

Identifying the farming models underlying Flemish beef farmers' practices from an agroecological perspective with Archetypal Analysis

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24 Introduction

25 There is increasing awareness that agriculture is multifunctional, *i. e.* that besides the production of food and fiber,
26 agriculture provides multiple services to our societies (Caron *et al.*, 2008; HLPE, 2019). While current farming
27 systems cannot be separated from down-stream and up-stream processes of production, and from the consumption
28 and from the global environment, it is recognized that farmers' activities affect the various services agriculture
29 delivers to society. This recognition has given rise to many studies seeking to determine how farming practices
30 may shape the delivery of multiple use-values characterized as relevant in various conceptual frameworks.
31 Endeavors to formalize actual social concerns into functions or services delivered by agricultural systems, came,
32 however, hand in hand with the recognition that this process of abstraction is inherently normative. Indeed, there
33 is a plurality of values underlying actors' preferences for certain farming models, as they highlight different aspects
34 of agricultural systems (Plumecocq *et al.*, 2018). One of these emerging models in both public and academic circles
35 is agroecology. Agroecology embraces a science, a set of practices and a social movement and has evolved over
36 recent decades to expand in scope from a fields and farms focus to embrace complete agriculture and food systems
37 (Wezel *et al.*, 2009). As a body of thought, agroecology sets out to analyze contemporary agricultural systems,
38 particularly traditional and 'alternative' systems. This analysis feeds into and on a vision to transform agricultural
39 systems. This vision articulates most concisely into a set (or rather sets) of principles for agricultural and ecological
40 management of agri-food systems as well as wider ranging socio-economic, cultural and political principles
41 (HLPE, 2019). Prominent agroecology advocates have opposed this model to more mainstream "bio-economy"
42 and "sustainable intensification" agendas, supposed to be scientific, neo-productivist, and conforming to
43 corporate power (Altieri, Nicholls, & Montalba, 2017; Levidow, 2015). Such characterizations of the
44 contemporary agricultural landscape as opposing models may appear a tendentious reduction of the complexity
45 and diversity of farming systems embedded in European agricultural landscapes (Vanloqueren & Baret, 2009),
46 and we thus spot a need to further ground these debates empirically. In this paper, we aim to differentiate between
47 the sets of practices of a diverse group of Flemish beef farmers from an agroecological perspective, in order to
48 discover the different farming models which underlie the practices of these farmers.

49 Concepts, materials and methods

50 At its origin, "agroecology as a practice", shows a mental model that clearly sees the linkages and interactions
51 among all three approaches (science, movement, practice) and dimensions (ecological and techno-productive,
52 socio-economic and cultural, and sociopolitical) of agroecology (Rivera-Ferre, 2018). Consequently, agroecology
53 involves the combinations of practices specifically adapted to the local biophysical and social context, including
54 interacting and changing this social context. While there is broad consensus that agroecology requires
55 contextualized solutions (Bell & Bellon, 2018; Rosset, Altieri, & others, 2017), it is also commonly accepted that
56 some ways of pursuing a principle may be more agroecological than others. For instance, in the literature
57 Efficiency and Substitution measures to reduce on-farm use of external chemical inputs are often perceived as less
58 agroecological compared to redesign measures (see Hill & MacRae, 1996). Altieri *et al.* (2017) argue that while
59 the Efficiency and Substitution measures are good first steps, putting agroecology really into practice requires
60 Redesign measures, as these enable holistic approaches to pursue all principles. As such, an agroecological

61 perspective encourages in a global analysis of farmers practices to make conceptual distinctions that allow to trace
 62 how different dimensions of farming can be interconnected through practice.

63 We operationalized this approach in a study published earlier, by developing a conceptual framework to describe
 64 the pursuits of agroecological principles by a diverse group of Flemish beef farmers (Tessier, Bijttebier, Marchand,
 65 & Baret, 2020). We identified practices of 37 cases in semi-structured interviews with farmers, in which we
 66 confronted them with a list of 13 agroecological principles. These principles addressed not only the ecological and
 67 techno-productive dimension of agroecology (principle 1 to 6), but also covering the social dimensions regularly
 68 addressed in agroecological literature (principle 7 to 13) (Dumont, Vanloqueren, Stassart, & Baret, 2016). Based
 69 on qualitative analysis of interview transcripts, extensive literature review and expert consultation, a conceptual
 70 framework was developed. 36 Pathways of Action (POA) were described, each linked to one principle. Each of
 71 these POAs envelops several practices mentioned by these farmers (Table 1). In that study (Tessier *et al.*, 2020),
 72 we contributed to concretizing agroecology as a practice in the context of Flemish beef farming, by linking
 73 individual principles associated with agroecology to real life practices already taken by these farmers today. What
 74 that study didn't elucidate, however, was how these POAs went together in practice: namely, whether some farmers
 75 pursued all principles in multiple ways, and others didn't, or whether there a specific combinations of POAs
 76 through which farmers pursue multiple principles, but in a markedly different way.

