

CHAPTER 11

EXPLORING INNOVATION AND SUSTAINABILITY IN THE METROPOLITAN RURAL AREAS OF BUDAPEST AND PARIS

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ABSTRACT

The chapter focuses on rural-urban food links in the context of governance. We seek to understand a rural-urban innovator mechanism is emerging through the food system and the renewed question of proximity and relative autonomy in the alimentary supply of this type of space and local society. We present case studies from Paris and Budapest metropolitan rural areas exploring institutional and private actors of governance, their power networks, food and related cultural components of rural-urban relations, the function of food links and the way in which they are governed. We have found several differences in governance methods between the Paris and Budapest metropolitan ruralities. The areas surrounding Paris are characterised by multi-level governance methods. However, an isolated form of rural governance of the rural-urban local food link can be identified in Budapest's rural areas. Understanding the complex and dynamic interaction of food links and related activities within

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metropolitan areas offers the possibility of a far greater understanding of the complex and multiple links between sustainability, renewal of social interaction and cohesion.

Keywords: Rural-urban relationships; governance; innovation; food links; sustainability; metropolitan ruralities

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the capacities of rural areas for innovation in sustainability when they belong specifically to the metropolitan periphery of a European Capital city. In this chapter we focus the study on the rural-urban dimension which was neglected during the second half of the 20th century but which has once again become a subject of considerable interest. This includes, for example, the issue of food and how the food supply chain can be configured to create sustainable links between farmers and urban food consumers, city businesses and tourists that actively contribute to a greater social, economic and territorial cohesion. We seek to understand whether a rural-urban innovator mechanism is emerging in those metropolitan areas through the food system and the renewed question of proximity and relative autonomy in the alimentary supply of this type of space and local society. In our analysis, metropolitan rural sustainable governance is considered in relation to one particular subject of innovation which is the main focus of the chapter: the rural-urban food link (with auxiliary cultural activities) and the way in which it governs rural-urban relations and can impact on the governance of metropolitan rurality and regenerate local development through innovation. Understanding the complex and dynamic interaction of food links and related activities within metropolitan areas offers the possibility of a far greater understanding of the complex and multiple links between sustainability, governance and cohesion. Studying complex interactions related to urban-rural food links can produce and provide innovative scientific knowledge on the potential for a greater understanding of the dynamic processes and their governance. This can also deepen interactions between places and localised resources that are often studied separately, especially with respect to the issue of the city's relationship to rural space through resource management (particularly in terms of food supplies) and rural

development. (Mathieu, 2006; Mathieu & Guermond, 2011). Weingaertner and Barber (2011) note for example that a multi-faceted concept of 'sustainable' contains environmental sustainability concerned with human welfare, economic understanding of man-made, natural and human capital from one generation to another, as well as social sustainability related to participation, equality and cohesion.

Stoker's (1998), Rhodes' (1996) and Kooiman's (1993) approaches to multi-layered power, multi-level and multi-actor governance refer to multiple social, symbolic and economic meanings of the rural-urban food link. Applying these concepts, our primary aim of defining the link between food and metropolitan rural governance is to find and include internal and external actors who may have an impact on local development. In an earlier paper (Csurgó, Kovách, Légmán, & Megyesi, 2010) based on literature about the shift from government to governance, it was stressed that in local governance, public institutions and actors co-operate with many interested organisations in social and political sub-systems which interweave policy arenas and administration. A form of governance has developed in Budapest and its neighbouring settlements which is managed through short-term, case-by-case political decisions and on a project-by-project basis in which an intermediate project class and 'fuzzy jobs' have emerged (Jeannot & Goodchild, 2011). In Ivry-sur-Seine, on the border of Paris, there are signs of an intentional struggle against 'short termism', but the Greater Paris Project takes a short-term approach which is archetypal of an ideology of 'projectification' and a class of project emergence, without any consideration of rural-urban relations as a means of sustainability (Mathieu, de Lafond, Gana, & Hucy, 2006).

Relatively little research has been undertaken which analyses the notion of rural-urban food links in the context of governance. Social scientists over the last decade have produced findings that can inform the food-relations debate in several ways. Firstly, rural research has highlighted food security and political connotations (Woods, 2012). Secondly, rural science has provided information on spatial and social differentiation in the development and operation of local food systems and the role of alternative food networks in rural-urban relations, slow food, and niche markets (Arce & Marsden, 1993; Goodman, DuPuis, & Goodman, 2012; Ilbery & Kneafsey, 1999; Paddock, 2012) Thirdly, research argues that a local food system is a complex and hybrid system, which incorporates internal and external elements, actors, technologies and markets (Buller & Morris, 2004; Buttel, 2006; Marsden, 2013). To explore these components and their role in the governance of rural spaces in metropolitan areas and less-involved

actors (consumers, producers), networks and power relations, we conducted fieldwork in the settlements surrounding Paris and Budapest.

Research Methodology

The primary source of data in the Paris neighbourhood research was desk research and an empirical study. We first referred to the existing scientific literature on the topic, which is continuously increasing. Along with the gardening trend already mentioned, we found a number of articles and theses reviewing the development of community gardens on the perimeter of Paris, and to a lesser extent in the immediate suburbs. But apart from a small number (Muramatsu, 2012), these studies do not specifically address the food production that these gardens provide, or state whether their food function is increasing in connection with the crisis, and above all do not mention the quantitative and qualitative importance of this production in the diet of people who garden and their families and neighbourhood.

There is less research at the level of individuals and households growing plants inside or close to their apartments and houses. Of these, we selected a very interesting study undertaken by a bio-geographer (Cohen, Baudoin, Palibrik, Persyn, & Rhein, 2012) based on quantitative data including all vegetal species recorded on the balconies and on small private pieces of land belonging to urban residents. The work highlights that as soon as people have a balcony or a small private area on the ground floor or on the roof, they cultivate medicinal and aromatic plants beside flower and fruit pots, and if they stay at home during the summer, they cultivate some easily grown vegetables like zucchini and tomato plants. It also shows that growing plants for food is not restricted to the popular classes or as affirmed in discourses to the 'bobos' but is more widespread especially among women.

