Success Factors of the Local Food Movement and Their Implications:
The Case of Wanju-gun, Republic of Korea

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Abstract
In Korea, a policy of encouraging the production and distribution of local food has been implemented in order to resolve the problems rural societies are facing. The policy has focused not only on ensuring profits for farmers, but also on recovering the communal character of rural areas and restoring their living foundations. Wanju-gun (similar in size to a US county) in Jeollabuk-do Province is today regarded as one of the most successful examples in terms of policy implementation and achievement. Wanju has been supporting local food as a core business, and is launching various activities such as reforming local farming toward a small quantity batch production system, revitalizing farmers’ education, and opening up direct local food markets. Against this background, this study aims to identify the success factors of the local food movement in Wanju-gun, and to discuss measures for spreading this movement further. Data on the area of Wanju, homepage websites and news reports were employed to analyze the success factors of Wanju’s local food movement.
Key words: local food, Wanju-gun, local food movement, social economy, success factor.

1 Introduction

Local food policy was triggered by criticisms of the global agriculture system which have appeared throughout the global economy. Criticism of the system developed into environmental movements, slow-food and community food-security movements, and these expanded into ensuring the security and healthiness of local foods, protecting the local agricultural industry, and protecting food producers. These movements led to the local food movement. This movement appears in different forms in different countries. For example, the Republic of Korea’s Domestic Products are the Best and Food Milage,¹ Japan’s Production Consumption Alliance and Local Products by Local Consumption Movement, and the USA’s Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) are different in terms of their systems and operating methods, yet are essentially similar movements (Lee, 2010: 6). The global agriculture system has brought harmful consequences to local communities, such as threatened food security owing to the anonymity of producers and consumers, environmental damage caused by energy overuse as a consequence of long-range transportation, and the collapse of household farming. It has also been responsible for negative effects on the environment, a devaluing of tenant farmers, the intensification of farmers’ subordination to agricultural enterprises, and the destruction of local farming and food culture. As customers began to gain an interest in a safe dietary life, and in considering the ethical and environmental status of the foods they consume, local food emerged as an alternative to the global food system (Dockes, 2008; FAAN, 2010; Henderson, 2010). The local food movement is, as the term implies, implemented on a local scale in order to revitalize fragmented agriculture and

¹ These originated in Europe, and are based on the agricultural ideas of the Swiss politician Haans Muller.
farming areas as well as restore the community. In this regard, it can be said that the local food movement is related to maintaining the sustainable life of local communities.

Recently, both central and local government in Korea have gained an awareness of the local food system and have acknowledged the importance of local food. This is because the collapse of local agriculture leads to the decline of the farming population, which in turn leads to the collapse of farming areas and thus the collapse of communities. Local food policy is being implemented in order to resolve the problems rural societies are facing, and it aims not only to ensure profits for farmers but also to recover the communal character of rural areas and restore their living foundations. Also, local food provides consumers with food whose producer is known to them, food which is safe and which is provided by ethical means. This allows a supply–consumption relationship between farmers and consumers to form, and the money spent by consumers circulates within the region, thus leading to the creation of job opportunities and the advancement of local businesses.

An example of the local food movement successfully being implemented in Korea is offered the case of Wanju-gun (similar in size to a US county or a rural district in the UK), Jeollabuk-do Province. Wanju first made community business a strategic objective in 2008 as part of the Happiness Project, and has been supporting local food as a core business ever since. Via local food, it is launching various activities such as reforming local farming toward a small quantity batch production system, revitalizing farmers’ education, and opening up direct local food markets. This study focuses on the success factors of the local food movement in Wanju, and discusses measures to further spread this movement. Data on the area of Wanju, homepage websites, and news reports were used to analyze the success factors of Wanju’s local food movement.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 The significance of local food
Discussions about local food date back to the 1990s, when they centered on Europe and North America. In 1992, the EU enacted a system connected with Protected Designation of Origin, an institute which legalized the inclusion of the place of origin of certain farm products. By labelling the specific area of origin, the quality of farm products could be guaranteed. The core philosophy of the PDO was to display the country of origin (Hong, et al., 2009: 1631–2).

The most important issue regarding local food is the question of what ‘local’ means. Since the degree of spatiality implied in definitions of the geographical term ‘local’ differs, there is always difficulty in defining the word. For instance, if ‘local’ is understood to connote a fixed area instead of a process or a relationship between producer and consumer, this can lead to a defensive localization and bring about conflict between communities (Venn, 2006; FAAN, 2010; IFZ, 2010). Because of this, an overemphasis on the meaning of the term ‘local’ can cause local self-centeredness. For this reason, instead of considering the boundaries of the local as being naturally given, we should see them as being socially defined. In this light, the term ‘local’ when applied to a local food system connotes not a closed system but an open one (Martínez et al., 2010: 124).

Local food policy focuses on ‘locality’ and is based on factors such as selling products in the same area and maintaining trust between producers and consumers on the basis of intimate social contacts. However, even if local food policy can be defined by these relationships, failure to consider the local borders will lead to an ignoring of the environment and the community effect it creates. Because of this, the UK is divided into social and administrative areas according to historical provinces or according to given distances of 30 miles (IFZ, 2010). However, a term that includes organizations relating to a specific region and its economic characteristics is more useful than one simply based on physical distance. On the other hand, for reasons such as achieving coverage of a large area and maintaining a transport system that covers a larger range than in Europe (varying in sizes and in numbers of states covered), the USA has a tendency of interpreting ‘local food’ as a communal term rather than one defined by distances between areas (Brown and Miller, 2008; Hong et al., 2009: 1635). For these reasons, the term ‘community
food system’ is used more often than ‘local food system’. However, local ambiguity regarding the definition of a community led to the establishment of the term ‘foodsheds’, which describes not only the geographical area but also its social and cultural elements. Since a particular society such as a local community, and environmental relationships, cannot always be mapped, the boundary of local food was designated by a clear biological area, foodsheds (Lakins, 2007; Hong et al., 2009: 1636).

In Korea, the term ‘local food’ varies according to the researcher who defines it. Kim (2002, 2008) uses the term ‘Local Food System’ as part of a systematic approach. Park (2005), dealing with the US case, uses the term ‘Local/Community Food System’. Heo (2006) uses the terms ‘local foods’ and ‘native foods’. Kim (2007), by contrast, uses the term ‘local reviving foods’, and Lee (2010) the term ‘folk foods’.

