
1 Priority policy areas to support agroecology transitions in rural Europe: 2 insights from an actor-centred approach

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23

24 Abstract

25 Agroecology is increasingly recognised as a pathway to sustainable food systems, yet its uptake
26 in Europe remains limited, raising questions about the effectiveness of current policy support. This
27 Policy Paper identifies priority policy areas to support agroecology transitions by integrating actor
28 perspectives through a participatory mixed-methods approach combining multi-criteria analysis and
29 qualitative evaluation. Evidence from 15 European case studies shows that policy instruments
30 perform differently across transition goals (adoption, positioning, amplification). Knowledge
31 promotion and payments for investments emerge as key enablers for adoption and market positioning,
32 while networking and cooperation are critical for territorial scaling. By contrast, certification schemes
33 and food policies require redesign to better address equity concerns and improve connectivity across
34 actors and scales. The findings highlight the importance of adapting, combining, and sequencing
35 existing policy instruments in line with transition goals and governance conditions. Overall, the paper

36 provides actionable insights for policymakers seeking to create enabling environments for
37 agroecology in Europe, with implications relevant beyond the European context.

38

39 **Keywords**

40 Mixed-methods, participatory research, policy mechanisms, actor-centred approach, multi-actor
41 platform

42

43 **1. Introduction**

44 Agroecology is an integrated, science-based, and transdisciplinary approach to the redesign of
45 agri-food systems for sustainability, and is increasingly recognized as a vital strategy for achieving
46 sustainable agriculture aligned with environmental, social, and economic goals (HLPE, 2019; Wezel
47 et al., 2009). Despite its potential to address climate, food, and biodiversity crises (Bezner Kerr et al.,
48 2023), scaling agroecology remains an unresolved challenge in Europe, where uptake is still limited
49 (Rega et al., 2022). The literature highlights persistent failures of existing instruments to remove
50 structural barriers and lock-ins that hinder agroecology transitions (Peeters et al., 2021; Place et al.,
51 2022; Williams et al., 2024). To date, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), while including
52 provisions for organic farming and environmental stewardship, has often prioritised conventional
53 practices, limiting its transformative potential (Runhaar, 2021). Future policy intervention is expected
54 to play a pivotal role by creating enabling environments for amplification processes (Boix-Fayos and
55 de Vente, 2023; Ewert et al., 2023; Lam et al., 2020).

56 Recent literature on agroecology transitions emphasises the need for tailored policy frameworks
57 that respond to local contexts and socio-economic realities (Gava et al., 2025; Prost et al., 2023). The
58 challenge is not to reinvent the wheel, but to build on existing instruments and frameworks by placing
59 actors at the centre of decision-making. This ensures that local goals are considered and avoids a one-
60 size-fits-all approach. While previous studies have mapped barriers and proposed broad policy mixes
61 (Lampkin et al., 2020; Peeters et al., 2021), there is still limited evidence on how actors' goals

62 influence policy prioritisation across different transition stages, a gap increasingly acknowledged in
63 the literature (Fiore et al., 2024; Helenius et al., 2020). Addressing this gap is critical for designing
64 context-sensitive and goal-oriented policy frameworks that move beyond generic recommendations
65 and support systemic change (Niggli et al., 2021; Prost et al., 2023). This is directly relevant for policy
66 design, as identifying which policy areas matter most cannot be separated from why they matter to
67 actors pursuing different transition goals. By explicitly linking actors' goals to policy prioritisation,
68 this study bridges the gap between general policy frameworks and the identification of policy areas
69 that are most relevant for accelerating agroecology transitions.

