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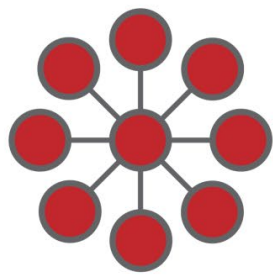
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SUSTAINABLE  
**PRACTICES**  
RESEARCH GROUP

## Change in eating habits: the contribution of new local food infrastructures

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The case of a French initiative: Le Champ Commun/Le Garde Manger –  
Aujan, Morbihan

**Discussion Paper**

Isabelle Darmon, Alan Warde

January 2013

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## Introduction

### The initial research questions and the choice of the cases

The project 'Change in eating habits: an international comparison' is part of a wider programme of the Sustainable Practices Research Group headed by Professor Dale Southerton at the University of Manchester (<http://www.sprg.ac.uk>). The programme was set up in response to a growing recognition of the magnitude of the challenges posed by climate change; and thus of the need for fresh ways of framing problems of climate change, consumption and demand, as well as for new reflection on forms of intervention.

There is no doubt that substantial changes in the relation of our societies to food will be necessary to respond to issues of environmental sustainability, but how this should be achieved is far from clear. This project thus aims at casting a sociological and comparative light on processes of changing habits:

- 'sociological': eating habits have to be understood as socially, culturally and economically conditioned practices, with material, sensory, affective, cognitive and value-related dimensions;
- 'comparative': cross-national comparison (here between France and the UK ) helps contrasting patterns of habit and processes of change not term to term but rather in their relation to the wider configurations of eating practices in these countries, paying attention to social/regional differences within each as well.

Since the ESRC programme on the 'Nation's diet' in the 1990s, which tackled food choice, its determinants and its implications for routines (Murcott 1998), research on food has greatly expanded. Yet analyses in terms of habits tend to be captured by a public health agenda and concerns with obesity: in other words, they tend to be framed *from within* one of the dominant normative discourses and policy frameworks. More sociological and anthropological approaches have been taken to specific aspects of eating habits (e.g. time patterns) and to specific change processes (e.g. the meaning of 'dieting' or the impact of migration on eating habits), with only few adopting a cross-national perspective (e.g. Warde et al. 2007, de Saint Pol 2010).

Our perspective is doubly comparative: [1] we are comparing different processes of change of habits in different situations and [2] we are doing this in two different national configurations of eating practices, France and the UK, which have many similarities (as they are exposed to the same wide drivers of change – marketisation; the spread of norms concerning nutrition and health etc.) and yet markedly different in the overall representations of and relations to food.

We thus study change processes in three different situations, each being tackled through a specific case study:

1. A change of context/environment as a result of life changes (e.g. moving together as a couple, migration);
2. A change in the immediate context/environment, through new food 'infrastructures'; and
3. Situations in which change in eating habits has been specifically targeted (e.g. dieting).

The present discussion paper is a contribution towards case study 2.

The initial research question behind this case study bore on the contribution of a new food infrastructure (a new shopping point) to change in eating habits. This concern led us to discard the study of new openings of local supermarkets/convenience stores even in relatively isolated areas, since most people would normally do their main shopping at a supermarket anyway and it was thus unlikely that the opening of a new store would have any impact other than allowing for shopping closer to home.

We thus turned to 'non conventional' provisioning. But organic shopping is typically done intentionally (people go to an organic shop, they do not just bump into it). Thus any local infrastructure effect (e.g. of organic markets or shops) is likely to be superseded by the affirmation of preferences and choices<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, although this has been less studied so far, local provisioning, through 'short food chains' and 'circuits courts', still seems to primarily attract shoppers who already have a sympathetic value orientation to such schemes <sup>2</sup>.

One possible way of addressing our research question could have been through the analysis of the evolution of supermarket shoppers with regard to organic and/or locally sourced products, since supermarkets have invested in both, in France and especially in Britain (although supermarket sales of organic products decreased by 5% in 2011 in the UK, in part due to a reduction in the shop space allocated to these – see Agence Bio 2012: 44).

Another way, more consistent with our qualitative approach, was to look for initiatives potentially modifying the local food supply in low income areas, and thus aiming to reach out not only to higher income and/or value-driven shoppers but to the local customer base. We identified two local initiatives, in France and Scotland, which are oriented by a desire to alter the local food supply for all, the Champ Commun cooperative and its grocer's shop which opened in July 2010 in Augan, Morbihan (Brittany) and the Community Food Moray shop in Mosstodloch (Moray, Scotland), which opened in April 2011.

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<sup>1</sup> A 2011 survey finds that 54% of regular shoppers of organic products in France state 'personal initiative' as the primary factor underpinning their consumption of organic products (Agence Bio & CSA 2011: 60). The Organic market report 2010 prepared by the Soil Association (for the UK) highlights the reliance of the organic market on a "committed core of consumers": "Just 9% of households – those who will buy more than once a fortnight – are responsible for 56% of sales" and significantly entitles its first section "The organic shopper" (rather than, say, the shopper of organic products) (Soil Association 2010:7).

<sup>2</sup> INRA has been studying 'circuits courts' in relation to social cohesion in the last years, and hence their access by other customer bases than middle class customers choosing to shop with them. The number of initiatives they have collected is still very limited (personal communication with Dominique Paturel).

## Overview of the Champ Commun initiative and summary of the discussion

This discussion paper is based on fieldwork carried out in the grocer's shop of the Champ Commun cooperative, in Augan, Brittany. The Champ Commun cooperative (hereafter CC) was created at the end of 2009 for setting up a grocer's shop, a bar and other infrastructures and activities fostering local social and economic life. Augan is a rural village of 1,400 inhabitants in the interior of Brittany, and already counts with a lively associative fabric. The initiative has attracted much local support and its grocer's shop has succeeded in establishing itself as a proximity shop for local people, especially older people with restricted mobility, younger people supporting the CC project (and their families), but also other residents convinced that 'it is a good idea' and appreciative of the 'spirit' of the place, on top of praising the quality, affordability of the produce as well as the convenient location and opening times. Although this study was not about take up but about changes for people actually using the shop, it was clear from the daily usage and sales that take up amongst local people was good. After two years, the sales are comparable to average sales of local grocery stores as recorded by INSEE.

After a first section providing some background data on Augan and the Champ Commun (section I), the paper presents and analyses the conception of the shop and the role it should play for local economic and social life as seen by its promoters as background to the subsequent discussion. The key focus of the paper is on *patterns of use* of the shop and the way in which these can be explained by past provisioning patterns and by the more general context of provisioning in rural France (sections III and IV). The notion of 'patterns of use' is especially relevant to point to the sourcing and provisioning practices in which the use of the new shop is inserted, rather than more classically first distinguishing profiles of users: this then highlights how very different social groups of users share common patterns of use.

Patterns of use are found to be quite varied, which accords with the also varied past patterns of provisioning, including frequent self-provisioning alongside (and sometimes hand in hand with) supermarket shopping; or, conversely (and these are not the same social groups), alongside sourcing with local producers, local markets and organic shops. What emerges clearly is the insertion of CC in a rather dense local food economy, where local means not only locally situated but also locally organised and controlled, although there is also an extremely developed industrial agro-food complex in that part of Brittany, as well as large supermarkets and even hypermarkets.

One of the purposes of the analysis of patterns of use of the shop and previous/ongoing provisioning practices is to identify which patterns of provisioning have been most altered by the opening of the CC shop, and whether changes in shopping routines are more pronounced for some users than others. The analysis shows the crucial relevance of past provisioning patterns, since well thought through and diversified provisioning is less amenable to wholesale change – CC is included as one more provider, for very specific items; whereas where most shopping was previously done at one place (typically the supermarket), switch to the new shop is perhaps more difficult to obtain (the research design did not allow us to address this question) but where it does take place it is more radical and encompassing (switch of all shopping or almost from the former supplier to the CC shop).

Interestingly, the analysis shows that patterns of use in which there is a switch from the supermarket are those giving rise to changes in eating habits, although the changes are rarely spectacular (section V). In particular, I point out that the mere fact of doing one's complete shopping

with one supplier makes any purchase with another supplier onerous – especially if this implies having to drive to the nearby town. Shopping exclusively at CC (or almost) also means that the intentional and unintentional structure of the supply at CC becomes very important and can have a direct effect on eating habits.

The case study shows that change in eating habits arises from many different intertwining factors – especially related to life course stages (typically parenthood, ageing – health issues), travelling and being exposed to different cuisines and cooking styles, rising awareness about the food production chain, budget restrictions, etc. But it is also clear from our fieldwork that these changes would not have materialised in the same way had there not been an ‘infrastructure effect’ such as the one described in the switch from supermarket to CC shopping. As recapitulated in section VI, the kind of retailing relationship established in the shop, which stands in very notable contrast to the de-personalisation of relations in the usual shopping context, whilst seeking to avoid the reverse trap and preserve discretion, seems to play a particularly important role in this respect.

Overall a key lesson from this case is that regaining proximity retailing as a profession, not of the past, but of the very contemporary food landscape, appears to be a way, under some very specific conditions, for alternative local food networks (CC is linked up with 60 local providers) to become accessible to people who do not have necessarily any interest, time or resources for direct producer contact – as is the case for many in this rather low income area of Brittany. This is probably something to explore further, beyond the limits of this very specific – and successful – case.