Researchers in various countries have different definitions of local food. Venn et al. (2006) describe the four shared attributes of local foods, or the ‘Alternative Food Network (AFN)’, as follows:

- An attempt to connect producers, consumers and foods in a new economic space which re-embeds food production and consumption (via a shorter and more transparent network).

- A supply and distribution network less confined by custom (as distinct from industrial distribution and an agrifood system controlled by global enterprises).

- Acceptance of the social embeddedness principle (formed and operated in accordance with trust and the local society principle, in many cases relating to a specific geographic location).

- A foundation on the quality principle (preserving traditions and legacies while enhancing the quality of foods regardless of local
customs, and eco-friendly methods).

In sum, local food means food which does not undergo long-range transportation and multiple distribution processes, and which is consumed locally. The local food movement is aimed at minimizing the travel range\(^2\) of foods between producers and consumers, protecting the environment, and promoting urban–rural coexistence by developing local agriculture.

### 2.2 Research on the success factors of local food

Research on the theory and the conceptual definition of local food comprises: research on the globalization of agriculture and its collapse; research on the local food movement as an alternative movement against threats to health and security; research based on current documents that redefine the movement according to the situation in Korea; empirical research targeted on producers and consumers, such as global and domestic farming markets and communal supporting agriculture; research on revitalizing local food by linking it with school meals and its operation condition, etc. In particular, since local food is attracting increasing interest as a social phenomenon and a number of successful cases have appeared, case studies on local food have also begun to appear, though these are still few in number.

Jeong (2010) discusses local food in terms of obtaining safe foods, and Lee (2010) considers the phenomenon in terms of an effort to actively combine customers’ rights to safe foods and to an expanded range of choices with a reformist vision of an alternative local campaign. Lee Hae-Jin et al. (2012) focus on the case of Wonju, which is developing an alternative local campaign through reorganization based on local food and is constructing a system of local food

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\(^2\) Food miles in local food can be divided into metric miles and social miles. The metric mile is the physical distance between the area of production and the consumer, and describes the actual distance the food moves. Social distance refers to how many distributional steps between producer and consumer are involved.
governance as well as a social economic network.

Heo (2006) maintains that the primary definition of local food should be native food which does not undergo a process of long-ranging transportation, and adds that what is more important than actual distance is social distance, stating that the various distribution steps between producer and consumer should be abbreviated into direct exchanges. Only then can the profit be placed in the hands of farmers and consumers. The local food movement, Heo writes, is one where ‘food produced locally is consumed locally’. Basically, it is defined as ‘shortening the food miles between producer and consumer as much as possible in order to ensure an urban–rural coexistence’.

Academic definitions of local food vary. Hong et al. (2009) define local food as ‘a process of establishing a region-based food system which protects producers from the harms of global food and ensures the food security of consumers, and also secures a variety of food ingredients and enhances self-sufficiency’. In Korea, however, different local authorities and other organizations have slightly different viewpoints as regards defining the scope of local food, and thus there is effectively no clear and accurate definition of the term ‘local food’.

In addition, examining research done on the success factors of local food reveals a tendency to focus on a market view instead of on a view on the policies and institutions when discussing how local food could be successful throughout a region. The success factors of local food include premises that need to be prepared or constructed for the business to succeed, and so the success factors as defined by Kwon and Kim (2011) are key prerequisites for achieving both final and short-term management objectives. Kwon and Kim state that success depends on agricultural products overcoming their seasonal limitations, on local food brands gaining credibility (via eco-friendly marks, price, nutrients, freshness, safety, etc.), and on local farming households and agricultural enterprises devising marketing strategies that can appeal to and remain in the minds of customers. Focusing on the case of Wonju, Lee et al. (2012) analyzed the strategies and tasks required for local food to spread into local community movements. The significance of the Wonju case for the local food movement is that network organization and
governance activities are crucial in order to spread the movement. It is suggested that local embeddedness and leadership were key to forming and dispersing such a network and governance in the community of Wonju. Ju (2012) suggests the premises needed for local food activities to succeed and divides these into five categories: the networking of leaders; products; market environments; marketing; and local places of origin. He then analyzes whether the type and the image of local foods can affect success factors, concluding that CEO leadership and marketing could be key success factors. Hwang et al. (2013) cover the success factors of local food direct markets. The main success factors they identify include: enthusiastic support and cooperation provided by local governing organizations; the opening up, and the meticulous preparing, of direct markets; the voluntary participation of farmers; an advantageous geographical location near the city center; an agricultural production system focused on a small quantity batch production system; and a market preemption effect. Lee et al. (2012) suggest that since local production alone cannot account for success in local food trading, additional factors are required, such as: product differentiation, maintained by a transparent and clear quality management system; a quality assurance system to maintain the homogeneity of products; cooperation of products and organization of size; after-service (i.e. institutional and legal protection measures, a methodical local food management organization, efficient connections with previous institutions); local food marketing strategies (occupying a stable trade line, setting a target market and other market subdivision strategies); and effective brand-making strategies for local food products (brand image, brand design and brand naming strategies). Kim, in his (2008) research on the local food movement in Cheonan, argues that the success factors were: the existence of an urban–rural ‘combined city’; the active participation of the local political leader and other government employees; the cooperation and support of local organizations; a pragmatic approach; and an approach to software that links producers and consumers on a local level.

The above-mentioned success factors may be summarized as: trust placed in local food brands; effective marketing strategies; the active support and
cooperation of local authorities, organizations and governance activities; operation in an urban–rural combined city.

In this paper, the success factors for enacting local food policies will be determined using a comprehensive approach method. In order to conduct the analysis for this research, the following factors will be employed: motivation and level of awareness (participation, cognition, differentiation of public organizations and enterprises); the support system (legal/institutional support, monetary support); middle-support organizations (role, organizations), which received comprehensive treatment in Hong et al’s (2009) research, and local ground factors (local motivation and cognition, local infrastructures); supportive institutions (legal and institutional factors, fiscal support); and operational elements (middle-support organizations, local resident participation and networks, local authorities keen on implementation) as put forward by Ju (2012).

