

## New Governance in food systems? Alternative Food Networks in Poland.

Key words: Alternative Food Networks, new governance, food citizenship, Central and Eastern Europe.

### INTRODUCTION

Global Food system is in multidimensional crisis. Dominant economic model based on endless growth pushes the limits of natural and social resources. The food system (which includes all the actors and institutions involved in producing, distributing, consuming and disposing of food) is beset by multiple problems, from unacceptable levels of food waste to the growing ecological footprint of agriculture, from chronic soil depletion to recurrent food scares (SAPEA 2020).

The need of change has been discussed between scholars (eg. Goodman 2004, Higgins et al. 2008, Renting et al 2012) as well as key institutions (e.g. FAO 2018, IPCC 2019, ) for at least last 30 years. As the environmental crisis is getting more obvious, the idea of paradigm shift around food system is more intense. Various narratives are clashing. One says that only industrial farming can provide enough food for the increasing number of people, other - that the current system is literally killing the planet and its inhabitants, so world has to turn back to local, family farming. The story is not black and white. It refers to the role and meaning of the food, shape of the whole food system, and its governance.

I attempt to assess whether **AFNs –operating in the specific conditions of Central and Eastern Europe Countries (CEE) – aim for proposing essential change in the food system through change of governance model, or they rather respond to individual needs that corporate based food markets fails to satisfy**

In other words, till what extent the AFNs can be viewed as a type of collective actions aiming at a change of a food system by focusing on governance shift and to what extent actors involved in the AFN's are trying to achieve only individual goals like development of an own enterprise or own health

Contestation of the existing food system and the will to establish some alternatives has been key driver for the creation of Alternative Food Networks (AFN's). This term covers different types of formal and informal institutions that aim to challenge the dominant order by strengthening horizontal networks within it. The change can be achieved by introducing new model of governance. AFNs are a polycentric system consisting of many autonomous institutions whose common purpose is decentralization and democratization of food provision . Governance shift can be achieved only based on the strengthening the agency of actors involved in those networks. Individual and collective agency is linked to the concept of the food citizenship.

A systematic review of AFNs by Forssell and Lankoski (2015) revealed that while often providing alternative mechanisms to acquire food, the alternatives examined are not comprehensive with respect to the sustainability of food systems, even in the environmental dimension (Ritchie 2020). The researchers are pointing also to such problems regarding AFNs as exclusion, overrated economic effect and unclear links to concepts of regional development (Treager 2011). Nonetheless, there is identified positive linkages between characteristics of AFNs and sustainability. In particular, the focus on connecting people with food was identified as a significant area of impact, as was the value of creating demonstration effects that things can be done differently (Davies, 2012; Kirwan et al., 2013).

As Ostrom emphasizes (Ostrom 2010), the creation of rules and governance institutions are context-dependent, there is not one set that suits each situation, many are due to local conditions. Also the debate on new governance is embedded in the role of culture (beliefs, discourses, traditions) plays in the emergence and development of patterns of governance (Bevir 2007).

My hypothesis is that actors involved in AFNs operating in the specific conditions of CEE countries are trying to achieve individual goals, like development of an own enterprise or protecting own health, and there is no real shift in the governance system (neither intended nor realized).

The auxiliary questions are:

1. What are the main motivations, values, and attitudes of both producers and consumers engaged in the AFNs?
2. How the institutions (AFNs) operate?
3. How the socio-historical context of CEE countries influence the performance of AFNs?
4. What factors, if any, determine creation of individual and collective forms of food citizenship and hence influence the change in food system governance?

In this research, I refer only to studies conducted in one Central and Eastern Europe country (CEE), Poland. While being aware of the fact that there are multiple differences in historical and economic trajectories of different CEE countries, we believe that there are also many common experiences regarding the food system that make Poland quite typical in this respect. That is why we treat Polish AFNs as representative of the region.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.

New governance refers to the changing role of state. It address the issue of the shift from a hierarchic bureaucracy toward greater use of the markets and networks. There is an increasing importance of the consumers ( food citizens) in the governance. Governance requires strong involvement of the groups and individuals from within civic society. This is about how the power are constructed in the activity of organizations. People's beliefs, motivations , values give the direction of the process of governance. Governance is ongoing activity that involves creation and recreation of meanings. People are influenced by their social context, culture and experience, but also they are capable of rejecting or reshaping their actions (Bevir, Trentman 2007).