## Research design

Fieldwork in CC took place between 29/10 and 2/11/2012 and consisted in participant observation (essentially through presence in the shop and participation in the staff lunches), and both long and in-depth interviews (LI) as well as shorter interviews on the spot (SI - in the shop for customers, or during lunches for staff). Interviews were carried out with the following types of respondents:

- People currently employed by CC (as employees or free-lance) or who were employed by CC in the past, and who usually are also associates: LI 1, 4,5,6; SI 15,16.
- Non-employed associates (2 individual interviews, section with 1 partner in a couple interview, and 1 couple interview): LI 2, 3, 7,8
- Customers: long interviews with 4 individuals and 2 couples, usually at their homes, sometimes in an office at CC (LI 9-14); and 14 short interviews.

The interviews with employees and associates bore on their link to Augan, the nature and phases of their engagement with the CC project and on their perception of the way in which CC is received in Augan; as well as on their own shopping and eating habits – before and since the CC shop opened. The shorter interviews with staff chiefly bore on the history of engagement with CC (briefly) and their shopping and eating habits.

Long interviews with customers bore on their link to Augan, their reaction to CC, their provisioning, shopping and eating habits before and since the shop opened. In the short interviews (SI), customers were asked about their shopping of the day, and more generally about their shopping habits at CC, their other provisioning sources, what they think of CC, and about any perceived changes in their eating habits. The duration and scope of these interviews on the spot varied greatly from one

customer to the next, depending on their greater or lesser readiness to talk – as this is not a market survey exercise, and there was no point in subjecting people to a formatted questionnaire<sup>3</sup>.

Gender and age of interviewed customers

Reference in document	Gender (F, M, couple)	Age bracket	Reference in document	Gender (F, M, couple)	Age bracket
LI9	F	60-70	SI8 (associate)	F	30-40
LI10	couple	80-90	SI9	M	15-20
LI11	F	60-70	SI10	F	50-60
LI12	couple	70-80	SI11	F	40-50
LI13	F	60-70	SI12	F	70-80
LI14	F	60-70	SI13	F	20-30
SI7	F	20-30	SI14	F	50-60

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<sup>3</sup> In order to preserve anonymity, the gender and age of employees and associates will only be referred to when required for analysis and when this does not allow identification. However, when employees explain concrete aspects of their own activity, describe official policies of the cooperative and shop, or more generally provide information about the development of the project, they are identified in person, as these are descriptive aspects and it is very clear who knows about them. This is only the case for 3 individuals: Mathieu, associate and founder of the cooperative as well as coordinator; Julien, associate and shopkeeper at the Champ Commun grocer's shop; and Henry-George, associate and founder of the cooperative, employee with Localidees, an association which promotes local development and social enterprises and is a member of the cooperative.



## I - Le Champ Commun, Augan.

### 1. Augan

Augan is a little town with 1,430 inhabitants (2009 census). It has increased between 1999 and 2009 by 1.2%, largely thanks to people coming to live in Augan.

Average income levels are low, relatively lower than Morbihan which is itself located at the lower end in Brittany.

Income	Augan	Morbihan	France
Net average income stated by household (for tax purposes) in euros (1)	17 743	21 741	23 230
Taxable households in % of all households (for tax purposes) in 2009 (1)	43,1	52,3	53,6

Source : DGFIP, Income tax.INSEE.

The pattern of education levels is markedly different on some counts from the French one, and even from the Morbihan one, with a very low level of young people between 18 and 24 in school; logically there is a much lower proportion of people with a 3 years + higher education degree; and a much higher proportion of people with the professional qualification CAP or BEP (equivalent of NVQ levels I or II). The share of people with no qualification at all is similar in Augan and the rest of France (though much higher than Morbihan), but the gender difference is much more marked in Augan.

	Share of the population at school (%)								
	FRANCE			MORBIHAN			AUGAN		
	Together	Men	Women	Together	Men	Women	Together	Men	Women
2-5	74.7	74.4	75.0	84.1	83.6	84.6	82.4	76.9	89.7
6-10	98.7	98.6	98.7	99.0	99.0	99.0	98.7	97.2	100.0
11-14	99.1	99.0	99.1	99.3	99.3	99.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
15-17	96.1	95.5	96.7	97.5	97.1	98.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>18-24</b>	<b>51.5</b>	<b>48.8</b>	<b>54.1</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>46.3</b>	<b>49.4</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>29.1</b>	<b>23.3</b>
25-29	7.3	6.7	7.9	4.2	4.0	4.4	5.0	2.8	6.8
30+	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.8

Source Census 2009. INSEE.

	FRANCE			MORBIHAN			AUGAN		
	Together	Men	Women	Together	Men	Women	Together	Men	Women
	Share of the population not at school aged 15+								
no qualification	18.9	18.4	19.4	14.4	12.9	15.8	18.5	15.4	21.4
primary school certificate	10.9	8.6	13.1	13.6	10.7	16.3	16.8	14.8	18.7
high school certificate	6.3	5.2	7.2	6.9	5.9	7.9	5.4	4.5	6.4
<b>professional certificate, CAP/BEP</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>28.6</b>	<b>19.5</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>33.4</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>31.0</b>	<b>37.9</b>	<b>24.5</b>
professional degree (baccalaureat or brevet)	15.8	15.5	16.0	16.8	17.3	16.3	14.7	16.9	12.7
short higher education degree (1 or 2 years)	11.7	10.1	13.1	12.2	10.5	13.8	8.8	6.0	11.4
<b>long higher education degree (3+)</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>4.9</b>

Source Census 2009. INSEE.

There is a total of 106 enterprises (most of which unipersonal), 52% in agriculture...

Units	Augan	Morbihan	France
Number of economic units, 31.12.2010	106	62 013	5 813 075
Agriculture %	<b>49.1</b>	16.3	11.3
Industry %	7.5	6.2	5.7
Construction %	9.4	9.9	9.6
Retail, transport, services %	26.4	53.2	59.6
Public admin, education, social care	7.5	14.3	13.8
<i>Source : Insee, CLAP (connaissance locale de l'appareil productif).</i>			

Brittany is above average for supermarket density amongst French regions, and in Brittany, Morbihan features particularly high on supermarkets (400-2,500 m<sup>2</sup>), though less than average on hypermarkets (+2,500 m<sup>2</sup>) – see ORCB 2012:8<sup>4</sup>.

When the Champ Commun started, there were 4 average or large supermarkets in Ploermel (9kms), and 2 in Guer (12.5kms). On the other hand, there were local grocer's shops (franchises) in nearby villages, which, as suggested in the "Dossier économique" of Champ Commun seemed to validate the relevance of this type of local service (Champ Commun 2009: 25).

<sup>4</sup> New supermarket openings were deregulated in 2008 in France, and no authorisation is required for less than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup>. In 2011, 33 demands were made for Morbihan, all of them were approved (ORCB 2012: 9)

## 2. The Champ Commun

The Champ Commun cooperative was constituted on 4 December 2009, and “set up for as well as supported by the local people of Augan” (Champ Commun 2009), even though the initial idea of the project had been an endless subject of dream and discussion for two men who only came to Augan by chance, through the mysteries of life events, and whose path had taken them first from their native North of France to Quebec and then Burkina Faso. After a year in Augan and getting involved with the local bakery, their circle had widened and their idea had taken roots. The co-operative was constituted with 68 associates, many of them local, some of them also from the North of France, and its members and also many more local Augan people put themselves to work to refurbish what had been a bar and electrician shop and transform it into a grocer’s shop for the village as well as a local bar, both aiming to form a hub and fertile grounds for many more initiatives. Currently the co-operative also has a brewery (its brand is L’Augannaise), animations organised in the bar (concerts, exhibitions, stitching and knitting afternoons, play sessions for children etc.), a kitchen for preparing occasional meals etc. It is now also a post office outlet (since the closure of the local post office). And a new, larger bar is currently being built. All constructions are with ecological materials and were very labour-intensive. But it is precisely this collective construction effort that cemented a collective local spirit around the co-operative project, and which gave at least part of Augan a sense of ownership over it (A film gives some measure of this, *Le Champ Commun, Ensemble on va plus loin*, by Marie-Josée Desbois, L’Arbre aux Films) .

The aim of CC is to make it possible for people to “find both conventional, organic and fair trade products close to home, in a collective “pantry” which encourages the redevelopment of local production for local people, and creates decent jobs at the service of the community” (Champ Commun 2009). The more detailed objectives are set out in Annex 1, and discussed further below.

The Champ Commun started as a “cooperative society”, but soon applied for the new status of “Co-operative Company of Collective Interest” (Société Co-opérative d’Intérêt Collectif - SCIC), which seems particularly well suited to its activities (as staff, users, volunteers but also supportive authorities and organisations can be associates, contribute to the capital; one person or entity, one vote). The co-operative status in both cases has to be underpinned by a commercial company status – either as SARL (no transferable shares, usually one manager appointed by owners) or as SA (equivalent to the public limited company, with shareholders and a board). See Annex 2 for the description provided by the SCIC network itself of the characteristics of a SCIC.

The number of associates is now 102, which means that the Champ Commun will have to switch from its current legal status as SARL to one of SA (corporation). This also means that a board will have to be elected – whereas until now the general assembly of the cooperative was defining the orientation of CC, whilst everyday decisions could in principle be made by the manager (in practice people are autonomous, or expected to be, on their respective tasks and the nominated manager rather acts as co-ordinator). With the new SA status, CC might appoint various “managers”, one per activity, rather than just one. These issues will be debated in the next general assembly. There are currently 7 staff, corresponding to 6.5 full time equivalents.

The cooperative has contributed to the setting up of Localidées, an association which promotes local development and social enterprises. Through its founding members it is also closely involved in local development projects promoted by the Region and other local authorities. We come back to this in the conclusions.