The analyses of the success factors of the Wanju local food movement focus on the actor, and on foundational and institutional factors, while the specific explanation indicators will focus on: performance factors (the determination and support of the chief decision maker, policy acceptance and the participation of the policy target group); foundational factors (clear policy goals, local agricultural environment, establishment of governance); and institutional factors (establishment of regulations, organizations in charge).

Table 1 Analysis indicators for this research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main factor</th>
<th>Specific explanation indicators</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Performance factor</td>
<td>Determination and support of chief decision maker, participation and education of local farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational factor</td>
<td>Clear policy goals, integrated governance, connection with local businesses, obtaining a variety of consumers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional factor</td>
<td>Organizations of exclusive charge, establishment of regulations, middle-support organizations</td>
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</table>
3 Characteristics of the Case Area and Outline of Businesses

Wanju-gun is located at the center of Jeollabuk-do. It surrounds Jeonju-si, and comprises two eubs (towns) and eleven myeons (subdivision of towns). The population is approximately 85000, and 15136 people (around 18 percent) are older than 65. In ten of the rural and mountainous areas excluding Samrye, Bongdong and Yiseo, the ratio is above 45 percent. The district is suffering from a sharp decline in overall population, thus placing the rural area and local community on the brink of collapse. The annual budget of Wanju is 600 billion won and its fiscal self-reliance ratio is 23.5 percent. The chief industrial characteristic of Wanju, given its small local authority, is that although it is located near a large city a large percentage of the overall population are old and the area lacks high-value-added technologically integrated industries, as well as personnel suited to such work. Of the total households, 9213 engage in farming while ten myeons are typical farming and mountainous areas where 80 percent of the whole population are engaged in farming. Seventy percent of farming households cultivate less than one hectare. One characteristic of Wanju’s local agriculture is that it serves as a backup support city for Jeonju’s 640000 citizens, and cultivation is usually on a small quantity batch production system. Samrye, Bongdong and Yiseo focus on rice, Hwasan and Gosan on Korean cattle, Kyeongchun, Dongsan, Woonju, Gosan on persimmons, Samrye and Gosan on strawberries, and Bongdong on cinnamon. In addition, Wanju is currently progressing a number of projects supported by national policy: a persimmon cluster business, growth promotion of native products, the Gosan eco-friendly complex, a Korean beef theme park, construction of the Mankyung upstream eco-valley, a comprehensive farming village development project, promotion of the Power Village, and the Promise Project. There are also agricultural projects that are being managed by the city itself (Kwon Hong-Jae, 2011: 121).

Not unlike any other rural area, Wanju is facing the problem of population decline and reduction in its vitality. Also, it is facing a number of problems such
as an unnatural business structure, lack of variety in available jobs, low population density, increasing inefficiency of the social service delivery system, and difficulties providing everyday living services as well as social services, owing to the market principle, which is leading to an outflow of the population in need of those services. Wanju requires alternative measures to restore and revitalize it as a rural area.

In the face of these various problems, Wanju constructed a foundation for fostering the local community, creating jobs along with communal nursing programs, and founding social enterprises. It established long-term development plans to resolve problems relating to education, welfare, culture, and public health and the landscape, and has propelled Community Business (CB) as its main strategy for restoring the local area. In 2007, Wanju concluded a memorandum of understanding with a Japanese community business and the Hope Institute to promote CB. Currently, the achievements of the community businesses which have been set up in Wanju to revitalize the rural community show that in the period between 2009 and 2013 around 160 businesses have been supported by the city: eleven businesses fostering town companies, ten cooperative farms, 41 community businesses, the local food business group (one package business group, two direct markets, one distribution center, one base processing center), and one travel business.

In particular, the local food movement in Wanju is based on the Five Year Plan of the Promise Project3 announced in August 2008. The Promise Project runs on an annual input of 50 billion won aided by Wanju, and is carried on on the basis of a mutually close continuity. It includes twelve policies, in five categories: innovative production, innovative distribution, debt alleviation measures, revitalization of rural areas, and welfare for the elderly. The innovative production section is a strategy aimed at reducing production costs through local circulatory agriculture, and at employing a low-input farming technology to move toward eco-friendly agriculture within a short time-period. The innovative distribution

3 Planned and promoted as part of the local agriculture medium- and long-term innovation strategy established by the agriculture policy planning group, founded in 2008.
section aims to take advantage of the local agriculture industry’s small quantity batch production system, and, as a more specific alternative, to set policy goals on securing a distribution network to increase the distribution ratio of local food by more than 50 percent over the next ten years. In order to ensure this, local-food-type distribution companies have been founded, planning and producing foods for schools, business enterprises, hospitals, public agencies, and military units. Also, as a component of the cooperative businesses associated with the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation, Friday markets targeted on large conglomerates and the collection of agricultural goods from farming households are being opened and managed. The management recovery sector raised a total of 10 billion won for its farming management recovery budget over five years, and annually provides funds and consultancy to around 20–30 farming households, helping them to escape debt.

Table 2  The Wanju Promise Project: main policies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five policies</th>
<th>Specific policies</th>
<th>Other policies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innovative production</td>
<td>Reduction of production costs</td>
<td>○ Measures to increase competitiveness of Korean cattle and rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eco-friendly transition</td>
<td>– Establishing a local resources material circulation system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative distribution</td>
<td>100k won/month to 3000 farmers</td>
<td>○ Realization of overall local food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– More than 30% of all local agricultural goods will be distributed via local food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative management</td>
<td>10 billion won fund Supporting farmers in debt</td>
<td>○ Raising farming management revival funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inspection on condition of management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Interest-free funding and tailored consulting</td>
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</table>
The local food movement in Wanju is a general policy and governance movement which aims for the food independence of the area through the supply of fresh vegetables, and which was started in line with forming a local circulation agricultural system and a community growth business. The environmental elements of the local agriculture that have allowed Wanju to implement local food are as follows.\(^4\)

First, 5000 farming households that cultivate land occupying less than one hectare, along with other, elderly farmers, are supported so that they can organize and maintain a sustainable management. Small quantity batch production productions and direct distributions are characteristics of local food, and thus these farming households and elderly farmers play a key role in this movement.