Although interesting, these results are limited and fragmented and do not allow a clear idea as to who are the main actors, what type of innovation they illustrate, and if it is connected to the food system. To complement and consolidate these results, we used the database that gave us the Call for Projects launched in 2013 by the City of Paris entitled 'Innovative Greenings'. Among the 40 projects received, 30 were selected after being reviewed by a panel of experts and approved by 10 councillors of the city of Paris. These 'Innovative projects to re-vegetate the city' obtained a 'Ville de Paris' label and a support for getting subsidies to financially and technically achieve their project. They were grouped into four categories:

- Urban Agriculture: 20 received 15 selected;
- Biodiversity: 6 received 3 selected;
- Water Management: 6 selected 5 selected;
- Architecture and Environmental Quality: 8 received 7 selected.

Titles and information contained in these 40 projects are particularly interesting to analyse. For each one, an identity card details, among other information, the localisation and the purpose of the experiment, the status of the project leader, the business model and the expected results.

We also investigate two case studies with a socio-anthropological method mixing interviews with actors and data analysis of two local civil associations: 'The Vanveen basket' an AMAP of South Paris suburbs and 'Terres Fertiles' (Fertile soils). These organisations are committed to the Saclay Plateau conflict supporting farmers and their lands against the transport and building projects linked with Grand Paris through diverse actions and in particular a SCI real estate civil company collecting funds ('civilian real estate actions') from Parisians and IDF region population. In both associations Nicole Mathieu participates as a member with an authorised access to all their information and archives. The main questions were Why are you committed to those associations? To supporting farmers? To the food question (quality, security, cultural reasons)? Do you associate food with rural-urban relations? Do you link your commitment to sustainability and sustainable modes of living?

The Hungarian case studies focused on dimensions which link rural areas to urban ones, and the social and economic situations that need to be governed with regards to in- or out-migration or poverty.

We used 20 recorded, semi-structured face-to-face interviews, transect walking and participant observation and desk research including the analysis of development plans, local newspaper articles and Internet homepages exploring institutional and private actors of governance, their power networks, food and related cultural components of rural-urban relations, the function of food links and the way in which they are governed. Interviewees included:

- 8 interviews, Vértesboglár: mayor, manager of the Culture House (2), owner, manager, trainer Vérteslovas camp, civic association
- 8 interviews, Etyek: mayor, Etyek local government member, 3 civic associations, 3 newcomer families
- 6 interviews, Tabajd-Bélápuszta: 2 interviews Bélápuszta, mayor, Village House manager, 2 newcomer families.

We used a broad definition of food link for all the relationships where the food appears as an important element from the food-based cultural events to the local food production. One of the most interesting sources of data regards the environmental outputs of focused, sustainable governance of rural-urban relations with regards to food and culture.

Case studies are organised around four main analytical research questions. First, we explored how does food create a rural-urban link and we also focus on what is innovative in the 'food use' link and its impact on sustainability. We also analysed who are the key actors/stakeholders. So the factors selected to guide the interpretation of case studies are the following: (1) key actors, (2) innovation/innovative aspects, (3) role of food, (4) rural-urban relations and (5) sustainability. Case study summaries are structured around these analytical factors.

INNOVATIVE RURAL-URBAN FOOD LINKS AND SUSTAINABILITY IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF PARIS

In the French case, as Paris is much denser than Budapest and has a neighbourhood where even the 'villages' are demographically towns, the case studies were not chosen according to territorial limits, but for the innovative character of their agriculture and relationship towards food. We did not try to use the governance concept for understanding the food relations between the megacity of Paris and its rural surroundings, because since the departure of the Les Halles food market from the centre of Paris and its relocation to Rungis near Orly airport, these relations are much more complex. Because of this complexity, which has been increased by the explosion of multicultural consumption practices¹ and the development of supermarket chains, it is no longer easy to understand the food system of Paris and 'Grand Paris' in relation to the ancient rural-urban relationship representation based on notions of vegetable belts and nearby food supply (Philipponneau, 1956). Around Paris, market gardeners, orchards and even greenhouses and workers' gardens have disappeared or sharply declined, having been replaced by highways, airport infrastructure, buildings and neo-villages. This has occurred in tandem with the globalisation of the capital city. The consequence of this enormous socio-spatial change is that research on the food supply of Paris and its metropolitan area (as well as on its surrounding agriculture and on 'Parisian' food habits and

restaurants) have become rare; more research covers peri-urban demography and mobility and unsustainable urban-sprawl issues (Berger, 2004). But since the last decade of the 20th century, and more so from the beginning of the 21st century, the question of urban food requirements (changes in cultural consumption practices and networks, the relation between quality and health), and the question of the place of agriculture within or near urban areas, have emerged and are becoming increasingly central to research and political matters. This rise is undoubtedly linked to political ideals of sustainable development and creates a new focus on urban agriculture, natural spaces within towns, biodiversity and now climate change and urban heat island policies (Salomon & Mathieu, 2014). But it requires a deep and careful analysis to test the hypothesis that renewing rural-urban food links is an effective way to make Paris sustainable. Who are the actors involved in this relationship? Categorising them as consumers and producers is not a clear enough identification. What is the role of the elected and administrative departments of the municipalities and districts of the Paris region in re-introducing proximity in the Parisian food supply? Where are the vegetables and meat that are used by a growing number of restaurant chains and Asian takeaways coming from? Where do the organic agricultural products sold in the streets of Paris and in weekly markets originate from? Who buys them? Answering these questions requires a collective and multidisciplinary research programme focusing on the different entities in a complex food system, especially when viewed from the topics of rural-urban relations and sustainability. At present, linked with the beginning of an awareness of the risks associated with the disappearance of a vegetable belt² initiatives are emerging from municipalities, associations and individuals in an entropic way. In the French case, the Paris metropolitan rural environment, the high density of a very mobile population, and the multiplicity of communities and levels of governance (Csurgó, Kovách, & Mathieu, 2012) force us to limit ourselves to a simple exploration of certain initiatives, revealing not a social movement but signs of a reversal of 'Parisian' representations and practices about the rural-urban food relation.