70 Against this background, this article contributes to the science-policy dialogue by providing an
71 examination of policy priorities that are potentially useful for scaling agroecology through an actor-
72 centred lens. Drawing on participatory research within the UNISECO project across 15 European
73 case studies (Schwarz et al., 2022), the aim of the article is to identify which policy areas matter most
74 under different transition goals (adoption, positioning, and amplification) and to highlight
75 opportunities for improving existing instruments. The analytical and methodological approach and
76 the underlying data draw on earlier work developed within the UNISECO project (Galioto et al.,
77 2021; Gava et al., 2025, 2022; Linares Quero et al., 2022) and are used here to inform the policy
78 cycle. The article offers an actor-oriented perspective on the performance of policy instruments within
79 broader governance dynamics. By placing actors at the centre of the policy process, the proposed
80 approach captures both the goals of accelerating agroecology transitions and the policy priorities that
81 can serve as meaningful levers aligned with actors' needs and expectations on the ground. The
82 findings provide practical insights for policymakers and practitioners seeking to create enabling
83 environments for agroecology, supporting more inclusive and transformative policy design.

84

85 **2. Evidence and analysis**

86 *2.1. Methods and data*

87 The analytical and methodological frameworks and data build on earlier research developed within
88 the UNISECO project (Galioto et al., 2021; Gava et al., 2025, 2022; Linares Quero et al., 2022),
89 additional supporting theoretical, methodological explanation and data for this specific paper are
90 available from the Supplementary materials. Evidence presented here results from the combination
91 of participatory multi-criteria analysis and qualitative evaluation of policy instruments (structured
92 towards policy areas) identified through a participatory process 15 case studies across Europe (Table
93 1).

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94 Table 1. Policy areas and intervention logic, with example policy instruments from the case studies.

Policy areas	Intervention logic	Examples from the case studies
Income and market support	Keeping the viability of farming, regulating agricultural markets and producer organisations	Direct area-based payments; Greening payments; Cross-compliance; Payments for areas with specific constraints
Agri-environment payments	Encouraging the adoption and maintenance of agroecological practices and/or the creation/restoration of habitats or landscape elements	Action and result-based agri-environment payments; Organic farming; Payments for non-productive investments
Payments for investments	Supporting (loans for) capital investments, especially in physical assets on farm	Farm modernization and investment; Diversification of farm activities; Payments for physical assets; Payments for other gainful activities
Knowledge promotion	Advancing knowledge about sustainable farming, including agroecology, also by triggering knowledge creation and diffusion across multiple actors, from farmers to consumers	Advisory services; Information and training; Continuing education; Formal education
Certification schemes	Food labelling to reduce information asymmetry business-to-consumer about the sustainability of farming methods and the produced food	Carbon farming; Carbon footprint; Biodiversity-friendly; Climate-friendly
Food policies	Regulating food from production to end-of-life to improve its sustainability, with special attention to the phases of processing, distribution, and consumption	Green public procurement; Short food chains; School meal programs; Food carbon tax
Networking and cooperation	Creating/maintaining formal or informal networks of collaborating actors across multiple disciplines	Operational groups; Cooperatives (machinery, storage, sales, marketing); Innovation hubs
Context-specific and cross-cutting	Heterogeneous group of instruments, for which patterns could not be identified, displaying a variety of aims, including economic growth, job creation, better quality of life in rural areas, landscape management, forestry, hygiene and food safety, biomass for fuel and energy production	Regional policy; LEADER; Fiscal policy; Hygiene and food safety regulations; Wildlife laws; Land use planning; Forestry laws; Tax reduction for biofuels

96 Each case study represents a distinct transition goal:

- 97 • Adoption: introducing agroecological practices within conventional systems;
- 98 • Positioning: creation and stabilisation of demand for agroecological products;
- 99 • Amplification: territorial scaling of agroecology territorially through collective and
100 transformative strategies.

101 Actors engaged in the evaluation at the case study level were drawn from the project's Multi-Actor
102 Platforms, ensuring representation of farmers, advisors, value chain actors, policymakers,
103 researchers, civil society organizations, and consumers (Zawalińska et al., 2022).

104

105 *2.2 Performance and qualitative mechanisms explaining policy performance¹ across transition goals*

106 This section synthesises evidence from the multi-criteria analysis and the qualitative evaluation to
107 assess how major policy areas perform across three agroecology transition goals. The analysis
108 highlights relative prioritisation patterns (rankings are available from Table A1) and the mechanisms
109 explaining why specific policy areas matter at different stages. Detailed results are reported in the
110 Supplementary Materials.

