

# **TRANSPORT AND LOGISTICS: TERRITORIAL ISSUES AND THE ROLE OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL AUTHORITIES**

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The history of the Mediterranean shows that transport and logistics have always been a tool for economic development, enhancing territorial structuring and cohesion. As a result of trade liberalisation, transport and logistics have become a key element in the competitiveness of goods on international markets. Eminently competitive, this sector, albeit private, also relates to spatial planning policies, be they regional, European, Mediterranean, or national policies. Regional and local authorities are taking a keen interest in the major infrastructure projects supported by the European Union. Their interest stems from their wish not to be isolated or excluded from future key arteries.

By linking territories to one another, and by organising themselves into “platforms” located at strategic nodes in dense networks that are becoming increasingly complex and segmented, logistics and freight transport infrastructures necessarily raise the question of the actual or potential role that local authorities play in the dynamics of “more, faster, further”. Goods, be they inbound or outbound, are like a river; territories divert part of the course of this river for their benefit. Competition between territories to tap into this economic flow is a fact; the benefits that ensue should be weighed against the negative externalities that are generated (traffic congestion, health risks, noise, pollution, etc.).

However, where stakes are supra regional in scale, the individual territorial interests driving regions to compete among themselves disappear in favour of joint actions that are proof of how important regions have now become in political decisions. The transport sector is no exception to this.

On top of these aspects, which help territories to establish themselves firmly on the main arteries of commerce and international competition, comes another dimension, one that originates in the idea of “local regeneration”. In response to new social demands or in reaction to some of the excesses of globalisation, more and more local and regional authorities are promoting development strategies that uphold local development of the local economy, by and for locals. Such an approach requires specific logistics and means of transport that, in turn, become central to the successful implementation of these new local strategies. Just as there are alliances of convenience among regions with regard to international trade, alliances may also be forged at local levels on issues that may give rise to new governance arrangements for the flow of goods or that may even determine a particular type of organisation. It thus becomes clear that the strategies undertaken by local and regional bodies in the field of transport and logistics are rich and diverse, combining local initiatives, response to competition, inter-territorial alliances, networking, lobbying, and so on.

In discussing the role and place of local and regional authorities in the governance of transport and logistics, this chapter endeavours to shed light on the various levels of intervention in a sector that reflects the current economic organisation, but in which it is also possible to identify the beginnings of new forms of organisation and governance. In areas where the notion of territory does not apply, as is still often the case in countries south of the Mediterranean, the lack itself of any local and regional authority may be a source of further information.

#### Box 1: Local and regional authorities

In this chapter, the term “local and regional authorities” refers to different levels of decentralisation (municipalities, districts, provinces, regions, etc.). The term “regional and local bodies” will also be used. In countries where decentralisation already exists, the authorities have their own competencies, staff, budget, and legal safeguards that regulate their existence.

On the southern shore of the Mediterranean, there is, generally speaking, an increase in the transfer of power from central bodies to the periphery. However, this transfer is not always accompanied by the necessary resources or by sufficient means of financial management (UCLG, 2008). In the North, the competencies of local authorities and of regional bodies in particular vary widely from one country to another depending on the degree of federalism of each.

## Local and regional authorities and the structuring of international trade routes and logistics

Private stakeholders in the transport and logistics sector, as well as in upstream and downstream sectors, are the primary driving force behind the organisational dynamics and the permanent reshaping of the traffic and distribution networks of goods – they mobilise technical progress, and optimise costs through clustering or segmentation of activities.