Second, developing a new market which takes advantage of its geographical proximity to a big city is made simpler. It is possible to create a new local consumer market that shortens the distance of production and distribution between agricultural areas and the 650000 Jeonju consumers. Third, local food promotes

\(^4\) www.ddanzi.com/?module=file& act=procFileDownload&file
the transition of many farming households toward environmental agriculture. Local food requires an expansion of face-to-face contact between producers and consumers, so this can be an opportunity to increase the overall security and reliability of local foods. Combined with the local circulation agriculture system, the effect can be multiplied. Fourth, local food promotes processing done by farmers. It promotes joint processing of the organization and production of foods that will be placed on customers’ tables, enacted in units of towns and commodity units. However, any burdens placed upon processing by farmers should be removed. Finally, local food contributes to the general image of a healthy food-producing local area.

The local food policy in Wanju-gun formed a new production–consumption area where small farming families participate as part of a voluntary local development innovation strategy. This has not only increased the stability and vitality of the local agriculture, but has also served to fulfill the goal of building a strong urban–rural cooperative economy model by making rural farmers and town communities the principal agents. Also, the Healthy Table Pack,\(^5\) Yongjin Nonghyup local food direct market\(^6\) and Wanju local food Jeonju direct market\(^7\) are now open and in operation, and farming restaurants are spreading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distinction</th>
<th>Contents</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Implementation of local food policies</td>
<td>(2008. 8) The agriculture rural area promise project (including medium- and long-term tasks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2009. 5) Research service of Wanju local food: integrated promotion plan establishment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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5 Opened in October 2010.  
6 Opened in April 2012.  
7 Opened in October 2012.
operation
of direct markets
(2010. 10) Initiation of healthy table package provision service
(2010. 10) Establishment of Wanju local food fostering support regulations
(2012. 4) Opening of first local food market

Establishment of ‘local food charge’ in Wanju rural area revitalization department (2010. 7)
– formation of a middle-support organization local food team, operation (civil expert as team manager)
Establishment of ‘healthy table’, a Wanju local food farming corporation (2010. 5)
Establishment of Wanju local food, agricultural corporation (2012. 5)

Establishment of Wanju local food integrated support center
(1800w)
Establishment of joint manufacturing and processing facilities
(1500w): base farming processing center
Local food fostering support business (1000w)
Local food station (4000w)
– Development of certification system/consumer farm tours /making of advertising videos

Data from Na (2012).
4 An Analysis of the Success Factors of Local Food Policy in Wanju

4.1 Performer factor

4.1.1 Determination and support of policymakers

Enacting a new policy requires sufficient capacity, and determination on the part of the main agent who actively carries it out. In this respect, the determination and drive of the governor of Wanju has been key to success. The governor understood the agricultural problems regarding aging and communities, developed an understanding of Wanju’s natural, human and industrial environment, and tried to come up with remedies. To solve the problems Wanju was facing, in 2007 the governor participated in the training program ‘Good Market School’ managed by the Hope Institute, and, starting from January 2008, dispatched civil servants to the factory. These members collected advanced cases and reported to the governor every month, and during this process, revitalizing local communities through community businesses became seen as a strategy that could solve the problems Wanju was facing and thus win support.

The Wanju governor defines community business as

what provides a condition for townspeople of rural areas to eat well and live well by themselves and encourages them. Simply put, making a business that discovers assets which only this area can have and make them earn money with it.

The ‘power village’ business, in which everyone becomes a client and manages town companies to make profits, is a typical example. The governor aims to foster 100 town companies through the power village, and the starting point of this plan is the Promise Project. The Promise Project carries out various specific strategic tasks, such as long-term development plans, resource investigation through the...
Shin-Taekriji project, attitude surveys on townspeople about community businesses, local food businesses based on cooperative farms, power villages, etc. In order to sustain these designated development strategies, regulations are established to place the project on a legal basis and legal instruments are implemented so that even if the head of the organization changes the strategy remains unchanged.

Above all, the continuous drive in Wanju’s local food production has been connected with the governor forming an agricultural administration planning team on his own volition and, with the help of civilian experts, opening the Wanju local economy circulation center. The governor emphasized that

the local food business is the key to revitalizing an agricultural environment mainly consisting of aging and small-scale farmers, and to resolving problems such as the inundation of faceless foods caused by free trades, an unreasonable farm-product distribution system and a market concentrated on major supermarkets.

He added that the Project was ‘not only saving farming areas but also providing fresh and safe foods for consumers in the city, and thus can be regarded as a paradigm of coexistence that allows both urban–rural areas to be maintained’.

During the process of supporting local food, the governor of Wanju displayed unparalleled enthusiasm and made suggestions to civil servants as well as gathering significant external resources. For these reasons, the local food business in Wanju is sometimes regarded as an example of policy implementation from above rather than one of policy being driven by citizens. Against this however, the governor in charge of Wanju’s local food policies may be seen as a citizen businessman providing powerful catalytic leadership.

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8 The Shin-Taekriji project was ordered by Wanju-gun and was researched by the Hope Institute. This project has significance in terms of being a pre-investigation of alternative solutions to local problems utilizing local resources. In the Shin-Taekriji project, solutions to problems exposed by town assessments are developed on the basis of resource investigation results.
4.1.2 Participation and education of local farmers (producers)

The production participants in Wanju local food are farming households living within the area and are made up of elderly, female or returning farmers. Wanju suffers a serious aging problem owing to a large population decline, and the numbers of women in charge of farming are increasing. These families own less than 0.5 hectares of cultivation land each and represent 3412 households in total. Although, recently, the numbers of families returning to the countryside from cities have been increasing, the scale of their farming is very small. As a result, the population of those engaging in farming in rural areas is small in number and lacks professional skills, thus putting them in need of support to assure their economic success and guarantee their income. Wanju-gun set an objective of guaranteeing farmers within the area monthly earnings of 1 million won via local food.

Local food in Wanju has been driven by a specific policy target and has involved the systematization of farming, farmers being the main producers. By expanding cooperative farms connected with productive elderly welfare, which was part of a systematization strategy, a group workspace and cookhouse were made, and a returners’ house that supported the settlement of return farmers was built. Currently, five businesses are being organized by Wanju, which aim to create jobs and stabilize income for elders in the countryside, improve health by providing communal meals, help the settlement of returning farmers, educate students via food education programs connected with nearby schools, and distribute local food products. Also, links with various kinds of town businesses were reinforced so that farmers could participate. Currently, in Wanju there are around 104 town businesses in operation. In the town the income business, the scenery business, and the urban–rural connection business have been making progress being under the budgetary limits, and were able to be connected with a production base purveying many kinds of processed goods.