77 *Table 1 Short descriptions of Pathways of Actions followed by Flemish beef farmers. These were identified through an analysis*
 78 *published earlier of the same 37 interviews transcripts used in this study (Tessier et al., 2020)*

PRINCIPLES ADDRESSING THE ECOLOGICAL AND TECHNO-PRODUCTIVE DIMENSIONS	
1. Strengthen animal health in an integrated manner	
CONTROL	reduce exposure to pathogens by controlling environmental conditions
BASIC HEALTH	maintain in general the metabolic functioning of the animal
ADAPTIVE	adapt animals to a relatively uncontrolled environment
2. Close nutrient cycles	
INTERNAL CYCLING	re-use nutrient streams produced at the farm, and to satisfy nutrient needs by on-farm production.
LOSS MITIGATION	reduce losses to the environment at different sites
EXTERNAL CYCLING	organize a partial or complete return of on-farm produced biomass through third parties
3. Maintain a high diversity of species and genetic varieties in time and space	
WITH SEPARATION	increase species and genetic diversity at farm level, with separating these in space and time
WITHOUT SEPARATION	increase species and genetic diversity at farm level, without separating these in space and time
4. Preserve and use biodiversity	
SOIL CONSERVATION	enhance biological processes to improve and maintain crop yields
NATURE CONSERVATION	conserve and even augment associated agrobiodiversity species, even if it reduces yields
5. Reduce the use of external chemical inputs	
EFFICIENCY	move towards a more efficient use of chemical inputs
SUBSTITUTION	replace synthetic inputs with alternative inputs, including solar and renewable energy inputs
REDESIGN	move towards the use of local inputs, through integrated ecosystem design and management
LOW-OUTPUT	reduce chemical inputs drastically, by accepting lower overall physical yields
TRANSFER	transfer the question of pest management, nutrient availability and energy use to other actors
6. Increase the resilience and adaptability of the farm-ecosystem against environmental shocks	
AVOID	designed the ecosystem in such a way that the chance of an environmental shock reaching the production system is reduced
MITIGATE	design the system so that physical damages are reduced when an environmental shock does hit the farm
COPE	design a business which can sustain temporary reductions in physical yields

PRINCIPLES ADDRESSING THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS	
7. Strive for autonomy from powerful input suppliers and purchasers	
DO-IT-YOURSELF	organize the mobilization of resources, the conversion of resources into end-products and the use and re-use of end-products without recourse to market mechanisms
CONTROL	improve and make use of the ability to flexibly redefine the commercial relations they have with powerful commercial player
ALTERNATIVE PARTNERS	circumvent powerful commercial players by exchanging with other partners
8. Pursue financial independence and control over economic and technical decisions	
INDEPENDENCE	minimize lending from financial institutions
LEND ON OWN TERMS	lend from banks as long as you are able to define the terms of this relationship
MANAGE FINANCES	establish and maintain the farm's own financial fund.
9. Exchange knowledge from a diversity of sources to solve problems	
BUILD KNOWLEDGE	gather information from a variety of sources.
SHARE KNOWLEDGE	share information with other farmers and/or researchers
10. Maintain the social network on the countryside	
RURUL ECONOMY	engage in activities connecting farmers with local business partners and customers
RURAL SOCIAL LIFE	engage in activities which connect farmers with regular citizens in the local community
11. Strengthen the bonds between producers and consumers	
EXCHANGE	exchange goods and services in which actors treat each other as mere possessors of commodities interested in commodity price and quality alone
RECIPROCITY	exchange goods and services between actors having an enduring give-and-take personal relationship
CO-OPERATION	share and pool goods and services in a larger organization
12. Create locally embedded food systems of production and consumption	
SELF-RELIANCE	avoid sourcing inputs from far away by self-supplying, and organize distribution to local consumers yourself
LOCAL PARTNERS	rely on local partners to supply them with inputs and commercialize their products to local consumers
13. divide the burdens and the benefits of food production and consumption equitably	
WITHIN THE REGIME	seek advantages within the mainstream institutional environment to improve social position
AROUND THE REGIME	create alternative networks of agricultural production and consumption
OUT OF AGRICULTURE	find opportunities outside of agricultural production to improve social position

79

80 To assess if and how each of these farmers sought to address these agroecological principles together we
81 transformed this descriptive framework of these farmers' practices, as it is presented by (Tessier et al., 2020), into
82 an analytical framework. Our approach consists of six steps involving both qualitative and quantitative methods
83 (Figure 1). We started from the qualitative data on these farmers' practices gathered through 37 semi-structured
84 interviews with beef farmers and the conceptual framework we put forward in our study published earlier (Tessier
85 *et al.*, 2020), which took these same interviews as empirical entry point. These interviews contain not only
86 references to practices related to the 13 principles we confronted them during the interviews, but also comments
87 on their farms' history, their personal views on these principles, on the practices of other farmers, *etc.* In other
88 words, these data are very content-rich. In unaltered form, however, they are too overwhelming for the analyst,
89 and unrepresentable to lay persons given the size of the source material. Therefore, we devised a method to transform
90 these data into scores indicating how and to what extent each principle is pursued by each farmer relative to others,
91 guided by the conceptual framework outlined by us in study published earlier (Tessier *et al.*, 2020). We then
92 applied an Archetypal Analysis (AA) algorithm on these scores, to discern the different models (or ideal types)
93 that may underlie the actual sets of practices of these beef farmers.

