One person named Stefan Felder as opinion leader, another one the rector of the gymnasium in Schüpheim. Members of the supporting association were mentioned, as was the editor of the local newspaper. He was said to have interviewed both opponents and supporters, but he draw all in all a positive picture. Gaining Theo Schnider as a manager, who has been a visible opponent to fenland protection, was mentioned as a very important factor. One person even spoke of a conversion from Saul to Paul. Schniders name means something in the Entlebuch – *“die halbe Gemeinde Flühli heisst Schnider“* (half of the community Flühli is named Schnider). His father was national councillor from 1979 to 1995. He by the way launched a motion in 1994 to loosen the constitution article about the protection of fenland areas (Schnider 1994).

5.2.3.5 Other advice frequently mentioned

Three times was said that though there are financial incentives to establish a park, a project only aiming to get federal payments will fail. Not only overrating economic aspect was said to be wrong, also overrating environmental protection was said to be wrong: Engelbert Ruoss narrated that many candidates for biosphere reserves first answer questions of UNESCO; they search for rare species in their area and count them. He highlighted how important listening to anxieties of the population in the first place is. Moreover, all actors should be able to participate. A meeting concerning the biosphere was held one Saturday evening at six o'clock. Farmers were furious about not being able to participate because they had to milk.

Also very important is coherence in communication. *“Gewisse Bauern sind zu jedem Regionalmanager gegangen und haben allen dreien dieselbe Frage gestellt“* (Some farmers went to every regional manager and asked the same question to each of them). Furthermore, four actors mentioned visiting a biosphere reserve in Germany. This was perceived as important because it became clear during this visit, that this was not the way they wanted to do it. The biosphere in Germany was established in a top down approach, where the government decreed a biosphere.

The project to establish a biosphere was confronted with heavy opposition due to inappropriately realised fenland protection. In order to invalidate unfounded criticism it was important to inform the population that there will be no new requirements for a biosphere. Affected persons, especially farmers and hunters had to be involved. Both affected persons and opinion leaders had to be made participants. Furthermore, there was need to highlight the benefits of a park.

5.2.4 Identification with the park project

The name *“UNESCO Biosphäre Entlebuch”* was chosen to avoid the *“Reservat”*. It is also easily translated: Biosphäre, biosphere and biosphère are nearly the same terms; UNESCO and Entlebuch are not translated. But Entlebuch had to be in the park name, because as it was mentioned four times; people of Entlebuch strongly identify themselves as *“Entlebucher”*. At home they refer to the community they live in, but outside of Entlebuch, they are *“Entlebucher”*. Engelbert Ruoss was reported to have had difficulties in being accepted, because he is from Wolhusen, a community next to Entlebuch, which makes him a stranger.

5.3 The profile of the UBE

In this section we look at the profile of the UBE in order to be able to highlight what park specific criteria might be possible. For this reason we first see what is perceived as most important strength of the region by the interviewees. Subsequently, we show as how important the four main aims –economy, environment, social networks and education – are perceived. In the last part it is shown how specific aims of parks that were mentioned in chapter two were rated.

5.3.1 Strength of the region

The beautiful landscape was mentioned seven times. Each twice it was further explained with fenland areas and near-natural tourism. Tourism itself was mentioned one time. One person said that the biosphere is the only perspective Entlebuch has, if preserving landscape is the aim, this is the only way to achieve it. He also mentioned that the study of the University of St. Gallen, in which Entlebuch was referred to as “*Armenhaus der Schweiz*” (poorhouse of Switzerland) was certainly in the heads of the actors during the project phase. One person mentioned that Entlebuch is very well situated between Berne and Lucerne. He said that the map of Diener (see Chapter two) sees Entlebuch as a green zone and that one time Switzerland will be glad about having green zones.

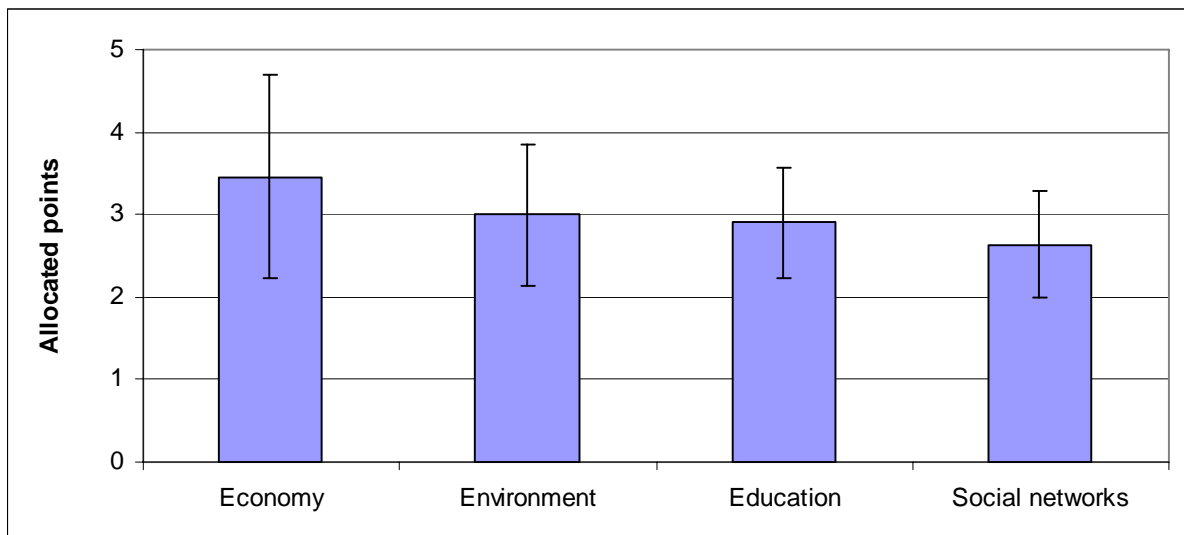
Identification of the population with the region was mentioned six times. It was said that the population proved to be able to make something good out of the as bad perceived fenland protection. Another person said it is admirable that they accomplished such a project. In his opinion, many regions have the potential for such a project: “*Schöne Landschaften und Bänke gibt es überall*” (beautiful landscapes and park benches can be found everywhere). That they achieved building a park would not be surprising for the two persons that mentioned the persistence of the population. They stated that though “*Entlebucher*” are hesitant persons, once they are convinced of something, they really stick to it. One person saw the strength of the region in being a model region. Further mentioned were energy use, the understanding of resource use and the thinking for future generations.

5.3.2 Importance of environmental, economic, educational and social aims

The interviewed persons were asked to allocate twelve points to the aspects environment, economy, education and social networks. Five persons perceived that all aspects are equally important; they consequently gave every aspect three points. One of those persons mentioned that though all four aims are equally important, economy is the aim that people can understand, and therefore one has to start with economy.

As figure 14 shows, economy was rated as most important, followed by environment. Here it is important to note that environment was mentioned as important foundation for a park, but since the environment is given, it is the other aims that need to be taken care of. Education and social network were perceived as less and least important.

Figure 14: The importance of the four main aims of a park in UBE



Source: Own illustration with information from interviews

5.3.3 Importance of specific aims

The interviewed persons were asked to indicate how important the specific park aims mentioned in chapter two are for their region. At choice were ‘not at all important’, ‘not important’, ‘indifferent’, ‘important’ and ‘very important’. Every interviewed person was irritated by this, stating that they perceived everything as important if not very important.

Only once ‘not at all important’ was chosen. This person said that innovations should not be assisted because innovations have to be good enough to be undertaken without assistance. Also only one time a ‘not important’ was given to the boosting of traditional activities. This aim reached – as well as the aim to build institutions for education of natural and cultural topics – an average between ‘indifferent’ and ‘important’.

All other aims were between ‘important’ and ‘very important’. The aim most often perceived as ‘very important’ was maintaining and creation of workstations, followed by increasing regional added value and strengthening supply chains and regional circuits. With only eleven interviews further interpretation is not possible.

The UBE primarily aims to enhance its economy. But the beautiful landscape was mentioned most often as strength of the region and fewer points for environment were argued with the fact that landscape is already there, therefore environment is considered as foundation for enhancing economy. Education and social networks are perceived as less important; however, differences are not big.

5.4 Criteria for park products in the UBE

In this section we deal with criteria for park products in order to define possible park specific criteria for the UBE. First we see what national and park specific criteria the interviewed persons of UBE would demand themselves, and how content they are with the suggested criteria. Special interest lies on the question if organic production is feasible. Second, we see which actors are likely to define and control park specific criteria.

5.4.1 Criteria for products

5.4.1.1 The criteria for “Echt Entlebuch”

The label “*Echt Entlebuch*” (EE) is awarded for regional products, services and tourist offers. The label is in the property of the community association UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch. The community association elected a label commission that is in charge of controlling the usage of the label. Goods, ingredients and services have to come from the UBE to at least 90%. If products include raw material that can not be produced in the UBE, added value has to occur to at least 75% in the region. Branches can decide in the forums to set themselves higher criteria. Raw material has to be produced according to PEP (Markenkommission 2006).

5.4.1.2 Expected national criteria

Five persons expected criteria similar to EE, and four persons knew about the suggestions made by Agridea. Regional origin of products was particularly mentioned four times, PEP was mentioned twice. Three persons approved of the suggestions by Agridea. Two persons said the criteria are good, but some details have to be discussed, for example the request for an accredited board of control, because this is expensive and the label is financially weak. One person stated to know not enough about agriculture to rate the criteria. One time mentioned was the conflict between the need for a national standard and the need for flexibility of regions.

Twice was said that the federation should not regulate anything concerning products, to use the same criteria for whole Switzerland can not be in line with practice. *“Ich sehe nicht ein, warum man da auf nationaler Ebene etwas definieren muss. Die Philosophie muss sichtbar werden, und das ist ein partizipativer Ansatz, die Branchen definieren ihre Richtlinien selbst”* (I do not see why one should define something on a national level. The philosophy has to

come into the picture, and that is a participative approach, branches are defining their guidelines themselves). This person stated that when two regions have similar products, they should sit together and work out criteria, but otherwise there is no need to institutionalise a new commission on a federal level.

5.4.1.3 Specific minimal environmental criteria

One person was laughing when I asked him what he would demand as minimal environmental criteria: *“Fordern würde ich sowieso nichts, ich würde versuchen, mit denen zusammen eine Idee zu entwickeln”* (In any case I would not demand anything; together with them I would try to develop an idea). He further vouched for organic production, but only as far as possible: *“Meine Vorstellung wäre schon Bio wie im Hinterrheintal, aber soweit sind wir noch nicht. Man könnte dann aber auch sagen, es ist noch nicht alles Bio, aber zumindest dieser Anteil”* (My idea would be organic like in the valley of hind Rhine, but we are not this far yet. But one could also say then, not everything is organic, but at least this proportion).

Another person was clearly stating that organic production would be his criterion. He mentioned that the region has many more organic producers than thought of, because agriculture is so extensive. One person said he would request not to use chemical fertilizers. When I asked him if he would therefore request organic production, he said that the link to the region is ways more important for guests. Regional origin was mentioned most often, eight times. Two times was argued that this is an expectance of guests. One person highlighted, that regional origin means not only raw material, but also work craft.

Each one time mentioned were: the criteria for EE as standard; PEP, possibly with 15% ECA instead of 7%; and quality, especially not to allow farmers to muddle through with their sausages made in the cellar. Sustainability was defined by the person that said it as: *“Besser als vorher”* (better than beforehand). Furthermore, commitment to the four aspects environment, economy, social networks and education was demanded, the farmer should be able to give information about those topics anytime. This person highlighted that it is more sustainable to assist awareness, than to establish criteria.

5.4.1.4 Production modes that should not be possible within a park

In regards to production methods that should not be possible in a park it was twice mentioned that quality must be in the foreground. Nobody should be able to evade rules; *“wir müssen Kassensturz-resistent werden”* (we have to be resistant against negative publicity). One person said it can not be possible to define frog legs as regional speciality, GMO should not be allowed and everything against ethical basic principles must be prohibited in a park. It was mentioned that a negative formulation is not good, it is better to say ‘we do’ than to say ‘we are not allowed to’.

Industrial production that takes away the authenticity of a product was mentioned: *“Der Konsument hat das Gefühl, dieses Würstchen stamme aus einer heilen Welt, und genau das muss er kriegen”* (Consumers believe this sausage comes from an ideal world, and that is exactly what he must get). On the other hand innovation must be possible, I was four times told the story of a farmer with a wind turbine. Environmental activist wanted to stop him building it, but he was backed by the management, which stated that the wind turbine is in a development zone, where intelligent energy projects must be possible.

5.4.1.5 Criteria that might evoke opposition

It was five times mentioned, that criteria that are not in line with practice will evoke opposition. One person was saying that it is not possible to establish more criteria. *“Wenn man sieht, was in den letzten zehn Jahren im Entlebuch abgelaufen ist, dann ist das gewaltig und das absolute Maximum an zumutbarem”* (If one sees what happened in Entlebuch during the last ten years, it is enormous, and it is the absolute maximum of what can be expected. Another person stated that any new criteria are going to evoke opposition, because farmers were raised to be receivers of subsidies for far too long. Three persons did not know about opposition caused by criteria.

In regards to criteria that might cause personal opposition, they were roughly the same, mentioned were: criteria that are only defined for the sake of defining criteria, but creating no benefit for producers and consumers; 100% clauses, because they are unfeasible. Two persons said they do not know. Six persons mentioned criteria not in line with practice. One person said he would not oppose criteria, because in order to stand out, criteria have to be high.

5.4.1.6 The acceptance of local breeds as a criterion

Eight persons disapproved strongly of the idea to make local breeds a criterion. Reasons that were stated twice were: it is economically not feasible; it would evoke opposition because it is too strict interference in personal decision, and that it is stupid to introduce a rare breed into a region, where it never lived. Each one time stated were: the UBE is no museum, consumers do not care about breeds, with this criterion there would be too little output, the criterion is not beneficial to anyone, and no farmer would change his breed to get a label. Twice was said that of course butchers are free to specialize, but as criterion for a whole region it is too strict.

One person said he sees no need for this criterion, but by now, farmers try a lot to stand out, so why not. One person said this criterion would be ok, if one could show that demand exists. Last but not least, one person stated, that the producer of sheep products is only using one breed and that Galloway breeders also found a way to market their products with the breed argument.

5.4.1.7 The acceptance of organic production as a criterion

The person that had organic production as personal criterion was approving of this idea. All other persons were at least not content with such a criterion. Martin Zemp, who produces milk-based ice cream, stated that for him it would not be possible, but he sees the need for high criteria. The other farmer would also not be able to produce his strawberry wine organic; he regretted that it is not possible to explain PEP to the consumer. One person said he personally approves of the idea, but it is not in line with practice. Two of the disapproving persons mentioned that many people believe products from Entlebuch are organic, because of the name biosphere.

The other interviewees were clearly disapproving. Four times was mentioned that it would evoke opposition, though three times was added that 60% of the farmers could convert to organic without changing much. *„Die Markenkommision hätte einen riesigen Erklärungsbedarf!“* (The label commission would be in great need of explanation). Two times mentioned was that there would not be enough products and to accept the criteria of the bud would mean to lose the most innovative products. *„Wie soll man Innovation und Nischenproduktion fördern, wenn das dann den Knospenkriterien unterstellt ist? Bio ist zu stur.“* (How can one assist innovation and niche production, if it is subject to the criteria of the bud? Organic is too stubborn).

It was said that the criteria of the bud are constantly set higher; therefore, it would be dangerous to attach the park label to the bud. One person mentioned higher price of organic products, indicating that consumers perceive organic products as too expensive and would not buy organic park products. In the same direction goes the statement that it can not be wise to convert to organic production, as it has reached market saturation. The cheese maker argued that regional origin was much more demanded than biological production. Also mentioned was lack of awareness when organic production is required from above: *„Wir können die Leute nicht in einen Bio-Kuchen pressen, es bringt doch mehr, das Bewusstsein für nachhaltige Entwicklung zu fördern, und schlussendlich gehen sie dann freiwillig zu Bio, weil sie sehen dass es besser ist“* (We can not squeeze people into an organic cake, it is more useful to assist the awareness for sustainability, eventually they turn to organic because they realize that it is better). This person further argued that if PEP is not sustainable enough, the federation is making wrong requirements.

The hotelier said that he is presently not using many organic products, but since he is turning his hotel to a wellness hotel, nourishment questions might get more important. He sees advantages in organic products for marketing reasons, but to really feel a difference, carrots for example must be eaten raw. He further argued that price is a very important factor in hotels, and organic products being more expensive, their use is restricted.

5.4.1.8 Do the producers of UBE want another label?

One person I interviewed asked me why I always speak of parks. I explained that I use the term because of the revision of the NHG. His reaction was hefty: *“Also Park das hören wir gar nicht gern. Mit diesem Begriff operieren wir nicht!”* (We do not like to hear park at all. We do not operate with this term!). One farmer stated from the beginning, that he is content using EE as a label, even if he fulfilled the criteria, he would not want to use the new label in order to avoid confusion caused by too many labels.