## Regions are actively involved in the structuring of international trade routes

Intercontinental flows of freight link the major ports of the world together. Ports are gateways from which internal transport routes and logistics nodes develop on whole land territories<sup>1</sup>. Being, becoming or remaining one of these nodes, through modernisation, adaptation or innovation constitutes an important challenge for local bodies in terms of their economic development, be it in their capacity to serve as platforms for the circulation of goods, or meet the supply needs of local industries, or become more competitive in the export of local goods. Consequently, the development of transport and logistics infrastructure is an integral part of the strategies developed by local and regional authorities to enhance the attractiveness of their territory. Regions can thus invest in port facilities (equipment, amenities) to make them more competitive. Because the sphere of influence of a port and its economic attraction cover the hinterland, it is necessary for the region to improve its environment by developing connectivity, promoting alternative modes of transport and by often opting for complementarity with neighbouring regions. Local and regional bodies are proactive when it comes to encouraging the development of transport and the establishment of logistics platforms; they are also in a position to promote innovation in this field and favour the development of certain modes of transport or certain logistical modalities which consume less energy and are less polluting.

It can be observed that, where regions do exist, they participate in the territorial organisation of transport and logistics. They do this in different ways, depending on their competencies: they may co-finance investment programmes together with the state or the private sector, or organise land management in such a way as to ensure optimum development of logistics infrastructure; they may promote innovation, or develop policies to attract actual and potential investors. They may also act as a driving-force or federator among local stakeholders for medium-term development plans and strategies, or help this sector to become fully integrated in other territorial dynamics. The increase in territorial value most certainly needs to be sought in the last two points, particularly at the regional level, with reference to state approaches which are more centralised and those of private operators which are more self-reliant.

In France, regions work together to devise regional transport plans, regional infrastructure and transport plans, regional port strategies etc., all of which are designed to “provide transport and logistics professionals with clear guidelines about future directions, while ensuring coherence in the development of equipment and infrastructure” (Languedoc-Roussillon Region, 2009). The aim is to develop the regional territory and make it competitive.

The Port of Rouen has thus benefited not only from the support of the Upper-Normandy region<sup>2</sup>, but also from the support of the city and the department. It is currently the largest French port for the agro-industry, particularly for cereal export

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1 - For a view of the density of the major shipping routes, please refer to the World Bank's map (2009, p. 172).

2 - The Upper-Normandy region has the largest French port complex and the fourth largest in Europe with two major ports, Le Havre and Rouen, thanks to a multimodal network. The Maghreb is the top export destination and represents 60% of exports, outstripping the Near and Middle East, West Africa, the EU and Central America.

(wheat, barley, maize), with Algeria as top destination (wheat and barley), followed by Morocco. However, if the port of Rouen is playing a key role today, it is because it is relayed by a road network and an extensive rail infrastructure. By emphasising these assets, the region succeeded in developing a multimodal complex: it promoted complementarity between the ports of the Lower Seine and made a place for itself in a corridor of river and rail freight. Local authorities in the region have favoured cooperation and the promotion of all forms of transport in order to strengthen the economic weight of the logistics sector and develop the local economy.

The situation of the port of Marseille-Fos provides indirect insight into the importance that local authorities and strategic dialogue have when developing a competitive network that combines transport and logistics. Like six other ports in France, including that of Rouen, the port of Marseille-Fos is a major autonomous port<sup>3</sup>, controlled by the state. Its relatively weak performance, analysed in a recent OECD study (Merk and Comtois, 2012), indicates that lack of local governance may be one of the factors behind this situation: “First, ports that are state-controlled could be less sensitive to local concerns (creating local economic value and jobs, reduction of environmental impacts) than ports owned by city or regional governments. Second, port-cities that are not in charge of their ports could be less inclined to create favourable conditions for sustained port development, such as investments [...]” (Merk and Comtois, 2012). If “one euro of new demand within the port cluster leads to one additional euro of supply in the French economy” (Merk and Comtois, 2012), in the case of the port of Marseille, the main beneficiaries are the regions of Île-de-France and Rhône-Alpes (30%), far outstripping the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur (PACA) region (only 6% of this additional euro goes to local economy). In light of this observation, Bernard Morel’s reaction to the release of the OECD study in November 2012 was reported to be: “What is the point of developing and investing in the port? There is a real problem when it comes to docking the port and the economic activity<sup>4</sup>.” Bernard Morel is Vice-President of the PACA region and in charge of economic affairs. Undoubtedly, the disaffection of the region for its port has its own repercussions on international competitiveness and on the region’s capacity to attract flows of goods, particularly agricultural products.