111 2.2.1 Agri-environment payments

112 Agri-environment payments show a supportive but generally moderate performance across
113 transition goals. They are valued as entry points that compensate income losses and encourage
114 participation, particularly in early stages. However, their contribution to long-term transformation
115 remains limited unless integrated with complementary instruments and governance frameworks. In
116 Nivala (Finland), for example, such payments supported initial engagement in sustainable feedstock
117 production for a collective biogas initiative.

118 2.2.2 Certification schemes

¹ Selected illustrative case study examples are chosen for their explanatory value. This does not imply that each mechanism is unique to a single case study, nor that other mechanisms were absent in the same contexts.

119 Certification schemes show mixed performance across transition goals and tend to rank lower
120 for amplification. Qualitative evidence highlights a mechanism centred on information asymmetry
121 reduction and market signalling, which can support positioning by enhancing consumer trust and
122 enabling product differentiation. Illustratively, in Lithuania and Latvia, certification supported market
123 positioning through producer cooperatives and sustainability labelling. However, actors also
124 identified important constraints, including administrative burden, compliance costs, and
125 misalignment with local agroecological values. These factors can exclude smaller producers and limit
126 scalability, reducing the contribution of certification schemes to broader agroecology transitions
127 unless equity safeguards and supportive measures are introduced.

128 2.2.3 Context-specific and cross-cutting instruments

129 Context-specific and cross-cutting instruments include a heterogeneous set of policies
130 addressing local challenges and broader sustainability objectives, such as fiscal measures, land-use
131 planning, biodiversity protection, and energy policy. Their performance varies across transition goals
132 and depends strongly on alignment with territorial conditions and coordination with other policy
133 areas. Qualitative evidence points to a place-based adaptation mechanism: when tailored to local
134 socio-economic and biophysical contexts, these instruments can help remove specific bottlenecks and
135 reinforce agroecological transitions. For example, in Lake Lucerne (Switzerland), a nitrogen tax
136 incentivised lower livestock density and supported diversification toward low-input arable systems.
137 However, actors also highlighted risks of fragmentation and unintended effects when such
138 instruments are implemented in isolation. Overall, these findings suggest that context-specific and
139 cross-cutting instruments are most effective when embedded in integrated governance frameworks
140 that ensure coordination, coherence, and alignment with broader agroecological strategies.

141 2.2.4 Food policies

142 Food policies, including public procurement, short supply chains, and awareness campaigns,
143 also rank relatively low, particularly for amplification. The qualitative analysis points to a
144 demand-creation mechanism that remains weak when food policies are implemented in isolation from

145 supply-side support. For example, in Transylvania (Romania) and Scotland (United Kingdom), food
146 policies contributed to awareness-raising and local market initiatives but had limited impact on
147 scaling agroecological production. Actors highlighted that administrative complexity, limited
148 adaptability to local contexts, and weak coordination with producer support constrain their
149 effectiveness. These findings suggest that food policies are more likely to contribute to agroecology
150 transitions when integrated with investment support, knowledge promotion, and coordination
151 mechanisms that strengthen producer capacity and market connectivity.

152 2.2.5 Income and market support

153 Income and market support instruments display mixed performance, with higher relevance in
154 adoption contexts and declining relevance for amplification. Qualitative evidence suggests that these
155 instruments mainly stabilise farm viability and enable experimentation, rather than directly driving
156 agroecological transformation. In Nienburg (Germany), greening payments were perceived as
157 providing the financial buffer needed for farmers to experiment with conservation agriculture.

158 2.3.6 Knowledge promotion

159 Knowledge promotion emerges as a consistently high-performing policy area across all transition
160 goals. It ranks among the top priorities for adoption and positioning and remains critical for
161 amplification. Qualitative evidence indicates distinct mechanisms across stages: in adoption contexts,
162 advisory services reduce uncertainty and support individual decision-making; in positioning contexts,
163 they facilitate coordination and shared understanding along the value chain; and in amplification
164 contexts, they enable collective learning and territorial scaling. For example, in the Basque
165 Autonomous Community and Navarra (Spain), actors highlighted how collective training and
166 advisory networks supported territorial expansion of agroecological practices.