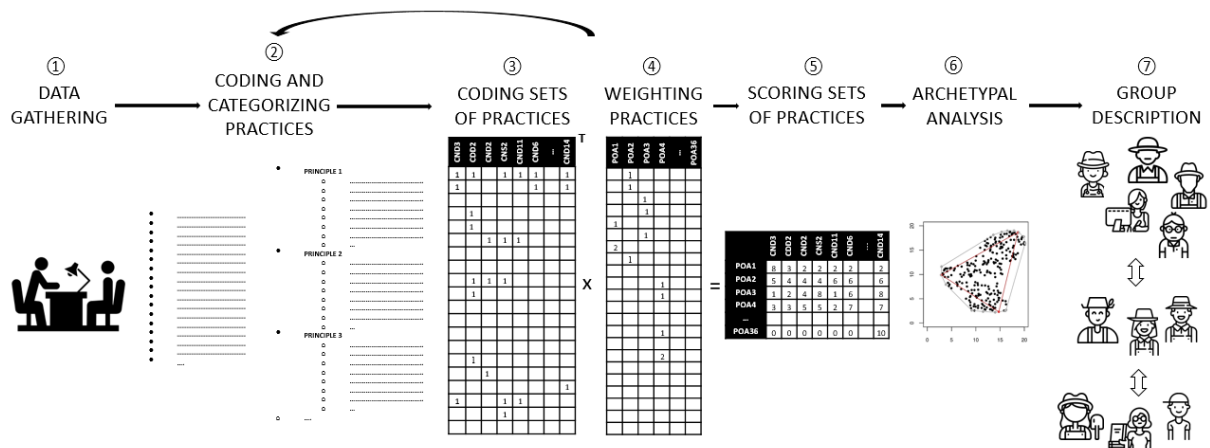


Figure 1 Diagram representing the seven steps of the method of data gathering and analysis

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96 For the sake of clarity, we have presented the analytical process as a more or less linear, deductive process. Readers
97 should be aware, however, that there is some interdependence between this study and our study published earlier,
98 but conducted to an extent simultaneously (Tessier *et al.*, 2020). Both studies share the same empirical starting
99 point, but steps 2 to 4 of the analysis process also built upon and contributed to the coding infrastructure that led
100 to the definition of the POAs put forward by Tessier *et al.* (2020). Indeed, codes and categorizations for practices
101 mentioned by these farmers had a double use in in our analysis of these farmers' practices from an agroecological
102 perspective: (i) to conceptualize the different ways these farmers taken together pursued individual principles
103 (Tessier *et al.*, 2020), and (ii) to characterize and compare the sets of practices of each farmer and group the farmers
104 in archetypes based on these practices (this study). Because of these distinct objectives, however, the analytical
105 steps contributing to the presented findings in this study can be isolated and presented separately, as we have done
106 in the rest of this section. This way, we may also consider readers more interested in methods to compare different
107 groups of farmers, rather than the analytical process laid out by Tessier *et al.* (2020).

108 STEP 1: data gathering

109 As stated before, this study made use of the same interview data used by a study of ours published earlier (Tessier
110 *et al.*, 2020). To explore the full scope of agroecology as a practice in a context, we followed, initially, a stratified
111 purposive sampling strategy, by contacting farmers along the range of three axes: organic (labeled O--
112)/conventional (C--), direct sale of meat (-D-) or not (-N-), specialized beef production (--S) or more mixed
113 agricultural activities (--D). Given the composition of the actual beef farming population, as there are very few
114 organic beef farmers, let alone specialized organic beef farmers (Timmermans & Van Bellegem, 2019)) and the
115 exploratory nature of our research, it was deemed unnecessary to obtain a balanced or representative sample.
116 Consequently, to further increase the diversity in management practices in our sample, we complemented the data
117 gathering with a variational sampling approach by contacting farmers of potential interest based on previous
118 interview experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). As a result, farmers were spread unevenly along the three axes
119 used during sampling (Table 2). Information on farmers' practices in relation to agroecological principles was
120 gathered through semi-structured interviews with one or multiple members of the farm household. During these
121 interviews we confronted the selected farmers with the 13 agroecological principles presented in Table 1, and
122 asked how they saw each principle in practice on their farm. In total 37 cases were included for this study. In 24

123 cases, we spoke with only male-identified members of the farm household, in 5 with only female identified, and
 124 in 8 cases with both male and female-identified members of the household.

125 *Table 2 Distribution of cases along the three axes used for purposive sampling: (transitioning to) organic or not; Direct Sale*
 126 *of meat or not; Diversified Agricultural Activities or not in terms rearing other livestock species than bovines for sale and/or*
 127 *growing cash crops (excluding wheat).*

Organic?	Direct Sale of Meat?	Diversified Agricultural Activities?	N
Yes	Yes	Yes	10
		No	1
	No	Yes	1
		No	0
No	Yes	Yes	4
		No	3
	No	Yes	15
		No	3

128 **STEP 2: coding and categorizing practices**

129 The transcripts of these interviews were further analyzed in Nvivo 11®. A coding tree is created which contains
 130 all the practices mentioned by the interviewed individual farmers related to the 13 principles proposed by Tessier
 131 *et al.* (2020). This is done by first inductively coding all practices mentioned by the interviewed farmers which are
 132 in line or at odds with one of these principles. This first round of coding yielded 690 codes for practices mentioned
 133 by these farmers in relation to agroecological principles. In a second phase, we clustered and selected relevant
 134 codes to identify a set of practices within each principle. In total 307 of such codes were created.

135 **STEP 3: coding sets of practices**

136 We re-read the transcripts and applied the coding tree more systematically to make sure all practices referred to
 137 by farmers were correctly coded. To truthfully characterize the practices mentioned by each farmer, we allowed
 138 revisiting of the initial codes, by going back to the second phase of step 2. With the query tool provided by the
 139 NVivo 11 software, the result of this qualitative analysis is summarized in a binary “Sets of practice matrix”
 140 containing information on all the practices mentioned by each farmer.

141 **STEP 4: weighting of practices**

142 All practices linked to a principle created in the second round of coding were given a weight for their contribution
 143 to a POA of their corresponding principle. These weights are based on a qualitative assessment of the relative
 144 contribution of practices linked to a particular POA, to that POA. In this process, experts (N=8) at ILVO were also
 145 consulted to make the scoring more robust. Each expert was given three principles lying closest to their expertise,
 146 to look at the individual practices mentioned by the farmers during the discussion of the principle, the grouping of
 147 similar practices, categorization of these practices under the proposed POAs and the initial weights assigned to the
 148 practices. Importantly, these expert interviews also contributed to the refinement of preliminary POAs, and hence
 149 to the final definitions and descriptions of these POAs as found in Tessier *et al.*, (2020). This evaluation provided,
 150 moreover further input to reconsider initial codes (step 2), and hence the eventual “Sets of practice matrix” (step
 151 3). The conclusion of this qualitative assessment is summarized in a final “Weights matrix” containing the weights

152 of all the 307 practice codes contributing to all POAs. The weights and frequencies of these practice codes can be
153 found in Annex 1.