## Cities and conurbations at the heart of urban logistics

At the micro-local level, cities and urban communities play a major role in the configuration of networks and positioning of logistics infrastructure. The aim is twofold: access to the city should be organised in such a way that residents and businesses alike are served; yet, the “last mile”, which represents 20% of the total cost, needs to be kept in mind. Although city authorities do not have competence in freight, it is their responsibility to choose the best locations for storage areas and optimise the flow of goods to ensure that shops are well supplied. However, they are also responsible for restricting, by regulation if need be, congestion in urban

3 - In French, the term “ports autonomes” refers to ports which are operated as commercial and industrial state-run bodies (translator’s note).

4 - Nathalie Bureau du Colombier, “Un rapport de l’OCDE pointe du doigt les déficiences du port de Marseille”, *Econostrum.info* ([www.econostrum.info](http://www.econostrum.info)).

centres and transport-related nuisances. There is a growing awareness as to the importance of logistics and urban freight transport.

Thus, as a result of a study done by an urban planning agency and commissioned by the city of Marseille in 2010 (AGAM, 2010), five major goals were identified: acting on regulations concerning the delivery of goods, adopting a proactive policy in favour of land preservation, fostering the development of a new generation of logistics infrastructure, promoting a new logistics organisation, supporting new ways of cooperation between stakeholders and innovative modes of transport. Furthermore, proposals for development strategies were submitted for all four areas identified as making up the spatial organisation of the city (the city centre core, the sub-central area, the northeast area and the peripheral area).

In a recent CIHEAM Briefing Note referring more specifically to the issue of the “last food mile” (Morganti, 2013), Eleonora Morganti emphasises the key role that cities could be led to play in a holistic approach that addresses the question of urban food supply together with issues such as health, land allocation, economic development and environmental conservation. As we shall see later on in this chapter, urban logistics are becoming an important issue in new strategies for the relocation of local economies, and could ultimately affect the overall organisation of the transport and logistics chain.

## **In the southern and eastern Mediterranean, centralisation is still going strong**

The Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries (SEMCs) lag far behind in terms of transport and logistics infrastructure. The sector is dominated by road transport, and is concentrated along the coast; because of the lack of urban and rural transport infrastructure, the major urban areas are congested. Local authorities are only loosely structured and have no real autonomy; consequently, the whole organisation of this sector is still largely dominated by the public sector. Partnerships with private operators are becoming more and more prevalent in the shape of “programme contracts” or through agencies acting under state supervision. Thus, in Algeria, port management has been entrusted to regional public institutions, called “port authorities”, which have legal personality and financial autonomy. In Morocco, the Moroccan Agency for Logistics Development (AMDL), founded in 2011, is the strong arm of the state when it comes to the implementation of the integrated national strategy for development and logistic competitiveness (Morocco, 2010). It brings together all the parties involved: administration, local authorities, and economic stakeholders. It has legal personality and financial autonomy, and operates under state supervision. The development of the port of Tangiers was entrusted to another agency, the Tangiers Mediterranean Special Agency (TMSA). The TMSA is a public limited-liability company, which is directly controlled by the state and is endowed with the power of a public regional authority on the area concerned. The development of the hinterland, on the other hand, falls under the responsibility of the Agency for the Promotion and Development of the North (APDN). Founded in 1996, the ADPN was the first national development agency dealing with local issues<sup>5</sup>.

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5 - For an analysis of Morocco's logistics strategy, please refer to Abis (2013).