Inside Paris and Its Immediate Suburbs

Inside Paris and its immediate suburbs (Vanves, Ivry-sur-Seine in the south, Saint-Denis in the north), we focus our exploration on two kinds of innovation, mainly coming from 'Parisian' civil society, which are innovative

because they introduce through 'food' a new link between rurality and urbanity on the level of social representation, as well as through material exchanges and transactions. *The 'Vegetable Basket' a material and renewed symbolic link between rural and urban.*

The starting point for deliberate direct and non-familial relations between farmers and 'Parisians' can be found in the post-1968 social movements. Often during the 1970s and persisting in a limited manner until today,³ initiatives coming from civil society appeared to connect 'farmers' to 'citizens', for example the direct sale of meat from suppliers (in Larzac, Cévennes, Ardèche) towards identified persons living in towns; non-agricultural activists participating in agricultural land sharing (GFA, SCI). This has arisen from both the refusal of intermediaries (industrialists and traders) in the consumption system and from the political will to forge a new alliance between the left wing of the agricultural class (Association Paysans Travailleurs) and leftist youth and intellectuals (Mathieu, 2009).

Differing from these strongly committed initiatives, the movement of AMAP (Action to Maintain Peasant Agriculture) was founded at the beginning of the 21st century in the south of France.⁴ If we try to analyse what changed in this direct food relation, we first notice that the initiators of AMAP, although belonging to the French 'left peasantry', are much more open to international connections and influenced by distant countries where they look for alternatives to the 'globalised world' or 'consumer society'. Thus they state as origin of the 'vegetable basket' (which is the symbol and the tool of their Action to Maintain Peasant Agriculture) Japan's TEIKEI and the United States' Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). Then, contrary to the preceding initiatives, food quality, shortcuts between urban citizens and local agriculture are the key points of the charter that founded AMAP in 2003. Since 2003, the number of AMAP movements has been increasing and the idea of a 'vegetable basket' has met with considerable success among urban dwellers simultaneously with the development of 'farmers markets' and organic products.

We will not enter into the still-existing controversy concerning the French AMAP and AMAPIAN, wondering if they can be considered as an alternative to the liberal market or if they will build a social-resistance movement to a generally commoditised lifestyle. The debate remains lively among activists from other political movements⁵ that challenge the ability of AMAP to establish a true solidarity with the poor, especially those who are hungry and have to resort to 'Restaurants of the heart' and Food Aid. There are also social sciences researchers that focus on the difficulty of

achieving the objective of supporting the installation of organic farmers in the long term, as well as the low stability of local members of an AMAP (Lamine, 2008).

But the food question is secondary in this debate and we have to come back to our initial hypothesis, namely the issue of 'food' in the rural-urban relationship as an innovative path towards sustainable development for Paris and its region.

In Ile-de-France, the first AMAP started in October 2003 in Pantin, with an organic gardener installed in Chaussy. The Ile-de-France AMAP network was founded a year later. Since then, the number of consumer groups and producing partners has continuously increased. In 2011, the network had about 150 consumer groups and 35 member producers. Since 2011, more than 30 new consumer groups linked to 30 new producing partners have been created or are projected. The AMAP Ile-de-France network now has 270 groups or sub-groups of consumers who are in partnership with more than 150 producers.⁶

Evaluated from the point of view of reactivating the agriculture relations in Paris destroyed by the delocalisation of Les Halles to Rungis and by the removal of the Parisian garden belt, the AMAP looks quantitatively rather weak, although the beginning of a reverse tendency can be seen. All the farmers producing 'vegetable baskets' are situated in the departments around Paris at a distance from their 'customers' always being less than 50 km away (Poulot, 2014); and all the AMAPIAN live in Paris and its neighbouring suburbs. But they are very widely dispersed for the farmers, and with a weak concentration for the AMAP urban dwellers in the south of Paris and in some southern (Vanves) and eastern (St. Denis) communities. We are far from restoring the Paris vegetable belt, far from having a local agriculture able to minimally supply the capital city in case of a crisis, and very far from 'local food sovereignty' which qualifies sustainable development.

In order to test the nature of the link established between the AMAP members and the supported farmers, we conducted a survey to understand the relationship of the members to local agriculture and food questions in one AMAP, 'the basket Vanvèen' whose president lived in the town of Vanves.⁷ It gathered members who lived in Vanves, Issy-les-Moulineaux and in the 15th arrondissement. This AMAP was observed (through participant observation) since its inception in 2005 until the creation of a second AMAP 'the Trade basket' in 2008 (a subsidiary of the first because the success of the baskets was such that the involved organic farmer could not supply new members).

The objective was to identify not only the social status of those involved actors, but also the role played by the desire for local and healthy eating, the concern for shortcuts and energy transition, as well as the implementation of solidarity between urban residents and farmers settled in the outskirts of Paris.⁸

At the end of our investigation, rather than general conclusions, we are able to qualify the commitment of AMAP members in the construction of new rural-urban links (between city and agriculture) for the sustainable development of the metropolitan area of Paris. First, we noticed the important role of the president F.P. to initiate and maintain the commitment of members in the long term. He is a well-known researcher for INRA, now retired, but still fighting against the hegemonic dynamic of the major grain farmers of Ile of France, supported by CAP subsidies, siding with small left wing and organic farmers with the desire to rebuild peasant/intellectual alliances as dreamed of after May 1968, but dedicated to overcoming the current crisis (ecological, social and economic), that is to say in a sustainable development manner. This president is a kind of mediator or guide for the other members of AMAP, who mostly do not know much about agriculture or the work of a small farmer facing competition for land and higher costs for producing organic vegetables in small spaces in the outskirts of a metropolis. For instance, three months after the creation of the 2nd basket (the trust basket) the young farmer who had signed the contract committed suicide, to the astonishment of the members of the first and second 'basket'.⁹

Our survey showed that very few members¹⁰ of the two baskets are fully aware of the deep meaning of belonging to this association, one that carries the President and the farmer as a member of the 'Peasant Workers' union. Only 10 per cent of them regard the twin goals that underlie an AMAP as motivating: restarting solidarity, and the social link between 'urban' and 'rural' to sustain local and organic agriculture; changing their consumption patterns and lifestyles by eating seasonal vegetables, a food that is safe and leads to more 'self-discipline'. The other members are mostly attracted by the idea of the 'basket' of fresh, quality products, and it is very gradually the case that some of them understand the ambition to reconnect the relationship between a farmer and the people who live in Paris or its suburbs (Table 1).