## II - The ‘Garde manger’ grocer’s shop (the ‘pantry’)

According to its constitutional document (*Statuts*), the cooperative project of the Champ Commun is “anchored in its territory” and proposes quality goods and services, at a just price, for and with the local inhabitants but also with external partners, with a logic of local development fostering autonomy at the same time as a collective dynamics. The notion of Champ Commun evokes the idea of “commune”, as well as of the “commons” in the village (they actually were just across the road from the current Champ Commun building), and suggests a space for all and of all: the purpose of the grocer’s shop (“Le Garde Manger”), which opened in July 2010, can be said to take this idea, applied to a proximity shop, to its ultimate consequences<sup>5</sup>: in particular in terms of supply policy (1), prices (2), conception of proximity (3), conception of retailing (4), and spatial arrangements (5).

### 1. Supplies for all

The CC shop provides both ‘conventional’ and organic; standard supermarket favourites & typical products in convenience stores as well as local products from local producers. This choice is further reinforced by the absence of any physical separation between these different kinds of products: all specimens of a given range of products are grouped together on the shelves and in the refrigerated area, whatever their origin or mode of production, although it is of course clear from the labels and packaging what is an organic and/or local product and what is not. But it is immediately visible to customers that there is no specific treatment for specific categories of products. This concern with being a “popular” grocer’s (in the sense of catering for all) does not mean that anything goes as far as products are concerned. On the contrary, supply policy has been thoroughly debated and is very demanding. There is a concern for making available products of the highest quality, with regard to fineness of taste of recipes, products and ingredients, freshness, fullness of the nutritional qualities (less processed foods) etc. Supermarket brands are limited to key products in the usual diets of customers – but for example there is no conventional confectionary.

CC is currently working with about 60 local producers/suppliers – not only for fresh products, but also for products such as vinegar or mustard, honey etc. They collect the products of many of these at the Ploermel market on Fridays in the early morning, before the shop opens, which avoids having to drive from one producer to the next.

In their sourcing CC try first of all to get local products, preferably organic but this is not a requirement. However, as explained by one of the shopkeepers, Julien, the notion of ‘local’ is not fixed. It tends to coincide with the idea of getting the products directly from the producers, but in some cases (e.g. wine), producers are not in the region. If a local fresh product can be offered,

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<sup>5</sup> In this report we usually refer to the grocer’s shop as Champ Commun (CC): for this is how people in Augan refer to it. No respondent, except for the employees, has ever referred to the shop as the Garde Manger.

seasonality has to be respected, meaning that no replacement will be sought from further afield when the local season comes to an end. If a local product cannot be offered (e.g. oranges – difficult to source in France although not impossible; bananas), then the question has to be asked whether it should be supplied at all: “It’s not an organic shop but we’re vigilant on what we buy – so we were doubting whether to get bananas at all, because of plane transport etc. In the end we decided to get them, but only if organic and fair trade: so this is what we do” [Julien]. But this sometimes raises questions: “when you see fruits that come from Spain which are organic and which are less expensive than the same fruits cultivated here, we think – it must be for a reason, e.g. it could well be at the expense of workers. So we consider it important to say to people [customers] that “organic” is not our only value” [Henry-George].

Thus, as already announced in the foundation document, even more important than sourcing organic products is the overall way in which suppliers work (which requires proximity knowledge if possible – this is not a bureaucratic process!) and their relationship with CC: there has to be some affinity – “we don’t want people just to supply their products, we’re not interested except if the product is really exceptional: for example [one of our providers] works very well, her product is very very good, but she never sets a foot here, she has no interest whatsoever in the cooperative” [Julien]. “There are local organic producers around here that we have no great affinities with – so proximity is not just a geographic question” [Henry-George]. Some producers took a share or 2 in the cooperative at the beginning and seemed interested in following the developments of the CC project. However this will be a long process: many of these now just turn up once a year at the General Assembly, and in reality seem to consider themselves as simple suppliers. Others have requested the help of the Localidees association, which promotes local development and social enterprises and is a member of the cooperative, for setting up a producers’ shop – hence seemingly not realising the nature of the job performed by a grocer’s shop, and showing an incapacity, at that stage, to think through the organisation of the local supply more globally<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, one of the suppliers takes part in the cooperative commission on supplies: “He’s really interested in the project, he even takes part in the reflection on the margin rates” [Julien].

The construction of the supply does not only take place with the CC suppliers, but also with the other shops of Aujan in mind. Thus CC have been careful not to do grocery home deliveries, as this is the trade of the other grocer’s in Aujan; they do not “do fresh meat, whereas it could be economically interesting for us” [Mathieu], not to take business away from the local butcher’s. They also do not do white bread – that’s the purview of the baker’s. And their concerts and animations at the week-end mean that the local pizzeria gets some customers through them. However the care put in this has so far not yielded any recognition from the shopkeepers concerned: they tend to be struggling and may not be inclined to think positively about any new shop opening in Aujan. It is probably not realistic to expect any thoughts about collective economic and social life and co-ordination from that group [but I have not interviewed them].

## 2. Reasonable prices and margin rate

Prices are ‘reasonable’. There is of course a price difference on conventional products when compared with supermarket prices – which is to be expected in a local grocer’s store. But this

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<sup>6</sup> They have finally acknowledged that a producers shop would be too demanding and they are currently exploring the possibility of selling producer baskets through internet. [Henry George].

difference is not big, thanks to the reduced margin rate taken – 20%. The average margin rate in the food retail sector as a whole (including supermarkets), is 20.5% (INSEE 2011: 95), the average margin rate of groceries is 26.7% and that of small convenience supermarkets (supérettes) is 23.7% (INSEE 2009: 97) [see Annex 3].

### 3. Re-investing the notion of proximity shop

With long opening hours (8 am until 8 pm every day except Thursdays); a reasonably wide range of products (1,700 products, with the possibility for people to ask for new products to be sold); additional services for convenience (post office outlet; point of sales for fishmonger on Tuesdays; possibility for customers to make orders on the phone and collect their basket later on; regular deliveries to local institutions and other smaller local groceries at a lower margin so as to preserve the fabric of proximity grocers in the area; occasional deliveries to local associations etc.). Some of these features are customary of proximity grocers (e.g. long opening hours) but getting all these features together is rare.

### 4. Re-investing retail as profession (métier)

As put by Henry-George, “retailing is a profession”. It demands know-how about sourcing and product selection in a “reasoned” way, about shop lay out etc.: claiming this also means that the struggle against supermarkets is not put in an abstract utopian world where consumers and producers would meet without any mediation at all and empathise, but rather that there is a role to play for retail, from an economic but also social and environmental sustainability points of view, and that this role has to be thought through (Henry-George).

The ‘trade’ of CC is about being “obliging”. The knowledgeable, friendly, discreet and flexible way in which the shopkeepers behave with customers, conversing with them in an easy-going and un-intrusive way, knowing their habits and advising them where they see fit and never forcing things on people etc. all this contributes to giving a sense of a real “métier” (craft) being carried out.

*“I do talk with them sometimes, but I don’t stay for hours either. I just shop quietly, I feel I can ask information – e.g. I was looking for strawberries to do jam, and they immediately provided me with the address of a local producer in Ploermel, and indeed he had too many strawberries. They know the area very well. You can always ask them for example to prepare a box of apples for you for the following week if you want to prepare compote... It’s an entirely different relation to that which you have in a supermarket.” [L113]*

The approach taken by CC is to avoid any steering of consumption. They know that there are favourites of supermarket shopping that some of the older shoppers who have had to give up on supermarket shopping would like to carry on buying, and they provide them, although, where possible, with an alternative. An often quoted example is that of Soignon goat cheese<sup>7</sup>. It is a favourite of some of the CC customers, and can be found there, but immediately at its side is the

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<sup>7</sup> Soignon cheese is from the Poitou area and commercialised by the Eurial group internationally – it has received prizes in the UK and the States, which might have to do with its relatively discreet scent!

Campeneac goat cheese, prepared by a local producer, and highly praised by all respondents. The switch is gently encouraged when people are seeking advice with the grocers, but the Soignon cheese remains on the shelf. And one of the older couples interviewed showed me their Soignon in their fridge, clearly satisfied with the quality of the products they can buy at CC!

Although there are two main shopkeepers, many more people take on the role in order to cover for the long opening hours, and to allow the shopkeepers to also do the purchases etc. Each person has a very different way of being in the shop, singularity is manifest, and assumed by the CC people, and it seems, well accepted by customers, who get to know the whole team: maybe this is why they refer to the shop as the “Champ Commun” rather than as the Garde Manger – its specific name. Nevertheless this seems to have been crucially facilitated by the fact that the more permanent shopkeepers are trained and experienced in retailing, and people know this, especially with regard to Yannick, who is from Augan and from a very locally active family.

*The kind of relaxation that staff have has been a surprise. But people have realised that this conviviality doesn't prevent them from being serious, opening on time, doing long hours etc. [L18]*

## 5. Providing a warm and beautiful space for all

The space has been entirely designed, refurbished, conditioned and furnished by the cooperative team and volunteers, with ecological devices such as hemp and lime bricks which they made themselves. The wooden shelves (made out of recycled wood), and especially the wood lamps hanging from the ceilings (made of the residual wood from the shelves) give a Scandinavian touch to the shop, both gay and warm. This is further reinforced by the light (ecological bulbs casting a warm gold light), craft paper bags for teas, osier baskets for fruits and vegetable and loose products, the neatly cut leaves for root vegetable, the huge brown loaves on the shelf behind the wooden counter. As suggested by one respondent, it could be the décor of an épicerie fine in a posh Paris quartier, but it is there for all in a rural village of 1,400 inhabitants.