In UBE an additional question was asked: how high would the risk be, that given the federal requirements are too high, the producers would choose to stick to the EE label. Five persons saw the probability of this scenario as very high. *“Wenn solche Vorgaben einfach unsinnig sind, dann wird das niemand machen. Die ganze Biosphäre funktioniert so, wenn wir etwas durchsetzen wollen, das niemand trägt, funktioniert es nicht“* (When such requirements are simply unreasonable, then nobody is going do it. The whole biosphere works that way, if we

want to force through something not carried by anybody, it does not work). *“Im Moment würde das Management den ‘Hosenlupf’ mit den Bauern nicht annehmen. Wenn Bio kommt, dann macht das Entlebuch nicht mit”* (At the moment the management would decline a battle with farmers. If organic is the requirement, Entlebuch is not going to participate).

Three actors saw the possibility of the scenario as existing. One said it depends on the strength of the two labels, because one always tends to go to the stronger actor. It was further mentioned, that every product carrying the label is advertisement for the region; therefore, the federation is bound to allow lower standards, or has to set transitional periods. Three persons claimed for using the federal label in Entlebuch. One said that the region will find a way to achieve the national requirements with as little effort as possible. The two others said it would be wise to find such a way, one of them argued that the region almost fulfils the criteria; the other said the region alone would be too weak.

The interviewees would approve of criteria that are similar as the criteria for the label *“Echt Entlebuch.”* Those criteria are similar to the national criteria for park products; consequently the national criteria were approved of by the majority. In regards to possible park specific criteria the importance of regional origin was highlighted. Furthermore, the improving the awareness of all aspects of sustainability, and to require a higher share of PEP than usual were mentioned. Criteria not in line with practice will cause opposition. Hence it is not surprising, that the criterion of a local breed, which is not present in the UBE and the criterion of organic production, which is not common in the region, were disapproved. Organic production was dismissed further because it would cause opposition and because innovations would be hindered. If organic production is a requirement for park products, many producers would continue to use the label *“Echt Entlebuch”* and would not try to apply for a park label. The same can be assumed if criteria are otherwise not in line with practice.

5.4.2 Actors deciding park specific criteria and controlling them

5.4.2.1 The need for a new working group

Seven times it was said that the label commission is in charge for products. Twice was said that there is no need for a new working group, because there are too many working groups anyway. One person saw no need for another label. Building a new working group was once said to be in the authority of the management; in which this person did not want to interfere.

5.4.2.2 Important actors

The label commission supervises and harmonises the guidelines of the different forums. Each forum is constituted of interested actors of the branch in question. The forums of the different branches were said to define park specific criteria eight times. The label commission which is presided of Theo Schnider was mentioned nine times. The other persons did not know.

The question which persons should be in a working group defining specific criteria was answered as following: Eight times the current situation was approved of. The other persons mentioned branches, innovative actors, people with experience in labelling, people knowing culture and conditions of the region, producers and consumers. With the latter, the problem was mentioned, that one has to know first which the target audience is.

5.4.2.3 Actors arguing for strong / weak environmental criteria

To the question if there are actors willing to join a working group in order to influence criteria the answer was five times that the people in the label commission were asked to participate. Each two times was said that everybody is free to join the forums, and that there have been no persons trying to influence the criteria and that they do not know. Four times was said that there were no actors arguing for weak environmental criteria. Four persons did not know. One person said in his view restaurateurs have rather weak criteria. Another person guessed that there had been such efforts in the beginning, but in those forums are innovative people that do not fear strong criteria.

In regards to actors arguing for too strong environmental criteria, three persons did not know. Four persons said that the branches first developed too strict criteria. This was illustrated twice with the example of restaurateurs that initially planned to allow only chairs made of

wood of Entlebuch for their eating rooms and gardens. Twice was said that there have been no actors arguing for too strict criteria. One interviewee wished such attempts, because when something goes wrong, it has a negative influence on the whole label.

5.4.2.4 The controlling of the criteria

Three persons did not know about the controlling of the criteria. It was mentioned three times that the label commission is in charge. Five times was said, that within EE it is a mix of external and internal control. The forums, which developed the detailed criteria, are controlling them. Furthermore, there is an external control to guarantee the consumers the promises are really fulfilled.

As to the question who should control the criteria, the answers were coherent: seven times it was mentioned that controlling should be external, and six times that controlling is very important. *“Wenn die schon Kriterien machen, dann müssen sie auch durchgesetzt werden. Hier ist man vielleicht etwas zu lasch im Moment, dass man um der Sache willen eher jemanden aufnimmt, (...) aber das rächt sich irgendwann”*. (If there are criteria, they have to be implemented. Maybe one is a little to lax in this aspect, for the sake of the matter someone is being admitted, (...) but this takes vengeance at one time or another). Twice was said, that the controlling of EE is a good.

5.4.2.5 Marketing strategy for park products

Some actors expressed ideas during the interview others were asked where products could be sold when there was enough time left. The listing of those thoughts has therefore no scientific validity. One person highlighted, that for the moment, everybody is fighting their own fight. There are some farmers going to the market in Lucerne and Berne, they also carry along some products of their neighbour, but they are few. The idea for a logistic centre, to stop single farmers running to every single hotel to deliver small amounts of goods, was mentioned by three persons. One person mentioned the aim to stop the drainage of milk (which at the moment goes to Emmi or to Nestlé) by establishing milk processing facilities, in order to keep added value in the region.

Forums of branches define criteria for their products. The label commission supervises and harmonises criteria. This procedure was approved of in majority. The controlling is a mix of internal and external control, of which the external control was perceived as very important.

6 Results from Parc Ela

In this chapter we look at the results from the interviews in Parc Ela. First we present the region. In a second step the establishment of Parc Ela is shown. We then take a look at the profile of Parc Ela and in the last section; we see how the criteria suggested by Agridea were accepted, and what the interviewed persons would take as criteria. All results, also those of the UBE of chapter five, are discussed in chapter seven.

6.1 Presentation of Parc Ela

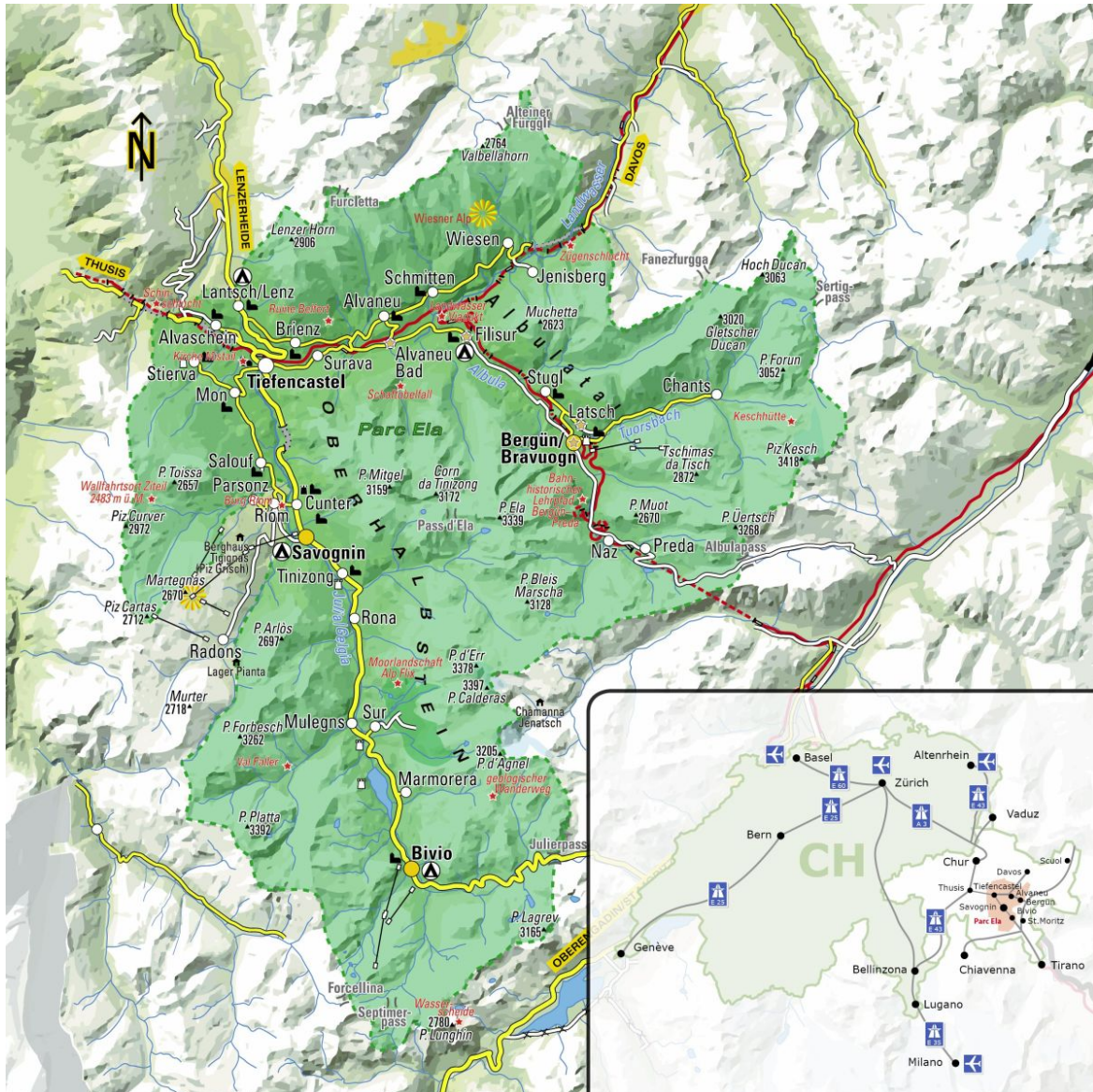
In this section we shortly introduce the region of Parc Ela. As we have seen in chapter three in the part about organic production; which production system is sustainable depends much on the context. Therefore, it is important to have an idea of the context of the region. Of special interest is land use, because as we assume in chapter three, the more organic farms there are, the less likely is opposition towards organic production. Later we shortly see some features of the typical landscape.

Parc Ela is in the canton Grisons and combines two regions. Sursees, also referred to as Oberhalbstein is the valley of the river Julia and Albulatal is the valley of the river Albula. The communities Bivio, Marmorera, Sur, Mulengs, Tinizong-Rona, Savognin, Cunter, Riom-Parsonz, Salouf (Surses), Bergün, Filisur, Alveneu, Wiesen, Schmitten, Brienz / Brinzauls, Surava, Tiefencastel, Alvaschein, Stierva, Lantsch and Mon (Albulatal) are within the perimeter of the park. Figure 15 on the next page shows the location of the park.

Those communities involve around 6000 inhabitants. There are 207 farms in Parc Ela, 175 of them fulfil PEP. With 132 organic producers, which are more than 60%, Parc Ela has a very high proportion of organic farms. The agricultural area is 9120 ha, only 98 ha ploughed.⁶

⁶ Private information by e-mail from Walter Marchion, employee at the agency for agriculture, structural improvement, and measuring of Grisons, 02.08.06.

Figure 15: Parc Ela in the canton Grisons



Source: http://www.parc-ela.ch/bilder/Karte_parc_ela_broschuere_1200_001.JPG

One of the bijoux of Parc Ela clearly is Alp Flix (figure 16), a fenland area of national importance. A project to register the diversity of Alp Flix was launched in June 2000. Within 24 hours no less than 2092 species were found (Müller and Briner 2004, p. 9). But there are also 26 other fenlands and nine raised mosses of national and regional importance. Furthermore, there are four lea areas, an IGLES-object (Inventar der Gletschervorfelder und alpinen Schwemmebenen / Inventory of glacier fore fields and alpine watering place plains) a hunting ban area and seven game refuges. Moreover, it is planned to establish six forest reserves (Pro Natura 2006).

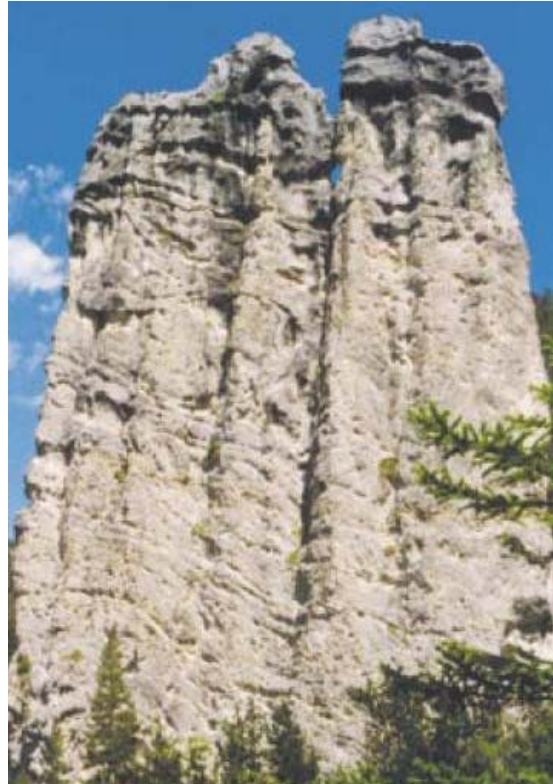
Figure 16: Alp Flix in the fall of 2004



Source: <http://img.clubphoto.com/ocelot/album/item/view?id=2746211;position=8;size=512>

One project of Parc Ela is the newly founded hiking trail “*Pfad der Pioniere*” (Path of pioneers). One of the attractions is Crap Furo, which is only several meters away from the geometric middle of canton Grisons. In Romansh, Crap Furo means holey rock. The natural monument is 60 meters high, 50 meters wide and only five meters thick at the base. The hole visible on the right side of figure 17 is two meters large (Verein Parc Ela 2006a). It consists of “*Rauwacke*” (a holey form of dolomite), which contained gypsum in the first place. Through leaching processes, the gypsum is washed out and a cellular porous rock emerges (Wikipedia 2006b).

Figure 17: Crap Furo



Source: http://www.parc-ela.ch/seiten/documents/Broschuere_pfad_pioniere.pdf

6.2 The establishment of Parc Ela

In this section we look at the establishment of the Parc Ela. For this reason we first consider important actors named by the interviewed persons. We then see what caused the region to undertake such a project, and how the project evolved, using the phases of the translation cycle introduced in chapter three. The last section is dedicated to dealing with opposition that such projects evoke. The study of those topics allows us to understand how and by whom decisions are made in the Parc Ela. We see how important it is to involve producers into the decision making process in order to reach criteria accepted by many producers. In the last section we see how the identification with the park project is perceived nowadays.

6.2.1 Important actors

Following the method of Fischer (2002), we assume that actors are important if they are perceived as important by other important actors. In the interviews, it was also tried to identify important advisory bodies because it might be helpful for other park initiatives to know which advisory bodies have to be addressed.

6.2.1.1 Actors within the project

For Parc Ela the regional planner, the president of the regional planning group, the delegate of agriculture and the regional planning group were mentioned as important actors by more than half of the interviewed persons. The person in charge at the agency of nature and landscape as well as the delegate of Pro Natura were mentioned often, followed by delegates of forestry, huntsmen, tourism and borough councillors. Table 8 gives an overview. Seven interviewees regretted that hoteliers were missing in the project phase. They hardly understood this, because hoteliers should have greatest concern for a park, because they are profiting directly of a park.

The team was mentioned as most important actor by five persons. Three of them said that Joseph Sauter, the regional planner was most important by his mandate. All in all Joseph Sauter was five times mentioned as the most important actor. Bruno Salis, delegate for agriculture and Baltermia Peterelli, president of the regional planning group were mentioned one time. Two interviewees did not know about important actors.

Within the three most important actors, the Joseph Sauter was again mentioned most, seven times. Baltermia Peterelli, president of the regional planning group was mentioned five times, and Johann Gruber, secretary of the regional planning group, four times. Bruno Salis, delegate for agriculture and Georg Ragaz, the person in charge at the agency for nature and landscape were both named twice. One interviewee named agriculture as most important actor, and hunters, voting people and agriculture as the three most important actors. During the talk it became obvious, that he was speaking of important actors that could have been able to block the process.

Table 8: Important actors in Parc Ela

Actor	Times mentioned
Joseph Sauter (Regional planner)	8
Baltermia Peterelli (President of the regional planning group)	7
Bruno Salis (delegate of agriculture)	7
Regional planning group	6
Georg Ragaz (agency of nature and landscape canton Grisons)	5
Christian Geiger (delegate of Pro Natura)	5
Project team in general	5
Delegate of forestry	4
Delegate of hunters	4
Wendelin Coray (delegate of tourism)	4
Delegates of municipalities	4
Lucia Netzer (delegate for holiday homes and culture)	3
Johann Gruber (secretary of the regional planning group)	3
Interest groups	2
Others	5

Source: Interviews

6.2.1.2 Advisory bodies

Pro Natura and the agency for nature and landscape were mentioned twice as advisory bodies (not those who mentioned them as important actors). It was mentioned that Christian Geiger had a difficult role because environmental protection agencies raises fears of more restrictions. But he was said to have done a good job by holding himself back in workshops. As he himself was stating the same, one can say that he held environmental protection back on purpose during workshops, where the population was present. Whereas in the project team, which consisted of few delegates of interest groups, he felt accepted and had no problems making environmental protection a topic.

Results from Parc Ela

At federal level there was a working group where all agencies concerned with spatial problematic – spatial planning, agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing among others – are gathered to go along with parks. Georg Ragaz is in this working group and was able to tell the project team where the idea of parks is heading on a federal level. When ideas of the project team deviated from ideas on the federal level, he organized meetings with responsible persons at FOEN to approximate visions.