154 STEP 5: scoring sets of practices

155 A score was then calculated for each farmer for each POA based on these two matrices created. The summation
156 of the weights of all practices mentioned by each farmer is used as a measure for the extent a farmer may be
157 pursuing a principle along each POA. In the case a POA score depended on one or two practices, we recombined
158 POAs, to avoid paying undue attention to a single practice to characterize farmers' sets of practices. For the POA
159 External Cycling (Principle 2 on the theme of Nutrient Cycling) and Avoid (Principle 6 on the theme of Ecological
160 Resilience), little contributing practices were found, and we therefore combined these POAs with the POA Internal
161 Cycling, and Mitigation into Biomass Recycling and Avoid & Mitigation respectively. Consequently, the number
162 of dimensions is reduced from 36 to 34. The matrix product of the "Sets of practices matrix" and the "Weights
163 matrix" results in the "Preliminary scoring matrix". We rescaled each indicator with a linear transformation so that
164 the range for each indicator is exactly to 0 to 10.

165 STEP 6: Archetypal Analysis

166 The quantification of sets of practices into indicators scores allows us to characterize, compare and group our cases
167 with quantitative analysis techniques. To identify the main models underlying these sets of practices, we conducted
168 an archetypal analysis on the 34 POA indicator scores of these 37 cases. AA is a statistical method aiming at
169 synthesizing a set of multivariate observations through a few, not necessarily observed points (archetypes), which
170 lie on the boundary of the data scatter and represent a sort of 'pure individual types', rather than typical
171 observations or cluster centers. Mathematically, AA as proposed by Cutler and Breiman (1994), is an unsupervised
172 learning method that seeks extremal points in the multidimensional data – which are convex combinations of
173 observations (convex combinations are linear combinations of points where all coefficients are positive and sum
174 one). To conduct our analysis, we made use of the functions implemented in the R package "archetypes"
175 (<http://CRAN.R-project.org/package=archetypes>) by (Eugster & Leisch, 2009). We ran the algorithm for different
176 values of the parameter k, that is the number of archetypes, 1000 times each to avoid choosing a local minimum
177 solution. The determination of the correct value for k is no different than the open problem of choosing the number
178 of components in other matrix decomposition approaches (Mørup & Hansen, 2012). We plotted the relative
179 Residual Sum of Squares (RSS) of the best solutions for increasing number of archetypes. Breaks in the resulting
180 scree-plot were used to detect solutions with a potential favorable trade-off between complexity and model fitness.
181 Archetype Analysis is very susceptible to outliers and may suffer from rotational ambiguity (Moliner & Epifanio,
182 2019; Mørup & Hansen, 2012), and we therefor compared the solutions the algorithm found by running it on
183 different sets of scores obtained by slightly changing the weights matrix, as a way of sensitivity analysis.

184 STEP 7: group description

185 The loadings of each case for the different archetypes were used to classify cases. The membership of each case
186 to an archetypes was determined in function of their loadings with respect to a given archetype being above a
187 certain threshold arbitrarily set (*cf.* Tittonell, Bruzzone, Solano-Hernández, wLópez-Ridaura, & Easdale, 2020).

188 To describe and compare the groupings thus obtained, we go back to a lower level of abstraction, namely the sets
189 of practices mentioned by farmers with full membership of each archetype.