The primary objective in these countries continues to be the development of a national network of interconnected logistics platforms linked to international flows, primarily through land market liberalisation or the mobilisation of land reserves belonging to the state. In Morocco, development agencies, such as the APDN, which are public institutions attached to the Prime Minister and enjoying financial independence, develop a strategic vision for the future of their territory and invest directly in the realisation of infrastructure permitting regional interconnection, much in the same way as regional bodies that have “full authority”. The APDN promotes various projects, such as the construction of the Mediterranean bypass that links Tangiers and Saïdia, thus reducing travel time between the two cities from eleven to seven hours. Other projects include improving the existing road network and, above all, constructing roads and village tracks to structure the area that lies right behind the port of Tangiers Med. To date, the synergies between the region and the agency are not optimal; however, thanks to the experience that it has acquired over the past two decades, APDN is emerging as an important vector for capacity building and for the transfer of functional expertise to regional and local authorities within the process of advanced regionalisation. Although no real territorial strategy exists yet to complement the national approach to transport and logistics and to refine the impact that this approach has on a local level, it can be assumed that regionalisation will provide the “missing link” in the years to come.

Turkey provides yet another very good example of these dynamics. Strategically positioned between Asia and Europe, with a great economic potential thanks to its booming export industry, and embarked on the process to join the EU, it has recognised the need for a transport and logistics infrastructure scheme that measures up to these two challenges, hence the creation of a network comprising seventeen regional “logistics villages”. Yet again, the state is the main protagonist alongside private stakeholders; local and regional bodies have still to grasp the significant role they could play in this momentum, which will necessarily affect local communities.

## **Local and regional authorities forge alliances to assert regional interests**

Europe and its member states have now realised both the economic importance of the transport sector and its significance for the well being of citizens, hence the substantial investments made in road, rail and maritime infrastructure. Linked with strategies aimed at strengthening the competitiveness of the European economy, the various corridors, which are currently under way, draw the map of the future flow of goods. Where policy choices inherent to this type of investment are concerned, local and regional authorities are very careful not to find themselves excluded or isolated. They are thus actively involved in channelling these investments, either directly or through their networks.

A perfect illustration of this is the public consultation launched by the European Commission (EC) between May and September 2010 on the future policy of the trans-European transport network (TEN-T). Various Mediterranean regional and local authorities expressed their views, individually and through existing organisations or new coordination units specifically set up for this occasion. The regional



and local bodies highlighted the paradox that prevails today: the centre of gravity of European freight is northern Europe, including for products destined for southern Europe. Such products are landed in major ports of northern Europe before being delivered to the South by different modes of transport. Regional and local bodies have thus argued that the Mediterranean ports handle 25% of the global maritime traffic and therefore have a role to play and trade flows to capture and should be connected to TEN-T. They also emphasised the importance of reducing CO<sub>2</sub> fluxes and stated that this issue should be a priority for the EU.

Emilia-Romagna highlighted the role that could be played by Adriatic ports, hence the establishment in 2010 of an association comprising Italian, Slovenian and Croatian ports (North Adriatic Ports Association – NAPA). However, it was the PACA region that was really behind the lobbying for the ports in this region and that argued in favour of a readjustment of the TEN-T towards the Mediterranean by supporting the diversification of the European gateways for long-distance freight, thus locating them closer to population centres. It also called for a better integration of the TEN-T in the peripheral areas of the Mediterranean, and for an attempt to establish a certain coherence with the trans-Mediterranean transport network (TMN-T).

Mention should also be made of the initiative taken by a group of professionals through the FERRMED association<sup>6</sup>, who argued for the development of a rail corridor for reefer cargo which would directly connect the south of Europe to the north, thus improving the distribution across Europe of Mediterranean produce, especially fruit and vegetables. This action was rapidly taken up by regional and local authorities, in particular by the autonomous communities of Spain and, on the initiative of the city of Barcelona, it should lead to the forthcoming creation of an association, which will comprise those cities located within the area of influence of the FERRMED great axis.

The Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions (CPMR), which is a network of nearly one hundred and sixty regions from twenty-eight countries, has also been very active. It has notably pointed out the insufficient consultation, on the part of the European Commission, of regional bodies on the TEN-T policy, even though the latter are often called upon to co-finance its realisation.