Key actors are farmers involved in the Peasant Agriculture Movement. The most important stakeholders are president of and secretary of the Association; shopkeeper (library) leaving the use of his court for the distribution of baskets (once a week). Innovation is based on knowledge use.

Table 1. The Main Characteristics of the AMAP (Action to Maintain Peasant Agriculture).

Key Actors	Small Farmers Belonging to the Peasant Agriculture Movement
Innovation/innovative aspects	New knowledge
Role of food	Interpretation for new activities
Rural-urban link/relation	Rural-urban = farmers in metropolitan rurality
Sustainability	Eco-consciousness of urban inhabitants

New knowledge has been introduced as farming and food products for the members and one way to survive for the farmer in a metropolitan area. Food has a central role, it is very important for the members to understand the role of the seasons and the system of cultivation; it is important for the farmers to adapt to this type of consumer and commit to organic agriculture. The rural-urban link is considered as farmers living in an urbanised area producing and exchanging food with urban living in town without the possibility of gardening. Sustainability here means reconciling a sustainable activity with eco-consciousness of urban inhabitants, a beginning for constructing an urban sustainable milieu.

Growing Food in a Dense Urban Milieu

Until the 1960s, there was still a small dairy farm in the 20th district of Paris (Belleville) and one could still buy milk in bulk in neighbourhood grocery stores. In each quarter of Paris – on a daily basis like the Place d’Alligre or biweekly in numerous places and streets – you could buy vegetables and fruit coming from the very nearby kitchens and market gardens of the suburbs or from the rich vegetable belt around Paris. Until this period – but of course to a lesser extent than during the war – a significant part of the Parisian diet came from what is now called the ‘urban agriculture’ inside the capital city area. As we said before, the new economy and the Ile-de-France planning policy largely destroyed all these local and neighbourhood small food systems. Only some emblematic vineyards and some heritage orchards and beehives like in Luxembourg resisted the irreversible tendency to push growing food outside of the metropolitan area.

But at the turn of the new century, undeniable signs of change could be observed. As mentioned before, under the growing influence of political

ecology and Sustainable Development ideology occurred a reversal of the idea of the city in its relationship to the idea of nature (Salomon Cavin & Mathieu, 2014). Whereas previously the value of Paris as a capital city – apart from its cultural dimension – relied on its capacity to transform ‘nature’ in an artificial environment and on the quality of its technical infrastructure, ‘nature in town’ and ‘Living City’ became popular slogans posted on the walls of subways. In Paris, as indeed in most major cities, ‘Greening’, developing Vegetation and ‘Biodiversity’ (Green City) came to be the tools for reconciling Town and Nature (Csurgó et al., 2012) and going towards sustainability. But in a second step, probably related to an emerging awareness of the food-quality crisis, the interest in nature in the city turned back into a taste for ‘Cultivate your (urban) garden’ and for ‘urban agriculture’ and growing some food in the urban environment itself which could be made ‘fertile’. The representation of rural-urban relations turned into the incorporation of rurality inside urbanity.

But for several reasons this reversal is very difficult to analyse. Is it a fad or a social movement? Which social classes are involved? What roles do the institutions play? Who are the key actors? And especially, how could we differentiate the interest for urban nature (green and beautiful nature) from the desire to strengthen the link between agricultural and urban food and to produce some of this food on urban ‘soils’? Answering these questions is problematic because the ‘growing’ Parisian initiatives:

1. come from a multitude of actors – individuals, associations, companies, and local authorities;
2. are generally very small (micro initiatives), often having an ambiguous aim to live nearer green and hygienic urban spaces or to get quality food produced by oneself or coming from shortcuts.

Focusing now on the studied projects which directly relate to our study (15 selected projects related to Urban Agriculture, and two to Architecture and Environmental Quality), several points can be highlighted.

First, we must characterise who are the actors leading the projects from the perspective of their status, their size and target (social, technical, entrepreneurial). Of the 17 projects, 11 are led by the 1901 Law Association, 4 by corporations (two of which are start-ups) and 2 associate Public Institutions of Science and Technology (IUT of St. Denis, Paris Agro-Tech) to various agencies and companies. Associations comprise the majority, validating the significant involvement of civil society in food production inside dense urban milieu, as highlighted earlier. But unlike community gardens and AMAP, it should be noted that these

associations were all created very recently; the oldest one, 'Paris under the strawberries', only dates from 2008. When examining them more closely, we realise that they differ in number, and in the occupation of the partners with whom they carry out the project, as well as the very purpose of the project. Some of them are very small, mainly based on volunteer work and low investment. They have a social purpose and are convinced that cultivating encourages participation, social inclusion, good neighbourliness and 'living together'. The most typical is 'Eco-Links' – concerned with the installation of 'participatory poultry'¹¹ to create social links and 'green' behaviour using local food waste and the recovery of droppings for fertilizer. But others, despite their associative status, are much more entrepreneurial. Their partners are experts, architects and even enterprises, and they show great interest in the technical and market outputs of their experimentation.

The technical and economic concern is quite obvious when looking at the projects supported by companies (SARL, SAS, Urbanist and Architect Agency etc.). The same goes for INRA and the Technical Institute of Saint-Denis. The main objective of these projects is to solve innovatively the problem of setting up agriculture on roofs or terraces, matching productivity, profitability and water resources management. The social dimension of the project is not entirely absent, but is secondary to technical success. It is the same for the role of urban food supply. A typical example is provided by the URBAGRI project: This experiment aims to create an artificial water table to develop vegetable gardens on the roof. In this case, it is a team that leads the project, including a manufacturer of honeycomb structures (Nidaplast), a company specialising in waterproofing roofs (Siplast), a landscape company, a design office working on greenhouse gases, the Study Centre and equipment of the Ministry of Ecology, DD and Energy and a consulting firm 'Consulting and marketing innovation'. Apart from a few projects,¹² they demonstrate a pedagogical concern that categories are characterised by the search for technical innovation and do not seek to innovate socially or to improve the way in which the capital city is supplied fresh quality produce.