Joseph Sauter was also considered as advisory body by two interviewees. He himself mentioned working with moderators that he knew from other workshops. It was mentioned three times that advisory bodies were contacted if necessary, when the project team was not able to solve a problem. The designer of the logo for Parc Ela was mentioned twice as advisory body. Two interviewees were not active during the project phase, hence they do not know about advisory bodies.

6.2.1.3 Financial backer

In the project phase Pro Natura and Regio-Plus were mentioned as sponsors. Another part of the project cost was provided by the canton and the region. By voting, the communities accepted a global credit of CHF 100'000 each year. Pro Natura and the lottery endowment fond of Zurich are nowadays important sponsors. The canton is also providing financial means.

Johann Gruber and Joseph Sauter were asked if the project would have been possible without financial backers. Both declared that it would not have taken place. *“Am Anfang hätten die Gemeinden niemals so viel Geld aufgeworfen”* (In the beginning the communities would never have procured as much money). *“Da war am Anfang schon eine gehörige Skepsis gegen das Projekt. Die Gemeinden mussten erst bei der Umsetzung bezahlen. Das fand ich gut, so mussten sie sich bekennen, also wenn es ums Portemonnaie geht, dann wird eben ernst“* (There has been a proper scepticism towards the project in the early stages. The communities only had to pay as recently as with the implementation. I approve of this, this way they had to confess themselves; anyway, if it is a question of the money, it is getting serious).

<p>For Parc Ela the regional planner, the regional planning group and the project team have been important actors. Important advisory bodies have been the cantonal agency for nature and landscape and Pro Natura. The project would not have taken place without financial backers.</p>

6.2.2 Translation cycle

Following the theory of chapter three we divide the process of the establishment of a park into the four phases introduced by Callon: Problematisation, where a problem is defined and a solution is sought; interessement, where other actors are involved; enrolment, where roles of the actors are defined and mobilisation, where the question arises if the proposed solution is valid for all actors.

6.2.2.1 Problematisation

The interviewees in Parc Ela were less coherent about a concrete trigger than persons in the UBE. Five interviewed persons said or guessed that the loss of workstations, economic weaknesses or declining tourism was a reason to think about possible new prospects. Out of these problems, the regional planning group was mentioned as initiator of the idea seven times. Georg Ragaz from the cantonal agency for nature and landscape and Christian Geiger from Pro Natura had both been in a cantonal working group for the question of where to build parks. They both said, that the region of Parc Ela was seen by the canton as possible candidate and as the region brought that idea it was welcomed by the canton. One person said he does not know who initiated the idea.

Johann Gruber, secretary of the regional planning group narrated that the canton was presenting the structural planning concept. *“Da gibt es verschiedene Schwerpunkträume. Touristische Zentren, wirtschaftliche Zentren etc. Wir im Albulatal und Sursees sind als grüner Fleck eingezeichnet, ohne grosse Perspektiven. (...) Man hat sich überlegt, ob das auch eine Stärke sein kann, in so einem grünen Fleck zu leben, und hat dann das Projekt aufgezogen.“* (There are different focus spaces. Tourist centres, economic centres etc. We in Albulatal and Sursees are marked as green spot, without big prospects. (...) One thought living in a green spot could also be a chance, and that is how the project started).

Joseph Sauter, the regional planner, said something similar. In a region with so many protected areas, premises are good to elaborate new forms of tourism. In the region winter tourism is very common but as mentioned above declining; summer tourism on the other hand is rather weak. A park seemed to be a good way of strengthening alternative tourism. Moreover, it was just about the right time to think about parks. Pro Natura was planning to found new parks, this was also stated by Christian Geiger, and one knew that the revision of

the NHG was possibly taken place. Furthermore, Sauter said “*wir schauten etwas nach dem Entlebuch und fanden, dass wir auch etwas in diese Richtung machen könnten*“ (we had a look at the Entlebuch and thought we also could do something in this direction).

6.2.2.2 Interessement

The regional planning group gave a mandate to their planner, Joseph Sauter, to coordinate the park project. It was an aim to involve as many people as possible; therefore, in 2001 all persons that might be interested were invited to discuss the interest for building a park. Joseph Sauter highlighted that this was also the time where possible fears were detected, which have been present in the beginning. All interviewed persons talked about this first meeting as place and time where interested persons willing to take an effort for the region could be found. Around 80 persons were present, which about half of the interviewed persons perceived as good response, whereas the other half indicated that more persons could have come, particularly hoteliers.

Bruno Schmid from the UNESCO Biosphere Entlebuch was at this meeting to narrate about Entlebuch's experiences, Pro Natura gave a lecture about natural aspects of a park, and the person that invented the tourist label “*klein und fein*” (small and fine) spoke about rural tourism. As the people were asking what a Nature Park is, the answer was: “*Wir wissen es auch nicht so genau, aber wir werden einen entwickeln*” (We do not know exactly, but we will develop one).

The attendants of this first meeting approved of establishing a park. Therefore, a feasibility analysis was made, a concept study undertaken, funds from Regio-Plus were mobilised and a project team was founded. Joseph Sauter asked all interest groups to delegate one contact person to the project team. Bruno Salis (agriculture), Lucia Netzer (holiday homes, culture), Christian Geiger (Pro Natura Grisons), a person of forestry, a person of industry, Michael Luzio (delegated borough councillor for Sursees) and Thomas Kollegger (delegated borough councillors for Albulatal) were mentioned to have been in the project team.

Georg Ragaz was attending their meetings, but more as extern advisor, as he said in order to be eligible to decide whether the project is to be accepted by the canton, what would not have been possible if he were in the project team. Because he is member of the commission for the park act he was able to inform the project team about what criteria for parks and park products might be.

6.2.2.3 Enrolment

The project team was working for four years on a concept. Working groups for different topics were established, mentioned were agriculture, forestry, environment, tourism, culture. The working group for agriculture for example thought about the role of agriculture in the park, what products they want to offer and how they want to form alliances with other sectors.

The ideas for a park were collected in workshops, where everybody could bring in his ideas. Between 80 and 100 persons were present each time. The workshops were organized like a private viewing: the working groups, for example for the marketing of regional products, were presenting their results on placards. The attendants then considered the ideas and selected the best ones. This was not easy, it was reported that discussions were sometimes fierce. Therefore, there usually was some eating and drinking after workshops, to put oil on troubled waters.

Not only the hoteliers were missed at the workshops, industry was reported to have little interest as well. I called a cheese dairy and a butcher for an interview and got both times the answer that they have nothing whatsoever to do with a park. Persons that I asked about this explained that the cheese dairy is processing a lot of milk from outside the region. The butcher produces “*Bündnerfleisch*” (a regional speciality) and uses Argentinean meat as it is common for this speciality. Therefore, they could not profit of a park label, unless they build a special line processing only regional products, which is costly. Another person indicated that butchers are not at all fond of the idea that farmers make their own sausages and market them under a park label.

The person that mentioned Baltermia Peterelli, president of the regional planning group, as the most important actor, explained this with his decision in 2004 to continue with the project, though the Federal Council had refused to finish the revision of the NHG. Another person as well considered this decision as courageous.

6.2.2.4 Mobilisation

The fact that 21 communities said yes to a park was one time described as miracle. Another person admired the courage of the communities to launch such a big project. Self government of communities was said to be important for people in Grisons four times: “*wenn sieben Leute irgendwo in drei Häusern leben, dann sind sie eine eigene Gemeinde, und dann ist das das*

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beste der Welt” (if seven people are living anywhere in three houses, then they are a separate community, and this is then the best thing in the world). *“Da braucht es einen ziemlich grossen Effort, damit sich diese Gemeinden zusammenraufen”* (Here a big effort is needed for these communities to join forces).

Joseph Sauter who was present at many votes in the spring of 2005 reported that he witnessed only one person saying no to the park. There had been few persons that abstained voting, but the acceptance at the vote about a global credit was all in all high. One person regretted that only few people attended the vote, he guessed a rate of only 20%.

After the vote, the organisation of the actors changed. Albert Kruker is responsible for the office that uses the resources of *“Savognin Tourismus”* the tourist information centre at Savognin. In May 2005 a supporting association (SA) for Parc Ela was founded. The board of the SA is composed as following: Luzius Wasescha, ambassador for WTO agreements, is president of the board. Andri Camichel, manager of cantonal bank Grisons, Gianna Luzio, geographer, Patrick Müller, district forester, Giovanni Netzer, theatre producer and theologian, Bruno Salis and Doris Schweighauser, housewife are further members of the board (Verein Parc Ela 2006b). Dieter Müller, an environmental scientist, is project manager since June 2006. Joseph Sauter reported that the efforts of the management are primarily used to bundle existing offers. *“Pfad der Pioniere”* was a new offer, but other projects and wishes, for example an information centre have to wait.

The transition from project team to SA was mentioned four times. It was regretted that only two persons of the project team are now in the SA. *“Das hat das ganze Projekt einen Moment abgebrochen, es war als ob sie noch einmal neu anfangen mussten”* (It discontinued the whole project for a moment, it was as if they had to start once again). *“Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass der Trägerverein das Rad neu erfinden wollte, sie haben Sachen in Frage gestellt, die eigentlich vom Projektteam ganz klar vorgedacht waren.”* (I had the feeling that the SA wanted to reinvent the wheel, they questioned things that were actually very clearly thought out by the project team). Bruno Salis wrote an e-mail to Joseph Sauter after the first meeting of the SA: *“Jetzt sind wir wieder beim ersten Workshop angelangt”* (Now we are again at the first workshop). Due to those starting problems the inauguration was delayed for one year and took place in June 2006.

As disenchanted he was after the first meeting, and though he conceived it as painful to dismiss ideas that were so carefully developed, Bruno Salis is today convinced that the SA is on a good way. *“Heute geht der Trägerverein zum Teil den Weg, der vom Projektteam vorgezeichnet war, zum Teil auch einen anderen, aber in diesen Fällen wäre es auch gar nicht anders möglich gewesen“* (The SA is today partially on the way chalked out by the project team, and partially on another way, but in those cases it was not possible otherwise). He said that the project team and the SA regained a good relation. Lucia Netzer who also was in the project team was apprehensive about the dismissal of ideas: *“Wir in diesen Workshops, das ist schon einfach so Ideen zu sammeln, aber diese umzusetzen, das ist schon schwieriger“* (We in those workshops, it was easy to collect ideas, but to implement them is rather difficult).

6.2.2.5 Most important time for the visions of the park

Six persons stated that creating visions for the region was a long process. They said that the workshops led to the charter, which was the base for explaining the population what the aims for a park are in order to win the vote about a global credit. Three persons named the presentation of the logo in November 2003 as most important time. At this event the slogan *“Ein Park besteht aus Köpfen“* (a park is constituted of heads) was mentioned, and those three persons reported to have felt identification of the population with the park. One person said he does not know when the most important time was and another person stated that the park is still lacking direction; there is only a bunch of possibilities.

In Parc Ela the regional planning group initiated the idea of establishing a park in order to overcome economic weaknesses. The regional planner was charged with the coordination of the project. He organized a project team with one delegate per interest group or agency. The population could bring in its ideas in workshops. The project team coordinated these ideas into a park concept. At the vote, the resulting charter was approved at. The transition from project team to supporting association caused the project to stop for a moment. Ideas were reconsidered and the inauguration was delayed for one year. The majority of interviewees saw no most important time for the visions of the region, it was said to be a long process.

6.2.3 Dealing with opposition

It was mentioned three times, that the idea of creating a park did not evoke opposition. One time was said that maybe more opposition would have been good, because it is a base for discussions. Twice it was indicated that many persons had a wait-and-see attitude. Though there has not been much opposition, it was said that *“die Begeisterung für den Park lässt zu wünschen übrig”* (the enthusiasm for the park leaves a lot to be desired). Three persons said they knew not enough about this stage of the project to give answers about opposition.

6.2.3.1 Invalidate criticism by information

One farmer admitted that he himself had been critical in the beginning, because he feared more restrictions. He was not the only critical farmer, but as Joseph Sauter narrated, Bruno Salis took great effort in explaining them what a park is, what its possible benefits are, and that it would not mean more restrictions. *“Man musste den Leuten erklären, dass es kein Nationalpark ist”* (We had to explain the people that it is not a National Park). This was mentioned twice, and another person said that many people hear protection whenever it is spoken of parks.

It was reported four times that hunters were opposed to the project in the beginning. They were the only reported group that took action. *“Da gab es eine Jägergruppe, die (...) den Leuten Angst gemacht mit den ganzen Einschränkungen, die es geben sollte“* (There has been a group of hunters (...) that was frightening people with all the restrictions that would arise). Hunters feared that game would be disturbed by tourists and that hunting will be restricted. It was an important step to win them for the project. Georg Ragaz reminded them that linear disturbance is not scaring away game, punctual disturbances such as a landing paraglide is worse. He explained that with a park, a ban of paragliding in vicinity of a game refuge is much easier to reach than without a park. Furthermore, tourists can be sensitized to stay on prescribed ways by informing them that this increases the likelihood of seeing game, because game is not disturbed. Sensitisation is again easier to reach within a park, where communication to tourists can be coordinated.

6.2.3.2 Involve affected persons

So hunters were reassured that tourists are not going to disturb their game. Furthermore, Johann Gruber, secretary of the regional planning group and charged with all administrative work of the project, highlighted that he himself would oppose restrictions of hunting, being a passionate hunter. So hunters had their delegate on a very prominent position.

Joseph Sauter stated that for such a project, it is important to have one specific contact person out of every interest group. Especially with cantonal agencies it is an immense advantage to know exactly which person to address. In the interview he mentioned casually that with this kind of project organization “*haben wir versucht die wichtigsten Interessensgruppen im Projekt zu bündeln*” (we have tried to bundle the most important interest groups in the project). He did not precisely mention involving affected interest groups in order to avoid opposition, but with this project organisation, this is precisely what was done.

6.2.3.3 Convince opinion leaders from the benefits

It was said that to convince the delegates of the interest groups who in turn convince the interest group was of great importance. Michael Luzio, the delegate of borough councillors in Sursees was often asked what the benefit for the communities is. Once borough councillors were convinced that their community would do better with a park than without a park, they were of great importance in convincing the population. To inform regularly about the process of the park was also considered important. Because there was a vote about a global credit for the park, it was important to keep the idea in the heads of the population.

6.2.3.4 Other advice frequently mentioned

Four actors mentioned visiting a park in South Tyrol as very important. By this visit, they saw how a park could work, but also things that they wanted to do different than the visited park.

There has been not much opposition in Parc Ela, but it was feared that with a park, new requirements and restrictions would arouse. It was necessary to explain that a Regional Nature Park is not the same as a National Park. It was important to involve affected persons and to convince opinion leaders, especially hunters, farmers and borough councillors.

6.2.4 Identification with the park project

“Es ist etwas vom wichtigsten, dass sich die Leute mit dem Park identifizieren” (One of the most important things is that people identify themselves with the park). In this part we see that identification with the park is perceived as lacking in Parc Ela. In contrast to UBE there is no strong identification with the name of the park. The cooperation of the two newly-bound valleys is something the population has to learn. Also there seems to be problems to find people that show individual initiative. Let us first address the topic of the park name.

One person said according to him the park should be named Park Albula, because the Rhaetian Railway plans to register the Albula line with its 55 bridges and 39 tunnels as UNESCO world heritage (a decision from Paris is expected in 2008). To have a Park Albula next to a UNESCO labelled Albula line would create synergies in advertising expenditure. But this person understood the decision of naming the park Ela, because the valley of Sursees would feel excluded. There was also the idea to name the park Julier, because of the ancient mountain pass. There again, the valley of Albula would be excluded.

The mountain Ela is more or less in the middle of the park, this way the population of both valleys can identify with the name. Furthermore, Ela means wing in Romansh, and it is suggested that Parc Ela shall lend wings to the region. Also, Parc Ela is short, it was said that the project team did not want to have a name with all communities mentioned, already Park Albula – Sursees was perceived as too long. Furthermore, this would have aroused argument about which valley has to be named first. Last year a hiking map for Parc Ela was created, *“das hat bereits Konkurrenz ausgelöst, alle Gemeinden wollten mit ihrem Logo zuoberst stehen”* (this has already caused competition, all communities wanted to be on the top with their logo).

Competition or envy between communities was mentioned to be a problem three times. *“Neid ist etwas vom schlimmsten was wir hier haben. Darum können wir auch nicht zusammenarbeiten”* (Envy is one of the worst things we have here. That is why we can not cooperate). Nonetheless, cooperation for the park project was mentioned as a start: *“Die Erfahrungen die man gemacht hat beim miteinander etwas tun sind sehr hoch zu bewerten, vor allem in Graubünden mit dieser verrückten Gemeindeautonomie”* (The experiences made by doing something together are to be highly appraised, especially in Grisons with this crazy autonomy of communities).

The cooperation between Albulatal and Sursees was mentioned three times as very important thing. *“Nur gemeinsam werden wir stark. Das muss den Leuten erst einmal bewusst werden. Die Angst, der andere könnte etwas mehr haben muss aufhören. Man muss dem Gast zeigen: dieses gibt es hier im Sursees und im Albulatal gibt es jenes”* (Only combined can we gain force. People have to realize this. This fear that the other one has something more must stop. One has to show to the guest: this is what we have here in Sursees and in Albulatal they have that).