One example of the lobbying approach adopted by regional and local authorities in order to influence European programmes is the European Straits Initiative<sup>7</sup>, launched in 2009, which brings together eight European straits and fifteen local bodies. The ESI aims for the recognition of the specific economic, social and environmental characteristics of these geographical areas, and for the emergence of territorial cooperation projects similar to those that already exist in geographical areas such as the Alpine space or the Mediterranean space, both of which have been acknowledged by the EU. Interestingly, its ambition is to open up to non-EU Mediterranean partners (Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey) in the near future.

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6 - FERRMED ([www.ferrmed.com](http://www.ferrmed.com)).

7 - European Straits Initiative ([www.europeanstraits.eu](http://www.europeanstraits.eu)).

In an effort towards territorial structuring, Arco Latino<sup>8</sup>, officially constituted in 2002 and comprising forty-six regional and local authorities from the western Mediterranean NUTS III level, commissioned a comparative study (Arco Latino, 2011) on its own initiative, in 2011, on local experiences in the development of the logistics and freight transport sector. The study covers Spain (Girona, Tarragona and Lleida), Italy (Piacenza and Novara) and France (the PACA cluster and the Bouches-du-Rhône department). The study concludes with a list of action priorities.

## Rehabilitating local products, a new set of cards

For decades, technical progress and biotechnology were the main drivers behind the development of an increasingly standardised form of agriculture. Today, agriculture is once more favouring diversity and the territorial dimension has become important again.

### A growing diversity of regional and local produce...

Local and regional bodies find themselves addressing agricultural issues more and more often, due to the growing regionalisation of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the idea of improving the performance of national strategies by taking better account of local specificities, or simply because some local officials are willing to include agriculture in their development strategy (as is the case in France under the clause of “general jurisdiction”).

In so doing, they end up fully integrating this component in their territorial development strategy, thus shifting from being mere executors of national policies to promoting regional agricultural strategies that seek to maximise the impact of this economic activity on the territory. Production is no longer an end in itself, it is considered in its capacity to generate employment in the region, to produce or preserve landscapes conducive to tourism, to meet the environmental challenges of the territory and create social ties among populations.

Strategies of local and regional bodies obviously highlight the specificities of territorial products, presenting them as an element of differentiation and competitiveness. This is even more true in the Mediterranean since this geographical area is characterised by a rich variety of regional products, its agricultural traditions and food cultures. In fact, we are currently witnessing the proliferation of “local products” that celebrate this almost forgotten history. This trend is not limited solely to the EU-Med countries. The countries of the southern rim of the Mediterranean too are engaged in the process of regionalisation of production, albeit largely driven by the state, as is shown by Morocco’s highly proactive move to develop and promote its “local produce” as part of the Green Morocco Plan, and by Tunisia’s recognition of geographical indications.

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<sup>8</sup> - Arco Latino ([www.arcolatino.org](http://www.arcolatino.org)).



Within the framework of decentralised cooperation<sup>9</sup>, European regional and local authorities have embraced this theme and, following the demand of their southern partners, are becoming increasingly involved in agricultural development programmes that focus on sector structuring for specific products. For instance, the partnership existing between the Champagne-Ardenne region and the Oriental region in Morocco since 1990, led to the creation of the first two Moroccan geographical indications (GIs): the Berkane Clementine and the Beni Guil lamb. It is also interesting to note that, thanks to this cooperation, a logistics training course was set up, together with a DUT<sup>10</sup> in wrapping and packaging of food products in Berkane. As for the project coordinated by CIHEAM-MAI Montpellier in the framework of the partnership between the Hérault Departmental Council and the governorate of Mededine to improve the income situation of farmers, the aim is to promote products from Beni Khedache, primarily on the national market (olive oil obtained from typical local varieties, mountain honey, figs, dried olives, etc.).