The participation of farmers has made the systematization of production
possible, including the systematization of the primary farm products of town communities and cooperative units aimed at planned production, as well as base farmer processing centers for the support of local food farm products processing. This notion originates from an acknowledgement that a production system focused on a single crop cannot provide consumers with a variety of foods. Consequently, reorganizing production via a variety of products that could be grown and processed locally was required, and efforts were made to locate the background of such a movement among local farming households, elderly farmers, and towns (Ju, 2012: 142).

Source: Lim (2011: 36).

Figure 1  Policy targets and characteristics of Wanju local food

4.2 Operational factors
4.2.1 Clear goal setting through long-term planning

The local food policies of Wanju-gun were initiated by the Promise Project, which was a long-term development plan instigated by the local authority, implemented in line with the formation of a local circulation agricultural system and community-fostering business. The local food policy suggested by Wanju comprises four sections: policy integration, support integration, capability reinforcement of the main agents, and system construction. The policy integration section provides general measures for invigorating local foods as part of the Wanju Promise project, strengthens connections with urban income-fostering businesses, and supports policies that foster processing by farmers. This section enforces the general policy of Wanju and so prepares a plan that covers not only the employment policy for rural areas but also welfare policies for the elderly. The support integration section integrates dispersed budgets and supports systems for managing them wholly. Provision of town meals, supporting the local food farm product discovery business and the local food cooperative unit (covering materials, certifications), job creation, and other connections with budgets are related. The whole process, ranging from the discovery of products to production and distribution, is comprehensively supported by local government. The capability reinforcement for main agents includes various levels of discussion and the education of local citizens, building an information transmission system relating to farming households and elderly farmers, fostering town-level and team-level leaders, and providing education for high-level officials who are consumers and policy enforcers, education that covers the characteristics of consumer groups and exchanges of information. It is because local food is not just about fostering local agriculture, but is a change in paradigm for the agriculture production and consumption system, that the education of producers and consumers is required. The system construction sector is linked to forming a local food facilitation TF team, establishing and managing a local food support center, production planning, gaining profit from a local food-type consumer market, establishing an environment where farming households can fully concentrate on production
planning, building a system covering the next five years, and encouraging independence among social enterprises. The system construction sector represents a means of maintaining continuous and stable business management even if the local environment alters.

Table 4 Local food policies of Wanju-gun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Local food policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy integration</td>
<td>– Overall measures for Wanju agriculture development Promise Project local food revitalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Strengthening connection with various income town foster businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Policies for fostering farming households’ processed products industry</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Policies for jobs and welfare for elderly people in rural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support integration</td>
<td>– Annual budget of 10 billion won for promise project promotion, securing budget for local food revitalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Support for discovery businesses of town food menus, local food farm products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Support for local food cooperative units (materials, packages, certifications, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Connection to various budgets such as fostering profit towns, creating jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinforcement of subjective capability</td>
<td>– Various multi-level debates and education of local residents and family farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Establishment of an information transfer system for aged farmers, fostering leaders on town/cooperative unit scales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Education on public officials who are both consumers and policy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
executors
– Education and interchange that reflect the characteristics of consumer groups

– Formation of a local food revitalization TF team, foundation and management of a local food support center

System establishment
– Planned production, creation of a local food consumer market
– Formation of an environment where farmers can focus on planned production
– Formation of a system for next five years, giving independence to social enterprises

Source: Wanju-gun office home page.

The characteristics of Wanju local food management are that many policy sectors are managed comprehensively under the singular goal 'development of the rural area', and that a system is constructed to guarantee sustainability. In order for this to happen, Wanju manages its budget and organizations, businesses and programs, education and systems on an overall basis. Above all, by making local farmers participate and converting to social enterprises by connecting local food businesses with community businesses, the local food movement is realizing social values and creating stable profits.

4.2.2 Integrated civilian-government governance within the area

Wanju’s local food is based on the cooperation of various organizations and agencies. On March 31, 2008, Wanju concluded an agreement with the Hope Institute⁹ to instigate the Wanju Hope Making Project. The Institute put forward

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⁹ The Hope Institute, a think-tank organization founded in 2005, is an independent civilian research institute managed through the sponsorship and participation of civilians. It comprises six centers (Social
the Shin Taekriji business, which discovers and investigates the resources of Wanju, as a means of developing the area, along with the establishment of a community business center that supports grassroots economic businesses led by residents, and a ‘garden city’ which could enhance the spatial competitiveness of Wanju (Kang and Lim, 2012: 80–1). The local food business of Wanju was created in this process, and – naturally with the participation of outside experts, local civil servants and farmers – gains a close relationship. Outside experts were hired as specialized contract workers in middle-support organizations to support the overall planning and the farmers’ education, and local governments included members in charge of rural revitalization and local food who managed regulations and budget planning needed for integrated local food policy support.

Also Wanju, is supporting governance that connects producers to consumers by building the Wanju base farmer processing center and the public meal support center. The governance for support of Wanju local food is made up of a local food committee operating according to regulations.


Innovation Center, Roots Center, Social Economy Center, Senior Society Contribution Center, Education Center, Member Finance Center) and one research institute (the Disaster Safety Institute).
4.2.3 Town construction and the local food connection

The various businesses of Wanju are linked to numerous town businesses such as cooperative farms, power villages, a livable town, a ‘tasty town’, a community business, cooperative units, senior clubs, and self-sufficiency centers. In the town, businesses such as the income business, the scenery business, and the urban–rural connection business will continue for as long as they can manage under the given budget, and these are linked to the production bases of various processed foods (fermented products, side dishes, tofu, bean sprouts, eggs). Cooperative farms are farms in which elderly farmers and returned farmers cooperate, and support worth 200 million won is provided to each farm. This is eco-friendly farming where elderly and returned farmers cultivate produce together on cooperative production facilities that are open for public use, and between the first cooperative farm being designated in 2009 and 2012 eight of these farms were in successful operation.

Town fostering businesses, such as power villages, are town business fostering projects led by Wanju itself, and were initiated in 2008. What is being managed includes the connection of primary farm products and various town-processed foods, farming process centers located in districts, package businesses on bases, and connections with base farming centers. Currently, in Wanju 105 town construction projects are being managed, including the tasty town, the cool town, the livable town, and the power village.