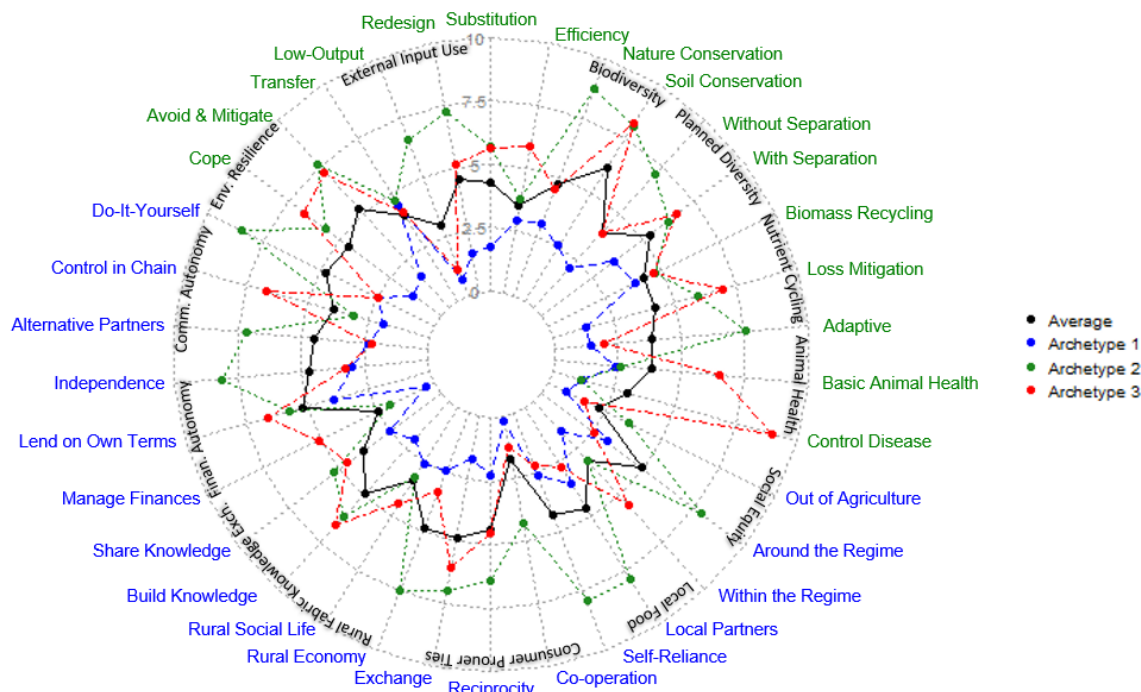
190 Results & Analysis

191 The result of the scoring is summarized in the scoring table (Figure 2), showing the 34 POA indicator scores of
192 the 37 cases. We sorted cases by increasing sum of their scores, in order to classify farmers. A gradient is thus
193 revealed, rather than a clear-cut separation of farmers into two extremes, with one group of farmers mentioning
194 little or no practices for all principles and another group mentioning a great many contributing practices. Rather,
195 the scoring table presents a mosaic of cases with strong scores for some indicators and rather low scores for others.
196 We see some farmers pursuing a principle through all identified POA's to relatively strong degree in terms of
197 contributing practices, while failing to mention practices contributing to any POA of another principle (e. g. CND7
198 has a relatively high score for both POAs for principle 6 but low POAs scores for principle 12). And we also
199 observe some farmers failing to mention any practices in line with most principles, yet mentioning relatively many
200 practices contributing to some particular POA's or principles (CNS5). Furthermore, we find that some farmers
201 pursue a principle through one POA (e. g. ODS1 for Principle 3), whereas others pursue most principles through
202 multiple POA's (ODD4). What scoring reveals then is that individual farmers appear to have different options to
203 address each principle, and that they might neglect some principles entirely, while still pursuing other principles
204 relatively strongly. Or they clearly choose for one POA within a principle, or address the principle through
205 combining POA's. This confronts us with a gray area, difficult to analyze. For this we turn to the results of the
206 AA.

217 *Figure 3 Left: simplex visualization of observations with respect to the archetypes identified for $k = 3$. Right: memberships to*
218 *Archetypes in function of cut-off thresholds.*

219 The loadings can be used as a measure for the extent each case is represented by the three archetypes identified.
220 The simplex plot (figure 3, left) shows that a good number of cases are represented by a single archetype, as they
221 are found near the vertices of the triangle. A number of cases are a blend of two archetypes, as they are found at
222 the edges of the triangle, whereas a number of cases include elements of all three archetypes, though never in equal
223 proportions. We set the cut-off threshold at two thirds, given the plateauing number of membership for the different
224 archetypes around this number (Figure 3, right). By this threshold, a group of 16 farmers remains without distinct
225 membership to a single archetype in the middle, but still heterogeneous in terms of the proportions in which their
226 pursuit of agroecological principles resemble that of each of the three archetypes.

227 As depicted by Figure 4, there are strong differences among the three identified archetypes for most of the 34 POA
228 indicator scores, except for “Biomass Recycling”, “Transfer” where all archetypes have somewhat similar scores,
229 as well as “Rural Social Life” and “Out of Agriculture”, though differences are larger. Archetype 1 (A1) represents
230 farmers who mentioned no or little practices contributing to most POAs, except for the POAs just mentioned,
231 resulting in scores markedly below the sample average. At the 66.7% threshold level, seven farmers are represented
232 by A1. These are all conventional farmers, five without direct selling of meat to consumers, four with diversified
233 agricultural activities, three are specialized in beef production. Archetype 2 (A2) represents farmers that mention
234 sets of practices that contribute to a considerably higher than average score for at least one of the POAs for every
235 principle. The membership of A2 includes nine farmers, all but one producing organically, all but one with
236 diversified agricultural activities, and all with direct sale of meat to consumers. Archetype 3 (A3) is similar to A2,
237 in that it represent farmers mentioning practices related to all principles, but the theme of local food systems
238 covered by principle 12. The membership of A3 is composed of five conventional farmers, all with diversified
239 agricultural activities, and all but one without direct selling meat to consumers. A2 and A3 have some POAs in
240 common, whereas other POAs are typical for just one of these archetypes. The common POAs include “Loss
241 Mitigation”, “With Separation”, “Soil Conservation”, “Substitution”, “Redesign” (though slightly more for A2),
242 “Avoid & Mitigate”, “Cope”, “Lend on Own Terms”, “Build Knowledge”, “Share Knowledge”, and “Exchange”.
243 A number of POAs are characteristic for A2, namely “Adaptive”, “Without Separation”, “Nature Conservation”,
244 “Low-Output”, “Do-It-Yourself”, “Alternative Partners”, “Independence”, “Rural Economy”, “Reciprocity”, “Co-
245 operation”, “Self Reliance”, “Local Partners”, “Around the Regime”. The POAs characteristic for A3 are “Control
246 Disease”, “Basic Animal Health”, “Efficiency”, “Control in Chain”, “Manage Finances”, “Within the Regime”.