Humans are situated agents, it means they are embedded in the inherited culture, but they have a possibilities, to change it, to create new believes and guide new actions. People construct they agency within what they know from their experience and culture. Agency can't be reduced to any specific situation, as every person has its own biography, that has been constructed through various experiences and shapes their agency. Agency can be understood as motivations, beliefs and values of individuals agents influencing transition pathways (Smith 2005)

In the industrial food system, people are seen only as consumers, who can make a choice between brands they pick at the store. Food agency is restricted to consuming and it leads to loss of agency (Vivero-Pol 2017). The notion of food citizenship is based on idea of (re) gaining the agency and choice within food system. Food citizenship express belief in a food model that is sustainable in all senses - economic, social and environmental and tries to articulate new alternatives economic spaces and transform the structures and organizations of the agri-food system. Everything related to food must be included in the political sphere and social mobilization of active citizenship. This requires, above all, a change in the management and approach to food of various types of institutions. Only through an active food citizenship approach of a sustainable and democratic system can be achieved.

The concept of the food citizenship can can't be understood only in terms of citizen right's, but they are also responsibilities, duties and obligations toward the rest of humans, environment, welfare of animals. It involves more equal access to food and empowerment of all social level. Food citizenship involves the pre conditions of the subject's (the citizens) autonomy and ability to define and exercise her food preferences (Gomez-Benito 2014). The civil course of action is a counterweight or form of resistance to government policies. Agency and resistance are not only the answer to state actions, but are also part of local practice. Citizenship is not only constructed by a change in individual actions, by education but especially defending shared goods through citizens participations in community life and the public sphere. Food citizenship advocates promoting political, economic, and social changes so all the actors can shape a food change. The issue of this citizenship cultivates both in private sphere, series of values and attitudes –preferences, behaviors, and in public sphere –defense of food rights, impact on public powers (Hassasanein 2003).

AFNs have been defined as practices opposed to the mainstream, industrial food system. They are centered around the notions of quality (Goodman 2014) and spatial (Renting 2003), social (Treager 2012) embeddedness. AFNs represent a variety of structures, in fact, based on different values defining their specific goals. The common feature of these diversified arrangements of food distribution is that they reconnect consumers and food producers in a more direct way, unlike in the mainstream food distribution system, thereby creating both economic links and social bonds that constitute new social and organisational practices. These initiatives relate to the whole system of production, distribution and sale.

To date there is relatively little research, especially of a comparative character, regarding the emergence of AFNs in the postsocialist context. However, the existing studies do allow us to track certain common features of attitudes to food in the postsocialist countries that may help understand the context of the emergence of AFNs. Most of those countries were affected by a differing degree of agricultural collectivization and a parallel informal system of food distribution and production that served as a remedy for a differing degree of food shortage and for the poor quality of food offered on the official market. Therefore, as Jung, Klein, and Caldwell (Jung 2014) suggest, people from the postsocialist countries today may have a different understanding of food qualities and the ethical values connected to food than do those from established Western democracies, as their everyday choices regarding food were shaped by the experience of state socialism and its shortage economy, and also by a telltale attitude toward the state and its institutions. The generally low level of trust (especially among farmers), (Bisman 2012), as well as the negative experience of formal cooperation during the time of “real socialism” and the subsequent transition to a market economy (Müllers, 2015) may still have an impact on their perception of new, grassroots forms of food distribution.

On the other hand, it has to be acknowledged that more traditional “alternative” food chains had existed in many countries of the Soviet block long before the new cooperatives or other AFNs emerged. Jung, Klein, and Caldwell remark that informal networks between peasants and consumers are older than in the West, as they arose from necessity in the conditions of a shortage economy and its recurring problems with food supply. The period of “real socialism” with its “structural production of mistrust” (Giordano 2002) made people rely on personal, trusted networks rather than institutional signs of quality. This was essential especially in periods of crisis, when the stores were