Maintaining or re-establishing close food and agriculture relationships inside 'Grand Paris' is complex, and an activist association ('Fertile Land' based on the Saclay Plateau) fights against the 'Grand Paris' project through an alliance of farmers and non-farmers to preserve the agricultural use of land and food production inside the Paris region. Another example of reinterpreting food relations is in the Parc naturel régional Vallée de Chevreuse, where locals re-introduced a disappearing cow breed to affirm

Table 2. The Main Characteristics of the Initiatives to Further Urban Agriculture and Other Green Initiatives.

Key Actors	Diverse and Multiple
Innovation/innovative aspects	Mostly technical
Role of food	Less important than the ecological challenge
Rural-urban link/relation	Idealistic link but not real
Sustainability	Sustainability concept is used to legitimate the project

the agricultural vocation of the Regional Park and the link between nature conservation and protection for agriculture (Table 2).

Several actors have a key role in these cases: from public establishment, through private entrepreneurs, associations, ordinary neighbours to Paris Municipality acting for biodiversity and climate change. Innovation only appears through techniques and methods like water management on a roof. Social innovation is limited; it is presented only in some poultry cases. Food is not a central concept, the ecological challenge is emphasised much more. A real urban-rural link had not been created; it exists only as an ideology. Sustainability as a principle has a central role in the legitimation of projects.

RURAL-URBAN FOOD LINKS AND GOVERNANCE IN BUDAPEST'S SURROUNDING SETTLEMENTS

In this part of the chapter we present three case studies on different types of rural-urban food links in three villages (Vértesboglár, Etyek, Tabajd) in the Budapest metropolitan area. Case studies focus on local food systems and alternative food networks and food culturally identified as part of local gastronomic heritage to explore the innovatory components in the governance of metropolitan ruralities.

Wine Idyll and Minority Culture: Etyek

The case of Etyek demonstrates the innovative use of local food as a part of heritage, where the heritage creates a link between locals and urban newcomers on the basis of local cultural traditions.

Etyek is situated in the leafy, 'green' western-Budapest area, and is popular with the upper classes. Migrants go there hoping for a better housing

situation and ‘healthy’ life circumstances. The green area, good infrastructure and the closeness of the Buda side of the city made this part of the region very prestigious; it became a main target for in-migration from Budapest.

The population of Etyek village has increased to 930 people since 1990. In 2011, 4,172 inhabitants lived there (Population Census, 2011). Presently, the share of children is above the national average, confirming that lots of young families can be found among the newcomers from Budapest. A special characteristic of Etyek is that it has not lost its agricultural characteristics like other villages in the Budapest agglomeration, where the agricultural lands and hobby gardens have become building plots, except for protected nature lands (Csire, Csurgó, Kovách, Kristóf, & Nagy Kalamász, 2004; Izsák, 1996; Váradi, 1999). Etyek is the centre of one of the Hungarian historical wine regions. It remains an important agricultural element in the local economy.

The urban demand for rurality includes a better quality of life, houses, leisure opportunities, and also the demand for food and local culture is very strong in the case of Etyek. The urban and rural processes have become highly dependent on each other and their internal boundaries tend to blur. The influx of ‘newcomers’, the development of new local ‘power’ structures, the formation of a new way of rural life and rurality not only create a re-composition of rural communities, but also radically restructure the rural governance structure. It means that the local government has to find a suitable treatment for the governance of the rural-urban relationship. Local stakeholders think that urban immigration from Budapest can open new sources of investment for development at a local level. The majority of local politicians are arguing for incomers by creating new chances for making workplaces, and for selling local products and services. Urban migrant families represent a middle-class or upper-middle-class social status and in most cases, they consume and need services at a high level. In the case of Etyek, new residents mostly originate from the upper middle class, and their civil organisations initiate the protection of local culture and the revitalisation of community life. Local food appears in different forms, such as wine production, or local gastronomic or organic food production. Urban newcomers are the most active in all the activities connecting to food.

Immigration resulted in two main governing issues in Etyek. The first governance objective is connected to the demand for housing, while the second is connected to the demand for authenticity. Authenticity is rooted in local traditions, which have a strong connection to local food production and heritage.

In the case of Etyek, building sites are the primary demand of immigrants (Csurgó, 2013) In addition, the demand for housing is not homogeneous. Concerning the different demands for housing, several conflicts have arisen between different groups of immigrants and also between immigrants and local residents There are newcomers who want to share the villages with local inhabitants, they live together in the same part of the settlements, and they prefer and aim to live in renovated peasant houses. These newcomers do not want more incomers, they hope to guard the 'rural idyll'. There is another type of newcomer, demanding new building plots resulting in separated residential areas that were formed exclusively for urban people. In Etyek, there is a residential park area, and several newcomers live inside the old village part, mostly in renovated peasant houses.¹³ The most important element of in the case of Etyek is that there are several newcomers demanding a rural idyll and rural authenticity. The demand for rural authenticity includes the demand for local food and products and a local cultural heritage. Etyek is originally a Swabian village, and this is one of the most important components of the village's cultural identity. This cultural heritage has a strong influence on cultural and community life.

The Gastronomy Festivals in Etyek clearly represent the influence of newcomers in the revitalisation of local traditions. An immigrant and so-called media star was the initiator of the local cultural festivals, which have become the main tourist events in the village. He bought a house in Etyek and started to produce his own wine and then opened a local inn for selling his wine products. Then he established a local association to organise gastronomy festivals, with both locals and newcomers from the city being involved in the association's activities. The festivals make use of the Swabian character of the village and local wine production. The rural idyllic nature, rural tradition and traditional food production (mostly wine production) has become the main product of the village with many financial impacts, so the local government mainly focuses on those immigrants who demand rural authenticity.

The appearance of newcomers has enhanced institutional and organisational changes. Many new residents have social capital and network in upper-class circles, and they have knowledge of founding and running civil institutions and associations. They have obtained funds to establish NGO institutions. Their interests appeared quickly in local policy and cultural life.

The strong demand for rural authenticity, including local food and culture, has resulted in the revitalisation of rural traditions in Etyek. The main

actors in this re-traditionalisation process are newcomers, urban middle-class people, mostly intellectuals, but other important actors are local intellectuals and local producers producing traditional local products like wine, and organic food. They have a strong demand for authentic rural life, which manifests itself in the protection of the local heritage. They create new traditions, providing new goods and activities for locals and also for outsiders (tourists and immigrants).