167 2.3.7 Networking and cooperation

168 Networking and cooperation instruments gain importance as transitions move from individual
169 adoption to collective scaling. They perform moderately for adoption and positioning but become
170 among the most relevant policy areas for amplification. The underlying mechanism is collective

171 action: these instruments support coordination among farmers, advisors, value-chain actors, and
172 public authorities, fostering shared governance arrangements. For instance, in Auvergne–
173 Rhône-Alpes (France), multi-actor forums supported cooperation in the development of a territory of
174 sustainable viticulture.

175 2.3.8 Payments for investments

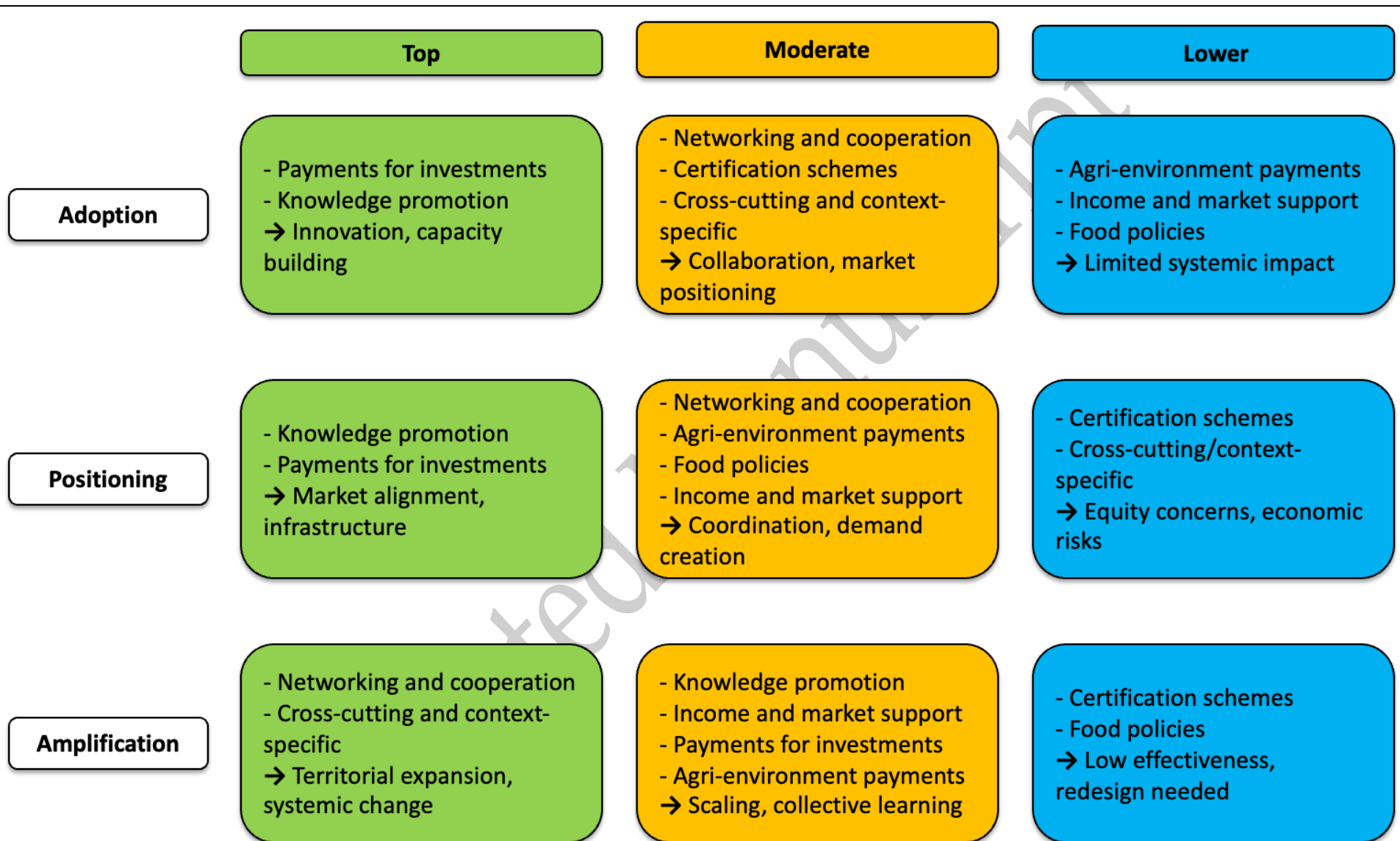
176 Payments for investments perform strongly for adoption and positioning and remain relevant for
177 amplification. Their effectiveness is explained by a risk-reduction mechanism that enables concrete
178 changes in farm infrastructure and practices. In early stages, they support feasibility and
179 experimentation; in later stages, they help consolidate investments at territorial level when aligned
180 with broader strategies. Illustratively, in Chianti (Italy), investment support facilitated the
181 development of sustainable viticulture infrastructure, enabling scaling at territorial level.