empty and the food served in restaurants or workers' canteens was perceived as low quality or sometimes even rotten and hazardous. Each of the large cities in Poland, for example, had a sophisticated channel of informal and illegal food provisioning (Wedel 2015). Those informal networks are still a vivid phenomenon in the postsocialist context. Many people buy food directly from family or friends who own small farms; some also produce their own food in summer houses or urban allotment gardens. Research conducted in countries such as Latvia (Aistara 2015) or Lithuania (Mincyte 2012) and show that these informal networks are still present, although often illegal, again as the food sold does not meet strict EU regulations on food production. Smith and Jehlička propose the term "quiet sustainability" (Smith 2015) referring to informal food networks in the Czech Republic and in Poland. They point out that those networks, in contrast to Western Europe, are family based. Those networks constitute the daily practice of a satisfying life more than political action. (Smith 2013) In general, informal food networks in the postsocialist countries coexist and supplement the mainstream food system (supermarkets, grocery stores) and emerging new forms of "alternative" food distribution—farmers' markets, ecological stores, and groups such as CSA (Balazs 2016) and cooperatives (Śpiewak 2016). However, those traditional practices based on domestic methods and semi-subsistence agriculture are often labelled "backward" and therefore stigmatized. As Sikorska's extensive research (Sikorska 2013) in the Polish countryside has shown, in 2011, as in previous years, approximately half of the farmers still sold their products directly on local markets or to their neighbors and family. Poland underwent an economic transformation from a planned economy toward a market economy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, at a time when alternative food provisioning initiatives were already emerging in Europe (e.g., food co-ops in Germany and the Italian slow food movement, born in the 1980s). The economic transformation entailed a "shock therapy," switching from the state's planned economy to a free market economy by means of disruptive liberalizing reforms. In terms of consumption, the transformation to free market policy entailed a rapid shift from the shortage economy to the world of plenty, from collectivist ethics to consumerist individualism (Jung 2015). The novelty of the free market in food that suddenly provided consumers with plenty of variety and foreign brands, along with the convenience of supermarkets, made it natural for consumers from the former Soviet bloc to embrace the conventional food system as modern, attractive, and desirable. The "Western" conventional way of shopping and consuming was associated with

“normality” and was proof that the CEE countries were becoming capitalist societies (Jung 2002). That is probably the main reason why the concerns raised by Western citizens pertaining to the conventional food system are still not so widely articulated in the region. In the context of the “normality” of the system perceived as Western; limiting excessive consumption; eating only local, traditional products; or refraining from meat—typical features of “alternative” or “ethical” consumption in the West, would be seen instead as embarrassing signs of poverty and associated with the unpleasant communist past, at least for the first years of transformation. What seemed attractive was foreign products in colorful packages. The structure of Polish agriculture is another factor that may contribute to the form alternative food networks are taking in the country. Unlike other countries in the Soviet bloc, Polish agriculture was never collectivized to a large extent, with small, partly semi-subsistence farms surviving times of “real socialism.” Mainstream economic analyses deem the Polish countryside still not modern enough and overpopulated. The number of small farms under 5 hectares is still high; in 2014, there were more than 700,000 farms up to 5 ha, which constituted 52 percent of all farms. On the other hand, the sector of large industrial farms is rapidly growing. While many smaller farms still use a range of traditional food production methods, the lack of adequate legislative measures impede the development of more institutionalized, direct producer–consumer links that could provide a stable income for farmers. The lack of local food traditions during communist times has also influenced the shape of the alternative food networks. Poland has relatively few regional products, because of the uniformization policy of the communist regime and the prevalence of mass, standardized foods during that period. There is no systematic research tracing this process; a quote from a journalist’s account of the phenomenon seems to be particularly accurate: “Communism did to the national cuisine what it did to so much else and reduced it to the lowest common denominator: uniform and bland stodge characterized by poor ingredients, low standards, and low expectations.” (*The Economist* August 8, 2013). Therefore, after the transition, regional Polish identities had to be reinvented and reimagined, and this included the culinary culture. This process was probably slower because of the above-mentioned fascination with Western and imported goods right after the transformation. Food labeled as traditional or regional currently accounts for only 1 percent of the entire food market in Poland. However, it is probably the economic aspect—namely, the relatively low average income—that is decisive in maintaining conventional ways of purchasing food. Price is still the most