*Here in CC they're really nice [sympa], young, it's beautiful, I find their decoration fantastic. [L111]*

*I like to go there, it's beautiful and very welcoming [L114]*

*It's pleasant, beautiful and people feel they're taken seriously. It looks a bit like an épicerie fine, which polishes its appearance. It could have been more in the style of bio-coops at the beginning, with rough presentation, things piled up everywhere... people here feel like coming, it's important. [L18]*

To encapsulate the strategy of CC for its grocer's shop in a few words, a paraphrase of Antonio Machado's famous formula advocating a “Popular University of Higher Learning” (instead of the prevailing expensive University of cheap learning): Garde Manger is a “popular grocer's shop of higher goods”<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Machado, A., *Juan de Mairena*, Madrid, Castalia, 1971. Abridged English translation under the same title by B. Belitt, Berkeley and LA, University of California Press, 1963.





### III – Sourcing, cooking and eating practices in Augan

Augan is a rural town, whose main activity has been and is still agricultural. The older respondents were raised on farms or somebody in their family had a farm – and thus chickens, eggs, pigs for cured pork meat and charcuterie were readily available; everybody had a “garden” for vegetable and fruit. People produced their own cider, and transformed milk as well, producing their own butter and cheese.

Nevertheless there was also quite an active commercial life in Augan.

*60 years ago, there were no less than 19 cafes. People were going to have a drink after mass, after the sessions of the town council, whenever. There were also 3 butchers, 2 bakers, 3 blacksmiths – all professions and crafts were represented, except perhaps a pharmacy and health professions. Our nurses were the nuns, and there were also “bonesetters” (rebouteux), not in Augan but in the hamlets around.* [LI12]

There was also a local grocer’s:

*We used to get our supplies from there ( coffee, sugar). My mother would only pay at the end of the week, she visited the grocer (Mathurine) and would have a small bowl [of cider] with her. The Champ Commun, it’s a bit like Mathurine...* [LI10]

This corresponds to the picture already drawn for the period between the two wars by R. Bonnain, and summarised by R. Bages and A. Rieu in a paper on the specificity of food provisioning amongst farmers (1988). Self-provisioning and home consumption remained very important features of peasant life, even though higher standards of living (and probably status aspirations) were bringing them closer to the rest of the population – for example it is in that period that they started shopping at the grocer’s, including for buying industrially processed cheese, leaving aside local cheese (Bages and Rieu 1988:359). It also has to be born in mind that the 1960s saw a sea-change for Brittany, which, from being an “agricultural region”, became merely a “region with agricultural vocation”: many farmers, working on small plots of land, opted to switch to industry, especially as Peugeot Citroen established a very large plant in Rennes to take advantage of an enduring, socially quiet labour force. The life of the poorer South and the West of Brittany, including Morbihan, was transformed: Citroen was sending out its buses up to 100 kms away from Rennes to fetch its workers every day; it paid comparatively good wages – incomes rose (INA 1977). Several respondents or partners of respondents had worked in Citroen. They were called ‘worker-peasants’: they maintained their plot of land for gardening and raising a few hens and chickens and perhaps pigs. As explained by a CC associate [LI2], they earned a good living and had no occasion to spend it – since maintaining a small farming activity meant that they could rarely leave their homes.

The generation now in their 50s and 60s received nutritional advice to eat fruits and vegetable that had been “treated”, and their ways of life more generally brought them to embrace supermarket shopping. Yet, as put by one of the respondents, people stopped going to the markets, but maintained the same expectations of sociability: for older people today in their 70s and 80s, supermarket shopping is turned into the only outing they have – and supermarkets have become their meeting places. More generally, “going to Ploerme!” (the nearby town) means going shopping at the supermarket and meeting people from the area on that occasion. Some older people are even driven there by the home helps they get for a few hours a week.

*My parents are associates, but my mother carries on going to Ploermel to do her shopping, because it's also where she meets the people she knows. She has not acquired a habit of going to CC. She's still convinced that it's cheaper to go to Ploermel, even though I've demonstrated the contrary to her [L16].*

The consumption of some products is associated with supermarkets for these older generations. In particular, fish used to be a very rare product in these inland areas, and it seems that some of the old people interviewed only started eating fish regularly when they could buy it frozen. They would not buy it fresh from the fishmonger coming to Augan on Tuesdays – and I believe not only for cost or other practical reasons (a few mentioned that they cannot be sure of when exactly the van is going to arrive and that they do not like to wait), but simply because they have never developed a taste for fresh fish:

*I go every week to Ploermel with 2 other people to get the things I can't get at the Champ Commun, like frozen fish... I never got into the habit (of buying fresh fish) [L114]*

However there has been a return to “gardening”. Many respondents, whether young or older, have a garden or have access to one and get most of their vegetable and fruit from there – except for potatoes, which some would get in large quantities directly with a producer. Many respondents, across different ages, tend to prepare vegetable soup for a few days to have in the evening. This seemed to suit the lesser appetite of older people and their lack of energy for cooking in the evening, as well as the compressed timetables of families where both parents work, whilst still allowing for a ‘quality’ diet (people insist on the taste of the vegetable, and their nourishing qualities). It is also that soup has always featured high on peasants’ diets (Bages and Rieu 1988:361), and is now promoted again – including through brands of ready-made soup in supermarkets – for health reasons. Potatoes seem to be a favourite across all ages as well.

*I mostly cook for midday, we eat very little in the evening and my husband has his standard dinner, the same every night: galette [that's buckwheat crepe, which they get from a local producer] and sour milk [bought in CC – they have various brands, he has his favourite one, before he used to buy it at the supermarket]. Every evening. It's convenient. He had had some health problems and had seen a dietician, but she told him this was fine. I eat a vegetable soup in the evening, I prepare it once for 3 days. [L19]*

Many respondents either have their own poultry, or have access to chickens and eggs for example through family members, and many go directly to producers for getting quarters of pigs or calves, or for buying one animal together with friends. There are also systems of barter between friends:

*We have a friend who has milk cows but sometimes takes small pigs and we buy one with other couples. The same for calves. We work a lot through barter – we give him poultry and potatoes [L18].*

*“There is a lot of mutual help, and a lot of word of mouth communication. For example, if I feel like having meat, I hear of somebody who wants to kill a pig, and I can find people who want to share it with me, then it's a question of having a big enough freezer... And that's impossible in the city. Or also I hear somebody needs help for sowing, I go there, I just help out, and it will be quite natural that they give me a sack of potatoes. Or for example someone will realise they have too much leek, they're not going to rot, so they give them out. People hate wasting. It's perhaps a recollection from the war. But now it's becoming even stronger with the crisis.” [L13]*

As a result, the level of self-sufficiency, whether embedded in ways of life that have been passed on from one generation to the following one, or whether it is purposively sought after and recreated, can be very high<sup>9</sup> – especially for fruit and vegetable, poultry (and rabbits), and to a lesser extent pig meat and charcuterie: again this is consistent with earlier findings (Bages and Rieu 1988: 362). Self-provisioning still seems quite extended in rural areas in France (Caillavet and Nichele 1999: 14; Larmet undated: 20) although there are not very recent data and the practice spans across very different patterns of consumption, motives and social groups (Gojard and Weber 1995). As in these earlier studies, the economic argument for home provisioning is far from being the only one: arguments used by female farmers were that “it is good because it is natural, not treated”, or that “it is a guarantee for quality and it is economical” (ibid: 363). Freezers help for the conservation of home or kin-sourced product, especially meat: Bages and Rieu emphasised this as a key instrument for the continued importance of home sourcing. Nevertheless, amongst respondents, freezers were above all referred to for meat. Other conservation techniques, such as home-made preserves and even sterilisation, were mentioned for fruit, vegetable and home-made cooked dishes. [LI7, LI8].

A report by the Chamber of Agriculture of Brittany states that ‘buying products of the farm is increasingly becoming a habit in Brittany: it was common practice for close to 80% of consumers in 2006 (+1% p.a. between 1989 and 2006); and 40% of respondents (survey with 1,028 individuals in Brittany) buy products of the farm on a weekly basis. Farm products represent 15.3% of food expenditure. The products of the farm which are most in demand are: poultry, rabbits and eggs; milk products; vegetables; pig meat and charcuterie; and ‘butcher meat’. Places for shopping include markets (35%); directly at the farm (20%); supermarkets (18%); other shops (organic, producers, specialist shops: 12%). Unfortunately the summary of the survey provided in this report (Chambre d’Agriculture de Bretagne, undated) is not very good and it is unclear what these % are of, and what is the source for the 15% remaining – possibly self-production (but then we are not only talking about shopping...)

It does not seem exaggerated to state as the report does that a habit of local consumption is taking hold, if 40% of Bretons buy products of the farm on a weekly basis, and if only 18% of this sourcing is through supermarkets.

However, for meat, especially beef, supermarkets still seem to be by far the main shopping venue (80% of all beef shopping by households in 2009 in France, whilst 15% is through butchers – see CGAAER 2011: 13). Indeed this might be the case for many in Aujan, and a reason for carrying on shopping in the supermarkets, since one has to go for meat anyway: “*We go to Ploermel for meat so we tend to buy everything together then*” [SI5].

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<sup>9</sup> For farmers themselves it is still estimated at 20% of food consumption according to INSEE – see Bellamy and Plateau 2007: 218.