It is clear that cooperation needs time. Another important thing that people possibly have to learn is individual initiative. Nearly every interviewee stated that individual initiative is now needed. *“Die Region hat jetzt ein Vehikel hingestellt bekommen, mit dem man arbeiten kann. Aber jetzt müssen sie es selbst packen”* (The region has received a vehicle to work with. But now they have to manage it on their own). *“Wichtig ist, dass die Leute jetzt mitmachen, dass jedem bewusst ist, dass man nicht warten kann, bis die anderen etwas machen”* (It is important that people participate, everybody has to be aware that one can not wait until the others do something).

It was mentioned that many locals think with the global credit the work is now done and the park will establish itself. Or, as another person put it: *“Die Leute sehen nur das Geld das der Vorstand zur Verfügung hat, sie haben das Gefühl damit müssten nun Berge versetzt werden”* (People only see the money that the board of the SA has at his disposal, they feel that with that money, mountains have to be moved).

Some persons saw the reason for lacking initiative lying in underestimation of work. *“Viele haben sich falsche Vorstellungen gemacht. ‘Jetzt haben wir den Park, jetzt gehen dann unsere Produkte.’ Das ist nicht so. Man muss Produkte an die Leute bringen und das ist Knochenarbeit”* (Many had false pretences. ‘Now we have the park, now our products sell.’ That is not the case. One has to bring products to the people and that is hard slog). Others were disillusioned about the willingness of locals to involve in a project. *“Solange man arbeiten muss, interessiert sich niemand für den Park”* (As long there is work to do, nobody is interested in the park). *“Zuerst muss man etwas geben bevor man etwas nehmen kann, aber es müssen eben alle so denken. Die Leute sind einfach nicht bereit etwas zu investieren”* (First you have to give something before you can take something, but everybody has to think this way. People are simply not willing to invest something).

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It was mentioned three times that people living in a beautiful landscapes are blind to perceive its beauty. „*Es gibt so vieles, dass den Leuten hier gar nicht bewusst ist, was für Schätze vorhanden sind*“ (There are so many things that the people here do not realize what treasures there are). „*Es gibt Einheimische die fragen: ‚wo ist der Park, ich sehe ihn nicht.‘ Es ist immer wieder zum Ausdruck gekommen: man muss zuerst etwas für den Park machen, und dann kommt der Park*“ (There are locals which ask: ‚where is the park, I do not see it.‘ It became more and more obvious: one has to do something for the park first, and then it will come). But there also seem to be locals aware of the beauty of the landscape: The population of Sur was reported to have often attended the workshops. Alp Flix is on the area of the community Sur, and the population is proud of this area.

The inauguration created a considerable response, but it was regretted that persons from outside are more interested in the park than locals. „*Wenn der Gast merkt, dass er besser informiert ist als die lokalen Informanten, z. B. die Rezeption eines Hotels oder der Kurverein, dann merkt der Gast, dass etwas nicht stimmt*“ (If the guest is better informed than local informants, e. g. the reception of a hotel or the tourist information centre, than the guest becomes aware of the fact that something is wrong). Bruno Salis expressed the hope that when guests are coming and asking for the park, that locals would start to interest themselves more for the park.

In 2008 there will be another vote about a global credit. It was reported that the acceptance of the park is high, but in three years the population most likely wants to see clear results in forms of more working places and overnight stays.

Identification with the park is lacking in Parc Ela. This has to do with the name of the park and that the two valleys were traditionally separated. Furthermore, there seems to be competition between both the valleys and the individual communities. Individual initiative is perceived as still lacking but crucial for the success of the park. The hope was expressed that with the response the inauguration created, both individual initiative and identification with the park will increase.

6.3 The profile of Parc Ela

In this section we look at the profile of Parc Ela in order to be able to highlight what park specific criteria might be possible. For this reason we first see what is perceived as most important strength of the region by the interviewees. Subsequently, we show as how important the four main aims –economy, environment, social networks and education – are perceived. In the last part it is shown how specific aims of parks that were mentioned in chapter two were rated.

6.3.1 Strength of the region

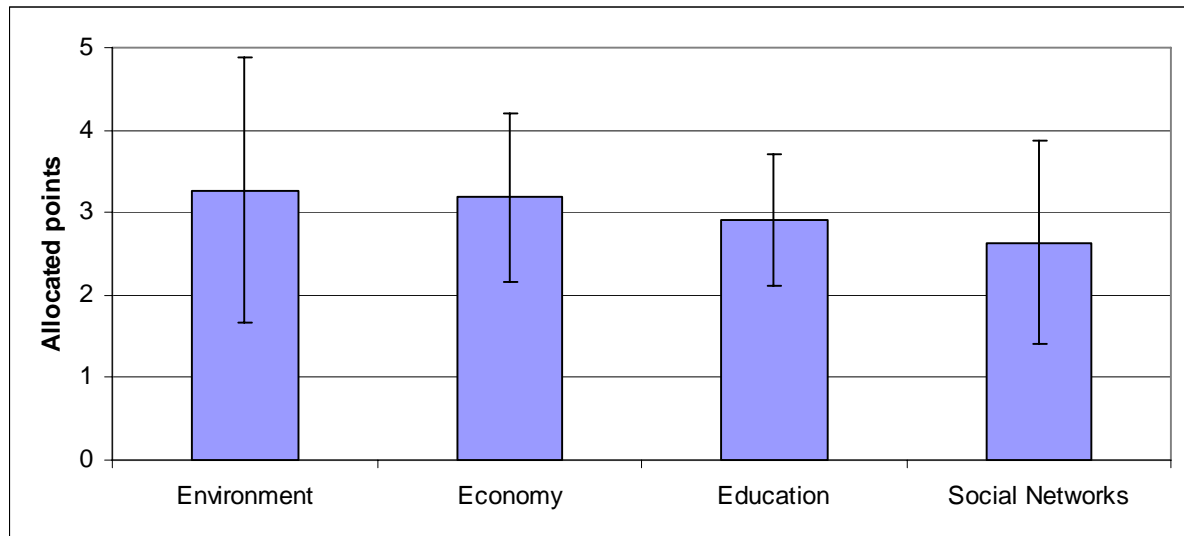
Nature was mentioned nine times as strength; it was described as unspoiled, unaffected, near-natural, intact and not overrun. Interestingly it was Christian Geiger from Pro Natura, that did not mention nature as strength but culture which was creating these forms of landscape. He mentioned influences of Italian, Romanic, German and Valsler population, traffic over mountain passes and mining industry. Another person was also vouching for culture, highlighting the beautiful churches. Each three times mentioned were the people behind the park and the diversity of landscapes due to the extent of the park. One time the nearness to St. Maurice was mentioned.

6.3.2 Importance of environmental, economic, educational and social aims

The interviewed persons were asked to allocate twelve points to the aspects environment, economy, education and social networks. Only one person perceived that all aspects are equally important; and consequently gave every aspect three points. It was mentioned twice that environmental aspects are considered to be present, the region being a future Nature Park. Those two persons gave the aspect of environment only one or two points. We can assume that other persons think so as well; therefore, the results are to be interpreted cautiously.

As figure 18 shows, environment and economy were perceived as equally important. Environment is mentioned first, because the average of given points was slightly higher. Education was perceived as less important and social networks were perceived as least important.

Figure 18: The importance of the four main aims of a park in Parc Ela



Source: Own illustration with information from interviews

6.3.3 Importance of specific aims

The interviewed persons were asked to indicate how important the specific park aims mentioned in chapter two are for their region. At choice were ‘not at all important’, ‘not important’, ‘indifferent’, ‘important’ and ‘very important’. Every interviewed person was irritated by this, stating that they perceived everything as important if not very important.

The aims to boost traditional activities and to build institutions for education of natural and cultural concerns reached an average between ‘indifferent’ and ‘important’. The aim to improve public transport in the region did so as well, but it was mentioned that a park has to concentrate on aims that can be achieved. All other aims were rated between ‘very important’ and ‘important’. Most often mentioned as ‘very important’ was to enable people to have direct contact with nature and culture, followed by anchoring the park in the population. After what we have seen in the part about identification with the park project, this is not surprising.

Intact nature and beautiful landscape are seen as most important strength of the region. Environment and economy are perceived as important in Parc Ela, whereas education and social aspects were perceived as slightly less important. The specific aims showed little differences.

6.4 Criteria for park products in Parc Ela

In this section we deal with criteria for park products in order to mark out possible park specific criteria for the Parc Ela. First we see what national and park specific criteria the interviewed persons of Parc Ela would demand themselves, and how content they are with the suggested criteria. Special interest lies on the question if organic production is feasible. Second, we see which actors are likely to define and control park specific criteria.

6.4.1 Criteria for products

6.4.1.1 Expected national criteria

Due to his membership in the cantonal working group for parks, Georg Ragaz of course knew the national criteria. Four interviewed persons expected that the criteria regulate the proportion of raw materials from the region; one expected that also the contribution to added value is considered. Twice organic production was expected. One person assumed that on a national level it is aimed at a minimum, whereas another person expected criteria too high to fulfil anyway. Further mentioned were no genetically modified organisms, no soil-less systems, “*nicht unbedingt Lamas*” (not exactly llamas) and “*eine gewisse Ökologie*” (some kind of ecology).

The interviewed persons were then told that the national criteria would define the proportion of regional raw materials and that the required production method would be PEP. The question if they are content with such national criteria was answered as following. Six persons declared themselves content with the national criteria. They argued that the origin is an important factor because otherwise it would not be credible, that higher requirements are not possible because the parks are so different or because nobody would want to use a restrictive label.

One person highlighted the importance of a national standard. Another person thought a national standard to be important, but it has to be compliable. Georg Ragaz doubted that all national criteria are compliable. He assumed that the fodder for labelled animals must also be of local origin, what would not be possible in a dry year such as 2003. Another person said that origin should not be regarded too strictly: “*wenn es aus Chur kommt, ist das doch auch ok*” (if it is coming from Chur that is also ok after all). One person declared national criteria as rather low.

6.4.1.2 Specific minimal environmental criteria

Four persons were mentioning regional origin of raw materials. One person considered local labour as more important than local raw materials. Three persons said that PEP and regional origin is enough, there is no need to require more. Interestingly this was said by the two organic farmers and another person; the conventional farmer was arguing for high environmental criteria, without further specifying this. High criteria were requested from another person. One person spoke of “*angepasste Nutzung des Standorts*” (adjusted usage of the location). Only one interviewed person would require organic farming by now, another person would aim at organic production medium term. One person stated that organic farmers receive the label without further controlling, and conventional farms should be looked at more closely, but not be excluded.

Landscape and nature in the park should develop better than outside and “*intaktes erhalten, weniger intaktes aufwerten*” (preserve what is intact, valorise what is less intact). Another person requires implementing ÖQV, which can be seen as operational approach for developing nature and landscape. Two persons would choose a way of control mixed with advice, based on conversation. “*Beim Gespräch merkt man dann: Ist überhaupt das Herz beim Park*” (During the conversation one then becomes aware of: Is the heart with the park in the first place).

6.4.1.3 Production modes that should not be possible within a park

Products that are not produced professionally were mentioned twice. When a farmer wants to produce his own yoghurt or sausage, he should install adequate production facilities and not produce on the kitchen table. Products with production steps outside the region should be excluded as should products that are not authentic. Exceeding use of agrochemicals and all production methods that exhausts soils, that cause erosion or declining biodiversity should also be abandoned. Further mentioned were not species-appropriate animal husbandry, mink breeding and exaggerated breeding, for example when the udders are so big that they nearly drag on the ground when the cow is walking. One person said that as long as it fits the location all production methods are ok.

6.4.1.4 Criteria that might evoke opposition

Two persons thought that agriculture might oppose when there are any more criteria. It was mentioned twice, that farmers that fulfil the criteria will use the label; the others will continue to sell their products to butchers and cheese dairies that are not using the label. Twice mentioned were criteria that exclude actors. Further mentioned were requirements concerning breeds, requirements that affect selfish aims, and too strict requirements concerning the origin of raw material.

The interviewed persons themselves would oppose criteria if the key for local origin is too high, if agriculture has to be even more extensive than it is now, if hunting is restricted and when requirements are contrary to common sense. On the other hand there are persons that would oppose the criteria if there are no criteria at all, if the criteria are too weak and if there are high criteria but exceptions are made. Four persons would not oppose against criteria.

6.4.1.5 The acceptance of local breeds as a criterion

All interviewees dismissed a local breed as a criterion. Four persons clearly refused the idea as unfeasible. Three said it is unrealistic, two considered it as exaggerated. It was stated twice that every farmer is free to take such a decision, but to require it from a whole region is inappropriate. Three times was said, that with this criterion there would be no products at all. There would be problems with milk yield and Scottish highland cattle are nowadays domiciled in Grisons. Furthermore, failed agricultural policies nearly caused extinction of “*rätisches Grauvieh*” and though some farmers see advantages in this breed and start to reconvert, this is a slow process.

6.4.1.6 The acceptance of organic production as a criterion

Five persons stated that organic production as a criterion would be accepted, because there are many organic farmers in the region. One stated this clearly has to be the aim. The others argued that this would create incentives to convert to organic farming. The non organic farmer said: “*Wenn die das verlangen, sollen sie, ich verkaufe meine Produkte sowieso. Ich bin so integriert am Markt, dass ich nicht umstellen würde, und mit meiner Glacé ist das sowieso nicht möglich*” (If they request that, they can, I’m going to sell my products anyway. I am well integrated in the market, so I would not convert; it would not be possible with my ice cream anyway). But he saw no use in such a criterion because of market saturation.

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Five persons did not approve of organic farming as a criterion, the two organic farmers among them. Both farmers and another person said that organic farming is no guarantor for good farming. Bruno Salis was arguing that there may be many organic farms in Parc Ela, but those that sell their products directly are often not organic. Joseph Sauter stated that if organic production would have been a precondition for the park, the project would have failed.

All three farmers reported of malpractice of organic farmers. They said that the high milk price for organic milk caused many farmers to convert though they are not organic with their heart. Cordo Simeon and Peter Heinrich both spoke of farmers that are converting back to conventional or are at least thinking about it, because Bio Suisse is constantly tightening requirements.

Another aspect to consider with organic production is brand recognition. Peter Heinrich sells his ice cream in the pedestrian zone of Chur during summer and is present on many exhibitions. He is convinced that the park would profit when he would be allowed to use the label, because he often is in highly frequented places. Bruno Salis is backing this argument: *“Ich gehe davon aus, dass der Werbeeffect gross ist, wenn das Label auf Produkten ist”* (I assume that the advertising effect would be considerable, when the label is on products).

The hotelier was asked whether he uses organic products. He does so, but does not use the bud label in the menu card, because in cases when the product is not available in organic quality, he would have to change the menu card. To the question why he bought organic products he said: *“Weil es gut ist, ich kaufe nur gute Sachen”* (because it is good, I do only buy good things). As disadvantage of organic products he mentioned the higher price and availability.

National criteria for park products were perceived as good. In regards to the park specific criteria, the interviewees highlighted the importance of regional origin of raw materials and labour. Animal welfare and production methods that are not damaging for soils and enhance landscapes were requested. A local breed as a park criterion was considered as inappropriate. Half of the interviewees approved of requiring organic production as park criterion. The other half, including the organic farmers, saw arising problems of this criterion. Organic production is no guarantor of better farming. Furthermore, there would be not enough products, because organic farmers often use conventional channels. With fewer products, advertising synergies could not be utilized.

6.4.2 Actors deciding park specific criteria and controlling them

6.4.2.1 The need for a new working group

Eight persons stated that there is already a working group. The SA appointed a label commission. This commission is currently not active because they did not want to define criteria and award producers the label, because their criteria might differ from official park criteria, which are still under discussion. They actually did define criteria at the time when the federation was announcing that the revision of the NHG is not taking place. Those criteria adopted the requirements of “*Natürlich Graubünden*” a regional label for products of Grisons. But with the resumption of the revision all applications for the label were shelved.

Three persons see no need for a new working group. One thought it better to adopt requirements of existing labels. Another person doubts that enough people would be interested in a park label. The last person, who advocated no more requirements for park products during the whole interview, consequently saw no need for a working group.

6.4.2.2 Important actors

Joseph Sauter was nominated president of the label commission. Moreover, there is a forestry enterpriser, Bruno Salis as delegate of agriculture, and it is planned to have an hotelier in the label commission; this post is vacant. The label commission will evaluate applications of producers. If there is a special case, the commission is free to involve experts. The commission then suggests to the board of the SA to award the label or not. If it is awarded, the producer gets a licence agreement with Parc Ela that remains valid for three years, and after this period the case is newly considered. When the rules are broken, the agreement can be cancelled immediately.

When they were asked who they think should be in this working group, three persons answered that the composition of the label commission is good as it is today. Two persons claimed for external advisors; each one time mentioned were producers, a person from tourism and a person with marketing knowledge. One person mentioned that depending on the products, an expert should be in the commission, if the product is wood for example, there has to be a person that has practical and theoretical knowledge about wood.

6.4.2.3 Actors arguing for strong / weak environmental criteria

When asked if there are persons willing to join the working group for specific criteria, in order to influence the criteria, seven persons pointed out the fact that the label commission is already staffed. Three persons said that the interest for the label is small. One person thought that environmental activists might have an interest in joining the working group; another person was naming different interest groups such as farmers or butchers.

Four interviewed persons thought that there will be actors arguing for weak environmental criteria, one person said this is only going to happen behind the scenes. Two persons did not think that actors will argue for weak criteria, and one person stated that the criteria basically have to be consistent with the charter, and that is it. One actor said it is not worthwhile to argue for weak criteria, because consumers would not buy a bad product.