The connection of town construction businesses to local food is related to the systematization of producers in rural areas. Since rural areas are facing a danger of community collapse and economic crisis owing to population outflow, they

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10 The Agriculture Process Center was founded in 2012 and received attention for returning added-value to farming households when it changed from an agriculture enterprise to a civilian enterprise. Its main operational components are three corporate bodies including the civilian foundation group ‘Farmer’s Kitchen’ and connected sales-target local food markets.
have needed to overcome this problem. Because of this, planning is based on the premise that in order to maintain a stable supply of farm products, saving towns should be done first. In this connection, the local food in Wanju was connected to town businesses and thus contributed to the sustainability of businesses.

Table 5  Types of systematization of local food production bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of business</th>
<th>Characteristic of business</th>
<th>Budget of business</th>
<th>Items of production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation farms</td>
<td>Eco-friendly farming where aged farmers and returned farmers farm together in a public area</td>
<td>200 million won per business</td>
<td>Korean beef, eggs, strawberries, onions, vegetables, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power villages</td>
<td>6th Agriculture Industrialization such as primary processing, exhibition</td>
<td>100 million won per business</td>
<td>Soybean paste, salted food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-life villages</td>
<td>Mutual cooperation in early stages</td>
<td>30 million won per business</td>
<td>Various primary farm products, traditional fermented foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasty villages</td>
<td>Discovering traditional foods, commercialization</td>
<td>1 million won</td>
<td>Side dishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community business</td>
<td>Connection with town companies, jobs for vulnerable social groups</td>
<td>By type</td>
<td>Rice cake processed foods, bakery products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative units</td>
<td>Planned production of daily fresh products, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Eggs, tofu, bean sprouts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senior club</th>
<th>Elder job creation business</th>
<th>Tofu, side dishes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-support centers</td>
<td>Promoting self-support by job creation</td>
<td>Sesame oil, perilla oil, soy bean sauce, shiitake dust, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: based on Heo (2006: 146), reorganized.

4.2.4 Expansion of various consumer markets

Wanju aimed to expand various consumer markets as well as systematizing producers. Of course, the expansion of a local food consumer market needed to be considered from the perspective of general consumers and of the field of public supply. General consumers should not only change their consumption patterns, but should be informed of the harmful effects of contemporary global food, and should be provided with guidance and vision as to how local food can solve these problems. Then the government should be able to secure their agreement.

Methods implemented in Wanju to expand the consumer market are: the healthy table package (CSA), local food stations (standing farmer markets), direct markets, specialized shops, and the organization of consumers leaving their hometowns for shopping. The healthy table package is a packing service that places foods made in season in packages and delivers these to affiliated households. Following the drawing up of an annual supply plan, 100 types of seasonal farm products are delivered to a direct market, and eleven basic items are delivered straight to consumers. There are currently three direct local food markets in operation, each of them close to Jeonju and Wanju, which gives consumers good accessibility. They sell products on the very day of harvest, and farmers decide the price of products themselves. The local food station, which has been managed since 2013, is a third-sector-type agricultural corporation which
combines a farming restaurant, a direct market and a farming exhibition course.

As can be seen, local food in Wanju is implementing a variety of businesses to develop a new selling route for farm products by diversifying consumer markets, as well as changing consumers’ perceptions of farm products by holding activities such as farming exhibition courses. Furthermore, it is making efforts to secure the local food business area, such as increasing the size of individual consumer markets as well as expanding the consumer market to the public supply area.

Table 6 Types of consumer markets in Wanju local food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage distinction</th>
<th>Period distinction</th>
<th>Characteristics of consumers</th>
<th>Other factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st (direct markets)</td>
<td>~2010</td>
<td>Packages</td>
<td>Consumer households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mobile markets</td>
<td>Opening of periodic markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Underfed children</td>
<td>Provide safe local foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd (permanent shops)</td>
<td>~2011</td>
<td>Stations</td>
<td>Complex foods interchange center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialized shops</td>
<td>Small-scale specialized shops</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Institutional factors

4.3.1 Preparing a complete charge organization

The first action made to solve the problems in rural areas and agriculture in Wanju after the 2010 local election was arranging a complete charge department. The establishment of new strategies, community business and agricultural policies, which was previously done by the planning and inspection office, was integrated. The educating of residents and the planning for the development of rural areas, as well as the provision of support for agriculture (previously done by the general affairs, lifelong studies, resident support and local economy sections and the agriculture technology center), were also merged (Kwon, 2011: 159). Through reform of administrative organizations, the ‘agriculture revitalization section’ was newly established, and the dispersed community businesses were integrated with the rural revitalization section as center. The rural revitalization sector is made up of five groups, and local food is organized mainly by the local food group. The town company foster group is in charge of affairs regarding Wanju’s own town businesses, town enterprises. The community business group has control of Wanju’s own CB business and social enterprises, and the urban–rural circulation group of returning-to-countryside businesses, cooperative farms. The social solidarity group takes care of job creation businesses and cooperative associations.
To secure a safe production-distribution-consumption basis for local food, in July 2010 the Local Food Charge, an organization within the overall administrative body, was founded, being a middle-support organization that aids field organization, and specialized contract workers were hired and were deployed to local food teams (Kim, 2013: 277).

Wanju’s preparation for an organization that would take charge served as the driving force behind the comprehensive and organized local food movement. However, a notable fact is that by sharing the names of departments via an organizational reform, along with the names of middle-support organizations, it managed to avoid any possible confusion that would have occurred during the process, and thus reinforced the connectivity of the tasks. For this reason, it contributed to organizations having good connections and providing cooperation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Policy tasks</th>
<th>Field of integrated cooperation support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charge of fostering town companies</td>
<td>Support discovery of agriculture specializing businesses</td>
<td>Planned production of local food farm products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Search for models of town community companies</td>
<td>Social jobs for rural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall support to business incubation for community companies</td>
<td>Sustainable rural interchange strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fostering support organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge of local foods</td>
<td>Overall management for planned production</td>
<td>Cooperation between town companies and local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Establishment of local food support centers</td>
<td>Responsible distribution of local food products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge of urban-rural circulation</td>
<td>Expanding the consumption range of local food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge of local jobs</td>
<td>City community – town connection business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge of business communication</td>
<td>Attraction of citizens (returning farmers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creation of agricultural and social jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge of local jobs</td>
<td>Creation of social jobs in many fields</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that can contribute to local communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge of business communication</td>
<td>Promoting discovery of a Wanju-type CB model</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sustainable urban–rural interchange system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farm returning that can contribute to the society</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creation and promotion of social jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promoting development of social enterprises and creation of jobs that can contribute to local society</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Na (2012: 40).