## IV – Patterns of use of CC

### 1. Overview

Patterns of use of CC<sup>10</sup> tend to differ according to the provisioning patterns developed before CC started and especially according to the extent to which individuals and households have been self-provisioning or provisioning with family and friends, if at all; whether they have had a prior established pattern of provisioning with local producers, at the market and/or at organic shops (bio-coop); and whether they have had a prior established pattern of shopping at the supermarket. The rearrangement of provisioning patterns after the opening of CC varies, from taking it as substitute for their former main supplier; as substitute for that or those suppliers supplementing self-provisioning until then; as one regular supplier amongst many; or as occasional supplier.

As can be seen in the table below, past patterns are largely determining current modes of use of CC: households with large self-provisioning tend to use CC as their main substitute for whatever was their supplementary supplier before. People used to sourcing with local producers, at the market and/or at organic shops, tend to include CC as one of their new suppliers, and sometimes as their main supplier if it is more convenient. Finally there are also people who used to shop mainly at the supermarket and who have switched completely or almost completely to shopping at CC, for very different reasons and motivations (see below); and people using CC as a stopgap shop.

**Table 1 – Patterns of use of CC**

Prior arrangements before CC/ Rearrangement after CC	Large self-provisioning	Mainly sourcing with local producers/ market/organic shops	Mainly shopping at supermarket or equivalent
CC substituting main			3) All shopping at CC, for most products, conventional and organic, with little or no supplementary shopping at the supermarket [cases mentioned in LI8, LI10, LI11, LI13, LI14, SI 8, SI 13, SI14]
CC substituting supplementary	1) Most shopping at CC but much sourcing is through own or family garden, poultry and sometimes other meat; shopping at supermarket for things which CC does not have. [cases mentioned in LI7, LI8, LI9, SI5, SI13]		
CC regular supplier among others		2) Shopping exclusively with local producers or market, proximity shops, or organic shops including CC but no exclusivity (little or no supermarket shopping by choice) [cases mentioned in SI2, SI 6, SI 11, SI4, LI9, LI12]	
CC occasional supplier			4) Shopping at CC when something is missing (“depannage” – stopgap) [SI 7, SI 9, SI 10, SI 12]

<sup>10</sup> We are interested in patterns of use rather than in the actual take up of the shop by the local population.

## 2. Four main patterns of use

### 2.1 Large self-provisioning, most supplementary shopping at CC

In this pattern of use, much sourcing is through own or family garden, poultry and sometimes other meat; most supplementary shopping is done with CC and at the supermarket only for things which CC does not have. This pattern is anchored, for some respondents, in the family tradition of having a garden, even if the parents' generation was already not a generation of farmers anymore.

Thus, one couple (in their 60s, both from the area) had started living as a couple in Rennes: the husband worked in Peugeot-Citroen, but they were coming back every week-end. Most of their family lives around. In 1979 they bought an old farm and started working on it, as well as on their plot of land for vegetables. They get beef from one of her brothers, and chicken and eggs from another of her brothers. Hence, before CC opened, they used to go to the supermarket for traditional grocers' products only (dry products: coffee, teas, dried fruit; cereals) as well as for cheese, which they bought over the counter, and this is what they now get from CC (LI9). The same story is repeated for two other couples (also with 1 or 2 partners born in Augan, and from working class background) (LI7, SI3).

*I've also discovered new things, e.g. new vegetables (parsnip, purple beans). Although I buy very few veg because both my parents and parents in law have a garden and they give us everything. Also my parents in law have hens and chickens. So I don't buy eggs either. We buy meat also directly with producers. The children try things in CC, e.g. now they've just tried rice cakes... I don't buy ready-made things. I prefer to buy quality things – The children's favourite in CC is cheese. I try to teach the children where the products come from... At CC we've also tried the teas, the Oxfam fruit juice. The children take cereals, it's good because the loose ones are unsweetened. They also take dried fruits (LI7).*

Finally, 2 other couples, in professional jobs, had switched from supplementary shopping at the supermarket to organic shops quite some time ago, but now do most of this supplementary shopping at CC (LI8, SI5). For the second of these couples, not from Augan originally, buying a house here corresponded to a decision to live in a self-sufficient way or almost, but more than the uptake of a family tradition, this is a lifestyle decision for "living in harmony with themselves": they invested in a glass house, they have hens, chickens and rabbits. They have their own wood and wood-heating. So they only shop at CC for specific things such as cereals (loose, organic, unsweetened), garlic.

It is interesting that households with these patterns are not necessarily associates of CC (only LI7 and LI8 are).

### 2.2 Shopping exclusively with local producers or market, proximity shops, or organic shops including CC but no exclusivity (little or no supermarket shopping by choice)

The pattern here evidences a reluctance to shop with supermarkets already before the opening of CC. Thus there was already a pattern of shopping with proximity shops, local producers directly or at the market, and/or organic shops, and usually with a variety of these. I am lumping here together 'conventional' and 'organic' shopping, and there is usually a concern for buying local, but what pools all these together is a common attempt at limiting or even stopping supermarket shopping. In these

cases, CC comes as one more shopping venue alongside the others – as there is some degree of commitment with these other venues, in particular when it is local producers. Nevertheless CC sometimes becomes the main such supplier for reasons of convenience (closer, or pooling various of one's former suppliers in one place). This pattern in part corresponds to households without the resource of self provisioning, or only so in a limited way, although not always (one couple get all their vegetables from their orchard – LI12).

*My daughter doesn't live in Augan, she comes and visits once a week and takes the opportunity to shop at CC. Apart from that she always shops in the bio-coop at Ploermel, she finds that CC is similar and finds it a pleasant place. She has a daughter 2 years old, she never gives her ready-made baby food, she prepares everything for her... [LI9]*

*All our products, we get them from people that we know, we know how they work, this creates another link to food. We don't really need CC because we have our suppliers. We go from time to time because we're involved in the project, but we don't have many needs. We just buy oils, rice, dried fruits – loose, which is convenient because we don't need much. I appreciate this. We buy our oil there, in CC, because their organic oil comes from a producer who is not far, whom we don't know but we've heard of him. He produces cold-pressed rapeseed and sunflower oil. I also buy olive oil there – they have classical olive oil, but also cold-pressed oil in a glass bottle (organic). I always take organic oil. [LI12]*

### **2.3 All shopping at CC, for most products, with limited or no supplementary shopping at the supermarket**

Here the pattern is one of dominant shopping with CC, in lieu of supermarket but also of market shopping – where little self-provisioning is available, due to old age, living on one's own, lack of time due to working life, or coming to Augan for holidays. Where substitution is from the supermarket, it can be very different in character and initial motivation:

3a) on the one hand, there are those for whom CC has represented a new opening, a sudden awareness about supermarket retail, and who, as they became engaged in the project, also turned away from supermarket shopping: generally people in their 20s and 30s, associated to CC as volunteers or employees. All of these are sensitive to the quality of the local products sold, whether organic or not.

*It's physical, I'm allergic to supermarkets. I used to shop there before, like everybody, but I used to get migraines – because of the radio, the music, the people, I'm sensitive to the stress of the people around me. I was coping by going there once every 2 weeks before. [LI3]*

*I shop here for almost everything, including fruit and vegetable, except for some specific baby things (nappies...). Before I used to go to the supermarket and to run from one producer to the other for some products, but that's very time consuming. I thought from the beginning that CC was a good idea for that reason: get the producers in one and the same place, apart from it being good for the people of Augan [SI8].*

3b) on the other hand, there are those, especially elderly people, who take CC as a convenient and pleasant proximity substitute for the supermarket and they tend to buy almost exactly the same products as they used to (e.g. Soignon cheese, Chaussee aux Moines cheese, Danone Activia yogurts etc.) – and continue to go from time to time to the supermarket for those brands which they do not get in CC (e.g. Sojasun – a soya-based dessert). A particularly marked example was one of an English

couple who were getting quite a lot from CC but no local dairy products (milk and yogurts) because of the strong flavours, and were still shopping in Britain through internet and thanks to regular trips by car across the channel! Nevertheless, in some cases there is progressively more openness to trying out new things (see below).

But 3c) there are also cases of respondents who had already switched from supermarket shopping to organic or market shopping mainly – and yet who switch to shopping exclusively at CC or almost (e.g. LI11, LI 13), out of convenience and above all because, even though they are not associates of the project in any form, they find themselves in total agreement with the ‘spirit’ of CC.

*Fruits, veg, I buy it there. Even organic oil, it's not very expensive, it's worth it. Also cheese. I know their products, e.g. the cheese from Campeneac, because I used to go to the market. The same applies for the veg and fruits, I knew some of their suppliers from the Ploermel market. I take organic sugar, loose, but I don't buy much in terms of other loose items (pulse), they remind me of my poor childhood. I mostly buy seasonal veg (right now: pumkin, carrots), I do a lot of soup, ratatouille. I also take ham (packs) there, as well as "galettes" (buckwheat crepes, prepared with buckwheat), which are very good, they're done very regularly, in Campeneac. Also chocolate. [LI 13]*

#### **2.4 Shopping at CC when something is missing (“depannage” – stopgap solution)**

This pattern refers to an only occasional and highly limited use of CC as local convenience shop, without any habit or regularity. It would seem that such pattern of shopping at CC corresponds to households usually shopping at the supermarket, although I have not always been able to check that. This would be logical as for example, other shoppers having a limited use of CC might nevertheless do this in a purposive, specific way, to source for specific and well identified goods, as is the case for some of the people referred to under pattern 1. By contrast, typical goods fetched in this stopgap shopping included packs of milk, sliced white bread, grated cheese: basic conventional products one might easily run out of. In one case this limited use was linked to an ambiguous attitude of curiosity mixed with defiance towards CC (SI10) – but in all other cases it was the contrary: people felt very comfortable to just come for a few things and still benefit from some social interaction.