Eight persons thought that there will be actors arguing for too strong environmental criteria. Three of them said this is a thing one has to pay attention to. It was mentioned that this depends on individuals. Once it was said that too strong criteria will not come from within the region but from outside. The statement “*Wenn der von der von der Pro Natura nicht für Natur ist, macht er etwas falsch*” (if people of Pro Natura are not arguing for nature they do something wrong) indicates that it needs both extremes to get a compromise in the end. The tension between too strict criteria, which would result in too few products and too weak criteria, that would allow all producers to use the label, which can not be the idea of a park label, was mentioned three times.

6.4.2.4 The controlling of the criteria

Five persons stated that the label commission will control the producers; three times this was expected to be done by external experts. When they were asked who should control the criteria, four persons argued for external control, because internal controllers might have inhibitions to be strict enough. Three persons argued for the label commission. Also three persons thought it useful to integrate the controlling into existing controls. A farmer argued that transparency and honesty are important, he would be willing anytime to show interested consumers his farm. The hotelier argued for an unannounced control, the controller should arrive as guest, and write his account on the experience how he is treated.

6.4.2.5 Marketing strategy for park products

Some actors expressed ideas during the interview others were asked where products could be sold when there was enough time left. The listing of those thoughts has therefore no scientific validity. Hotels and restaurants are seen as possible purchaser of park products. The weekly market in Chur, the capital of Grisons was mentioned twice. It was said that farmers should cooperate in order to have a broader range of products. One person said the regional products should be sold as souvenir in “*Heidiland*” a highway rest area near Chur.

Often mentioned was the so called “*Labelsalat*” (jumble of labels), the fact that there are ways too many labels on the Swiss market. Cordo Simeon is active in another Regio-Plus project that aims to market regional products, that is called “*Ansaina*” (Romansh for sign). He regretted that Ansaina is now eaten up by Parc Ela. One person suggested Parc Ela being an umbrella brand in which Ansaina has its place.

“Spezialitäten müssen wir herstellen! In meinem Keller ist Käse von zehn verschiedenen Alpen. Wenn wir die anschneiden, dann kann mir niemand sagen, von welcher Alp welcher Käse ist. Wenn wir regionale Produkte vermarkten wollen, warum machen wir dann alles gleich?” (It is specialties that we have to produce! In my cellar is cheese of ten different mountain pastures. When we cut them, nobody can tell me which cheese was made on which alp. We want to market regional products, so why are we making everything similar?).

The label commission will decide if farmers are allowed to use the label or not. The label commission is also responsible for the controlling of the farms. But the need for external control was highlighted. Joseph Sauter, president of the label commission, and Bruno Salis, member of the label commission both argued that farms should be considered individually. Since it was highlighted that it is specialties that must be produced, an individual consideration of different products and producers seems to be appropriate.

7 Discussion of the results

In this chapter the general lessons from the two case studies are proposed. Chapter two illustrated that the goals of ten presented parks were similar. Due to the similar requirements for parks in the revised NHG, the parks initiators will meet similar difficulties when deciding on specific product criteria. Therefore, it is justified to draw lessons for other parks from the results of the two case studies. Firstly, the results from the interviews are discussed in accordance with the last chapter's structure. Then possible criteria for the two regions are reviewed leading to general considerations on the decision making process of park specific criteria. Finally, general advantages and disadvantages of using organic production as a criterion for park products are examined.

7.1 Building a park: case study results

To apply the results to other parks, it is useful to know which actors have to be mobilised when, and how to deal with opposition. Therefore, comparisons of important actors in both parks were made. The translation cycles of the two parks are studied and individual cycle phases compared. Finally, how the two parks dealt with opposition and how the regions identify with the parks was studied. This was necessary to prepare recommendations for parks less advanced in the process.

7.1.1 Important actors

7.1.1.1 Actors from within the project

For both parks, the regional planning group played an important role in launching the initial idea to establish a park. The regional planning group, the regional planner, and the director of the agricultural school in Schüpfheim were the three most important actors in UBE during the first phase of developing the idea. In Parc Ela, the situation for the first phase is similar, the regional planner and the regional planning group were very important. The only difference was that the project team with delegates of interest groups was also an important actor.

The phase where concepts were established and acceptance in the population was sought after was led by the three regional managers in the UBE, each of them paid for a 50% position. In Parc Ela, only the regional planner, who coordinated the project, was paid for his work. The

project team worked on an honorary basis. This team was made up of one delegate from each interest group. It is important to note that the interviewees highlighted how important the team factor was. In both parks it was said five times that it is not possible to single the most important person out as the team was so important. After voting, the regional managers of UBE were employed to manage the biosphere. In Parc Ela a project manager was employed as well. In both cases a supporting association exists, of which the board is the ultimate decision authority.

7.1.1.2 Advisory bodies

It is interesting to see that in Parc Ela, Georg Ragaz from the agency of nature and landscape Grisons and Christian Geiger from Pro Natura Graubünden were both mentioned five times as being important actors. In the UBE, the FOEN was only mentioned three times; Urs Meyer from the agency of nature and landscape only twice; Pro Natura was not mentioned at all. The timing of the projects has something to do with this. The UBE was established when no federal or cantonal agency was even thinking about parks, whereas Parc Ela was established in the light of the upcoming revision of the NHG. In regards to Pro Natura, environmental protection associations were loathed in Entlebuch because of fenland protection. In contrast, Parc Ela profited from Pro Natura's campaign to establish new parks in Switzerland.

FOEN and cantonal agencies played a role in UBE, but it was said that it was not a significant one. Many interviewees in Parc Ela did not perceive cantonal and federal agencies as advisory bodies. They were mentioned more as being important actors rather than advisory bodies. The same is true for Pro Natura. In regards to Pro Natura, Christian Geiger's strategy of avoiding too much emphasis on environmental protection was appreciated. In workshops, he only gave his opinion when asked, in order to avoid opposition. People from both parks stated that they contacted advisory bodies whenever necessary, no critical time was mentioned.

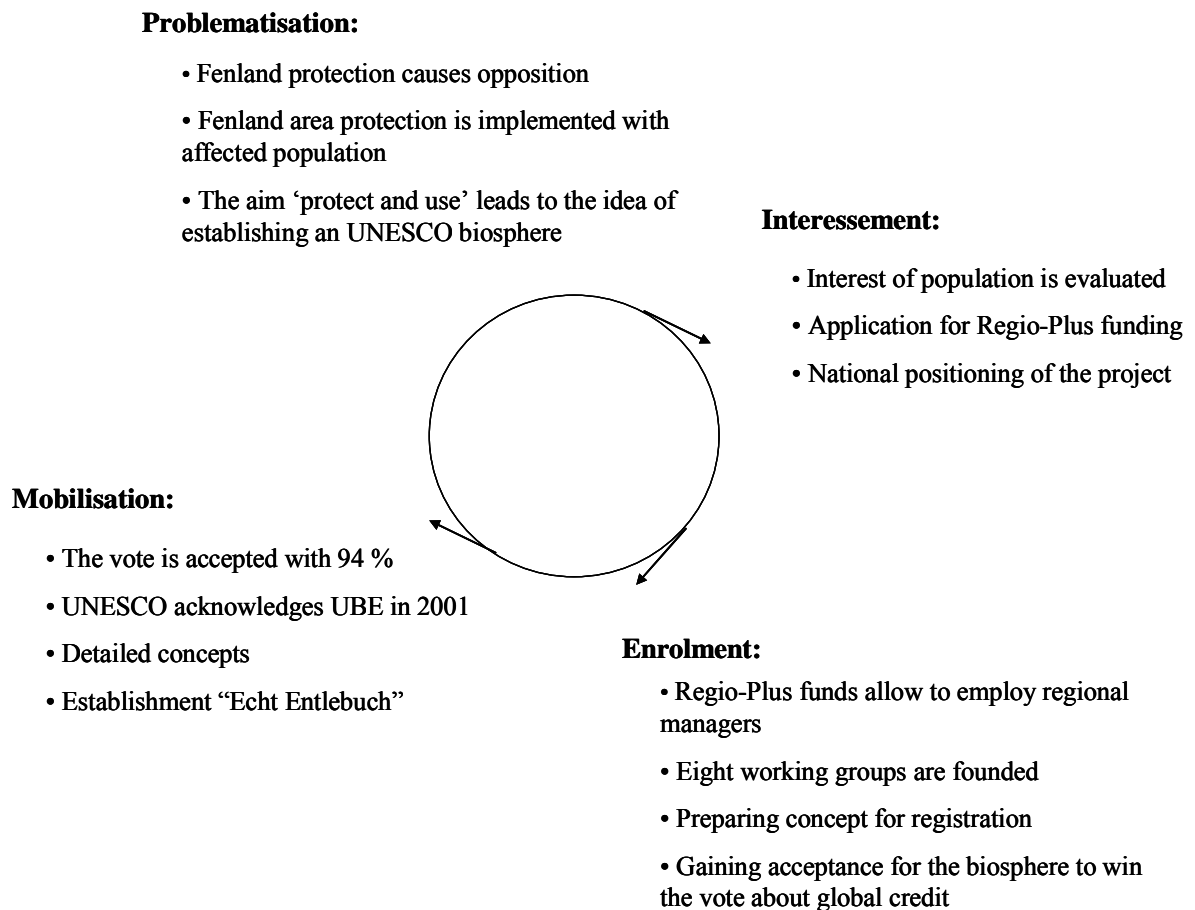
7.1.1.3 Financial backers

Both projects have been Regio-Plus projects and both were further assisted by the canton and other sponsors. Persons from both parks do not think that the projects would have taken place with no financial aid. Though the population eventually said yes to a global credit for a project with a complete concept, they are unlikely to finance an immature idea.

7.1.2 Translation cycle

In figure 19 we see the main steps of the establishment of the UBE. Figure 20 on the next page shows the main steps of the establishment of Parc Ela.

Figure 19: Translation cycle of UBE



Source: Following Brunori (to appear soon), personal adaptation

7.1.2.1 Problematisation

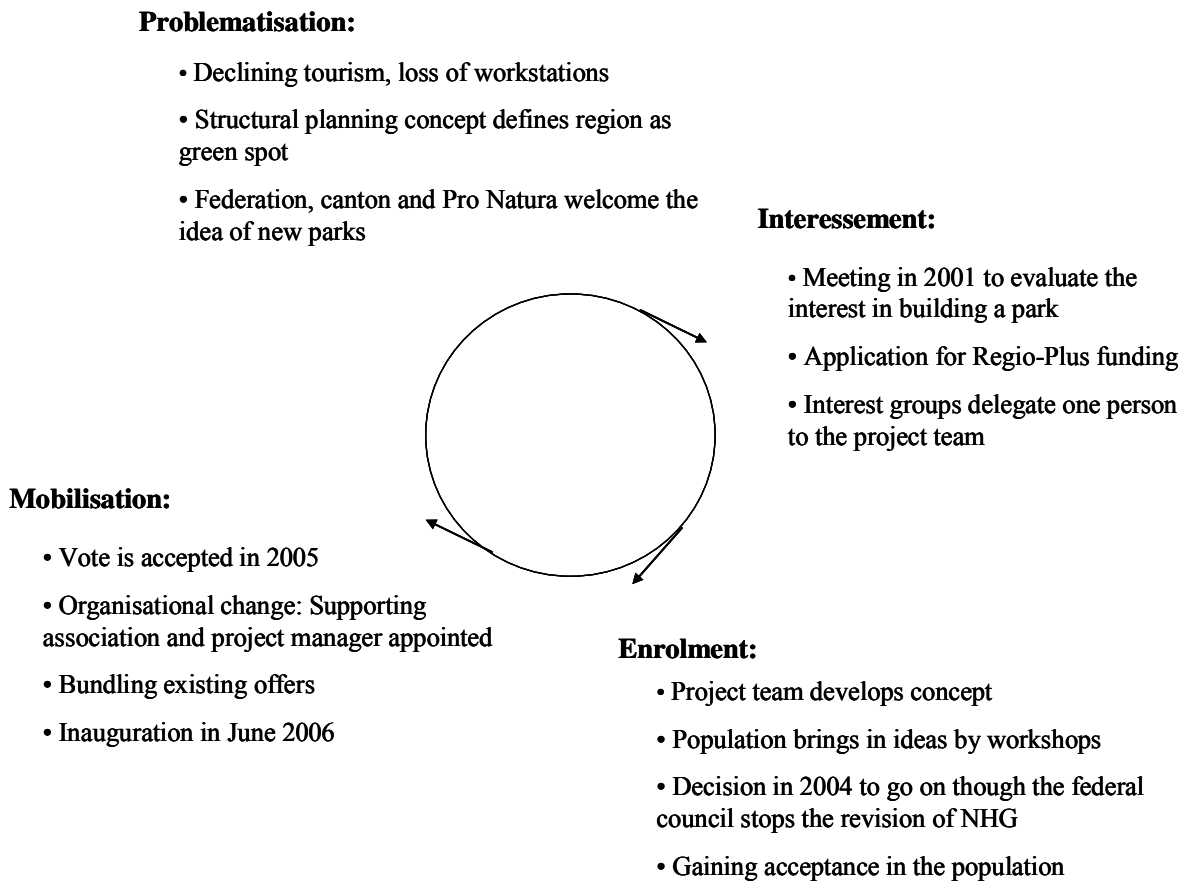
The initial situation of the two parks was quite different. In UBE the crisis caused by the implementation of fenland protection led to the belief that the protection of fenland areas has to bring the population some advantages. Ideas to establish a park concept, where possibilities for tourism arouse led to the idea to establish a biosphere reserve. Entlebuch stepped in uncharted territory; neither canton nor federation had any regulations concerning the registration of a biosphere.

For Parc Ela, the crisis was the loss of workstations and declining tourism, problems Entlebuch is also facing but which were less important due to the dominance of the fenland problem. The environment was certainly more park-friendly than the environment the UBE had to face. Federation, canton and Pro Natura were planning to build parks; therefore, it has been easier to get technical and financial help.

7.1.2.2 Interesement

The interesement phase was more similar in the two parks. The interest for a park in the population was evaluated, but also possible fears were detected. Funds were mobilised and persons to accomplish the project were sought.

Figure 20: Translation cycle of Parc Ela



Source: Following Brunori (to appear soon), personal adaptation

7.1.2.3 Enrolment

In the phase of enrolment, there were again differences, mainly concerning actors. In UBE a professional management of three people was employed. Whereas in Parc Ela, there was one

professional, the regional planner, and the rest of the project team were delegates from interest groups. The main targets of the management of UBE and the project team of Parc Ela were the same: preparing a park concept and gain acceptance in the population.

Both parks decided to let the population vote about the park. This would not have been necessary, since borough councillors are legitimated to decide about a global credit. It was done on purpose, in order to be sure that the population stands behind the idea of a park. The population was also integrated as much as possible; both parks founded working groups for different topics. In Parc Ela ideas generated in working groups were discussed in workshops where the population was invited to choose the best ideas. How the ideas of working groups were integrated in the UBE was not mentioned, but it can be assumed that they were discussed by the management.

7.1.2.4 Mobilisation

Both parks won the vote, and in both parks the management changed, though for UBE it was only a slight shift in the management. In Parc Ela there has been a major change; only two persons from the project team are still in the board of the supporting association. This caused a delaying of the inauguration for one year; because things that were predefined by the project team were reconsidered. UBE has its regional label "*Echt Entlebuch*", whereas Parc Ela does not to award labels until national requirements are fixed. UBE is several steps ahead regarding implementation of park related projects, because it was inaugurated four years earlier.

7.1.2.5 Most important time for the vision

In UBE nearly half of the interviewed persons stated that there is no most important time, visions are constantly revised by actors of different forums. Only two persons stated that vague visions were made prior to the vote. In Parc Ela half of the persons indicated that the definition of the visions was a long process during several workshops, which eventually led to the charter of the park. This charter is needed for two reasons, first, to explain the population what they are voting about, and second, because the guidelines of FOEN for Regional Nature Parks require a charter.

Though it was only rarely stated as important time for the visions in UBE, we can define the vague visions – and the charter of Parc Ela – made prior to the vote as obligatory passage point. It was a set of visions to which the population had to say yes. For both parks it was very

clear to abandon the project in case the population says no. This means that the population had a veto point. That they did say yes, indicating that they are content with the aims, benefits, but also with restrictions regarding use of protected landscapes or possible building regulations. This means that they realized that the misfit with common mode of production and therefore the adaptational pressure was not too high. Furthermore, with the involvement in working groups, actors were able to choose strategies in order to improve their situation. The next section shows how actors started to realize that a park is not a threat but a chance.

7.1.3 Dealing with opposition

In UBE there was more opposition against the project than in Parc Ela, which is not surprising due to the turbulent history of fenland protection. Nonetheless, there has been opposition in both parks. Hunters and agriculture, the two interest groups fearing most negative consequences, were clearly addressed in both parks. Fears were discussed; where they have been unfounded this was explained in detail. For agriculture it was explained that no new restrictions in land use will arise. In regards to hunting, the fear not to be allowed to hunt anymore was as well allayed.

Benefits arising from a park were shown. To convince farmers from the possibilities a park brings regarding product marketing was mentioned in both parks. In UBE studies about added value were reported to have been undertaken. In Parc Ela it was specially mentioned that borough councillors had to be convinced of the benefits a park would bring the community in question. The importance of regular information about the park became evident in both cases. With a vote to win, it was particularly mentioned by UBE to mobilise approving persons, because otherwise, only negatively affected persons would attend the vote.