248
 249 *Figure 4 Radar chart depicting showing the scores of the identified Archetypes as well as the average for POA indicators*
 250 *related to social (blue) and ecological and techno-productive (green) dimensions of farming.*

251 These groups of farmers have a number of particular practices in common. As these practices contributed to a
 252 number of particular POA indicator scores, they also help to explain the distinct score sets of these farmers on
 253 which basis they have been classified. In the following section we enumerate the various scored practices which
 254 two thirds or more of the farmers in at least one grouping mentioned. A1 represents farmers which mentioned,
 255 relatively speaking, few practices contributing to the implementation of agroecological principles. Still, they share
 256 a number of practices contributing to a number of POAs, setting a base level of any beef farmer in our sample is
 257 crossing: a crop rotation of minimal length, the re- use of on-farm solid manure and slurry as organic matter in the
 258 field, and in this avoiding fertilizers and slurry, which may be more harmful for soil life. They also look to reduce
 259 losses during fertilizer application. Other practices shared by two-thirds of these farmers include the import of off-
 260 farm animal genetic material (in the form of artificial insemination or breeding bull), provide adequate housing for
 261 the animals, and go to info meetings organized for farmers. A number of practices put them however, at odds with
 262 a number of POAs, such as their dependence on off-farm concentrates, selling their products through whole-sale
 263 channels, and also holding a breed (Belgian Blue) which is unable to calve naturally.

264 The nine farmers represented by A2, share a large set of practices related to all themes covered by the principles
 265 investigated in this study. In terms of land use strategies, these farmers engage in a variety of extensive grassland
 266 management practices, in particular grazing cattle on natural and diverse grasslands (limited stocking rate, no
 267 application of fertilizers, manure or pesticides). They tend to use cattle breeds and cross-breeds adapted to these
 268 rough grazing conditions, and requiring little concentrates for good growth. Some meadows in management may,
 269 however, be managed more intensively. Furthermore, these farmers tend to fill in at least a part of their feeding
 270 requirements for fattening cattle by producing their own concentrates in the form of grass-clover or grain-legume
 271 mixtures, and hold also different species of livestock separately. In the fields, most of these farmers use neither

272 chemical nor organic pesticides, and rely on mechanical methods, augmentation of natural enemy populations
273 associated with the bushes and trees installed around the fields, and crop diversification to keep pests within
274 acceptable limits. Soil fertility is maintained by incorporating organic matter in the form of on-farm solid manure
275 or other off-farm organic inputs, by installing green manures, legumes and temporary grasslands in the field
276 rotation, by reduced and timely tilling resulting in lower soil disturbance. In social terms, this low-input production
277 farming model also leads to increased commercial autonomy. For products these farmers all sell products directly
278 to consumers on the farm, aside from local or regional sale channels via alternative third parties. Most of these
279 farmers attested to avoid lending for farm investments, and have ties with other farmers, by rendering services to
280 other farmers, by exchanging machinery with other farmers, by exchanging intermediary products such as fodder,
281 feed and straw, but also by selling end-products from or to other farmers. Furthermore, they are actively involved
282 in knowledge networks with fixed groups of (organic) farmers, but paid consultants too appear to also be a common
283 source of knowledge for these farmers. Diversification of income sources, including subsidies, are a typical part
284 of the sets of practices mentioned by these farmers.

285 The five farmers represented by A3 share a number of agricultural practices contributing to the techno-productive
286 dimension of agroecology. In particular practices related to soil management are common, such as to monitor and
287 limit fertilizer doses on the fields, re-use and incorporating on-farm manure and slurry in the field, maintain soil
288 cover in winter by installing cover crops and green manures (often species mixtures). Farmers grow a variety of
289 vegetables that are included in a crop rotation with the commonly cultivated forage crops (grass and maize for
290 silage). The higher share of arable land to produce forage and cash crops in the farm holding also is associated
291 with the practice of applying all on-farm produced manure and slurry produced on the farm. Compared to A2 these
292 farmers have a rather distinct set of practices to improve animal health and reducing medical interventions, even
293 though all of these farmers keep the Belgian Blue breed, which requires systematic C-sections and is rather
294 sensitive for flue and scab. Typical measures mentioned are vaccination, providing adequate housing, early
295 weaning and separating calves in the first weeks of life in small huts or boxes, while feeding colostrum, providing
296 pathogen-free and nutritionally balanced out nutrition, and sufficient strawing in stables, and bringing in off-farm
297 animal genetic material. For four out of these five cases, all or most cattle are sold through whole-sale channels.
298 Even though the potatoes and vegetables grown are produced for industry and often based on a seasonal contract,
299 in contrast to A1, farmers mention building in a financial buffer, but also to negotiate from which give them more
300 commercial control in the “mainstream” value chain, namely. They also seek to put commercial partners in
301 competition, to be informed about market prices, and to follow and anticipate market trends, and also seek to
302 reduce services needed (such as spraying, transporting, planting or harvesting). These farmers mention many
303 practices contributing to their knowledge base, be it from commercial partners, by monitoring their own activities
304 systematically, yet they also share information with farmers both informally with colleagues and in formal learning
305 networks with fixed groups.

306 Discussion

307 At first glance, the scoring delivers a mosaic of indicator scores, reflecting the great diversity of agroecological
308 practices mentioned amongst the farmers interviewed. This is hardly surprising: our sampling design was
309 specifically set up to identify the broadest spectrum of agroecological practices. Whereas our sample is far from
310 representative of the Flemish beef farming population, the mere existence of these observed coordinates reveals

311 the subsistence and perhaps emergence of a myriad of ways to produce beef in this context. The marked diversity
312 in land use strategies, marketing strategies, fodder strategies, underlying these scores, rejects modernization
313 theories which would classify farmers as those at the innovation front, and those who follow or fall behind (van
314 der Ploeg, Laurent, Blondeau, & Bonnafous, 2009). This diversity discredits binary characterizations of existing
315 farming systems as either conforming completely to a conventional “industrial farming” model or to an “organic
316 farming” model. Insofar as the sum of POAs indicators can scale the agroecological nature of the systems
317 considered, we see organic direct selling beef farmers on one end of the spectrum, and conventional whole-selling
318 farmers on the other, yet in between these extremes there is a continuum where these *a priori* categorizations cease
319 to be helpful. In this paper, we sought to map out this grey area with a less traditional data-driven approach, namely
320 Archetypal Analysis. Before we implemented this algorithm, however, we also analyzed the scores with a more
321 commonplace principal component analysis followed by cluster analysis, but found that it resulted in poorly
322 interpretable classifications. From these earlier multivariate analyses emerged the hypothesis that the diversity of
323 scores could be trace back to a smaller number/set of potentially overlapping farming models underlying the
324 individual pursuits of farmers. This is the core assumption of the Archetypal Analysis (Oberlack *et al.*, 2019).