Overall, the key change in patterns of use is thus that experienced by people who switch from supermarket shopping (either as supplement to self-provisioning, or as main supplier) to sourcing with CC. The people concerned are, on the one hand, “associates” of CC (members of the co-operative), especially younger people closely linked to it and who switch out of enthusiasm for the political project of CC (i.e. the co-operative idea, local development and social life etc.) rather than for the kind of food on offer; and on the other hand older people hampered in their mobility and taking advantage of the convenience of proximity for returning to lost habits of ‘popping in at the shop’ on an everyday basis. These older people do not have any particular interest in principle in local or organic food either – some of them may even have a prejudice against it, and they are happy to find their supermarket ‘favourites’ on offer in the shop.

## V – Changes in eating habits

Interestingly and importantly the Champ Commun project is not about changing people's consumption habits – at least not directly. This is in part because some of the existing patterns of consumption were already going in the direction of what CC proposes – especially with regard to the provision of local produce. This is also of course due to the fact that any proximity shop has to start from the habits and tastes of its customer base: indeed this is the first objective stated in the preamble of the constitutional document of CC. But above all this is due to a will to modify the structure of the supply, and more widely, the conditions of local economic and social development, so as to start a collective dynamic which can then be seized by the local people not directly involved in the project, or not. The phrasing of the constitutional objectives is telling in this respect: “propose”, “create”, “offer”, “participate in the development of ... activities”, “strengthen networks”, “develop” etc. (see Annex 1).

Nevertheless, it is also true that through these modified conditions, the hope is to foster a change in shopping habits such that local people move to a different model of consumption (favouring local quality products; abiding by seasonality; avoiding waste and unnecessary packaging etc.), which includes changes in eating habits.

Changes in eating habits are taking place in patterns of food consumption where most of the shopping is switched to CC – either as supplement to self-provisioning or as main provisioning source (patterns 1 and 3): in the other patterns of consumption, shopping at CC is for a very specific reason, either regular or occasional, and there is thus less openness to other supplies.

Interestingly, some changes are brought about by the structure of the CC supply, and thus by the choices made by CC so far: for example, the seasonality of most fruit and vegetable; the availability of loose products; but also the absence of butcher meat (though there are packs of ham and chicken slices, as well as bacon) – even though, as explained, this has nothing to do with promoting a vegetarian diet. In the latter case change is brought about unwittingly (though there is probably a shared concern for reducing meat consumption, but this is not the reason for not offering butcher meat).

When shoppers mostly shop at CC, they are exposed to this structure and have to follow its logic: nevertheless apart from a few members who deliberately subordinate their shopping/eating habits to the project (sell-by date product eaters!)<sup>11</sup>, most people refer to a combination of factors to account for their changes: typically lifecourse changes (having children, getting older) bring about a different outlook on food (educative, increased concern with health) which the CC structure of supply can both help to bring about and foster, as well as makes practically possible (S8, S3, LI7, LI9). Thus shopping at CC is associated by some with shopping less and shopping better, which does not necessarily mean eating less (although it can do) but also means eating more simply – less variety but better quality, in particular by eating seasonal (SI 15). It also means having to cook more from scratch (S8).

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<sup>11</sup> Dedication to the project means that several employees systematically buy the products close to their sell-by dates, for example (this also means having an unbalanced and not necessarily all organic/local diet: “We eat masses of cheese”; “The Danone yogurts have made their way back to our fridge”, LI1).



*“Both varieties of carrots [organic and non-organic] are very good, full of taste... You think you might be spending a bit more, but you don’t because they keep the whole flavour, they are not full of water” [L14]*

*We buy some products which they wouldn’t get elsewhere, such as loose products. I find it very good: you take the quantity that you want, there is no unnecessary wrapping, and the quality is very good. I find there is too much packaging usually. And also as there’s only 2 of us we just need small quantities. I take sesame seeds, almonds: usually in packs they’re salted, here it’s natural. If you’re sure to eat a good product you may eat less of it, but at least you’re sure. People pay attention to their health. These products also reduce less when you cook them – they’re not full of water and fertilizers. We also take dried fruit (figs, apricots), which we take loose. We have them as snack, it’s recommended for my husband’s health [L19]*

*At CC we’ve also tried the teas, the Oxfam fruit juice. The children take cereals, it’s good because the loose ones are unsweetened. They take dried fruits etc. (L17)*

For people shopping mostly at CC, shopping outside becomes onerous. One would have to have a very good reason to go somewhere else, so this puts a brake, for example, on shopping for meat – even though for some, it is precisely, as we have seen, a good reason for continuing to “go to Ploermel” and do all their shopping there: it is a combination of factors which brings about a decrease in the consumption of meat. Thus 3 young men all three tightly associated with CC (though not necessarily formally), mostly shopping there, and on a tight budget, had a different experience of their decrease in meat eating. For two of them this was a painless evolution towards a higher consumption of pulse – one of them discovered the multiple possibilities of cooking lentils only when he was abroad; for the other, also switching increasingly to pulse and cereals, the determining factor appears to have been the increasing disappointment with the taste of meat.

*Meat is very expensive. I don’t go to the butcher’s. I have gone a few times, but I don’t like him too much, I don’t like his way of working. But I’m not going to go to Ploermel just to buy meat. I love pulse – lentils, broad beans etc. [L16]*

*Now I almost don’t eat meat anymore, I don’t miss it, I also eat very little charcuterie [NB: no local charcuterie sold at CC, only conventional supermarket ham]... I have perhaps a cereal and then vegetable in the pan. Before that I would have had sausage and pasta... At my parents’ I used to eat a lot of meat. When I was a student I went to buy my steaks. But now, I don’t feel like it. It was linked to an internal need, I felt my body needed proteins, but now I don’t feel that anymore. Also I’m often disappointed by the taste of meat – often it’s too hard. There are some pieces like lamb shank, tenderloin, or escalope which I could still appreciate. I don’t want to eat meat at all cost. [L13].*

Both told of quests for new experiences, for inward enjoyment and self-realisation and meaning, which were underpinning this turning way from meat. In the third case however, this lack is felt as such – even though there is also a habituation to eating less meat: but sometimes he and friends buy an animal together and share it (“I can feel a physiological craving for it sometimes”, S14).

The cost of meat is also a factor, and the combination of low wages and shopping mostly with CC means that the people linked to the project in particular have reduced their consumption of meat. It is a specific group amongst respondents. However it is also true to say that the switch to a diet of vegetable and pulse might not be more expensive than a diet on supermarket ‘offers’, but it

demands cooking and this is not something which everybody is prepared to do/ can do, especially not for people living on their own or/and on a small income.

People who have travelled pick up on the unusual vegetable and dried products sometimes on offer (SI1, LI6, LI3) – sometimes because they recognise them from having seen them elsewhere, but also out of aesthetic curiosity.

*I have discovered some pulse here, black beans, coral lentils, dried fruits – I did not use to consume them (dried cranberries, ...). I prepared the black beans as Tajine, they have a nice little hazelnut taste. I'm eating vegetable that you can't find in supermarkets. For example swedes, I discovered them in [name of country], and now I eat quite a lot of them. [LI3].*

For elderly people shopping mostly at CC (pattern 3b), as said, the tendency is to use CC as a substitute for the supermarket. Nevertheless the relationship of trust and ease developed in the shop means that they can become sensitive to the advice of the grocers, especially perhaps for elderly women living on their own, who may feel freer to experiment (on the margins!) than when they feel they have to keep their husband happy. Thus one of the respondents reported tasting new products, local cheeses, fresh vegetables that she had bought in a can before:

*For example the spinach: they used to have a brand which was too mushy, I and other people said it, and they knew it very well anyway, so they changed to a much better brand. But I have also recently tried the fresh spinach branches, I cooked them and added an egg, and that was a full dish/meal, and it was very very tasty [LI14].*

## VI – The shop as social space

The **alienating, depersonalising effects of shopping at the supermarket** were expressed by quite a few respondents across all patterns of use of CC except pattern 4 – and except for some elderly people who maintain regular trips to the supermarket not only to get brands they cannot find at CC but to meet up with friends. For some, repulsion vis-a-vis supermarkets has been long-standing and had led to alternatives much before CC. But for others, especially younger customers/associates, the physical character of the description of shopping in the supermarket pointed to a more recent awareness; the extent of the repulsion felt seemed to have become fully conscious for some respondents when they switched to shopping at CC, thanks to the relief felt.

*I don't like to go shopping, I never took the children to the supermarket – I always tried to manage on my way from work. You're tempted by things you don't need, you let yourself be influenced. I go to the supermarket only to get what I don't find at CC. So I go once a month for very specific things. [LI7]*

Respondents sometimes are not content with this feeling of relief from an alienating experience and develop a mainstream rational argument in favour of shopping at CC, pointing, by contrast, to the irrationality of supermarket shopping on the basis of its own criteria of efficiency (money and time-wise):

*Going to CC, it's such a gain time-wise. Not to have to walk 2 kms in a large supermarket without finding what you want... I like the conviviality of the place, it's warm and "cosy" (in English). I do my shopping quietly, we have a chat with other people. And also, now I give [son, 9 years old] the shopping list and he*

*goes on his own...I can see that we don't spend more money: some products are more expensive, some are less so (coffee). Also I can do it on Friday evening, we don't have to spend our Saturday doing the shopping. [L17]*

*Also we spend less time because we can focus on what's necessary, there's nothing superfluous. Whereas in supermarkets you have to cope with the light, the propaganda, you go from one end of the shop to the other... Whereas here it's done in 10'. Also we like to go there to see people, because here we're quite isolated.[L19]*

But in fact, what they point to is the re-emergence of another shopping rationality, where shopping becomes more flexible: it can be merely functional or conversely a highly sociable experience, depending on the moods and situation, by contrast with shopping at supermarkets, which mould the customers they require.