Though it was not clearly stated in Parc Ela, the strategy to involve affected persons was chosen in both parks. In UBE it was tried to encourage affected persons to join the working groups; in Parc Ela, every interest group was advised to delegate one person to the project team. Also, were fears were justified, for example that game could be disturbed by tourists, it was especially mentioned in UBE that hunters were involved to draw a map with sensible game passes. The aspect of being in better position to channel tourist flows with a park than without a park was also mentioned in Parc Ela.

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In both parks, opinion leaders were gained to convince other people in turn. In Parc Ela borough councillors were mentioned, in UBE this involved directors of schools, the editor of the local newspaper, people from the supporting association and the two local managers. That people trust people was visible in 2006 on many placard-walls. Migros and Coop, the two largest retailers in Switzerland both had campaigns where individual farmers advertised regional and organic products respectively. It was said in UBE that it is difficult to find enough persons that are willing to vouch publicly for a project with their person. But as was said in Parc Ela, a park consists of heads. Persons willing to take effort have to be shown. People have to know who they could address if they had a question. Giving the park faces helps people to gain trust.

All in all four main strategies to gain acceptance for a park project can be concluded: Unfounded criticism have to be invalidated by information and benefits have to be pointed out. Affected persons have to be involved and made to participants and opinion leaders have to be integrated. Also mentioned in both parks was to visit another park, giving the participants ideas how one could do such a project, but more often stated was how one does not want to do a project.

7.1.4 Identification with the park project

It became obvious that the UBE had clear advantage in the identification of the population with the name Entlebuch. In Parc Ela it was perceived as better not to arouse competition between the two valleys and therefore giving the park a neutral name. As was particularly mentioned in Parc Ela, cooperation between the two valleys and individual initiative are lacking. To enhance cooperation and individual initiative certainly takes time. In the UBE lacking initiative was only rarely mentioned, but it was also often argued that a park has to be lived by the population.

We have seen that identification with a park project is of immense importance. Both private actors and professionals have to be fully committed to the project in order to drive it forward. As we have seen this does not stop after the vote, there is still the need of initiative actors to create products, adjust visions and give the park a good image.

In order to give other park projects ideas how to undertake such a project, we summarize some main strategies that have proved to be factors of success for the two parks. Figure 21 gives an overview.

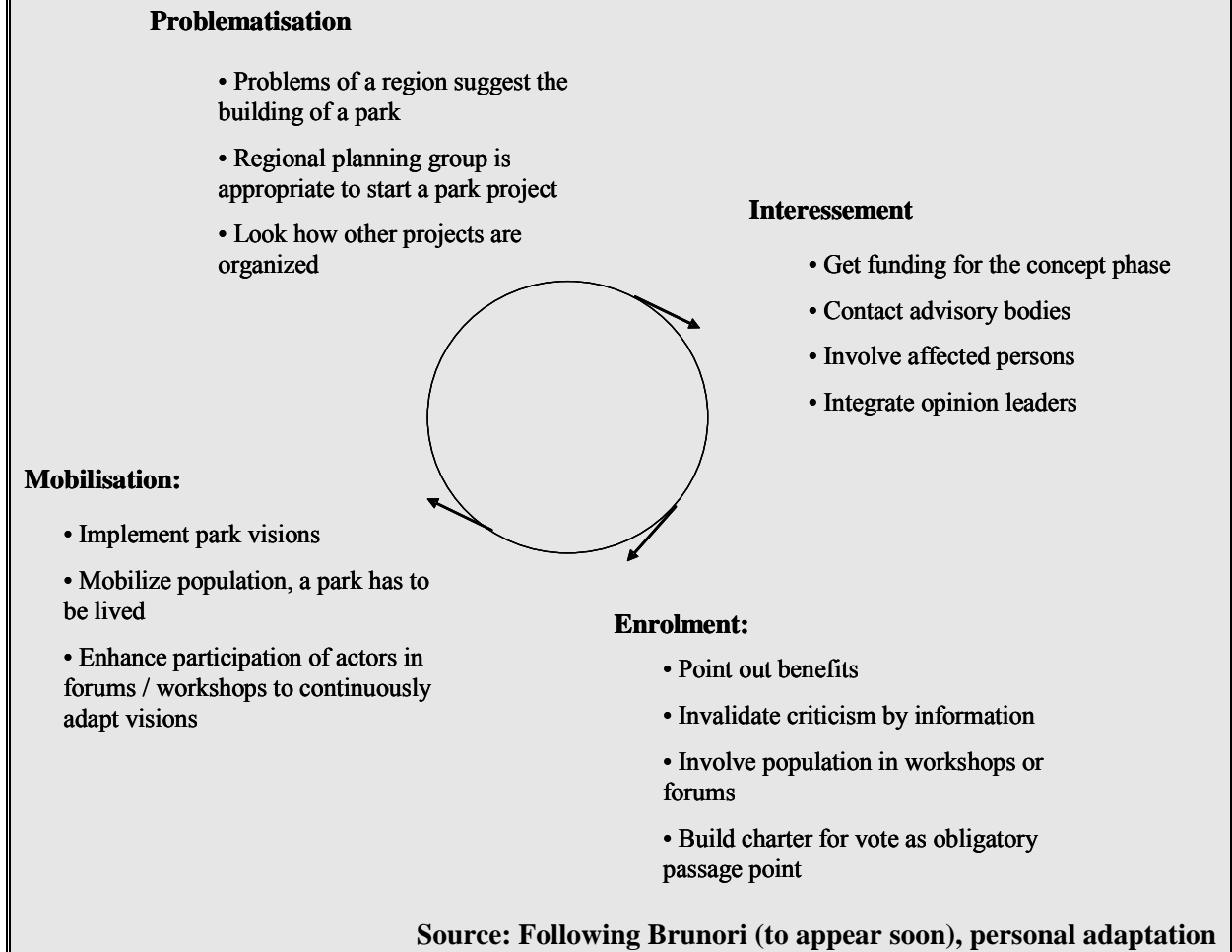
In the problematisation phase, where the idea of building a park arises to solve the problems of a region, there is need to coordinate actors of a region. The regional planning group was in both parks an important actor. This is not surprising, this group has the necessary connections to the different communities – there are often borough councillors in the planning groups. On the other hand a park has a lot to do with spatial planning, the regional planning group therefore is ideal to launch such a project. The regional planning group should look how other projects are organized and try to collect first ideas and visions that would help to solve the problems of the region.

In the second phase, the interessement, it is important to involve affected persons and to integrate opinion leaders. It is of advantage to have specific contact persons of interest groups in order to know who to address and also to be able to appraise the opposition potential of each interest group. In regards to advisory bodies, they have to be contacted when needed. There again it is helpful to know who to address within the canton. It is of special advantage if this contact person has connections with FOEN, in order to explain what is required on a national level. Funding has proved to be important as starting assistance, therefore it should be tried to get funding, for example from Regio-Plus.

To let the population vote about the park is the easiest way to see if the population is behind a park, as it is required for Parks of National Importance. In the phase of enrolment prior to the vote it is important to gain acceptance in the region. To inform about the park is very important, criticisms have to be invalidated and benefits have to be shown. By establishing the charter of a park it is useful to integrate the population in order to gain broad acceptance. The vote about the charter is the obligatory passage point to which the population has to agree at the vote.

After the vote in the phase of mobilisation it is particularly important to keep people involved. A park is dynamic, visions might change, they might get more ambitious or they might prove as not feasible during implementation. Furthermore, a park is still in need of innovative actors, if everybody thinks it is done with a global credit, there will be no products, no services and sooner or later no park. A park has to be lived by the population.

Figure 21: Important steps in a park project



7.1.5 Possible marketing strategies mentioned by interviewees

As we have indicated in the chapters five and six, marketing strategies were sometimes mentioned by interviewees or asked for if there was enough time. Therefore, we only briefly look at this topic.

In the UBE the need for a logistic centre for park products was mentioned twice. It was argued that it would be beneficial for hoteliers, which have to use regional products. For the time being, each farmer delivers his products to each hotel or restaurant that is interested. One often mentioned critic of restaurateurs towards organic products is deficient availability. Furthermore, it was shown that restaurateurs like to order their products from as little suppliers as possible (Hofmann and Richter 2005). Those needs are certainly also valid for regional products. A logistic centre would therefore be advisable. It was further mentioned

that a lot of milk is draining towards Lucerne to Emmi or towards Konolfingen to Nestlé. In order to keep added value in the region, the idea of building processing facilities emerged.

In Parc Ela it was especially mentioned that it is specialities that have to be produced. This can be backed by a finding of the project SAGRI ALP, in which the authors stated that the orientations of production in Swiss mountain regions should more than ever do without interchangeable anonymous quantities of raw products (Richter et al. 2001, p. 69). It was also mentioned that farmers have to find collective strategies in order to have broad product range, for example some farmers that go alternately to the weekly market in Chur. By prominently present the parks label both the park and park products could be strengthened.

One interviewee of UBE mentioned the possibility of placing some park products in a retailer chain. There are some threats in this strategy: “the requirements to abide by the guidelines associated with traceability (...) often forces producers to replace their traditional production practices with those prescribed by the supermarket” (Murdoch et al. 2000, p. 119). Furthermore, by associate with big retailers the danger exists that the demand for large quantities forces to set the criteria on low standards in order to let many farmer participate. In this case an initiative is forced to grow beyond its limits (Brunori et al. 2005, p. 35).

The tightrope walk between embeddedness and dis-embeddedness was also mentioned by Murdoch et al. (2000, p. 119). If the product is too much embedded, meaning that the criteria are high and the link to the region is strong, the product is not likely to travel far. In case of too much dis-embeddedness the product can be produced in large amounts and therefore be exported, but the criteria have to be weakened in order to produce the requested amounts for export.

So it can not be an aim for parks to launch their products on a national level, in most cases the quantities would be insufficient anyway. What could be possible is to position park products in regional chain stores. Both Migros and Coop are regional cooperatives; the total of regional cooperatives is linked nationally. There are some products that are available in all branch stores of Switzerland and others are only available in the regional cooperative. Even for a regional level amounts might be too small, but some products might find a market there.

7.2 Criteria for park products

In this section we first take a look at the profile of the two regions in order to find out if they differ. We then look at the answers concerning product criteria. It is important to note that the interviews were made prior to the consultation process, some persons did not know what criteria are about to come. We first see what criteria are expected and desired and how acceptance for the proposed criteria is. We briefly consider if producers in the UBE are likely to adapt a new label. It will be concluded what park specific criteria might be possible for the UBE and Parc Ela. In a second step we see who the actors deciding and controlling criteria are likely to be. This leads us to some thoughts about the process of defining criteria.

7.2.1 The profile of the two regions

In this section we compare the profiles of the two regions. When there are differences in the rating of the visions, this might be important for the defining of the park specific criteria. It is remarkable that agents of environmental protection were mentioned so often in Parc Ela. On the other hand it has to be considered that Pro Natura was an important sponsor and Georg Ragaz from the agency of landscape and nature has proved as valuable due to his connections with FOEN. Furthermore, UBE had a very different starting situation, environmental protection was ill-reputed in the region, and their idea to establish a park was so revolutionary that they outran environmental protection, as one person was putting it. Therefore, we can not conclude that Parc Ela is more likely than the UBE to stress environmental protection, due to the involvement of Pro Natura in the project phase. Anyway Pro Natura and WWF were involved in the UBE later on.

In both parks the beautiful landscape was seen as strength of the region. In the UBE identification of people with the region was mentioned as very important strength. As we have seen, identification is rather lacking in Parc Ela. In both parks the good location was mentioned, though with different emphasis. The UBE was perceived as ideally located as Recreation Park of Berne and Lucerne. Whereas in Parc Ela nearness to St. Maurice was perceived as strength, indicating that guests of Parc Ela have the opportunity to additionally visit St. Maurice.

The allocation of twelve points to the main aims economy, environment, education and social networks showed only little difference between the two regions. In the UBE economy was perceived as most important, whereas in Parc Ela the average points given to environment

were as slightly higher than points given to economy that they have to be considered as equal. For both regions education was in the third place and social networks were perceived as least important.

The rating of specific park aims showed mainly that most aims are perceived as important if not very important. Only to boost traditional activities and to build institutions for education of natural and cultural topics were perceived between indifferent important by persons of both parks. Due to the small number of interviews it is not possible to indicate more than that.

Parc Ela has slightly more emphasis in environment. With the history of Entlebuch and the fact that Pro Natura was an important financial backer, this is not surprising. However, differences between the parks and within park aims were small and should not affect product criteria.

7.2.2 Criteria for park products

7.2.2.1 Expected national criteria

The national criteria, defining the origin of raw materials and PEP as minimal production standard, are very similar to the criteria of “*Echt Entlebuch*” (EE). Interviewees in UBE that did not know about the suggested criteria were guessing right in assuming that national criteria are similar to the requirements of EE. The importance of regional origin was mentioned by more than a third of all interviewees. There were fewer people knowing what criteria are likely to come in Parc Ela, also there has so far been no Parc Ela label. The answers were therefore more widespread, assuming anything from the absolute minimum to criteria too high to be fulfilled, covering organic production, no llamas, no GMOs and no soil-less production systems.

Seven persons in UBE were content with the national criteria, often founded by the likeness of the national criteria and requirements for EE. One pointed out the conflict between the need for a national standard and the need of the region for leeway, and two persons did not at all see the why the federation should interfere with criteria. In Parc Ela the national criteria were approved of by the majority of interviewed persons, but twice only under the condition that they are compliable. One time the criteria were perceived as too low.

In majority, the national criteria were approved of, because they are in line with practice.

7.2.2.2 Specific minimal environmental criteria

In UBE regional origin was demanded by two third of the persons. Organic production was fully demanded by one person, another person would request a proportion of organic as high as possible. Other requirements were a higher proportion of ECA than requested in PEP, high quality, sustainability, and awareness of the farmer concerning the aims of a park. Very interesting was the thought not to require, but to develop criteria with the producers.

The results of Parc Ela are very similar, two third of the persons would require regional origin. Three of them were stating that PEP and regional origin is enough, they would not require more. Two persons were arguing for high criteria in order to stand out. In regards to organic production again only one person is requiring it as a criterion, another person would aim at it. Further requested were: adjusted usage of the location, measures to improve landscape and the implementation of ÖQV (those two last requirements can be seen as implementing park aims). In Parc Ela two persons are arguing for a control mixed with advice, meaning that they would not require specific criteria but carefully consider each producer if he is in line with the aims of a park.

In regards to production modes that should not be allowed in a park, persons of UBE mentioned: industrial production, GMOs, frog legs and anything against ethical basic principles. Furthermore, the need to be resistant against negative publicity by making the avoidance of rules impossible was highlighted. Persons of Parc Ela mentioned as practices that should not be allowed in a park: unprofessional production (for example not having appropriate production facilities), mink breeding, and production modes that harm soil, for example through causing erosion. Not species appropriate husbandry was four times mentioned. It is important to note that species appropriate husbandry is prescribed as a condition for PEP; furthermore, there are regulations that aim to protect the soil.

A vast majority of the interviewed persons would not request more than the national criteria, being regional origin and PEP. Further requirements are proposed to be discussed with producers and should be in line with park aims. Only few persons would require high criteria or organic production in order to stand out.

7.2.2.3 Criteria that might evoke opposition

In UBE half of the interviewed person stated that criteria not in line with practice will evoke opposition. It was mentioned twice that any new criteria would evoke opposition, and one time that criteria generating higher costs would be opposed. Criteria that would cause personal opposition were roughly the same, though one person highlighted the need for high criteria in order to stand out and would therefore not oppose criteria.

In Parc Ela as well any new criteria were mentioned as source of opposition twice. The other mentioned criteria can be seen as not in line with practice, which accounts for about a quarter of the interviewees. In contrast to the UBE there was too times the conviction that criteria are not going to evoke opposition, because if producers are able to fulfil the criteria they will take the label, otherwise, they just go on as before. This is also reflected in the reactions to the question about personal opposition; about a third of the interviewed persons would not oppose any criteria. About a third would oppose the criteria mentioned above, and again in contrast to UBE, the last third would oppose the criteria if they were too weak.

7.2.2.4 The acceptance of local breeds as a criterion

In the UBE eight persons were absolutely disapproving of local breeds as a criterion, whereas two saw it as a possibility. In Parc Ela all interviewed persons disapproved. It was mentioned in both parks that this can be a strategy for individual farmers, but not for the whole region. Further mentioned was that there would be not enough products and that introducing a new species in the case of Entlebuch and re-importing “*rätisches Grauvieh*” from South Tyrol in the case of Parc Ela can not be the aim of a park.

Criteria are opposed when not in line with practice. The criterion of a local breed was said to be a strategy for individual farmer, but for the whole region.
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7.2.2.5 The acceptance of organic production as a criterion

The question about the acceptance of local breed as a criterion was asked before the question about the acceptance of organic production. Because local breed is so rejected it is possible that the interviewees were soothed by the question of organic production. If the question about local breed had not been asked, the results for organic might have been less positive or more negative.

The vast majority disapproved with the idea of organic farming as a criterion. In UBE it was more accentuated, only one person approved of the idea, the rest was at least not content. In Parc Ela, five persons including the two organic farmers disapproved and five persons were saying organic production would be accepted due to high percentage of organic farmers in Grisons. The non-organic farmer did not care about this criterion but sees no benefit due to market saturation.