decisive factor in food purchasing decisions(CBOS 2014). Poles spend a greater part of their income on food and nonalcoholic beverages than the average EU consumer(Gerstberger 2013) Supermarkets offer more competitive prices than do corner stores or traditional markets—not to mention health food stores or organic markets. Both economic conditions and the lack of experience in producing certified organic food, which requires strict adherence to European regulations, are factors influencing the low interest in certified ecological food. In such specific conditions, new forms of alternative food distribution and consumption in Poland and other postsocialist countries in the region is still a marginal phenomenon, although they are gaining in popularity, also because of widespread media attention. The organizational patterns (as well as the values that the new food initiatives in postsocialist countries refer to) are based on their Western counterparts, despite existing local, alternative food channels. For example, in the Czech Republic modern forms of AFNs have emerged mainly as farmers markets, initiated by NGOs. The forms that are growing in popularity in large Polish cities are organic markets, a few CSA (community supported agriculture) units, and consumer cooperatives. Consumer cooperatives are probably one of the most distinct and self-conscious forms of new alternative food networks in Poland. They have gained widespread attention and are referred to as one of the most important informal social movements to have arisen in the country over the past few years (Bilewicz 2018)

## DATA, EMPIRICAL METHODS AND EVIDENCE <sup>1</sup>

In 2019 the research team has conducted 6 case studies all around Poland, based on purposive non probability sampling (cf. Table 1). Each network has been researched using in-depth interviews, non-participatory observation, and visual analysis. In total, seventy interviews with consumers, producers and suppliers, as well as representatives of institutions collaborating with AFNs, (e.g.. local government bodies), have been held. There have been three kind questioners - for the consumers, producers and the environment. Questions for both consumers and producers concerned: the issue of the motivation to join/create AFN, social background of the people engaged in each type of the AFN, meaning associated with food, farming and environment, methods of operating the networks, forms of cooperation with other institutions.

Obtained interviews will be coding with MAXQDA software.

Table 1 - Brief description of case studies.

Case		Network features
Frymark - Farmers market		Once a week farmers market for foodies in middle size city. (Central Poland)
Healthy Bytów		Newly established cooperative in a non-typical small-town setting (north of Poland)

<sup>1</sup> I have not analyzed yet obtained data, as my research team has just finished collecting happy to hear your comments. data. That's why I will be happy with comments and suggestions.

<p>Local Action Group (LAG) - 4 żywioly</p>		<p>Group composed of few communities responsible for defining and implementing the development strategy. One of the key elements of the strategy is supporting local food producers. (South of Poland)</p>
<p>Family allotment in Białystok</p>		<p>Association of an owners of family allotments within the city. It is plot of land made available for individual, non-commercial gardening or growing food plants (East of Poland). Established during the socialist times.</p>
<p>Consumer Cooperative „Dobrze”</p>		<p>Association based on radical ideas, located in capital city, whose objective is to establish direct relations between local farmers/small producers and consumer (Central Poland) and engage members in the a process of deep change in their consumers behaviors.</p>
<p>Małopolski Przełom Doliny Wisły Wine Growers Associatio</p>		<p>An organization with about 40members established to promote and enhance the competences of members producing local wines (south-eastern Poland).</p>

Selection of cases is based on purposive non probability sampling, according to following factors:

1. Localization of the residence of the leaders- city versus rural areas
2. Elite or egalitarian character - from what socio economic class come main actors
3. Imitation on or embeddedness - if the idea of the network comes from different historical and social contexts or is embedded in the CEE tradition
4. Required engagement of both consumers and producers - high versus low.

## DISCUSSION

As I haven't done the analysis of the data obtained, I am referring to our previous analysis. They can be considered as a preliminary remarks.

It can be assumed, that one of the most important distinguishing features of alternative networks, is their community character - they attempt to connect consumers, producers and processors from different places and social classes, so that they gradually challenge governance of food systems toward more sustainable. In all the researched AFNs in Poland, we have observed a far reaching individualism (Goszczynski et al 2018). Self-oriented character of the Polish AFN's is limiting the socio-creative potential of the networks. The other feature of analyzed networks is familism, by which I mean individuals are focused on the interests of own family. The family is a central metaphor to almost every story acquired during the study. No matter if we analyzed elite, metropolitan, or local and rather egalitarian examples, it was the safety and wellbeing of the family that was the main value for the respondents and key driver for participating in one. For a vast part of the AFNs members, food acquired through conventional food networks is associated with dangers linked to modernity and social risk construction (Beck 1992). Both consumers and producers seek in the AFNs safe space, as they associate it, with the rural idyll and the childhood memories.