182

183 **3. Discussion**

184 *3.1 Policy options*

185 The evidence shows that the relevance and performance of policy instruments vary across
186 agroecology transition goals, reflecting the different actions and coordination requirements involved.
187 This confirms that uniform policy is unlikely to be effective and that policy support needs to evolve
188 as transitions progress (Figure 1).



189

190 Figure 1. Priority policy area blocks (top, moderate, lower ranking) by transition goal, highlighting different needs.

191 For adoption actions, which aim to introduce agroecological practices in conventional farming
192 systems, top-ranked instruments such as payments for investments and knowledge promotion are
193 particularly relevant. These instruments support technical implementation and capacity building,
194 enabling farmers to initiate change. This aligns with the need for technical information and financial
195 tools to implement changes on farm and to develop business strategies for better positioning the
196 produced food on the market. Moderate-ranked instruments like networking and cooperation and
197 certification schemes contribute to market positioning and collaboration, while lower-ranked
198 instruments such as agri-environment payments and food policies show limited systemic impact,
199 indicating a need for redesign or complementary support mechanisms (Frison and Clément, 2020;
200 Salliou et al., 2019).

201 Positioning actions, which focus on stabilising demand for agroecological products, benefit most
202 from instruments like knowledge promotion and payments for investments, which align with market
203 infrastructure and actor goals. Moderate-ranked instruments including networking and cooperation
204 and agri-environment payments facilitate coordination and demand creation. Lower-ranked
205 instruments such as certification schemes and cross-cutting/context-specific policies raise equity
206 concerns and economic risks, suggesting that their design may not fully support positioning
207 objectives. Coordination between public agencies and training centres is an important governance
208 issue to be addressed, and new governance models should involve research institutes, advisory
209 services, small farms and other local value chain actors through networking instruments and regional
210 policies (Helenius et al., 2020).

211 Amplification actions, aimed at scaling agroecology through collective agency, are best
212 supported by networking and cooperation and cross-cutting/context-specific instruments, which
213 enable territorial expansion and systemic change. Moderate-ranked instruments like knowledge
214 promotion and agri-environment payments foster collective learning and scaling. Lower-ranked
215 instruments such as certification schemes and food policies are perceived as less effective,
216 highlighting the need for reconsidering their design to better support transformative goals. Strategic

217 plans for agroecology are required to ensure its diffusion and consolidation in the long period. Long-
218 term strategies should be evidence-based, draw on clear and cost-effective rules, and favour the
219 creation of new partnerships in food system governance, including value chain, AKIS, civic society
220 organisations, public sector, and consumers (e.g., land-use partnership, bio-districts, producer-
221 consumer associations, knowledge hubs) (Niggli et al., 2021).

222 Across all transition goals, knowledge promotion plays a central role, but its function changes as
223 transitions progress. In early stages it supports individual decision-making and technical learning; in
224 later stages it facilitates coordination, shared understanding, and collective capacity building. This
225 confirms that policy effectiveness depends not only on instrument choice, but on how instruments are
226 sequenced and combined as transitions evolve (Šūmane et al., 2018).