Persons from both parks mentioned that there would be not enough products. In the UBE the loss of innovative products which are not in line with the requirements of the bud were highlighted. In Parc Ela it was said that organic farmers are often not selling products directly. It was particularly highlighted that the less products carry the label the more advertisement effect would be lost. Also in both parks stated was that Bio Suisse is constantly raising requirements, which could be complicated to integrate into a park label and causes farmers to convert back to conventional.

In UBE was highlighted that organic production is not in line with practice and that it would evoke opposition. Furthermore, it was not perceived as wise to push farmers into organic. It would be better to assist awareness for environmental topics, which would eventually lead 60% percent of farmers, which could produce organic without changing much, to convert. This is affirmed by the persons in Parc Ela, which stated that organic farming is no guarantor for better farming, because many farmers only convert because of higher milk prices.

Both hoteliers only frequently buy organic products and both are not writing this in their menu card. Both hoteliers mentioned the higher price as barrier to use organic products; Sepp Waldegg added the problem of availability. As positive aspects they mentioned the quality of the products and marketing reasons respectively.

Organic production is not feasible for both parks, there would be not enough products.

7.2.3 Feasible criteria for the UBE and Parc Ela

As we have seen in the sections about possible park criteria, the criterion of organic would not at all be welcomed in UBE, even if the interviewed persons guess that 60% of the farmers could produce organic without changing much. In regards to Parc Ela with a high proportion of organic farmers, the problem is that organic farmers often produce milk which is processed in conventional channels. With the park specific criterion of organic farming, there would be only few products in Parc Ela. The criterion of a local breed as well is not feasible for the two parks.

Because the producers of UBE already have a successful label, interviewees were specifically ask if there is the possibility that producers would not want to use the park label if criteria were too high. Five times this possibility was said to be high. The name park is not common in Entlebuch and one producer clearly stated that he would not use another label, even if he fulfilled the criteria. One person said specifically that this would happen if organic is requested. Three persons said that this possibility exists. The other three said it would be wise to use the national label. Both parks have veto points if requirements are too high, UBE will use Echt Entlebuch and Parc Ela will just not have enough products. Because a label needs to be recognized and recognition gets higher when many products carry the label, a non-usage would weaken the national park label.

A vast majority of the interviewed persons would not request more than the national criteria, being regional origin and PEP. Regional origin was mentioned by many actors as very important. Further requirements are proposed to be discussed with producers and should be in line with park aims. It is interesting that animal welfare was mentioned so often though it has no concrete link with park aims. Consumers are sensible for scandals in animal husbandry; therefore, it might be useful to set high standards in order to avoid negative publicity.

As was mentioned twice, there is need to develop landscape and nature. As implementation for this development implementing ÖQV was proposed. This ecological quality degree aims to net ecological compensation areas (ECA) by paying additional subsidies for ECA that are networked. Networking is important, because endangered species are in need of specific environment. To preserve high-stemmed fruit trees is beneficial for birds that are nesting in those trees. With extensive meadows next to a tree, food supply is broader than with intensive

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grassland due to more species in extensive meadows. It is likely that more specialised birds live nearby. Furthermore, ÖQV gives incentives for more ecological quality. If certain endangered species are found within an extensive meadow, it is possible to get additional direct payments for quality.

The proposition to make the implementation of ÖQV a criterion for park products came from Ela. In UBE was proposed to have more than the requested 7% of ECA. It would suggest for both parks to mix those two propositions, demand more ECA than requested by PEP and link them with by means of ÖQV. This would particularly enhance the two sustainability aims environment and economy that showed to be most important for the interviewees of the two regions. Environment would be enhanced by linking ECA and give incentives for high quality ECA. Economy would be enhanced because of special direct payments.

Furthermore, ÖQV has the potential to build social networks between farmers. A bird does not care if the tree it is nesting on and the extensive meadow it subsists on belongs to different farmers. Networking of ecological compensation area is only qualified for special direct payments if it fits the cantonal requirements for regional networking projects (ÖQV, Art. 4, Abs. 2). If those projects have to be regional, this implies the cooperation of many farmers. In regards to education or the sensitisation of ecological concerns, the controlling of ECA with high quality has to occur in the presence of the farmer (ÖQV, annex 1.2). It is to hope that the controller is not only controlling but also explaining and discussing the specific measures with farmers.

Unfortunately ÖQV has an aggravating disadvantage: it is not as easy to communicate as organic production. Organic uses no chemicals, that is something nearly everyone knows. ÖQV and PEP however are more complex, sometimes they use chemicals, sometimes not. However difficult, it is not impossible: Vitival, the association of winegrowers with integrated production of Valais for example made a beautiful and informative brochure. They show the biodiversity of their vineyards and explained why it is sometimes necessary to use chemicals. But they also explain what is done to keep impact on the environment as little as possible (Pillet and Rey 2001).

Both interviewees of UBE and Parc Ela mentioned that any new criteria would create opposition. And many times was mentioned that criteria have to be in line with practice. In the UBE seven of the eight communities have already implemented ÖQV. Due to fenland

protection the proportion of ECA is much higher than requested in PEP. In regards to Parc Ela, because Georg Ragaz proposed the idea of implementing ÖQV, it can be assumed that this is not yet done. But the proportion of ECA is certainly higher than requested due to topological features. The most valuable extensive meadows are often in mountain regions because where fields are steep it is not worthwhile to use them intensively.

Organic production would cause producers in the UBE to do without the national park label and use the label “*Echt Entlebuch*”. In Parc Ela producers would use conventional channels. With few products, brand recognition would be insufficient. Therefore, it is important to have a criterion that can be implemented by a lot of farmers, but nevertheless complies with high environmental standards. In the UBE the ÖQV is already implemented. For Parc Ela the implementation should be easily adapted due to traditionally extensive agriculture. Furthermore, implementing the ÖQV enhances many aims of a park. Additionally, a higher share of ECA than requested in PEP could be required. Animal welfare was often mentioned and consumers are sensible to this topic. Therefore, it is important to take care of this aspect.

7.2.4 Actors deciding park specific criteria and controlling them

7.2.4.1 Important actors

In both parks two third of the people stated that a label commission exists, and saw no need to establish a new working group for defining park specific criteria. The other persons saw as well no need for new working groups. The present situation in the label commissions was approved of.

In UBE the park specific criteria are defined in the forum of the branch in question. The label commission, presided by Theo Schnider, will harmonize the criteria of the different forums. In Parc Ela the label commission, presided by Joseph Sauter, includes a delegate of forestry, a delegate of the hoteliers and Bruno Salis as delegate of agriculture. If experts are needed for special cases the label commission is free to involve them. The label commission does not decide if the label is awarded, but it suggests to the board of the supporting association to do so or not.

In both parks the structures to decide about criteria are present.

7.2.4.2 Actors arguing for strong / weak environmental criteria

In the UBE everyone is free to join the forums and therefore take influence on the criteria. In Parc Ela was mentioned that it was rather difficult to find persons for the label commission. In the UBE it was mentioned by most interviewees that there have been no efforts to weaken criteria. In Parc Ela it was perceived as threat that persons could argue for weak environmental criteria, because that would weaken the park label. However no specific weakening actors were concretely mentioned.

In regards to actors arguing for two strong environmental criteria, in the UBE a third of the persons said that they do not know about. Another third said there have initially been actors arguing for too strong criteria, mentioned was the example of restaurateurs that planned to allow only wooden chairs. The other third was either stating that no such attempts were shown, or that actors arguing for high criteria would be good. In Parc Ela persons arguing for too high criteria were perceived as threat, named were idealists and persons from outside. That it needs both extremes to reach a compromise or that is difficult to strike a balance between too weak (no trust) and to strong (no products) was mentioned often.

7.2.4.3 The controlling of the criteria

The controlling in the UBE will be a mix of internal control by the forums and external control to guarantee trustworthiness. Wishes for the controlling seem to fit the actual situation, two third requested external controls and nearly as many did state the importance of strict controlling in order to avoid scandals. In Parc Ela the label commission will do the controlling. But as Joseph Sauter said, organic farms are no further looked at, and for conventional farms this will be more a consultative conversation than a control. This was also indicated by Bruno Salis. The interviewees of Parc Ela vouched equal often for external control, for the label commission and for a controlling embedded in existing controls. One farmer wished to be controlled by the consumer himself and the hotelier wished controllers disguised as guest.

There will be a mix of external and internal control in the UBE. In Parc Ela, organic farmers will be controlled by Bio Suisse; conventional farmers are 'controlled' in a consultative conversation.

7.2.5 The process of defining criteria

We have seen during the establishment of the park, particularly in dealing with opposition, how important it was to involve affected persons. The suggestion made by Agridea takes this involvement into account with the proposition to let parks define their own specific criteria. In both UBE and Parc Ela, the decision structure for park specific criteria is established.

It was said in UBE that the process of building a park is very dynamic. Though UBE is acknowledged since 2001 by the UNESCO, the process of seeking for visions is not yet finished. *“Wir sind eine learning region! Manche glauben, das sei einfach ein Bildungsprogramm für Kinder. Völlig falsch! Eine learning region ist eine Region, die mit der Bevölkerung und ihren stakeholdern unterwegs ist, um gemeinsam neue Lösungen zu erarbeiten!”* (We are a learning region! Some believe that this is just an educational program for children. Completely wrong! A learning region is a region, which is on the road with the population and stakeholders, in order to develop new solutions together!).

By defining the criteria for park products, the danger exists, that once criteria are defined, they will stay like this even if they do not suit the specific surroundings anymore. Dax found the same in his study about endogenous development in mountain areas of Austria: “After 15 years of development work it became clear that such a quest for balance must remain a continuous process, while agreement on models and periodic renewal of development strategies must also be sought. Hence, the spirit of innovation has to be continuously kindled, and local actors should not return to the static view of fulfilling a once-agreed development program” (Dax 2001)

It was mentioned that the forums express visions how the sector looks like in ten to fifteen years. The forums offer a chance to adapt park criteria to new conditions of the region, to new aspirations of consumers demand, and to new strategies of environmental protection. One aim of park is to preserve and to enhance cultural landscape. If the specific criterion is organic production, there is one possible step for enhancement: the conversion to organic farming. After this step there are no incentives to enhance the environment more.

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With ÖQV it is possible to enhance nature and landscape in several steps. ECA can be arranged in order to net them. In a second step, it is possible to expand ECA where it is suggestive. In Parc Ela the two interviewees that are engaged in the label commission expressed the wish to link the controlling of the criteria with consultation. To discuss with farmers where compensation areas makes sense assists awareness of ecological problems.

Often things that are understood generate less opposition. A good example for this is the date of cutting extensive meadows. For each dale, hilly and mountain areas different dates of soonest possible cut are defined. This measure shall enable plants to conclude their reproduction cycle. Unfortunately this causes many farmers to cut their meadows on the same day, the “*nationaler Öko-Heutag*” (national eco-hay-day), especially where plants are overripe. Small animals, such as blindworms and butterflies loose their entire habitat within one day. This cutting day was often perceived as stubborn and counterproductive by farmers. Therefore, Agridea made a study with farmers to introduce flexible cutting days. Farmers decide when to cut their meadows, adhering to intervals of usage.

They are sensitized to the problem of refugees for animals by the request to cut in a mosaic way, which means that they cut several rotating spots only every second year. Furthermore, they were not allowed to use “*Mähaufbereiter*” (a machine that creases grass in order to let it dry faster, but is creating considerable damage to fauna) in extensive meadows. Only a third of the farmers changed to the flexible system, the others were either content with the existing situation or did not want to fulfil the stricter criteria. Those that did convert mentioned self interested reasons such as the flexibility to cut grass when the weather is fine and to achieve better fodder quality. But also altruistic reasons such as to contribute their share to biodiversity were mentioned (Stäheli et al. 2006).

Now back to the charter, how could such a dynamic approach be named in a catalogue of criteria? In Parc Ela was mentioned that farmers are involved by licence agreements which are in force for three years. For the first licence period it could for example requested that 15% of the farms agricultural area is ECA. In a second agreement it could be requested that ecological compensation areas are networked.

The forums of Entlebuch aim to achieve win-win situations through participation and cooperation. Theo Schnider spoke of a special cooperation model that was developed in order to involve actors in decision making processes. With reciprocal information trust shall be established. Sustainable development needs awareness and discussion in order to reach long term solutions.

Such a dynamic and participative approach correlates with new trends in management consulting, where systems theory (Luhmann 1988, Kneer and Nassehi 2000) is more and more taken into account. Systems theory states that systems are autopoietic, they organize themselves. It is not possible to navigate systems; it is only possible to irritate them. Management consulting becomes a blind flight, where the consulter does not know beforehand what to consult. He learns much about the system during the process, but it is dynamic, change is not an exception, change is the rule (Stucki 2006).

Both the forums of Entlebuch and the suggestion of Parc Ela to mix control with consultation offer possibilities for a dynamic approach, where criteria are established in cooperation with farmers. Over time criteria can be adjusted to the environment, when they are not feasible, more practice oriented criteria can be sought, like we saw in the example with the cutting day of meadows. Where criteria prove feasible, they can be extended.

As some interviewees mentioned, it is not possible to accept all farmers. There has to be a higher standard in order to stand out. And as we have seen there are some production methods that should not be allowed in a park. Therefore, it is necessary to define what an extensive approach of integrated production is. Also it is necessary as basis for the specific decision to accept a product or not. This can occur in both a positive and negative way. A listing of positive features of agriculture in the region might include species appropriate husbandry, particularly run for animals, the percentage of ECA, and that ECA are linked. A negative listing includes for example that no genetically modified organism are used and that the input of pesticides is restricted.

The process of defining criteria for park products has to stay a dynamic approach. Criteria might prove to be not in line with practice or might be object to improvement. In both parks structures for the definition and redefinition of criteria are present. Those structures comply with the need for a dynamic criteria definition process.

7.3 Organic production in Parks of national importance

We have seen that organic production is not feasible for both the UBE and Parc Ela. We now try to summarize the advantages and disadvantages of using the bud label as a criterion for other parks. Later we discuss future linking of organic and regional products, because as we have seen, the process of defining criteria for park products has to be dynamic, organic might come into discussion once more.

7.3.1 Advantages and disadvantages of using organic production as park criterion

The EU enhances organic farming because of the benefits for the environment and the possible benefits for rural development. “It is possible that organic farming as an essential part of a strong commitment to improving the environment might contribute to increase attractiveness of rural areas. This might enhance tourism or, as an important soft side effect, favourably influence location decisions of companies of the private housing demand for such areas” (Commission of the European Communities 2002, p. 8).

But there are as well opponents to organic farming, which state that organic farming is bad for the environment: “There is no precise way to calculate the food shortfall or the wildlife encroachment which organic farming would force on the world, but it would be massive – hundreds of millions of tons of grain per year, and/or millions of square miles of wildlife (Avery 2000, p. 174).” For Avery, more yields mean more space for wildlife. Organic food consumes arable land, which is then lost to wildlife.

We have seen that parks, organic or not, really protect wildlife in protection areas. In contrast, individual farmers all trying to get as much yield as possible do not protect anything. As long as they can, they consume every acre to produce more yields. Furthermore, “consumed” area around actually protected area is – again in contrast to high–yield providing monocultures – diverse. This diversity might not be wildlife, because many plants existing in ECA need to be maintained. Human activity is required, be it to herd animals or to cut meadows. Organic agriculture or extensive integrated production might not provide as much yield as would be possible according to the standard of knowledge. But it provides more than just one good: foods, landscape, consumers trust, and a possibility for farmers to get a little more for his little fewer products.

Both extensive integrated production and organic agriculture are enhancing the environment. As Rigby and Cáceres (2001, p. 21; following Ikerd 1993) highlight: “The ability of a certain technology to behave as sustainable, will mostly depend on the peculiarities of the context in which it is used.” Furthermore, what is sustainable for one farmer on one location might not be sustainable for another farmer on another location. Therefore, we can not clearly say that organic farming would be good as a criterion for a park, it depends on the context.

We have seen in chapter three that there are advantages and disadvantages in using the bud label as park criterion. Organic production (OP) certainly enhances the environment, but not necessarily better than extensive integrated production (IPE). Organic farmers have generally higher incomes, if they use conventional processing channels, and the willingness to pay (WTP) for directly sold organic products might be higher. On the other hand yields might decrease, and for animal products market saturation is reached.

Table 9: Advantages and handicaps of using the bud

	Advantage	Possible advantage	Disadvantage
Environment	Efficient production, particularly grassland	Contribution to stop greenhouse effect	Toxicity of certain natural pesticides
	Better energy use	Better soil structure, therefore less erosion	
Economy	Higher income for farmers	WTP might be higher	Yields might decrease
			Market saturation for park products (animal products)
Social networks		OP might strengthen social networks	
Perception by consumers	Consumers recognize the bud	Gastronomy might prefer regional products	
	Consumers trust the bud		
Landscape and diversity	OP might enhance floral and faunal diversity	OP might enhance landscape	

Source: Own illustration

In regards to other park aims, OP might strengthen social networks and might enhance landscape and floral and faunal diversity. In order to capitalize symbolic capital of a product, it is necessary that consumers trust a label. Here using the bud would be of huge advantage,

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the label is well recognized and consumers trust the label to be real organic. The advantages and disadvantages are listed in table 9.

