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PART IV

LOCAL EXPERIENCES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT (ROUND TABLE)

Local approaches to rural development are shaped by the type of partnership put in place in the local context (*who* carries out the project), the strategy followed (*what* are the objectives and methods of achieving them), and the definition of the appropriate or pertinent scale (*where* is the local territorial project carried out). Bearing that framework in mind, it is not surprising that the following presentations describe different situations, given the different contexts and backgrounds of experts participating to the roundtable. Nevertheless, these presentations underline some common problems, at least in lagging rural regions. First, the participation of local people and entities need to be organised. Second, local people should be willing to propose projects and to manage them. Third, local groups and networks do not necessarily possess the expertise and knowledge for undertaking such projects. Finally, awareness of environmental problems is often not satisfactory. As a consequence, policies and governance systems should pay attention to the social capital in these areas as well as to the diffusion of information and skills and the animation of networks.

Mr. Staffan Bond's presentation was about the Village Movement in Sweden; its role, scope and specific features. This provided the author with an opportunity to suggest changes to make rural policy more democratic, more decentralised and more based on the empowerment of citizens and enhanced human capital.

In the second presentation, Mr. Alessandro Piccini introduced the SPIN-ECO project, a comprehensive effort to commit the province of Siena (Italy) to sustainable development. A rigorous approach is followed and a battery of sustainable indicators are used to assess the state of the environment in all the municipalities of the province. On this basis environmental products and activities will be certified using ISO international standards.

Mr. Guy Beaufoy analysed the trends affecting the La Vera district of Extremadura (Spain) (*i.e.* socio-economic progress and environmental decline). He also stressed the challenges ahead given the gradual phasing out of the Structural Funds and underlined the need to upgrade human resources, increase the quality of organisational structures and improve the efficiency of agri-environmental programmes.

Issues for New Rural Policy

Staffan Bond

The Popular Movements Council for Rural Development in Sweden

“All Sweden shall live!”

The Village Movement

- The Swedish Village Movement has grown out of a troublesome situation in many rural areas. People felt a lack of influence and the development was negative. A crisis was often the starting point for local action, *e.g.* factory or school closing down.
- The local action groups deal with all kinds of matters; cultural activities, tourism, building factory premises, running shops, schools, making village plans, etc.
- Characteristic is co-operation over traditional boundaries in the village. In 100 out of 300 municipalities and 22 regions, all but one, the village action groups co-operate in networks.
- The movement has matured from dealing with simple to more advanced tasks, from leisure to developing the local economy, from specific actions to a holistic view on local development, from neglected single actions to a respected popular movement.
- Now it is an integrated part of Swedish society that vitalises and strengthens both democracy and economy.
- There are similar movements in the Nordic countries and also in Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia. Others might follow, like Scotland.

- International networks are formed, like “All the North shall live” in the Nordic countries and PREPARE (Pre-accession partnerships in Rural Europe) assisting in the candidate countries.

The Popular Movement’s council for rural development

- The council was established in 1989 after a campaign for Rural Europe in the late 1980s.
- The main aims are, in short, to encourage and support local democracy, community initiatives and rural development.
- It is organised of two parties:
 - 1) The Village Movement: 4 200 village action groups all over Sweden, the number is growing and it is covering one-third of the Swedish Population
 - 2) Fifty-three NGOs, most of them national, like the Farmers Union, the Consumers Cooperative
- A Rural Policy Program is written as a common platform

Some ideas to create a new rural policy

Three most important changes for local territorial approach

- 1) **A local democratic structure** for common discussions, giving priorities and making decisions – and for actions. Different models exist. The Swedish Village Movement is one example of participative local democracy. And citizens’ participation is important! Empowering people, building the human capital is necessary.
- 2) **A decentralised and sector-integrated organisation of society** that gives economic and administrative power and capacity to the local level. A multi-level system for territorial governance should be developed. In Sweden there are relatively strong municipalities that could administrate territorial rural programs (and does). This brings agricultural policy closer to citizens and consumers.

- 3) **A true and efficient local three-party partnership**, where citizens' organisations are important partners, for example the Village Movement. Leader offers an example. Territorial programmes should be formed and implemented. They should be the main stream, not additional. Finland has mainstreamed the most.

Main changes in funding mechanisms

- More money should be transferred from traditional price support to integrated rural development – from 1st to 2nd pillar in EU agricultural policies. But not the same measures and not limited to farmers.
- “Dynamic modulation” as suggested in the midterm overview seems to be a useful instrument. Also simplified, flexible support as “decoupled farm income payment”.
- Measures for promoting quality food, safe food, locally produced and profiled food, energy crops, environmental care are necessary (a multifunctional agriculture).
- A rural stewardship of the landscape and the natural renewable resources should be promoted. This is the farmers' new mission. Citizens' organisation can help the farmers and should have possibilities to get economic support.
- Maybe most important: Territorial integrated programmes for sustainable rural development should be formulated at different levels of society from village to county.