227

228 *3.2 Policy recommendations*

229 Instruments such as payments for investments and knowledge promotion emerged as top-
230 ranked across adoption and positioning actions. To maximise their effectiveness, robust monitoring
231 mechanisms should be implemented to ensure accountability and continuous improvement, given that
232 these instruments are reported to reduce risk and enable learning processes that unfold over time and
233 across scales. These instruments should be embedded in local innovation ecosystems, including
234 training programmes, cooperatives, and advisory services, to support technical implementation and
235 capacity building (Sanderson Bellamy and Ioris, 2017; Schoonhoven and and Runhaar, 2018;
236 Teixeira et al., 2018). Integrative strategies are also needed to foster a more sustainable agricultural
237 base and a more resilient rural economy that can adapt to challenges and uncertainties in food
238 production, reflecting the observed complementarity between investment support and
239 knowledge-based mechanisms in enabling both technical change and organisational learning
240 (Tataridas and and Freitas, 2024).

241 Income and market support instruments should be tailored to agroecological strategies and
242 aligned with environmental regulations. Their effectiveness can be enhanced by integrating them with

243 knowledge transfer mechanisms and by ensuring that they support the development of sustainable
244 business models (Runhaar, 2021). Income and market support are reported to stabilise farm viability
245 and enable experimentation, rather than directly drive agroecological transformation, which may
246 explain its lower relevance for amplification goals.

247 Agri-environment payments should reflect the true value of ecosystem services and be adapted
248 to local farming systems. Findings indicate that these payments are most effective when they act as
249 entry points for participation and collective uptake, but insufficient on their own to sustain
250 longer-term systemic change. Their design should go beyond financial compensation to include
251 integrated governance frameworks that align ecological goals with socio-economic realities (Ewert
252 et al., 2023; Teixeira et al., 2018). National CAP Strategic Plans should be better aligned with
253 agroecological principles and deliver coherent, multi-dimensional eco-schemes (Donham et al.,
254 2022).

255 The role of knowledge promotion is central across all action types: (i) adoption, it reduces
256 uncertainty and supports individual decision-making; (ii) positioning, it facilitates coordination along
257 the value chain and supports market alignment by strengthening shared understanding among
258 producers, intermediaries, and consumers; (iii) amplification, it enables collective learning,
259 coordination, and territorial scaling. However, its implementation should be differentiated: at the
260 adoption stage, emphasis should be placed on technical training and market-oriented strategies; at the
261 amplification stage, capacity building and access to agroecology-specific advisory services are
262 critical. Strengthening AKIS and integrating advisory services with research and education
263 institutions can enhance knowledge co-creation and dissemination (Landini et al., 2021; Sanderson
264 Bellamy and Ioris, 2017). Co-creation and horizontal knowledge sharing are essential to build trust,
265 relevance, and legitimacy in agroecology transitions (Sirdey et al., 2023), especially participatory and
266 multi-stakeholder approaches including farmer-led training and regional research hubs (Donham and
267 Wezel, 2022) and agroecology living labs (Rastorgueva et al., 2025).

268 Certification schemes and food policies, which ranked lower in the MCA, require redesign to
269 address equity concerns and economic risks. The mechanisms identified by actors point to
270 misalignment between these instruments and local agroecological practices, particularly where
271 administrative burden, cost, and weak integration with producer support undermine their legitimacy
272 and effectiveness. Voluntary certification schemes can reduce information asymmetry, but they must
273 be supported by public awareness campaigns and improved public procurement standards. Enhancing
274 connectivity through local supply chains and participatory networks and knowledge hubs can
275 reinforce consumer trust and complement certification efforts, especially in agroecological territories
276 (Duru et al., 2015; Sirdey et al., 2023).

277 Across all action types, findings suggest that coordination failures are recurring governance
278 bottlenecks. Then, there is a need for improved coordination between public agencies, training
279 centres, and local actors. New governance models should foster horizontal and vertical collaboration,
280 involving research institutes, advisory services, small farms, and civil society organisations. These
281 include decentralized and territorial governance, particularly in contexts where land access and
282 resource management shape farmers' autonomy and resilience (Sirdey et al., 2023); mosaic of
283 regionally adapted systems and participatory governance to support agroecological transitions aligned
284 with the Green Deal (Donham and Wezel, 2022).