Three farmers narrated of organic farmers that are converting back to production according to PEP, or to “*Bundes-Bio*” (federal organic) which means that they fulfil the federal requirements for organic production but are not accredited by Bio Suisse and therefore not allowed to use the official label, the bud. With this they are less likely to achieve premium prices, because processors are possibly on their parts forced by label requirements to use labelled products, or consumers might not be willing to pay more for the products because they mainly trust the bud as ‘really organic’. On the other hand, farmers fulfilling national criteria for organic production still receive higher direct payments for organic production.

On the 25th birthday of Bio Suisse, there was a report on radio DRS. Last year 166 of the roughly 6000 Bio Suisse farmers converted back to PEP or “*Bundes-Bio*”. As reasons decreasing prices due to overproduction or “*Innovationsfeindlichkeit*” (innovations hostility) were mentioned. A product made of fir sprouts and organic sugar was not allowed to carry the label because the firs are not controlled by Bio Suisse. Also mentioned were requirements that are getting stricter within Bio Suisse. The manager of Bio Suisse reacted by announcing a revision of the marketing visions of and a restructuring of the controlling system in order to allow innovative farmers to fit in (Krauthammer 2006).

We have seen that organic production is not feasible for both the UBE and Parc Ela. How sustainable production systems are depends on the context. For some parks organic production might make sense as a specific criterion. It can also be an aim to produce more and more organic products. How feasible organic production is depends also on Bio Suisse. With the announced restructuring of controlling systems there might be future possibilities. The next section deals with some aspects of linking the promise local origin to the promise of organic production.

7.3.2 Future linking of organic and regional products

We have seen that especially in the UBE the interviewed persons are not favouring organic production, or if they do, they perceive it is not feasible with practice. Literature about organic production indicates that buyers of organic products see origin more and more as important, because long-distance transportation pollutes the environment (Zanoli et al. 2004, p. 144). Schade and Reuter (2001) see linking origin with organic products as opportunity to escape future price drops for organic products. This is also a finding of the OMIaRD project: “association of organic products with a definite (...) origin may lead to a stronger positioning of both organic and local and regional products” (Zanoli et al. 2004, p. 156).

Richter (2005) found that in Germany, the general importance of origin (mentioned by 23% of the persons of the survey) to be higher than organic (15%). In comparison to the year before origin gained 2% and organic lost 1%. Furthermore, “local and regional products are often seen as equivalent to organic, and preferred to organic” (Zanoli et al. 2004, p. 156).

That local products are perceived as organic was affirmed by some interviewees. Christian Schnider for example, who makes strawberry wine and other strawberry products, is not able to produce organic because of the need to combat fungal diseases. But he narrated that many of his customers assume his farm to be organic. He mentioned that his engagement in fenland protection (he offers also excursion about care giving of fenlands) might be a reason to assume he is organic. It might also be implied by the name biosphere, because the term “*Bio*” means organic in Switzerland.

Some interviewees of the UBE mentioned that there is a project to estimate the potential of organic production. One person mentioned an idea to enlarge the label “*Echt Entlebuch*” and create “*Echt Entlebuch Gold*”. This does not mean that it is planned to make organic production a park specific criteria, but to indicate the additional value of organic production with the attribute gold, as “*das Beste was im Moment möglich ist*” (the at the moment best that is possible). It is important to note that the name “*Echt Entlebuch Gold*” was only mentioned by one person, this might be his own private idea.

With the INTERREG IIIC – project Biologic@ the UBE aims to enhance and augment organic production in the biosphere. In Central Switzerland studies to the potential for organic products in order to generate a market oriented concept. In the Entlebuch itself it is planned to

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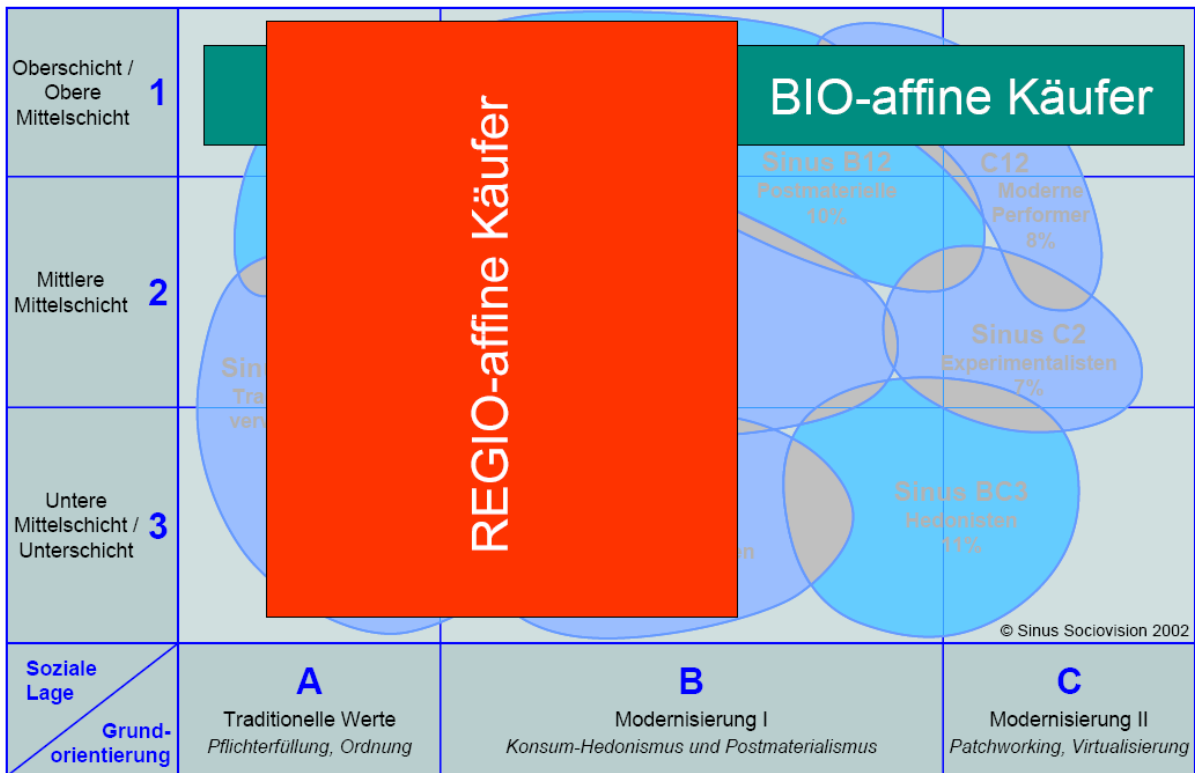
sensitize farmers for organic production and to double the number of organic farms within two years. On a national and international level it is planned network with Val Müstair, a region in the canton Grisons that aims to be a biosphere as well. In contrast to the UBE, they have with 90% a very high proportion of organic farms. The two regions plan to learn from each other. On an international level it is planned to cooperate with biospheres of Spain and Italy in order to create a common internet platform (UBE 2006c).

So the idea to link origin with organic is present on the organic and on the regional side. Entlebuch is certainly going to have more organic farms in the future if this production method proves to be feasible. With the above mentioned measures the management shows once more how a concept has to be implemented in this region: First analyse the potentials in order to show farmers the benefits of organic farming. Second: sensitize and discuss with farmers. And then third: Set an aim that is reachable within two years. Nevertheless, I would not suggest naming the label "*Echt Entlebuch Gold*". This would reduce "*Echt Entlebuch*" to silver, meaning second best. As we have seen, organic production does not necessarily fulfil park aims best.

Speaking of gold and silver would create competition between the two promises origin and organic. The interviews have shown that in a park it is above all origin that must be guaranteed. That origin is regulated as a national criterion for park products is also stating the importance of this aspect. The question arising is if organic production and origin are in competition.

Figure 22 shows the sinus milieus of buyers of regional and organic products. Buyers of regional products (red) can be found in all income groups, which are displayed vertically. Buyers of organic products (green) are to be found in the highest income class. The values driving consumption decisions are displayed horizontally. Buyers of organic products can not be associated with the values displayed. Buyers of regional products however do either belong to the group complying with traditional values (A) or to the group complying with modern values, namely hedonism in consume and post-materialism. We can see in figure 22 that regional buyers and organic buyers are to be found more often in different milieus than in the same milieu.

Figure 22: The sinus-milieus of buyers of regional and organic products



Source: Richter 2005

The two promises origin and organic are to a great extent not in competition. The bud label enjoys great recognition. For a park, origin is very important. If both promises are fulfilled, it would be wise to use both the park label and the bud label. Like this, more park products can be offered than when organic production is a park criterion. Products with ‘only’ the park label will address consumers in the red section of figure 22. Products with both labels will address consumers in the green section.

Conclusion

During the establishment of a park dealing with opposition is a very important factor. Opposition to park specific criteria proves to be of crucial importance, particularly if criteria are not in line with practice. Therefore, extending the methods of Fischer et al. (2002) from a national scope to a community scope worked for our studies. The involvement of people affected and making them into concerned parties was strategically vital in dealing with opposition. This also applies for the definition of park products' criteria. The entity defining the criteria for park products has to involve producers. This is also scheduled in the proposition of Agridea.

In regards to national requirements which will soon exist for park products, producers have a veto point if requirements do not apply to their method of production. For instance they can choose not to use the park label. Producers of "*Echt Entlebuch*" will use the old label and producers of Parc Ela will sell their products through conventional channels. Because a label gains recognition the more it is used, it is important that as many products as possible show the label.

The danger exists that once criteria are established, that they stay this way, even though they might not comply with practice. Or they enhance landscape and nature in just one step and further steps are not undertaken. With the forums and the label commission in Entlebuch, and also with the concept of controlling mixed with consultation in Parc Ela, the institutions for a dynamic and continuous process of defining criteria exists. New trends in environmental protection, new needs from consumers and possible misfits with practice can be taken into account by defining criteria.

Criteria for park products should therefore enhance what producers of a park know how to do best. For the UBE producers became very good in protecting the environment through fenland protection. Producers of Parc Ela have a long tradition of extensive agriculture. With the establishment of the parks they have shown that they are good in networking. The criteria of implementing ÖQV would enhance both environmental protection and networking. Furthermore, through special direct payments, economy would be strengthened.

The disadvantage of ÖQV compared to organic production is that it is less easy to communicate the environmental benefits to consumers. But because the park's aim is to educate the understanding of locals and guests in environmental concerns, the implementation of ÖQV can become a topic on excursions or in information sheets. Park products benefit of intrinsic knowledge about production systems. At least locals trust the agriculture to be extensive because they are confronted with it every day. Park visitors are informed about environmental protection and start to trust claims because of the beautiful and diverse landscape.

Organic production is not feasible for the UBE's and Parc Ela's park products. The requirements of the bud label are too high, or innovation is hindered. But to assist innovation is as well a park aim. Furthermore, the origin of the products has proved to be the most important promise of park products. There are not many organic producers in the UBE, and organic producers in Parc Ela primarily use traditional marketing channels. Therefore, there would be not enough products to create advertising synergies between the park and the park label.

Organic production does not necessarily fulfil park aims best. An extensive approach of integrated production could be just as good or even better. Moreover, hostility against innovation is a strong argument for not using organic production as a park specific criterion. On the other hand, the bud label has great recognition value and consumers trust this label. Therefore, it might be possible for a region with an even higher proportion of organic farms (Val Müstair for example), to create a so called "*Bioregion*" (organic region), as there are many in Austria (see for example Schermer 2003).

At the opening day Dieter Müller, manager of Parc Ela, expressed the hope that the revision of the NHG will become effective by the end of 2006. "*Da wollen wir rechtzeitig unsere Unterlagen bereit haben, damit wir möglichst schnell als regionaler Naturpark aufgenommen werden und das dafür vorgesehene Label Naturpark verwenden dürfen*" (We want to have our documents ready on time in order to be recorded as a Regional Nature Park as soon as possible and therefore be enabled to use the nature park label) (Expresso 2006). Once the revision of the NHG is effective, parks first must officially register as Park of National Importance. Subsequently, they must carefully consider strategies for park products, define park specific criteria and make proposals to the consultative group for park criteria.

Conclusion

The marketing strategies mentioned by the interviewed persons indicate that it will be a challenge for the regions to find the best way of marketing park products. The same criteria do not necessarily apply for all products, not even for products of one park. It is certainly interesting to develop logistic structures and processing facilities within a park, to make it easier for the hoteliers to obtain regional products, which is required of them to get the label.

Although it might not be wise to make organic production a criterion for park products now, it might be useful to consider future trends of linking organic and regional promises carefully, especially because the UBE itself is thinking about enhancing organic production. It could be wise to establish separate channels for organic products from the beginning. On one hand it is easier to build separate channels from the beginning than to build them in later. On the other hand, if separate channels and marketing possibilities exist, it might be easier to enhance organic production.

Criteria for park products have to be constantly adapted to the new needs of consumers, to conditions of practice and to new trends in environmental protection. Parks themselves can play an important role as learning regions, by implementing new concepts, they can be model regions. It is certainly to advise that parks and researchers work closely together.

Besides the challenges that networking of parks and biospheres between countries will bring, cooperation between countries is especially important where beautiful landscapes do not care about country borders. Binntal for example, which aims to become a Regional Nature Park, is divided only by the Swiss-Italian frontier from the Italian Nature Park Veglia-Devero (Weissen 2006). Finding common definitions for parks in different countries will be of great importance.

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Appendix I

Bylaws of the ten parks studied in chapter two:

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Appendix II

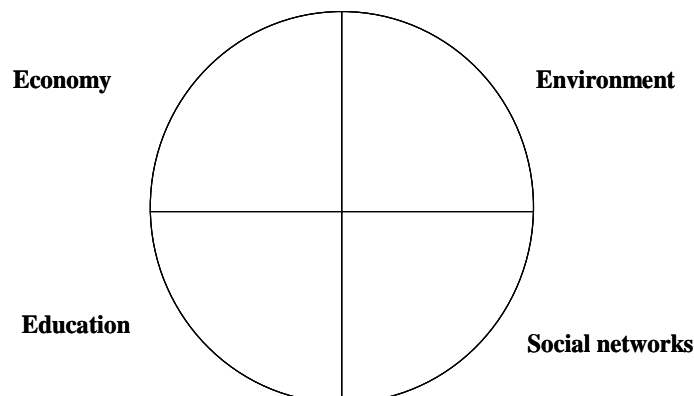
Interview questions

Questions concerning the park establishing process:

- 1) Explain shortly who you are, and what your personal role is in the park project.
- 2) For institutions: What is the role of the institution in the park project?
- 3) Has there been a concrete trigger for building a park?
- 4) Who were important actors at the time when the idea for building a park aroused?
- 5) Who was the most important actor at the time when the idea for building a park aroused?
- 6) Who have been the three most important actors at the time when the idea for building a park aroused?
- 7) How were involved people that are willing to take an effort for the region found?
- 8) If the project caused opposition, how was this opposition dealt with?
- 9) Were there important institutions such as advisory bodies in the process of building a park? If so, could you name them?

Questions concerning the visions of the park:

- 10) What do you think is the most important strength of your region?
- 11) You have 12 Points to allocate to the following aspects, with your points you indicate, how important those aspects are for your region.



12) The following table contains possible aims for a park. Please indicate, how important those topics are for your region. -- means that the aspect is not at all important, 0 indicates that the region is indifferent towards this aspect, and ++ means that the aspect is very important for the region.

	--	-	0	+	++
Maintaining and creation of workstations					
Preservation and valorisation of cultural landscape					
Increase regional added value					
Educate the understanding of natural and cultural concerns					
Anchoring the park in local population, generate regional identity					
Marketing of regional products					
Build tourist activities in harmony with nature					
Strengthening supply chains and regional circuits					
Enable direct contact of people with nature and culture					
Protection of fragile ecosystems					
Improvement of public transport in the region					
Encourage and assist innovation					
Build institutions for education of natural and cultural topics					
Diversify tourist offers					
Networking in the region and with actors outside					
Boost traditional activities					

13) What was the most important time for the image of the region, when were the visions settled.

Questions concerning the product criteria:

14) What do you think will be the national criteria for park products?

15) Would you be content with these criteria?

16) There are also going to be park specific criteria that are defined by each park. Do you feel that a new working group is needed for specific criteria?

17) Do you know persons that would be keen to be in such a working group?

18) Who should in your opinion be in such a working group?

19) Who will be important actors for the decision-making process according to what the park specific criteria shall be?

20) Which actors will argue for weak criteria considering the environment?

21) Which actors will argue for strong criteria considering the environment?

Appendix II

- 22) If you could decide alone, what should be the minimum environmental criteria?
- 23) Once the specific criteria are established, who will control the abundance?
- 24) Who should in your opinion control the specific criteria?
- 25) What product criteria might evoke opposition from important actors?
- 26) What product criteria would evoke opposition from you?
- 27) If the criterion for meat production was a local or rare breed, would that be accepted in the park?
- 28) If the criterion for meat and milk production was to produce organic, would that be accepted in the park?

Questions only asked in the first interviews:

- 29) Was the launching of the park project assisted by financial aid (e.g. Regio-Plus)?
- 30) Would the project have been launched without financial aid?
- 31) Can you name producers (organic and non-organic), a person of gastronomy, a person from a local environmental group, from the chamber of agriculture and a person from an advisory body that are involved in the park project and would be willing to be interviewed?