325 We identified three farming models: one model representing farmers mentioning a bare minimum of practices
326 contributing to agroecology A1, and two models, A2 and A3, representing farmers that do integrate elements of
327 agroecology. Farmers represented by A1, due to their silence on practices related to various principles, may be
328 termed “un-agroecological”, compared to the other farmers in the sample. In an absolute sense, some of their
329 practices (e.g. production and incorporation of solid manure) do contribute to agroecology, in particular on the
330 themes of biomass recycling and the maintenance of soil life at the local and regional level. Based on these farmers’
331 accounts, many go beyond these basic steps, we identified two models, which overlap a number of POAs.
332 Particularly but not exclusively these models can relate to the techno-productive dimensions of agroecology, even
333 if they markedly diverge from most of the agroecological principles related to social dimensions.

334 Conceptually, A2 represents a low-input, low-capital, but knowledge intensive farming model embedded within
335 alternative commercial and social networks, which actively seeks to become autonomous from regime institutions.
336 It therefore bears resemblance to the “peasant farming” model (van der Ploeg, 2011). There are differences,
337 however: this model is rather similar in terms of biomass cycling to the other models, with its dependence on off-
338 farm produced straw, manure and/or feed. This illustrates that even for these Flemish beef farmers the involvement
339 in markets for such external, though often locally-produced, inputs is not uncommon, and they manage their farm
340 as a semi-open system. Furthermore, low-output practices are also associated with this model, suggesting that this
341 model does not prioritize yields per se. This may indicate that these farmers have transitioned to a “post-
342 productivist” form of agriculture, long overdue according to some authors (e. g. Wilson, 2008), yet also
343 accentuates the on-going academic and public debate on how to address the issues of food security and food
344 sovereignty in the coming decades (Bernstein, 2014; Edelman, 2014).

345 The third model, A3, may fall short for the principle of local food systems, it represents farmers predominately
346 involved in whole-selling of their products. These farmers have taken significant steps to implement
347 agroecological principles, even though they are strongly involved in national to global commodity circuits. For a
348 number of POA scores (“Loss Mitigation”, “With Separation”, “Soil Conservation”, “Redesign”), these farmers
349 are even undistinguishable from farmers from A2. Some practices may be in line with some agroecological

350 principles that seem to be compatible with a conventional circuit, as they may improve or maintain crop yield
351 and quality, without extra costs in the long term. On the opposite, practices which come at the cost of total factor
352 productivity, specifically those associated with ‘Low-Output’ and ‘Nature Conservation’ POA, are not adopted in
353 of this farming model, indicating that this model of pursuing agroecological principles still fits within a productivist
354 logic. According to Holt-Giménez and Altieri (2013), such neo-productivist farming models, generally labeled
355 “sustainable intensification” and “bio-economy”, do not challenge the current social world order. Our research
356 results do bear out that these farmers are not uncoupling their food systems from agro-industrial companies, yet
357 their position is not entirely submissive either. These farmers have their own way of seeking advantages within
358 the mainstream chain, though admittedly, these strategies may well require good social position to begin with in
359 terms of factor endowments and negotiation skills.

360 We noted some overlap between A2 and A3, but in terms of animal health management A3 is the opposite of A2.
361 As such, this study presents more evidence of a lock-in of conventional beef production into what Stassart & Jamar
362 (2008) called the “Belgian Blue référentiel”. The Belgian Blue breed is famous for its unparalleled levels of
363 production efficiency, and has been for decades now the dominant breed held for beef production in Belgium
364 (Peeters, 2010). In order to reach these performances, however, the animals require particular intensive care and
365 feeding practices. In Belgium, actors involved in the beef value chain are completely dedicated to and designed
366 the processing, transporting, and selling of Belgian Blue meat. Likewise, farms are equally dedicated to produce
367 meat compatible with these expectations. Currently, whole-selling of beef is embedded in these particular
368 management practices. As meat from other breeds does not meet these particular standards, farmers choosing to
369 hold other cattle breeds have to rely on other sale channels, in order to be economically viable. We would note,
370 however, that the observation of such a lock-in doesn’t make conventional beef production in Flanders an
371 exceptional case. There is ample evidence that the terms and conditions of trade with the food manufacturing and
372 retail industry confine the choices farmers have to produce agricultural commodities (Burch & Lawrence, 2009;
373 Fuchs & Kalfagianni, 2010), suggesting these current management practices need to be explained in social
374 structural terms.