285 Strategic plans for agroecology should be long-term and evidence-based, explicitly recognising
286 that different policy instruments activate distinct mechanisms at different transition stages, and
287 therefore require sequencing and combination across adoption, positioning, and amplification goals
288 (Frison and Clément, 2020; Helenius et al., 2020; Salliou et al., 2019).

289

290 **4. Conclusions**

291 This article provides policy-relevant evidence on how existing policy instruments can better
292 support agroecology transitions in Europe. By integrating actor perspectives from 15 European case

293 studies, it identifies which policy areas are most relevant for different transition goals (adoption,
294 positioning, amplification) and explains how their effectiveness changes as transitions evolve.

295 The findings show that while all policy areas contribute to agroecology transitions, their
296 prominence and effectiveness vary by transition stage. Knowledge promotion and payments for
297 investments emerge as key enablers across adoption and positioning, while networking and
298 cooperation are essential for scaling agroecology at the territorial level. In contrast, certification
299 schemes and food policies currently play a more limited role and require redesign to better address
300 equity and connectivity. Overall, the results highlight that policy effectiveness depends less on
301 introducing new instruments than on adapting, combining, and sequencing existing ones in line with
302 actors' goals and governance conditions.

303 From a policy perspective, the analysis underscores the need for better-tailored strategies to
304 address the socio-economic barriers faced by diverse farming systems and territorial contexts.
305 Strengthening advisory services, supporting capacity building, and improving governance,
306 particularly at intermediate and territorial levels, are critical. Rather than creating new tools, policy
307 efforts should focus on adjusting the design and governance of existing instruments to better align
308 with agroecological principles.

309 This study has limitations that are relevant for interpretation. Fieldwork was conducted before
310 ex-post evidence on CAP 2023–2027 eco-schemes became available, and the analysis relies on actor
311 perceptions rather than measured impacts. Future policy-oriented research could strengthen the
312 evidence base by combining this actor-centred framework with longitudinal data and
313 quasi-experimental approaches (e.g. before–after comparisons or comparative analyses between
314 similar territories exposed to different policy mixes) to triangulate perceived and observed outcomes.
315 While the empirical focus is European, the framework and lessons identified offer transferable
316 insights for regions seeking to design context-sensitive policies to support agroecology transitions.

317

318 **Annex**

319 Table A 1. Policy ranking based on multi-criteria analysis' single score after aggregation.

Transition goal	Policy area	N. obs	Avg	Median	Min	Max
Adoption	Agri-environment payments	70	3.0	3.2	0	5
	Certification schemes	19	3.3	3.4	1.9	4.5
	Context-specific and cross-cutting	58	3.5	3.5	0.1	5
	Food policies	24	2.6	3.0	0	4.2
	Income and market support	20	2.9	3.0	0	4.8
	Knowledge promotion	50	3.6	3.6	2	5
	Networking/Cooperation	40	3.3	3.3	1.3	5
Positioning	Payments for investments	56	3.6	3.7	1.5	5
	Agri-environment payments	69	3.3	3.3	1.3	4.9
	Certification schemes	13	3.0	3	0.5	5
	Context-specific and cross-cutting	60	2.4	2.8	0	4.3
	Food policies	114	3.3	3.6	0	5
	Income and market support	86	3.2	3.3	0	5
	Knowledge promotion	57	3.5	3.7	0	5
Amplification	Networking/Cooperation	49	3.3	3.3	1.5	4.7
	Payments for investments	51	3.4	3.6	1.9	5
	Agri-environment payments	94	3.3	3.6	0	5
	Certification schemes	25	3.2	3.4	0	4.7
	Context-specific and cross-cutting	16	3.7	3.8	2.3	5
	Food policies	57	1.6	0	0	4.9
	Income and market support	37	3.4	3.4	1.8	4.8
	Knowledge promotion	59	3.6	3.6	2.6	4.6
	Networking/Cooperation	74	3.7	3.9	1	5
	Payments for investments	70	3.3	3.2	1.6	5

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