Also motivations of leaders of the AFNs has been striking to us. We assumed that at first there are arguments related to politics, social justice, environmental protection. Meanwhile, they appeared occasional and rather as secondary motivations for working within the AFN. Interest in quality food has been associated mostly with a fear of modernity, a desire to protect body and life of the close family members. For a good share of leaders the motivation has been also financial. Fashion for local, quality food enable them running a business based on providing such goods.

Most of the networks are based on "trusted contacts" that resemble informal or family networks from the times of the shortage economy. Individual networks transcend regional communities. Quite often, members of networks (mostly cooperatives) contact organic or "natural" farmers that are back-to-the-landers diverting from the mainstream practices of the farmers in their communities. In spatial terms, the producer-consumer links resemble small, scattered islands bound together rather than strong, regional ties. This development raises doubts whether the practice can diffuse regionally to

encourage more farmers to join the networks. Rather, it may lead to the development of a new “alternative” farmer elite with exclusive links to city consumers.

An important development is that of the growing group of farmers collaborating with AFNs, along with other non-mainstream distribution channels (ecological or traditional food markets, small markets, online sale, other direct sale forms). While establishing direct links based on personal acquaintance and trust between the AFNs consumer and producers meeting their ideological as well as consumption needs, they are also seemingly on their way to establish a Polish AFN model based on personal relations rather than a specific territory or local identity.

## LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE WORK

As I have mentioned before, this is a work in progress. I have not analyzed yet, recently obtained material. The current study is more in-depth, the sample selection more diverse than the previous one. It will allow me to point differences between networks. Although the study has no dynamic character, by referring to previous studies I will be able to analyze the impact of the changing discourse regarding environmental issues on the performance of the AFN. The most important point is that the analysis, will allow me to take into account impact of the socio-historical-economic context on the activities and the performance of AFNs and whether they are delivering an essential change in the food system.

. Based on the previous, preliminary work, I can assume, that the AFNs in Poland/ CEE countries are less about the exercising essential shift in the food system through change of governance model, more about fulfilling various individual needs. AFNs created in this particular circumstances are only in small degree a form of a collective action.

.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Balazs, B (2016): Prospects for the Future: Community Supported Agriculture in Hungary, *Futures* 83,
- Beck U (1992): *Risk Society, Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publications,
- Bevir M., Trnetman F (2007): Introduction: Consumption and Citizenship in the New Governance. In: *Governance, Consumers and Citizens. Agency and Resistance in Contemporary Politics.*, ed. Bevir M., Trnetman F. Palgrave Macmillan ,
- CBOS (Center on Research For Public Opinion) *Zachowania żywieniowe Polaków. Report No BS 115/2014*,
- FAO (2018): The future of food and agriculture: Alternative pathways to 2050. 228 pp. <http://www.fao.org/publications/fofa/en/>,
- Flemmen, Magne; Hjellbrekke, Johs.; Jarness, Vegard (2017): Class, culture and culinary tastes: Cultural distinctions and social class divisions in contemporary Norway. *Sociology* 52 (1), pp. 128–149,
- Forsell S., Lankoski L. (2015): The Sustainability promise of alternative food networks: an examination through “alternative” characteristics. *Agric. Hum. Values* (2015),
- Gerstberger Ch and D. Yaneva, (2013): Analysis of EU-27 Household Final Consumption Expenditure, *Statistics in focus* 2 (2013): [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Archive:Household\\_consumption\\_expenditure\\_-\\_national\\_accounts](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Archive:Household_consumption_expenditure_-_national_accounts),
- Giordano Christian C. and Dobrinka D. Kostova, (2002): The social production of mistrust. In *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, ed. Chris Ch. M. Hann, 74–91 (London and New York: Routledge,
- Goodman, D. (2004): Rural Europe Redux? Reflections on Alternative Agro-Food Networks and Paradigm Change. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 44, Issue 1, 3–16. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9523.2004.00258.x>,
- Goodman, D.; Goodman, M.K.; DuPuis, E.M. (2014): *Alternative food networks. Knowledge, practice and politics*; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, New York,
- Goszczyński W., Wróblewski M., Wójtewicz A., (2018): Jakość w Polskich alternatywnych sieciach żywnościowych. *Analiza Praktyk Społecznych, Studia Socjologiczne* 1 (228),
- Goszczyński W., Śpiewak R., Bilewicz A., Wróblewski M. (2019): [Between Imitation and Embeddedness: Three Types of Polish Alternative Food Networks](#). *Sustainability* 11(24),
- Gomez-Benito C., Lozano C., (2014): Constructing Food Citizenship: Theoretical Premises and Social Practices. *Italiana Sociological Review*. 4 (2),
- Hanisch and GerG. van der Sangen, (2012): *Support for Farmers' Cooperatives. Final Report* (Wageningen: UR),
- Hassanein N., (2003): Practicing food democracy, pragmatic politics of transformation, *Journal of Rural Studies*. Vol 19,