The demand for authenticity is stronger and has a larger power than the demand for housing in the case of Etyek. Because of this, the Etyek local government has a plan to limit immigration and enhance co-operation and the viability of the local community involving new rural dwellers. This demand results in a new kind of local development concerning cultural and tourism development. The basis of this kind of development is the revitalisation of local traditions. It causes the re-valorisation of local traditions and community life.

In the case of Etyek, the governance of rural-urban relations and the integration of newcomers are based on cultural heritage, including food and traditions.

The main stakeholders of this culture-based rural-urban governance are middle-class newcomers demanding rural authenticity, the local government, the local producers producing traditional rural products and the local cultural NGOs. The most powerful actors are the newcomers from Budapest, who organise new culture-based activities and found new local NGOs. The key governance activities of the culture-based rural-urban government are the organisation of cultural events like festivals, the revitalisation of rural-cultural traditions and promotion of local products. These activities integrate local society into a culture-based interest group. Therefore, the main governing method for the integration between old inhabitants and newcomers is the organisation of culture-based activities. Inclusion depends on the acceptance and adaptation of culture-based development goals and knowledge of local cultural heritage. Excluded actors are newcomers with suburban interests and habits and local residents without the knowledge and capacity to participate in culture-based activities (Table 3).

The Etyek case presents an innovative governance method of rural-urban relationships rooted in the local food tradition. In this governance mode, where food has a central role, creating links between locals and urban newcomers, social and cultural sustainability has significant importance, but parallel with this process, we can say culture is approached as an instrument of sustainable development. The key actor here is an urban

Table 3. The Main Characteristics of the Revitalisation of Rural Traditions in Etyek.

Key Actor(s)	Urban Immigrant Media Star Involved in Local Wine Producers' Association
Innovation	Local gastronomy festival for promoting local wine and related gastronomic culture
Role of food	link between locals and newcomers through wine
Rural-urban link	Wine production and wine and gastronomy products are the base of relationships
Sustainability	Social and cultural pillars with some effects on ecological ones

newcomer who is strongly involved in local community through his wine production activity. Thus the rural-urban link is rooted in the wine production and related gastronomic culture. The protection of cultural heritage is closely connected to environmental protection. Local development processes and plans based on cultural heritage use includes not only the traditions and built heritage but also landscape, nature and rural milieu. Sustainable development ideas here start from principles of cultural sustainability but significant elements of environmental sustainability are also included.

Aristocratic Equestrian Culture and Food: Tabajd – Bélápapusztá

From the turn of the millennium, the Budapest neighbourhood (as in other regions) is a place for the rebirth of a horse-riding culture, which has a long tradition in Hungary. However, only some forms (coach-driving, dressage, horse racing) were kept alive during the socialist era. The revival of horse-keeping involved the spread of riding schools, horse polo clubs, and horse farms. Youngsters with middle-class and upper-middle-class family backgrounds attended the Habsburg Eilika Foundation in order to learn riding and equestrian skills. Argentinian trainers phased in horse polo games in the La Estancia Polo club in Etyek. The new and traditional horse-keeping have strong symbolic and cultural associations. The revived nomadic mounted archery or marches and processions of popular hussar and other cavalry troops recall local traditions and national historical events. Keeping a horse is a symbol of a well-off family.

The revived riding culture appeals to visitors to the countryside and new residents alike, as has happened in Tabajd: a village of 974 people, 45 km west of Budapest. In the last decade, Tabajd has experienced a decline in

agriculture, unemployment, locals commuting to urban workplaces, and little in-migration has occurred. In 2005, a US-born descendant of émigré parents (a former landowner family in Hungary), started farming in the Tabajd region. With his brother, he bought a former state farm (2,800 hectares) and is now the owner of a nicely renovated manor house (in Bélápuszta) where a small upper-class community lives: his family, his brother's family and close friend who is a veterinary surgeon.

The basis of farming here is the production of cereals (fall wheat), rape, soya, corn, and turnsole. In Bélápuszta, they run an Equestrian Centre and a restaurant for 240 guests, with six lodging apartments. The Equestrian Centre provides basic services for horse boarding: a box for the horse, oats and hay, daily manuring and horse walking outdoors. They offer for boarding a 60x80 m space (a sandy outdoor area and a grassy riding arena), a 20x40 m covered riding hall, a walker and various trails for short or all-day outings. The Centre has a total capacity for 47 horses. Cross-country riding, a riding school, and dressage tests are offered for riders. They organise such programmes as a pony camp, a historical camp, a French camp, a medieval camp, a summer camp, a riding camp and a drag-hunt. Food services and the preparation of roast suckling pig, scones in the oven, meals cooked in an iron kettle, games, barbecues, and historical dishes are an inseparable part of the programmes. An extra activity is taking part in traditional baking. The food service re-enacts an aristocratic milieu and a historical atmosphere.

Residents of Bélápuszta are acting members of local governance. The owner of the estate is president of the representative body, the Glorification of Saint-Cross Parish; his wife is a representative at the local self-government. There is no direct power relation between the estate and the village self-governance. The estate was the biggest local taxpayer, possessing 2,800 hectares which is a superior to the total village arable land area (2,000 hectares). The owner transposed registry of the estate to another village and this is a basis for latent conflict (Table 4).

The case of the estate and Bélápuszta Equestrian Centre represents a food production, riding and food-culture-based governance in a metropolitan rural area in which the non-governmental actors are the leading stakeholders. The ways in which they reinvented the aristocratic milieu in a rural circumstance contain some innovative aspects including their lifestyle and their tourism services. The rural-urban link here is a consumer-producer link between tourists and 'aristocrats'. Food provided in an aristocratic environment as a basic service for tourists with the feeling of the milieu. The aesthetic of food has a central role in building relationships between

Table 4. The Main Characteristics of the Revival of Equestrian Culture and Food in Tabajd – Bélápuszta.

Key Actor(s)	Upper-Class Immigrant Family (Descendant of Émigré Parents with Aristocratic Background) – Became One of the Main Landowners in the Region
Innovation	Settled down with their friends (three families) in a manor house: reinvented aristocratic lifestyle on the base of equestrian centre
Role of food	Basic instruments for aristocratic milieu providing for tourists (including locals and outsiders)
Rural-urban link	Based on the consumption of aristocratic milieu (producer (aristocrats) – consumer (visitors) link)
Sustainability	Connection to cultural sustainability (protection and revitalisation of local ‘aristocratic’ culture) with some impact on ecological sustainability (Landscape!)