Changes in governance to reinforce integration

- It is necessary to create a multi-level system of territorial governance from village to county.
- Decentralisation and sector integration is needed. We should move from sectoral to place-based policies and organisation.
- Special support is important to create local democratic and public structures like the Village Movement.

- Empowering citizens and building the human capital is essential.
- Support to the NGOs and the social economy's actors (especially in candidate countries) is needed. Influence and money must be ensured.
- Communication, relations and interplay between citizens and authorities must be improved.
- Planning processes should start at village level and aggregate – bottom-up!
- Form the local partnerships where business societies, farmers, citizens, consumers, etc. co-operate.

Conditions for efficient local partnerships

- Three-party partnerships should be formed and citizens' organisations like village groups should be encouraged.
- Territorial identity, common history and traditions are important pre-requisites.
- The area should not be too large – co-operate instead in networks to ensure the necessary “critical mass” – in “a light but strong honey comb structure” as they say in the sparsely populated areas in the very north of Sweden.
- Legitimacy, administrative and financial power should be given to the partnerships.
- Broad participation must be ensured – youths, women, unemployed.
- And dedication is needed: passion, vision, action means development.

Local Rural Development Experiences

Claudio Galletti
Agriculture Counsellor
Province of Siena, Italy

The Province of Siena was chosen by OECD for analysis, as a complex and developed web of economic, territorial and social inter-relations. It shows, together with other areas, that rural is not synonymous with agriculture. In Siena, agriculture plays a crucial role for further development and for maintaining employment growth without scarifying sustainability.

One of the actions set regarding the infrastructure endowment of our rural system, in addition to maintaining and developing the more traditional infrastructures such as roads, water systems, electricity, telephone service and the like, includes a project for cabling the entire territory of the province over the next few years. This will certainly be a competitive **advantage** for the rural system as a whole, since these are low-use and low-demand areas.

Among our other actions, besides seeking to maintain and improve the quality of life, is ensuring the modernisation, competitiveness and sustainable development of the agricultural, agri-food and forest system. The forest system has not been sufficiently studied and exploited in this province, despite the fact that 40% of the territory is covered by woodlands. Woodlands are a renewable resource and unquestionably a heritage that must be protected and made more productive.

Many other actions can be described, but the one I would like to stress in particular is the quality control and certification of agricultural products. The local government has been working together with economic actors and representative associations to request and obtain the certification of a wide range of products. This provides a guarantee to consumers, increases the value added of the products and establishes a link between products and places. Labels have made it possible to develop policies for promoting the rural system, to enhance competitiveness and growth and to assist the numerous small and

very small farms and businesses that are a fundamental part of the heritage of the province.

The farmers and the business community have supported agri-environmental measures that have led to the steady growth of integrated and organic agriculture, and that have contributed to improving the environment, in some case even using processes aimed at restoring the natural environment.

What are we planning to do to make our entire system even more competitive? It would be advisable, and also consistent with the anticipated CAP reform, to diversify production by converting land where cereals are currently being grown to olive and vine cultivation. This would certainly lead to greater competitiveness of products and farms, without being detrimental to environmental sustainability and development.

We should also maintain our heritage in the field of animal production, maintain and develop crop rotation, improve soil quality and maintain bio-diversity in the crops grown throughout the province. This means moving towards policies aimed at ensuring the quality and diversification of production.

We must promote integration processes among farms and businesses and among the agricultural, manufacturing and craft sectors in order to promote innovation in processes and products. We know that tourism supply must be adjusted to demand, which often is not the case; we know that the rural world as a whole is still largely unaware of its full potential; and we know that rural and urban areas must be more closely integrated.

In order to achieve these objectives, appropriate policies of the EU and central and regional governments are required. However, we realise that local development is increasingly determined by the governance initiatives that we take as local actors.

Moreover, we must find ways to promote stronger dialogue with associations, institutions and society.

I believe that one of the problems faced by all Western democracies is to find ways of enabling citizens, businesses and associations to become more involved and participate more fully in governance. In the Province of Siena, over 90% of farmers are affiliated with an association. Obviously, this is helpful to fostering the dialogue and co-operation on agricultural policies continuously promoted by the provincial council on which I sit, the Agricultural Council.

However, we must take this process a step further, as “rural” encompasses a reality that is not limited to agriculture alone.

**The Commitment to Sustainable Development:
The “Spin-Eco” Project**

**Alessandro Piccini
Environment Counsellor
Province of Siena, Italy**

The concept of sustainable development arose from a desire to preserve natural resources by ensuring that they are used in a balanced way, preventing them from being exhausted and making it possible to hand them on intact to future generations. This requires making a commitment to ensuring that economic, environmental and social development go hand in hand, to producing goods without depleting resources and to disposing of the waste generated. These are conditions that are already being met to a considerable extent within the territory of the Province of Siena, where social, economic and environmental factors are closely interwoven, and where a strong link exists between local products and the territory in which they are produced, particularly in the agricultural sector.