Another contrast is sometimes expressed, with other local shops, as interactions are not always as pleasant as in CC – pressure is sometimes felt by customers in other local shops, which they do not feel at CC, but this can be seen as a possible drawback in all commercial relations which have not been totally de-personalised.

*I may go to the Champ Commun sometimes twice in the day, for example when I've forgotten something, I don't feel judged for it. [L14]*

What is expressed here is simply that CC shopkeepers have skill in their interaction with customers: "I like to come here" is what comes up again and again amongst the younger and older customers of the Garde Manger, the grocer's of the Champ Commun. This, probably, is the best proof that CC is achieving its aims: by making shopping there a pleasant occasion, that people look forward to, it is becoming a space for and of the village (and wider area), where people can come for a quick fix or for a long, sociable moment; where people know they're going to be well attended, without stress, and where they know they can meet up with other people if they wish to. It is thus reshaping the experience of shopping, but through this, it is also a common space which they feel that they are investing, in multiple ways: and this investment of a local space is much more than a visit to a shop – it gets people (not only associates) into a reflection on their own desires and wishes for the village and its future and make them realise that this reflection matters.

Indeed, **thinking about spaces** was at the core of the CC project theoretically but also very concretely, through the choice of the place in which it was going to be established. CC grew out of the reflection on the existing shops and venues in Augan – on what was going to happen to them: initially it was going to grow from the bakery, finally it was built on the site of the former bar/electrician shop – with much more space and possibilities for development, as well as a car park by the side.

The space in itself is creating the possibility of interactions around shopping which do not take place elsewhere, as people from different generations, people from Augan and "outsiders" find themselves in the same, welcoming place, which invites communication – and this is of course further strengthened by the bar. Different crowds also mix up in the supermarkets, but they are

anonymous crowds, except when explicitly going there at the same time as people one wants/hopes to meet up with, as seems to be the case with elderly people.

*It's taking shape now, people find their ways with it, affinities are created. What's really sensational is that you find young people as well as old ladies after church, this mix, it widens people's minds. [L17].*

Some people have taken a role of active users of CC, even though they're not associates, and actually using this (not being associate) as an argument to show other – suspicious – villagers that going shopping to CC is no big deal:

*We were in favour of CC from the beginning, contrary to other people in Augan, who saw them as "foreigners", "people who don't work, who are on benefits", "the bearded ones". But we talk with other people, and they can see us go there and they can realise that it's quite an ordinary thing to do. I think some people have gone there as a result. [L10]*

The lady in this couple (a former household economy adviser) goes a bit further though, and seeks to foster thinking about habits and life in the village amongst her fellow shoppers.

*We also advise each other amongst consumers at CC. Sometimes I go there at times when I know I'm not going to meet a lot of people because I don't feel like it. But other times, I go on purpose when I know I'll meet people. And whilst shopping you talk about what you buy – and it's a form of militancy, no need for big meetings! It's enormous what we can discuss, starting from: "Hi there, what are you buying? What are you going to prepare?" – we talk about how things are produced... or: "it's nice here, it's well decorated! But of course it depends what the customer wants, if they don't come, then they can't be surprised if local shops disappear etc etc. [L10]*

It is precisely the non-exclusionary character of this space which makes up what one customer calls its 'spirit'. To some, this marks it out as a space which is not only different from supermarkets (as already said) but also from more "alternative" shops, which still tend to cater for a particular customer segment:

*I don't feel comfortable in bio-coops, they don't seem open to everyone, it's snobbish ladies with their little dog. Whereas CC is the proximity shop, they are affable. It's more than a service, it's a spirit. We don't go only for food but we need it to feel reinvigorated, which I think is needed around here. I think this is important for people here [L13].*

*I feel very uncomfortable in a bio-coop. I have the impression that it's a social ghetto and that everything they sell is medicine. I don't absolutely look for pleasure in eating but eating pleasurably has its importance, and in a bio-coop it becomes a serious business [L14].*

For the most committed customers, whether young or old, this means that they have to make this space live on, that, being offered that space and enjoying it, they acquire an obligation towards it. But it is no abstract moral obligation: it is anchored in the relation developed between grocers and the whole CC team and the customers:

*Now we kiss each other [with the CC people] – I never do it first though! I wait if I see that they come forward... Because now they know us, they know we have esteem for them, we go as much as we can, as soon as we need it [L10]*

This is different to saying that “in the end you only meet the people who are convinced like you, not the others”, as expressed by one associate: the obligation created arises in the social relation with the grocers, not in any communitarian and moral sense. This, in my view, is the great strength of the initiative.

The reflection about place extends to thinking about the arrangements in the whole commune<sup>12</sup>. Indeed, another frequent comment is “it’s good to support small local shops”<sup>13</sup> – an obligation is expressed more generally for all local shops and local producers: “I consider it a civic duty to do my shopping with the small local shops”, a customer said. And I was also told that one other customer was maintaining her shopping with the other grocer’s as well (delivery scheme), not that she needs it but because she feels it is a crucial service to maintain for old people, and she’s helping in this way to maintain it. An other example of very reflective stance is provided by an elderly customer, who does not shop with the local butcher because she feels judged for the little quantities she buys, but who is nevertheless appreciative of the fact that CC are not diversifying into meat, not only because she thinks they’re right – there’s not enough volume probably, but also because the butcher is already struggling. (LI14)

## Conclusions

### The political dimension of the CC shop

Whilst it could be said that the skills of large supermarkets lies in framing individuals into customers, with certain understandings of “choice”, “freedom”, “pleasure” and “responsibility”, CC subverts these, and especially the notion of choice: quite a few respondents pointed out that they welcomed the fact that there was *less choice* than in a supermarket, but that there was a will to offer “quality” products (avoidance of industrial processes, home made or crafts-based products, etc.). Sociability is not an added-on created by shoppers, but is something made possible by the simple fact that people come to the place with pleasure and feel relaxed for talking about whatever. The kind of freedom fostered is not freedom “from” (contacts, controlling gaze etc.); but rather freedom *to* participate, to construct, to make things happen (although it is perfectly possible to just be a shopper: but shopping there is bound to lead to thinking about these issues).

In short, against the moralisation of consumption (fostered by the framing of the individual consumer), they propose an “intervention” which re-orders the supply and thus makes it possible for people to consume differently and ultimately to feel impelled to act collectively. But the aim is to do this without scaring off people into a global fight against supermarket power – which is the underpinning rationale of some of the CC carriers, but which they feel cannot be imposed on people as such (“it feels too big”).

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<sup>12</sup> For example the former post office building was let to the new local radio station, and now the only restaurant (pizzeria, opening at lunch time and on Friday and Saturday night) has also been looking for a buyer for some time.

<sup>13</sup> Some (very few) respondents said this in an almost condescending way. They do not come that often because of their heavy prejudice against the whole initiative but nevertheless feel they have to justify to themselves that they do their bit and that rather than the village being offered this collective space through the work of the cooperative members, it is them, the villagers, who allow the project to exist.

The initiative also makes it possible for suppliers to organise and conceive of their activity differently, but without falling into the idealisation of short food chains without any intermediaries: the grocer's profession is recognised fully as a profession in itself, needed for the organisation of a 'reasoned, diversified, ordered supply' (Henry-George) – in effect it does seem correct to say that the CC shop is an essential piece in a political "intervention" (Henry-George's word against fatalism) . As summed up in the presentation document of Localidees, the association now developing alongside the cooperative to support projects of the "économie sociale et solidaire"<sup>14</sup>, it is about "acting locally to think globally". More modestly, the Champ Commun is about providing spaces (the grocer's but also the bar) for people to make use of and, in doing this, reflect on the wider space of their commune and region.

This political dimension is not easy to assume and maintain. It is all too common to moralise oneself and others, accuse or feel guilty: the carriers of the project, especially, feel that they have to be consistent, in their own pattern and especially places of consumption – that, even beyond the perimeter of Augan, on holiday for example, they should not do any supermarket shopping (as expressed by an associate in LI2). Yet this means transferring the burden of responsibility from the supply to consumption, and perhaps having an interpretation of consistency which is self-punitive rather than reflexive. There is also a feeling that one has to do one's shopping at CC, out of support for the project – and not doing this is felt to be problematic, for oneself and/or in the eyes of the others. Yet it is also true that wages are very low and that eating on a budget whilst shopping at CC means taking up cooking, which is not conceived as a possibility by everyone. Thus taking too specific a view on what form commitment to CC should take probably misses the political point and makes it, again, a moral issue. By contrast, the participation of CC in regional or local planning exercises (for example for the touristic development of the area) and the struggles waged there against utilitarian conceptions of the area, or the contribution of CC and Localidees to the creation of support structures for more social economy projects to emerge and contribute to restructure the local social and economic fabric, are examples of the ways in which CC can push its political project further.