‘aristocrats’ and their visitors including rural and urban ones. Aristocratic culture is presented here as a local cultural heritage reinvented and protected by newcomer aristocrats. Thus cultural heritage protection mainly has some connections to cultural sustainability, and because of the aspects of landscape protection it has also some connections to ecological sustainability, but only in a very narrow sense.

Food Rivalry, Vértesboglár

Vértesboglár, a tiny, tranquil village with 911 inhabitants, is situated in the broader western agglomeration zone of Budapest and in reach of two smaller towns, Bicske and Csákvár. Prior to the socialist regime, the village belonged to a landlord estate; locals worked as manorial servants; others owned small farms. A cooperative was organised in the 1960s and employed the majority of the local labour force. After the fall of socialism, agriculture rapidly decreased. While the village population was about 1,300 people 15 years ago, today it is 911. Unemployed, younger generations moved to cities. Contrary to this depopulation tendency, urban in-migration started and in-migrants already comprise one third of residents. In-migrants are pensioners, second-home owners and qualified commuters with tertiary education. Decades ago, this was a closed, German speaking (Swab) community; older people still speak local German. Vértesboglár is one village out of the three settlements in the district notary. Two or three economic ventures, public institutions (a school, cultural centre and kindergarten), and shops are

the main employers. There is the Vértesslovas (Vértesszider) equestrian centre, a sporting lake, a mountain bike camp and guesthouses which offer tourist programmes.

The slow-down of outmigration to urban workplaces, urban in-migration, facilities for youngsters, the improvement and intensification of tourism are the components of the urban-rural relation that need to be governed. Though Vértesszider is a small settlement, two competing governance strategies have already been developed. The self-government is a driver of one strategy, and the Vértesslovas enterprise leads the other.

The self-government strategy is based on a top-down and at the same time, long-term partnership. They support the local school minority, national education and cultural programmes. The local civil associations, volunteer fire brigade, local militia, choruses and dance groups enjoy self-governing technical and financial support. The training in local traditions to youngsters and the revival of dormant popular costumes and folklore are considered as a way for local society to survive. The main aim of the annual summer camp for primary schoolchildren is to present national natural rarities and a historical way of life. The mayor, a rich, locally born entrepreneur, and the vice-mayor, an immigrant university teacher and their fellowship with native and immigrant local patriots organise festivals which are not open for outsiders. Food, wine and ‘eating together’ are always a focus of these ‘indigenous feasts’. The common preparation and consumption of *lecsó* (paprika, tomato, onion ratatouille), ‘eared doughnut’, strudel and other ‘village days’ recall local minority traditions, enhance the community lifestyle and link youngsters to local society. The local events have no tourism objectives. Keeping and revitalising local traditions and national patriotism are the main endeavours of the actor network, which gains a firm holder over self-governance (Table 5).

This is from one side a top-down, non-business target strategy of local development; from another side, power holders (who sometimes cover expenses and loan money to pay off self-government debt) act as key

Table 5. The Main Characteristics of Revitalising Local Traditions and National Patriotism in Vértesszider.

Key Actor(s)	Local Government (Mayor)
Innovation	‘Eating together’ as the base of community building
Role of food	Cultural heritage and instrument for community building
Rural-urban link	Living and eating together
Sustainability	Social and ecological goals

persons in managing the involvement of locals through food-based local cultural activities. The use of ‘eating together’ activity for community building may be regarded as innovation here. Food is presented here as local cultural heritage and also as a symbol of community. There is no manifest proposed to create links between locals (rural) and urban newcomers and the involvement of newcomers is based on ‘eating together’. Protection of local heritage and social and ecological goals have a significant connection to the principles of sustainability.

The concurrent strategy has emerged from the tourist business. Years ago, an in-migrant entrepreneur set up a farm for ‘whispering horse training’. One of his close friends joined the business as manager and in 2010 they set up the Vértesslovakas (Vértesslovakas) tourist business. In the first year, 500 visitors, and now this year 4,000 enjoyed the attractions. The amusement park is located in the heart of the village in five plots. Vértesslovakas offers miscellaneous programmes. The first item of a step-by-step business strategy was an orientation to schoolchildren’s and teachers’ imagination about ‘rurality’, ‘tradition’, ‘riding culture’ and ‘authenticity’. This was offered to summer camps or school-holiday programs and leisure programs were organised for the teachers and parents, mainly for non-local consumers. A year later, the offer was extended to family, friends as well as for business meetings. From 2012, multinational companies held training sessions there for 1,000–1,300 employees.

The consequence of this business strategy is gentrification. Nomad yurts, peasant houses, football, volleyball, basketball, badminton playing fields, covered and open riding areas, small pools, an oven and grill, barbecue areas, horse barns, a skating rink, a bungee springboard, a fitness place, billiards, table tennis and whatever else what comprises ‘rural’ in the imagination of urban visitors, are packaged in five small village plots. As the chief manager said, this is a combined place: authentic, romantic, folkloristic, naturalist, ecological and adventurous (for a one-day tour) (Table 6).

Table 6. The Main Characteristics of the Tourist Business Strategy in Vértesslovakas.

Key Actor(s)	Urban Immigrant Business Man
Innovation	Horse farm and adventure park together
Role of food	Special service for visitors, symbol of rurality (Oven Fest)
Rural-urban link	Producers and consumers
Sustainability	Economic sustainability with positive and negative impact on social and ecological ones

The food makes a specific contribution to this cavalcade of ‘fake authenticity’ as dishes, a large oven, preparing and consuming food symbolise the local tradition, which is the single component of the Vértesszőlős offer that refers to the existing village neighbourhood. The hope is that there will be a street festival with the involvement of villagers. The key actors of ‘opening the village for visitors on the basis of a touristic governance strategy’ aspires to convince representatives to ‘revitalise tradition and integrate immigrant governance strategy’, but it is still an open conflict between the two stakeholder groups for local power. On the one hand economic sustainability has central importance even if it has a negative impact on nature and local community. On the other hand, the sense of place is presented through local cultural heritage and local landscape with the natural beauty which results in a positive impact on cultural and ecological sustainability.