375 In this study, information on farmers’ practices related to different dimensions of agroecology and farming more
376 generally, has been gathered from a heterogeneous group of farmers. This sets it apart from studies focusing only
377 on the ecological and techno-productive dimensions of agroecology as a practice (Botreau, Farruggia, Martin,
378 Pomiès, & Dumont, 2014; D’Annolfo, Gemmill-Herren, Graeb, & Garibaldi, 2017; Guthman, 2000; Merot *et al.*,
379 2020), and those limited to the study of “proto-agroecological” instances (Dumont *et al.*, 2016; van der Ploeg *et al.*,
380 2019). There is an urgent need for tools that can verify the promise of agroecological practices (HLPE, 2019).
381 While our research interests for this study lie in establishing the presence of the means of agroecology, *i. e.*
382 agroecological practices, on our case study farms, rather than their effectiveness in meeting certain agroecological
383 ends, this study’s methodological contribution to such an assessment does not escape us. After all, the identification
384 of systems managed more along agroecological lines is prerequisite to studying the performance of such systems.
385 Our research results establish the value of a scoring system that condenses qualitative information on farmers
386 practices into carefully designed, case study specific indicators. The developed scoring system allowed to condense
387 this complexity into indicators, so that this multidimensionality and diversity of farmer’s practices could be
388 analyzed in its totality, while remaining relatively grounded. The scoring system showed its usefulness as a cross-
389 case analysis tool to differentiate between sets of practices in relatively large sample sizes. Furthermore, we shed

390 light on this complexity by identifying different farming models underlying sets of practices of these farmers. For
391 this we mobilized Archetypal Analysis as a data-driven classification method, which we believe greatly enhanced
392 the interpretability of the observed diversity. As Moliner & Epifanio (2019) suggest, humans understand the
393 diversity among observations better when the individual observations are shown through the extreme observations
394 in the sample rather than as linear combinations of the variables (as is the case of Principal Component Analysis),
395 or distance to cluster centers exhibiting close to average behavior.

396 We would stipulate, however, that the presented method and the presented application of the method has its limits.
397 This study relies on a framework which was derived from the very same accounts of these farmers (Tessier *et al.*,
398 2020). While it demonstrates the internal validity of this grounded framework, the application of this framework
399 in other settings is still lacking. However, it must be noted that the accounts given by farmers constituted only one
400 of the three bases from which the framework described by Tessier *et al.* (2020) emerged. Practices mentioned by
401 farmers were triangulated with literature review and expert opinions. Moreover, categorizations of practices was
402 done based on an assessment of mentioned practices in the aggregate, rather than looking at sets of practices on a
403 case-by-case basis. This process of abstraction allowed a more detached and thus objective assessment of
404 individual cases. Still, the weighting of practices can be criticized for introducing researcher bias. Indeed, assigning
405 weights to practices is inherently a judgment call, albeit a scientifically motivated one. We asked experts to weight
406 the practices, but found that some rejected this as a simplification, or felt ill-positioned to do so, whereas others,
407 particularly those with social scientific background had little objections. These abstractions were necessary
408 simplifications given the nature of the data used for this study. The advantage of our method, however, is that the
409 clear separation of coded practices and weights, renders the qualitative assessment of the sets of practices
410 mentioned by farmers more transparent, flexible and easy to evaluate the robustness of the findings. This last
411 feature proved particularly useful to choose among the solutions found by Archetypal Analysis Algorithm. The
412 main limitation of the two studies (Tessier *et al.* 2020 and the present paper), is that they take farmers' accounts
413 of their actions as empirical entry point. The method of data gathering is deeply hermeneutical, as it greatly depends
414 on the farmers' understanding of these principles, their understanding of their own actions, and their understanding
415 of interview situation itself. This is not without its downsides: a farmer may misinterpret the question or
416 misrepresent his/her practices, or s/he may not be able or willing for a range of reasons to articulate what actions
417 are taken to pursue a certain principle during the interview. Based on our analysis we found that the identification
418 of agroecological practices through a semi-structured interview does far from guarantee that all practices taken by
419 a farmer related to the pursuit of agroecological principles, are registered. The method therefore does not allow to
420 separate *empirically* the less talkative but agroecological farmers in actual practice, from those who are not, as
421 they have also little to say. Other methods of data gathering such as a structured questionnaires, could be developed
422 to trace in a more systematic way the actions taken by farmers, which will lead to a more accurate characterization
423 of sets of practices. However, while a more systematic assessment of the presence of means of agroecology at each
424 studied case is still lacking, our study may well have laid the foundation for such assessment tool.

425 Conclusion

426 Our study shows that by taking an integrated agroecological perspective, different archetypes can be identified
427 which underlie the sets of practices of this diverse group of Flemish beef farmers. This interdisciplinary
428 investigation of actions taken by actual farmers may thus further ground empirically theorizations of farming

429 models in this context. Concepts put forward in the literature to distinguish between different sustainable
430 development pathways at the farm level, such as “Sustainable Intensification” and “Peasant Farming” were shown
431 to be useful to some extent to describe the different models based on a data-driven classification of our cases.
432 Hence, our study suggests that these concepts aren’t merely academic constructions divorced from farmers’
433 realities, but indeed have some validity in this context and indeed provides empirical grounds to make such
434 distinctions. But still, none of the interviewed farmers represented these models in a pure state. In fact, our results
435 indicate that many farmers don’t go very far in either approach, or are situated in between these farming models,
436 As Brédart & Stassart (2017) suggested, farmers are on their own trajectory of combining various practices fitting
437 their situation and their judgment. The sets of practices they end up constructing therefore resist ideal-typical
438 classification. In fact, the ability of farmers to blend practices fitting both or either one of these models, may
439 actually explain some of the controversies surrounding the definition and delimitation of agroecologically
440 managed farming systems. Without going into the legitimacy of the concerns surrounding the co-optation of
441 agroecology by powerful institutions (Holt-Giménez & Altieri, 2013; Norder, Lamine, Bellon, & Brandenburg,
442 2016), we would suggest that disputes on the definition of agroecology may stem from the overlap in management
443 principles and indeed actual farming practices of the different farming models being proposed.

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