Higgins, V. Dibden, J. – Cocklin, Ch. (2008): Building alternative agri-food networks: certification, embeddedness and environmental governance. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24, 15–27,

IPCC 2019: IPCC Special Report on Climate Change, Desertification, Land Degradation, Sustainable Land Management, Food Security, and Greenhouse gas fluxes in Terrestrial Ecosystems. Summary for policy-makers. [https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2019/08/4.-SPM\\_Approved\\_Microsite\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2019/08/4.-SPM_Approved_Microsite_FINAL.pdf),

Jung, Yuson, Jakob A.Klein & Melissa L.Caldwell (eds). (2014): Ethical eating in the postsocialist and socialist world. viii, 224 pp., bibliogrs. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2014.,

Kirwan, J., Ilbery, B., Maye, D., & Carey, J. (2013).: Grassroots social innovations and food localisation: An investigation of the local food programme in england. *Global Environmental Change*, 23, 830–837. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2012.12.004,

Müllers J., DianaD. Traikova, BrandushaB. Birhala and AxelA. Wolz, (2015): “Why (not) cooperateCooperate? Modelling cognitive determinantsCognitive Determinants of farmers’ motivationFarmers’ (paper provided by International Association of Agricultural Economists in its series 2015 Conference, Milan, Italy, 9-14 August 2015),

Mincyte, D. (2012):How milk does the world good: vernacular sustainability and alternative food systems in post-socialist Europe. *Agric Hum Values*, `2012. 41–52,

Ostrom E., (2010): Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of complex economic System. *American Economic Review*, 100 (June 2010) ,

Renting, H.; Marsden, T.K.; Banks, J. (2003): Understanding Alternative Food Networks: Exploring the Role of Short Food Supply Chains in Rural Development. *Environ Plan A* 2003, 35, 393–411, doi:10.1068/a3510,

Ritchie, A., (2020): You want to reduce the carbon foot print of your food? <https://ourworldindata.org/food-choice-vs-eating-local?fbclid=IwAR0V3xwQDe9OiAAU4pWzCCxfsdRYuYie0Uf0VyuxXo3UqTvwXS5hRY7jDFc> (access Janury 30),

SAPEA (2020): A Sustainable Food System for the EU. Evidence Report. (not published yet),

Sikorska I (2013): , *Procesy przekształceń strukturalnych w wiejskiej społeczności i chłopskim rolnictwie. Synteza* (Warszawa: IERiGŻ, 2013),

Smith, J.; Jehlička, P. Stories around food, politics and change in Poland and the Czech Republic. *Trans Inst Br Geog* 2007, 32, 395–410, doi:10.1111/j.1475-5661.2007.00258,

Smith, J.; Jehlička, P. Quiet sustainability: Fertile lessons from Europe's productive gardeners. *Journal of Rural Studies* 2013, 32, 148–157, doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2013.05.002,

Smith A., Stirling A., Berkhout F., (2005). The governance of sustainable socio-technical transitions. *Res Policy* 34,

Śpiewak, R. (2016): The Social Process of Defining Quality Food, Based on the Opinions of Polish Consumer Cooperative Members. *Wieś i Rolnictwo* 2016, 123–139,

Vivero-Pol, J. (2017): Food as a commons or commodity? Exploring the Links between Normative Valuations and Agency in Food Transition. *Sustainability* 9, 442 ,

Tregear, A. (2011): Progressing knowledge in alternative and local food networks: Critical reflections and a research agenda. *Journal of Rural Studies*, doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.06.003,

“What communism did to Polish Food”. *The Economist*, August 8, 2013.  
<https://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2013/08/poland> (Accessed 30 April 2019),

Wedel J., (1986): *The Private Poland: An Anthropologist's Look at Everyday Life* (New York, Oxford: Facts on File Publications);