Our Hungarian cases present different types of actors and different examples of food relations in metropolitan rural areas. The case of Etyek demonstrates the innovative use of local food as heritage, where the governance of rural-urban relations and the integration of urban newcomers is based on a cultural heritage which includes food and traditions. The case of Tabajd presents an innovative form of agricultural farming with the production of cereals reminiscent of the aristocratic milieu and the historical atmosphere of a metropolitan rural environment. The third case in Hungary, the case of Vértesszőlős, shows two contested examples of food-based local governance, including a business-motivated and a community-motivated use of local food. Food and natural resources have symbolic and practical values in both governance methods. We have identified several stakeholders (farmers, politicians, economic actors, scientists, artists, intellectuals, civic associations, etc.) affecting rural-urban relationships via food.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The key factors of comparison are actors and the forms of governance. In the Paris metropolitan rural areas, the key actors are the middle classes, the *bobos*, civil associations with a strong sense of commitment, the project classes, farmers and entrepreneurs. In addition, key actors and stakeholders are the local project class, urban out-migrants, investors, local activists and entrepreneurs in the case of Budapest’s metropolitan rural areas. We have also found several differences in governance methods between the Paris

and Budapest metropolitan ruralities. The areas surrounding Paris are characterised by multi-level governance methods. However, an isolated form of rural governance of the rural-urban local food link can be identified in Budapest's rural areas. All cases demonstrate the main characteristics of short termism (Csurgó et al., 2012) and especially the lack of long-term planning.

By confronting the results of our case studies we come back to our hypothesis: the connection between sustainability and food related governance for capital cities. Understanding the complex and dynamic interaction of food links and related activities within metropolitan areas offers the possibility of a far greater understanding of the complex and multiple links between sustainability, renewal of social interaction and cohesion. But we also pinpoint and theorise the differences in the capacities and form of innovation we found in both metropolitan rural areas and within the metropolis.

We maintain that there is a need to return to more materialistic analyses of sustainable development of capital cities and surrounding metropolitan rurality, which incorporate issues of power and governance. Much of the discussion on sustainability tends to erase or obfuscate the material relations, in our case the food link, that underlines contemporary living conditions, living relations between urban and rural societies or avoids policies or discourses that would impinge disadvantageously on the powerful beneficiaries of political efforts. Sustainability must be socially inclusive, encompassing issues of governance, economic well-being and quality of life as well as ecological considerations. The chapter sees sustainability as a process rather than an attained condition. As the analysis of food links between urban and rural places presented, sustainability is necessarily multidimensional and not one-dimensional. It must therefore take account of scientific uncertainty and permit transdisciplinary knowledge and interdisciplinary practices.

NOTES

1. Immigration, along with increasing commuting distances, has changed food consumption in Paris, but also the demand for exotic food (e.g. Maghreb, Vietnamese, Chinese and Japanese products).

2. 'In case of a shortage of oil, Paris would have only a few days of food autonomy: in fact, only 20% of the food supply in Ile-de-France comes from Paris. Yet, even in the 19th century, the supply of urban food was provided by local agriculture forming a vegetable belt around the urban centre. These belts consist of gardeners,

orchards and livestock for milk, and ensured access to these vital urban perishables. Today, these belts have disappeared under concrete sprawl to be replaced by incessant trucks and aircraft from around the world' (cf. Acting Page of Colibris movement).

3. For instance, the direct sale of lamb cut and prepared in trays by the farmers of Larzac and by René Riesel in Causse Méjan to young students and scholars engaged in the sustainable supply of meat.

4. The Charter of AMAP was created by the Alliance Provence in 2003, and the name AMAP (Association for the Maintenance of Agriculture Paysanne) is filed with the INPI (National Institute for Industrial Protection). The first international meeting was organised by the initiating actors of the first AMAP (including ATTAC) in 2004 in Aubagne near Marseille (13).

5. For instance 'Les jardins de Cocagne', founded by J.G. Henckel was inspired by the post-1968 LIPP workers' fight and by the ESS (Solidarity Social Economy). The first 'Cocagne garden' was created in Chalezeule, a village in the peri-urban area of Besancon, to help troubled youth, the unemployed and homeless people by encouraging them to become organic producers.

6. http://www.amap-idf.org/historique-du-mouvement-des-amap_17.php

7. The number of the non-farm members of an AMAP association is limited by the capacity of the farmer to provide the weekly baskets. Our survey followed 30 households living in Vanves and in the Paris border of Vanves (15 arrondissement). As I was a member of the AMAP I was connected with all the members by email, knowing their address and their profession, was informed of any event, corresponded with members asking for example how they could cook some vegetable they had previously not used, assisted the General assembly and took part in the annual visit of the farm. From these important exchanges I selected 10 households for an interview deeping the motivation to belong to this AMAP especially the role of food and food culture.

8. 'An AMAP is also and above all a new way of experiencing the consumer-producer relationship. Usability, product quality, solidarity and transparency are the pillars of this trust relation. An AMAP is the privilege and the pleasure to meet, discuss and share things each week with the producer of your vegetables' (AMAP Charta).

9. A general assembly of both AMAP followed the suicide to explain the reasons: it was too hard for the young man to afford his contract (*Sources*: N. Mathieu personal archives).

10. 10 households living in Vanves: three families with young children, three families of retired but committed in leftist associations, one artist (F) working as a hostess in the Pompidou centre, one household (a woman professor of music and the man an employee in a bank), one concierge and her husband.

11. 'A few square metres in a joint ownership, a community centre, a park, a garden, an urban corner'.

12. The start-ups and IUT of St Denis.

13. The economic conflict relating to the demand for housing divides the native society into two parts. Owners of free building sites hope to commercialise their plots (including building sites and arable land) for investors and newcomers, while others desire to keep their own customs and lifestyle in familiar circumstances. The local government of Etyek manages the housing question at a local level. It

tries to find investors to buy the lands and to build residential parks. It has the strongest position when it comes to selling lands, because investors prefer to buy larger territories, and prefer to co-operate with local governments than local individuals. The local government of Etyek successfully governs the questions of local housing (Csurgó, 2013).

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