### **... combined with a restructuring of distribution channels**

This trend towards product differentiation comes as a response to recent consumer expectations<sup>11</sup>. Nowadays, consumers want to construct an identity through the act of consumption, as is revealed by the continuing disaffection for supermarkets for the benefit of small convenience stores, and by the growing interest in products that correspond to and reflect a particular identity, even though prices remain a strong deciding factor in food purchasing, especially in times of crisis. The demand is often accompanied by a quality requirement (gustatory, nutritional, social, etc.) that needs to be “certified”, either by an “appellation” (“appellation d’origine contrôlée”, “appellation d’origine protégée”, etc.)<sup>12</sup>, indications of origin (geographical indication, protected geographical indication, etc.) or labels (organic, fair trade, eco-friendly, etc.). Products that are specific to certain territories obviously meet these new expectations.

Developing their range of local products becomes a form of local action for regional and local authorities, which can lead them to becoming involved in, or even to organise, new distribution networks aimed at strengthening the alliance between consumers and local producers. Hence, the proliferation of initiatives such as “from farm to farm” walks, “farmers’ markets” or “randonnées découverte du terroir” (hikes during which one can discover/taste local products). All of these constitute new alternatives whereby consumers can purchase food products “directly” from the producer.

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9 - The decentralised approach is relatively recent within the framework of development cooperation. Decentralised cooperation refers to all international initiatives undertaken or promoted by two or more foreign authorities sharing a common interest. French local and regional bodies are considered as being fully involved in France’s international action. Cooperation of this kind is supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

10 - DUT stands for Diplôme Universitaire de Technologie, and corresponds to a 2-year University degree in technology (translator’s note).

11 - This trend, which is not analysed in the present chapter, reflects an internal development within society, which was taken up by the marketing sector, with industrial processes adapting to consumers’ need for individualisation.

12 - An “appellation” is a government certification that guarantees the quality of a particular product. “Appellation d’origine contrôlée” may be translated as registered designation of origin, and “appellation d’origine protégée” as protected designation of origin (translator’s note).

Territorial networks are also emerging, building on a common product identity or on complementary features of products that are specific to the territories concerned. The municipality of Lari, in Italy, together with the province of Pisa, the Tuscany region and other partners have thus developed a collective mark that highlights the economic and cultural value of the Lari cherry. Furthermore, a “national association of Italian cherry cities” was founded<sup>13</sup>, so as to strengthen research in the improvement of agronomic practices and the development of product promotion. For its part, the *Terra Nostra* project, designed and implemented by Arco Latino, consists in developing an alternative model of growth in the Mediterranean, based on the specificities of each territory, through the creation of a territorial quality mark: the Arco Latino mark. Associated with rural tourism, “routes” are charted in an inter-regional synergy across the Mediterranean in order to attract consumers to the sources of local production, much in the same way as the wine routes, bio-itineraries, the route of the olive tree, or the culinary taste trails promoted by regional partners of the European Novagrimed programme<sup>14</sup>.

In seeking coherence within local sectoral policies, interesting initiatives may result that show how local politics can affect supply and logistics. France provides us with a good example of this. Regional and local bodies, which are in charge of mass catering in primary and secondary schools, have opted for better-quality meals (for instance, by introducing organic food) and for local sourcing. Mass catering used to be implemented through calls for tenders, which favoured the lowest-priced bidders. The current approach has challenged the rules for public procurement and introduced the notion of “territorial preference”. It also calls for a review of the supply chain where school canteens are concerned, in terms of having not one but several sources, favouring a greater diversification of products and respecting seasonal cycles.

## **Towards the emergence of integrated territorial policies on food security**

Building on one-off actions aimed at the agricultural sector and the promotion of territorial products, local and regional authorities are currently succeeding in carefully organising product flows within the territory, in an integrative and holistic approach based on the notion of “better produce, better food”. The initiative thus becomes political and leaves an impact on the organisation of the whole territory. Such initiatives are developing in countries north of the Mediterranean against the backdrop of the economic crisis and in a quest for new societal models capable of addressing the shortcomings of global capitalism. Such initiatives are also thriving in cities and megacities, in an attempt to provide solutions to an urban food crisis, which is highly explosive for social order.

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13 - “Urban Agriculture in the Mediterranean”, *CIHEAM Watch Letter*, n° 18, September 2011.