4.3.2 Establishment of regulations

Wanju established a number of regulations, such as providing support on a local government scale, to provide legal grounds for supporting local revitalization through community business. The regulations that were established were the Regulation on fostering the Wanju local community revitalization business (community business) (December 2009), the Regulation on management of the Wanju local economic circulation center, and the Regulation on fostering and supporting Wanju local foods (October 2010). These regulations played an
important part in supporting sustainable businesses as a means of legal institutions and their establishment meant that businesses could be supported.

The first contents included in Wanju’s regulations about local foods were that local food fostering support plans should be devised every five years, and that to ensure effective support the budget must be secured every year. In particular, the local food foster support plan should be designed with a focus on local food plans, and these food plans require a sufficient self-supply goal for local food products as well as for methods of supply. Second, by opening a local food committee which initiates farmer markets, farm product processing and CSA, Wanju tried to give this committee the role of a food policy council, something which is mentioned in foreign local food cases. Third, there is a statement on local food certification, which allows not only locally produced and processed foods but also restaurants that use local farming products to be eligible for certification. Fourth, there is information on the cooperative system of local food. In particular, by concluding MOUs with other areas, measures to shorten the social distance of local food have been devised (Kim, 2013: 279–82).

4.3.3 The role of middle-support organizations

In order to revitalize local food the role of middle-support organizations is crucial. A middle-support organization is an organization which connects individual actions with institutions, promotes communication and cooperation between various participants, and supports new systems (Ju, 2012: 296). In Wanju this would be the local economy circulation center, which was set up to maintain a sustainable-circulation society and create sustainable jobs. The center contains five middle-support organizations. It was established in 2010 by remodelling a closed school, and is managed by fifteen civil servants and civilians who work full-time.

Of the five middle-support organizations, the local food center supports

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11 A local economy circulation center consists of a town company fostering center, a community business center, a local food center, a returning farmer circulation center, and a space culture center grouped into
businesses with the office in charge of Wanju local foods, to reach the goal of ‘producing well-known eco-friendly foods and guaranteeing responsible consuming’. It promotes communication between producers and consumers within the region, and supports the revitalization businesses of Wanju’s local food farming corporations and local food integrated center.12

Table 8  Management status of middle-support organizations in local economy circulation centers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle-support organizations</th>
<th>Tasks of organizations</th>
<th>Designation of workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local economy circulation center (total management)</td>
<td>– Outer area marketing</td>
<td>Center manager (full-time contract/also in Wanju agriculture administration planning group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Task cooperation support between middle-support organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– In charge of administrative organizations and communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town company foster center</td>
<td>– General management of fostering</td>
<td>Team leader (full-time contract)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Management of community company job creation incubation centers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

one, and aims to exert synergy. Each respective center performs according to individual rules such as solving various problems in rural societies, enhancing the well-being of residents, and invigorating rural areas.

12 The functions of a local food integrated support center can be divided into three: first, production planning by product type, contract cultivation, and the securing of processed products and slow food; second, fresh and convenient processed good facilities, low-temperature distribution delivery facilities, low-temperature storage facilities, selection grounds, etc.; and third, producers’ and consumers’ connection programs, food mile campaigns, various kinds of urban–rural interchange systematization, food culture education programs, etc.
| Local food center | – Management of local food revitalization businesses  
– Establishment of local food support center  
– Support revitalization of Wanju local food farming corporations |
| Urban–rural circulation center | – City community-to-town connection businesses  
– Returning farmers revitalization business  
– Agricultural elder cooperative farm revitalization business |
| Wanju community business center | – Fostering discovery of a Wanju-type CB model |
| Sympathy culture center | – Management of cultural space within circulation center  
– Fostering town-supported culture community businesses |


For the successful management of local food, responsibly supporting proposals such as the construction of a local food-centered production planning system, creation of a consumer market, construction of a stable distribution system, and reinforcement of communication between producers and consumers are required. Kim J. K (2013) states that the success of Wanju local food began when the
Wanju local economy circulation center was established and began to perform its role as a middle-support organization. Through this circulation center governance in the Wanju area is formed, and thus the acceptance of opinions, policy decisions, and budget allocation can rapidly be moved forward. Seeing that they take place under the aim of maintaining self-sufficiency, local coexistence, arbitration between administration and civilians, cooperation with and coordination with civilians, and supplementation of the limited capacity of the civilian sector by middle-support organizations can all be seen as important actions.

5 Implications of the Wanju Local Food Business

Wanju local food policy, initiated in 2008, is now marking its fifth year. Although it might seem premature to evaluate the success of the business, the fact that it has passed the stage of formal discussion and has been put to actual use is noteworthy. Given the effects and side-effects of the economic environment of global agriculture on local agriculture economies, providing a stable source of income to local farmers and safe foods to consumers, as well as delivering a positive policy inclination regarding the revitalization of rural areas, can be seen as significant achievements of local food policy. For these reasons, the local food business can be seen as an outstanding alternative to revitalizing the local economy of rural areas, providing good foods, and driving forward the sixth agro-industrialization in Korea. In this light, we may discover the implications of the Wanju local food business by observing actual cases.

5.1 Determination of policymakers and the organization of farmers through education

Wanju applied policies to activate local food on the basis of the Promise Project five-year plan, a medium- and long-term innovative strategy for local agriculture that was set up in 2008. The Promise Project was an agriculture development plan which the governor of Wanju prepared in order to ensure the development of the
area. In order for a policy to succeed, a determined attitude on the part of the policy decision maker, and an acceptance of that policy by the policy target group, are required. Wanju’s local food business arose out of the strong belief of the governor of Wanju, Lim Jung-Yup, in revitalizing the rural area. Of course, considering that local food can succeed in condition where healthy civil organizations can grow and relations can successfully be formed, this policy drew the criticism that it was driven top down. Nevertheless, the belief and determination of the policy decision maker serve as a key driving force for the policy to succeed in a short time. Especially in cases where the policy is newly introduced, the will of the policy decision maker is a very important factor.