The initiative is currently in a phase of transition, where some of the "historical" members/employees have left as employees and have taken their distance, and where a lingering question is that of the level and modes of commitment – how to sustain commitment without burning oneself out in the endeavour. Some of the carriers of the project understand the "Champ Commun" as allowing for varying levels of investment and contributions to the construction of the collective project, which is a way of anticipating and preventing burn-out. But at the same time the project would not have got off the ground without the complete dedication of some people, and it is still probably the case today: indeed some of the people interviewed are willing to have such dedication. The question is how to pool these energies together rather than having them undermine each other, which may be a risk at this point in time. There is an acute awareness of this from all respondents – whether "historical" or "new" - and much thinking is devoted, individually and collectively, to how the collective energy can be sustained whilst allowing for different phases in

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<sup>14</sup> Though a specific French notion, it is now translated and taken up in international fora as "social and solidarity economy". Of course the idea of social economy is not specifically French and has already a long history. It is the apposition of 'solidarity' which is specific to relatively recent developments in France.

each individual member's engagement as well as the productive interplay between individuals who are not in the same phase.

## **The economic dimension**

The economic viability of the shop, with its option of affordable products, is currently dependent on people being paid just the minimum wage and working much more than the legal hours. It is not certain that this can be otherwise, unless take up increases substantially amongst the local population – but this is unlikely to be the case in any dramatic fashion at least, after two years. There are no figures about take up in the local population, but the associates of the project interviewed generally thought that “many people still have not taken the plunge, because of the very high cultural blockages” (LI8). Even getting more institutional clients (such as the local schools), in a not impossible future, is unlikely to help, given the need to offer reasonable prices. So this is dependent on people keeping their motivation to work there thanks to the collective project of CC, which is always evolving and on new fronts of struggle, whilst maintaining the competent and effective retailing service characterising the shop. It is also dependent on the cooperative gaining other, more profitable, activities, which, through mutualisation, will allow the shop to remain obliging to the local population in this way – hence the project being currently developed, a hostel for hosting seminars and training courses (carried out by organisations with whom there can be an ‘affinity’). For the first time, CC has applied for, and obtained, a public subsidy for that project (from the Region).

Nevertheless the project also makes a lot of economic sense, as an outlet for local producers: there have been and there are initiatives of producers coming together and offering their products in a shared shop but this is a task in itself, it is a profession as suggested above, and CC is making this much easier for them. It also makes sense from a sustainability point of view by gathering the products of 60 local producers, many of which CC gets from the market at Ploermel (agreement with the producers that they will bring their products there): so that neither CC nor customers have to drive from one producer to the other.

## **As for the extension of the model**

The option taken by the CC shop to have a range of products allowing people to do an all-included shopping or almost, though necessarily less complete than in a supermarket, with a possibility to buy local and organic, is possible in Augan because there is no franchised superette there. However in the current French context of relative lack of growth of food retailing, local franchises are growing quick, and less and less grocer's shops can afford to remain independent especially in urban areas. Hence the split between large supermarkets and franchised stores for conventional products on the one hand and markets and biocoops for local and organic products on the other hand is likely to persist in urban areas (although supermarkets also supply non-conventional products).

CC is attractive as dynamisation project for rural areas but very dependent on finding a customer base alongside the limited base of older people lacking mobility, and recruited among tired supermarket shoppers (this is an increasing motivation as seen above) and attracted to the model of shopping proposed here.

Interestingly, this ‘political intervention’ has been very dependent for its launch and perhaps also for its cohesion on experiences of community life by some of its founding members – who were inspired by their past experience of collective life in scout camps, communal housing, trips abroad in the

context of international co-operation etc. It is perhaps revealing that the grocer's shop was referred to in the initial dossier established for institutional purposes as a "community grocer's", although the conception of the political that it carries is quite foreign to any notion of 'community'.

It is clear that this collective project, which has mobilised many local unpaid volunteers in Augan, was/is also possible thanks to the specific history of Augan and its lively social fabric and festive cultural life (it has 40 associations for 1400 inhabitants, including an accordion festival which attracts 2,500 people). Even though Breton society is deeply divided on ideological lines, especially crystallised in the dispute between private and public schooling, associations in Augan have allowed people from both sides to meet up and do things together rather than entrenching these divisions. The elected representatives of Augan are also looking on CC positively, even though they have been careful not to favour it over other enterprises/shops in the commune. CC has also benefited/is benefiting from the culture of "coup de main" (helping out) still very prevalent in this rural area, with neighbours helping each other out for little jobs – which meant that many local people helped out in the construction phase, including people whose job is in the construction trade.

*I was always saying, do you know where I could get this? And there was always somebody who had it somewhere. So we would recuperate and reuse old things all the time – you never throw away in rural areas so people have masses of things at home (to start with, part of the building of CC had belonged to the local electrician, and it was full of things)[LI6]*

This co-construction thus very much fostered the kind of spirit that CC itself wants to promote: it could be said that, to some extent, the desire of the carriers of CC to make such a spirit alive and politically productive met with and tapped into routine ways of doing things on an everyday basis amongst local people, and that it proposes a way to mobilise these 'capacities' towards a very contemporary project which potentially can transcend the level of Augan by inspiring a more regional reflection on models of development and possibly by inspiring such reflection elsewhere.



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## **Annex 1: Objectives of Champ Commun, as stated in the Preamble of the constitutional document (extract)**

- Propose quality and fair price goods and services, in relation with the consumption habits of local people;
- Create and promote jobs for local people at the service of local people;
- Offer a space for the distribution and diffusion of goods and services produced locally (geographic proximity) as well as with a shared philosophy for this project...;
- Participate in the development of farmer-related, craft and artistic activities needed for the preservation of the local economy and for its dynamics;
- Strengthen proximity networks by setting up partnerships with the farmers, craftspeople, local SMEs and associations on the basis of the quality of their practices and of a shared conception of the local economy;
- Develop the offer of local and loose products, paying attention to their conditioning and to the ethical character of their production process;
- Carry out public and private proximity services which have been failing or whose existence is under threat, so as to contribute to the independence of individuals – i.e. their capacity to have control over their life conditions according to their personal situation;
- Optimise the energetic costs due to distance from shops and services so as to favour care for the environment...;
- Act against the loss of places of conviviality and to offer spaces favouring encounters between generations and the cultural integration of newcomers;
- Take the physical autonomy of (esp. elderly, isolated) people and their economic capacities into account.

These objectives are totally inserted in our collective concern to participate in the maintenance and development of all local practices (savoir vivre), considered as use values allowing populations to maintain values of solidarity and autonomy.

## Annex 2: the Co-operative Company of Collective Interest (Société Co-opérative d'Intérêt Collectif, SCIC)

(after <http://www.les-scic.coop/sites/fr/les-scic/definition.html>)

The Co-operative Company of Collective Interest (SCIC) is a new kind of co-operative company with the following specificities:

- It allows all types of actors to associate with the project: staff, volunteers, users, public bodies, companies, associations, private individuals.
- It may produce any goods and services meeting the collective needs of a territory, through the best possible mobilization of its economic and social resources. The social utility of SCICs is also guaranteed by their vocation to organize a practice of dialogue, democratic debate and citizenship formation;
- It abides by co-operative rules: a power distributed on the basis of 1 person = 1 vote (with possibility of constituting colleges allowing to balance the voices according to rules approved in the General Assembly); by involving all the associates in the life of the company as well as in its management; by keeping all the benefits or results of the company in indivisible savings to safeguard its autonomy and sustainability;
- As any commercial company (Sa or Sarl), it is of course subjected to requirements of good management and innovation;
- Its logic is that of local and sustainable development; it is anchored in a territory and it promotes proximity and the connections between actors of the same economic region.

The SCIC materialises the possibility for “multi-stakeholder” co-operation in France, making it possible to associate and work together amongst:

- Employees of the co-operative (as is the case in workers’ cooperatives);
- Volunteers;
- Users (as is the case in consumer cooperatives);
- Any person or entity, of private or public law, intending to contribute directly, in work or a contribution of any kind (economic or other) to the development of the co-operative.

All of these can contribute to the capital of the co-operative. As an associate, each one takes part in collective decision-making, via the college to which he/she belongs, by having one vote as any other associate. The assembly of associates elects the administrators and the leaders of the co-operative among its members.

### Annex 3: Comparison with other types of shops

Type of shop	Surface	References (not only food)	Average monthly sales (/shop)	Margin rate
Grocer's shops			19,460 € (2)	26.7% (2)
Supérettes (small supermarkets)	150-400 m2	< 1,500	87,540 € (2)	23.7% (2)
Supermarkets	400 – 2,500 m2	3,000-5,000	593,027 € (2)	15.2% (2)
Hypermarkets	> 2,500 m2	25,000 – 40,000	1,873,304 € (2)	13.3% (2)
Maxi-discount	< 2,500 m2	< 1,300		
Organic shops	116 m2 (3)			
CHAMP COMMUN (GARDE MANGER)	112 m2	1,700	21,730 € (2011 accounts)	20%

**Sources:**

(1) [http://www.lesmetiers.net/orientation/p1\\_290892/les-metiers-de-la-grande-distribution?dossiercomplet=true](http://www.lesmetiers.net/orientation/p1_290892/les-metiers-de-la-grande-distribution?dossiercomplet=true)

(2) INSEE (2009) 'Le commerce de détail' in *Le commerce en France. Edition 2009*. Collection : INSEE Références. Paris : Insee. Pp. 92-125.

(3) <http://www.entrepreneurvert.fr/?q=node/magasins-bio>