14 - Novagrimed ([www.novagrimed.eu](http://www.novagrimed.eu)).

## Nurturing cities

Throughout history, feeding the cities has always been a concern. Food security entails, first and foremost, setting up a political system that secures food supply, organising and managing stocks so as to limit speculation in food products. Even the pharaohs had organised systems of crop storage to prevent famine in times of low water.

Today, the question is all the more acute as the rate of urbanisation, which exceeded 50% in 2007-2008, is expected to reach 70% in 2050, with an estimated world population of 9.6 billion people. Even at this stage, we should be able to manage megacities that already comprise tens of millions of people and whose numbers continue to grow. In a context where logistics systems are inadequate, how can one ensure that people, especially the poorest populations, have access to basic food commodities and to a healthy and varied diet at a reasonable cost?

Urban and peri-urban agriculture may be a partial answer to this question. The FAO considers that urban and peri-urban agriculture has a comparative advantage over rural areas in the supply of fresh produce throughout the year (FAO, 2012). Thus, Mediterranean cities, which have a long tradition of urban and peri-urban agriculture, have resumed their nurturing function, with varying results depending on whether these initiatives are supported or not by local or national policies<sup>15</sup>.

Over the last forty years, there has been an increase in urbanisation in Tunisia; as in other North African countries, this happened at the expense of agriculture. Yet, recognising the threat posed by this urban sprawl on its food production, Tunisia was also one of the first African countries to take legislative measures on this issue. Despite difficulties in enforcing these laws and preventing land speculation, food production in urban and peri-urban areas continues and many farmers are turning to market gardening: Greater Tunis and the surrounding plains supply the city with around 380,000 tonnes of fruits and vegetables per year, which represents 10% of domestic production. As access to the central market is becoming increasingly difficult, products are sold on local markets, in small shops and by street vendors at low cost (reduction of transport costs and taxes levied on wholesale markets). This type of agriculture remains, however, unprofitable for urban farmers. In Algeria, urban and peri-urban agriculture is undervalued. There are no measures in agricultural policies regarding promotion. One study has shown that local officials play a crucial role in town and country planning decisions; however, the rules to protect the agricultural heritage of the city are not applied.

In countries where decentralisation is more successful, especially in European Mediterranean countries, initiatives to develop this type of agriculture were launched by local authorities and are at times associated with new services (societal aspect, enhancing the value of natural landscapes). In Italy, dozens of municipalities have decided to attribute market-gardening areas to youngsters, pensioners and unemployed people through social support programmes. Another significant example are

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15 - "Urban Agriculture in the Mediterranean", *CIHEAM Watch Letter*, n° 18, September 2011. Please refer also to Abis and Brun (2012).

the peri-urban kitchen gardens of Ostuni, in the region of Puglia: this area of great historical and landscape value had experienced a period of decline in the 1980s, but was rehabilitated thanks to a civil society initiative and the support of the municipality. Indeed, a brand was established to promote products coming from this area, and the region provided one million euros in funds for a quality policy aimed at repurposing the area<sup>16</sup>.

Nevertheless, if food security for urban consumers is to be improved in an effective way, greater efficiency is needed in food supply and distribution systems at the local level (delivery of supplies, sorting, packaging, storage, processing, retail and street vending), a level at which regional and local bodies have a role to play, as has already been discussed. This is why the FAO has set up an assistance programme for regional and local authorities in developing countries and countries in transition to define urban policies and prepare urban development programmes in food supply and distribution systems. Some experts, however, believe that achieving agricultural self-sufficiency in cities is a utopia, and that, given our current know-how, no city in the world would be able to ensure food self-sufficiency.

## Setting up territorial food systems

The first World Summit of Regions on food security<sup>17</sup>, held in Dakar in January 2010, showed that local and regional authorities could play a key role in the fight against food insecurity and that they could respond to this challenge by adopting innovative and effective solutions. At the second summit of Regions United/FOGAR, held in Medellin in October 2012, regions from around the world committed themselves to implementing a comprehensive regional approach to food security and agreed to the principle of setting up a “Territorial Food System” (TFS).