The rural areas that produce local food are wanting in human resources in production owing to aging and policy outflow, and most of the farming population are small farmers. For local food to succeed, they must be able to provide the various products consumers seek. To satisfy consumers’ needs for food, reorganization of local agriculture toward a small quantity batch production system and innovation in local agriculture policy are required. For these reasons, the participation of local farmers, encouraged by a change in awareness, may be critical to success. To bring about such a change continuous education and participation must be maintained.

5.2 Trust formed by governance

One striking point regarding local food in Wanju is that its management is based on mutual trust between producers and consumers and between producers and local organizations. The system in which farmers process, pack and decide the price of their own products themselves is not only very democratic but requires a high level of trust. Because of such a strict self-inspection process operated by farmers, consumers can freely purchase local food.

For this reason, it is unnecessary to place a focus only on increasing the profits of farmers and improving the distribution system. Local residents should be able to gain access to food that is sufficient in quality and quantity – an approach that
focuses on providing quality food to local residents on the basis of mutual interrelation, good relationships, and trust formed between producer and consumer (Heo, 2012: 258). Since social trust between producers and consumers are the core driving force of local food, marketing strategies should be focused on ‘relationship marketing’ instead of on normal product marketing (Kang, 2012: 16). This can be accomplished by forming multi-dimensional, multi-layered relationships.

5.3 Diversification of supply methods

Diversification of supply methods is required to stimulate consumption. In a situation where the value of local food is not widely perceived, to increase the satisfaction of consumers various supply methods should be arranged. Packaged goods, installation of online and offline markets and direct markets, expansion of the range of the direct delivery service, frequent monitoring, and on-the-spot visiting programs are examples of strategies that can revitalize communication between producers and consumers both on and offline, and the implementation of these is recommended.

Also, spreading the social virtues and norms of local food between producers and consumers is required, in the form of establishing plans for local food, and undertaking food education and other campaigns. To spread these social virtues and norms, the civil society should strive to promote social values, and both central and local governments should try to disseminate these on a pan-social scale. Also, policy efforts to revitalize urban agriculture are required (Heo, 2012: 272–773).

5.4 Diversification of the consumer market

The creation of a local market which guarantees the accessibility of various local consumers is required. This should be supported in connection with the public sector. In the case of Wanju, it can be seen that not only did producers systematize
to produce various farm products, but they also endeavored to search for new consumer markets. If local food can ensure predictable consumption and production, systematization of production planning and contract cultivation according to the size of the market should be possible. Consequently, what is required is a local food market expansion, operating in accordance with the nature of the society and with public policy, in the form of farmers’ markets, specialized markets, public delivery, etc. (Kang, 2012: 16).

5.5 Reinforcement of middle-support organizations

A specialized management organization in the form of a civilian-based middle-support organization is required. As can be seen in the case at Wanju, following the construction of a middle-support organization, the local economy circulation center, Wanju’s agriculture revitalization policy was able to receive systematic support. Since residents of rural areas have a scant knowledge of farming organization and local food, to systematically support the local food business the participation of well-informed civilian experts is necessary. Also, since local government organizations lack these kinds of experience as well, they lack professional expertise. In such a situation, where government finance and available human resources are sufficient, the participation of middle-support organizations that can ensure a stable and continuous business is crucial.

Middle-support organizations have not only to manage the planning and organization of local food, but also have to deal with discovering future entrepreneurs, providing farmers’ education and other information, providing support via advertising and consultancy, and discovering success models. Also, in the case of local food, efforts should be devoted to creating various exhibition education programs and enhancing the self-support of farmers in order to change the perspectives not only of producers but also of consumers. In order to support the revitalization of local food, middle-support organizations form cooperation systems and guarantee that these systems function properly by forming local consultative groups between local food enterprises.
5.6 Construction of an institutional support system

The Wanju local food business was able to be further invigorated because it received financial support and thus was able to secure finance. This was because institutional grounds were provided following the establishment of the ‘local food charge’, a local food specialized organization, and the enactment of the local food foster support ordinance in November 2010. This implies a need for providing active support and a support system that reflects the characteristics of the area. Also, financing and financial support are crucial if a business is to succeed. Even in the case of Wanju, the implementation of a focused investment policy regarding agricultural finances was in evidence in cases where cooperative farms were given 200 million won and were also provided with a concentrated support system.

Financing required for the success of a business should not only depend on government support, but rather should be managed in various forms, such as subsidies provided by public funds, investment by civilians and stockholders, and support provided for discovering new businesses.

6 Conclusion

There are currently many urban businesses in Korea that are being supported for the purpose of revitalizing rural areas. Of these, the local food business is receiving attention, because its characteristic of connecting farm producers with urban consumers is seen as effecting a transition in values regarding agriculture. This study has made a case analysis of Wanju, which has been managing a local food business for five years, and has aimed to discover what the success factors have been, as well as what measures should be implemented to spread the business further.

The will of the local governor was seen to be key to the success of Wanju’s local food policy. Placed though he was in a situation where there were no ideas
for or motivations toward developing the area, the governor devised a new development vision, set objectives, and continuously implemented new businesses. The interest and support of the local governor contributed to institutional support, such as the formation of a controlling organization and personnel securement, financial support, and the establishing of regulations. Another success factor can be seen in the management of the business. The establishment of a various-kinds production basis by producer systematization, and the diversification of a consumer market, help consumers to continuously purchase farm products. During this process, middle-support organizations serve as excellent mediators. The local food center, a middle-support organization, helped set courses tailored to each region and process, and contributed to establishing policies.

This study was conducted by exploring the success factors of Wanju. Being a study focused on a single case, it is open to the criticism that its conclusions are overgeneralized, but the significance of this study comes from its being an objective analysis based on in-depth case research. Local policies have to date had a tendency to be implemented uniformly by central government. Such policies have not reflected the special character of different regions, and after the Government stopped providing support they lost durability. However, in Wanju’s case, following the lead set by the local government authority residents actively participated as subjects, which enabled the policy to reflect the characteristics of the region and the intentions of local residents. In addition, various of these subjects formed mutual cooperative relationships. These have been the key success factors of the local food business in Wanju.

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