The aim of this approach is to respond to market volatility, anticipate crises and reduce food costs by bringing production areas closer to consumption areas. This also entails mobilising the local agricultural economy towards local food security, promoting a responsible and sustainable territorial economy that optimises the use of local resources, helps to revitalise rural territories, strives to reduce waste throughout the food chain by promoting systematic recycling and an optimal consumption of products, and shows concern for the well-being of local residents.

Building on successful initiatives, a comprehensive concept of territorial approach to food safety should be developed and tested in pilot areas to show how a food supply and distribution system can gradually provide sustainable food security, especially for the most vulnerable populations in the territory, by setting up governance mechanisms in which every stakeholder is involved. The food supply and distribution system should allow for the maintenance of local agriculture in a more sustainable way, the revitalisation of traditional skills, and the consumption of local, seasonal produce. It should also encourage local processing and distribution, as well as create local jobs. In view of this, transport and logistics, which are necessary for the implementation of such a strategy, become a core issue. There have already been several

16 - “Urban Agriculture in the Mediterranean”, *CIHEAM Watch Letter*, n° 18, September 2011.

17 - Regions United/FOGAR ([www.regionsunies-fogar.org/en](http://www.regionsunies-fogar.org/en)).

successful experiments (Colombia, Brazil), which could be transposed in a beneficial way to SEM countries that remain heavily dependent on imports and suffer from structural weaknesses as far as transport and logistics are concerned.

## Conclusion

By implementing policies for agricultural production at territorial level, local and regional authorities become truly influential actors in the flow of products and logistics organisation given that they commit themselves to comprehensive strategies for territorial food security. What impact will such policies have in the future? Will there be a general territorial repositioning or will such initiatives remain epiphenomena in an open, globalised market?

In the future, factors that are external to territories will affect trade conditions of agricultural goods, either by counteracting or, on the other hand, by encouraging local policies. Such factors include energy costs, environmental measures aimed at reducing pollution and, of course, the population's purchasing power. Societal choices in the next few years will also be decisive. Among the questions that arise are the following: will they favour the GDP growth or enhance social well being? Will they favour government intervention or will they let the market regulate the situation?

Among the five scenarios drawn up by Samarcande Etudes et Conseil for the situation of freight and logistics in 2040 (Duong and Savy, 2011), three suggest that territories may be in more or less strong competition in a system which will become increasingly globalised and asymmetric. The last two scenarios, which focus on changing market demands and radical changes in social values respectively suggest that territories and their populations may well regain control of their destiny. As such, they would echo the policies implemented by the cities and regions that we mentioned earlier on. In these scenarios, priority would be given to local trade and short-distance transportation, local convenience stores would open again in urban centres, and direct sales would help to strengthen the ties with peripheral areas. A more self-contained economy would develop, which would favour new attitudes, particularly in terms of packaging reduction and recycling. Related logistics would consequently be modified in terms of product flows, both geographically speaking and with regard to volume.

While aiding their territories to position themselves on major international transport routes through investment and lobbying, local and regional authorities also help to devise alternative development models that are more ethical and sustainable, and that give a central role to the territory and the people living there. In this sense, new relational modes between production and consumption would emerge, which could have a significant impact on the organisation of transport and logistics, should they become widespread.

The power that local and regional bodies have when it comes to organising and promoting local dynamics, in conjunction with public policies and corporate strategies, deserve to be given more consideration in the earliest stages of transport policy-making by the European states. Such an approach would be even more relevant for the SEM countries, many of which need to commit themselves to transport



policies and logistical arrangements, and move forward in the regionalisation process, the aim of which is to give greater power to local and regional bodies. This new role of local and regional authorities, whose importance is increasingly growing, should also be better taken into account in research programmes and in Euro-Mediterranean cooperation programmes, so that innovative experiences are better analysed and shared. Let us hope that these issues will be addressed by CIHEAM and its institutes in the coming years.

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