Our entire territory is willing to make a clear and dedicated commitment to defending conscientiously all aspects of its environment and landscape. The Strategic Development Plan of the Province of Siena was prepared in light of these considerations, aiming to sustainability in the broadest sense. The Plan includes projects aimed at enhancing sustainability, such as the Provincial Energy Plan, the Provincial Waste Management Plan, the Agenda 21 Programme of the Province of Siena and the Environmental Certification Projects of local governments.

We will describe here this latter project, called the “SPIN-ECO” Project (“Sustainability of the Province through Eco-dynamic Indicators”), which is being carried out in co-operation with the Department of Sciences and Chemical Technologies and Biosystems of the University of Siena.

The first step: a study on the sustainability of the province

In spring 2000, it was decided to undertake a study comparable to a CAT scan (or MRI) of the territory of Siena aimed at identifying more accurately, and with the greatest possible scientific rigor, its strong and weak points with regard to sustainability.

The Province of Siena is recognised as being one of the areas that strikes a most harmonious balance between nature and the development of human activities. Why then is it necessary to undertake a study on the sustainability of the Province of Siena? Firstly, because the results of a serious scientific study sometimes show that things are not as they seem. This is the case, for example, when, despite low pollution levels, resources are not being used rationally. Although pollution levels are monitored by local governments and the regional environmental protection agency (ARPA), currently there is no monitoring of the use of resources. One of our objectives is precisely to make a “snapshot” of the status of the Province of Siena in this regard and identify the factors that may limit sustainable development in the future, thereby safeguarding the interests of future generations, as well as those development factors that are currently undervalued.

The major novelty of this project lies in the fact that sustainability is not defined only as the sum of economic, ecological and social components, but from a more complex standpoint and within a more homogeneous interpretative framework, using of a series of indicators borrowed from thermodynamics. The thermodynamic analysis should provide a number of answers that will show, among the constraints to which all complex systems are subject, the many contradictions inherent in the economic system.

The indicators used will reflect the following methodologies:

- **Emergy:** an assessment of economic and environmental products and services in terms of quantity of solar energy used.
- **Natural capacity:** the environmental accounting of how much nature contributes to the production of goods.
- **Life cycle assessment (LCA):** an evaluation of the entire history of a product from “cradle to grave”, from the raw materials and energy used to management of the waste generated.

- Exergy: a method for verifying the efficiency of a system both in terms of the energy consumed in individual production processes and at the territorial level.
- Ecological impact: a composite indicator for estimating the impact that the consumption of a population has on the environment.
- Greenhouse gas assessment: measurement of how much CO₂ (carbon dioxide), which is primarily responsible for the greenhouse effect, is produced in the Province of Siena.
- Analysis of satellite data.

These indicators will be used for the first time in an environmental study, on an experimental basis. Together, they are aimed at covering virtually all aspects of sustainability within the Province of Siena and its 36 communes.

The second step: the process of territorial certification

The rigorous territorial analysis contained in the sustainability study will provide us with a solid scientific and technical basis that will enable the Provincial Administration and all of the territory's 36 communes to launch a process of environmental certification in compliance with ISO international standards, in this case ISO 14001, and also with the EU Regulation on EMAS II. Rules of reference for an EPD (environmental product declaration) will also be provided for the products mentioned above that can be used by firms that intend to launch an LCA in compliance with ISO 14040 standards.

The path of environmental certification was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, it leads those involved to assess themselves, making risk prevention and reduction of environmental impact a tool for growth and managerial efficiency. This enables firms to lower costs, improve their image and increase the value of their products. It also generates similar benefits for government by enabling it to organise environmental management better, reduce the need for monitoring and enhance its credibility by applying good practices. It also gives it considerable leverage over the actors (above all firms) and trends within the territory, since it can use its own planning tools to guide, encourage and even compel firms in all sectors to follow the same path, but especially in the agricultural and tourism sectors. Today we know that the market is increasingly receptive to this type of commitment, particularly with regard to food products. A policy of adopting ISO 14040 standards for conducting an LCA (life cycle analysis), which ensures the traceability of a

product in order to guarantee that it is genuine, will not only be a factor for strengthening well-established markets for products such as well-known fine wines, but will also create new opportunities for the weaker rural areas also found within our territory that produce products that are perhaps less prestigious, but which will be guaranteed as being traditional and genuine.

At the same time, the Provincial Administration has launched procedures for promoting local Agenda 21 programmes based on the concepts developed at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. These programmes should go hand in hand with the work of the SPIN-ECO project, for without Agenda 21 programmes, a project of this scope would lack the necessary “bottom-up” input, while the scientific support of the SPIN-ECO project, will allow an Agenda 21 programme to address issues of greater importance and impact.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I am aware of the fact that sustainable development is an expression that is too often used as a promotional strategy, although the concepts of sustainability are in fact limited to secondary aspects. This is not what we intend to do. The rigorous nature of the data gathered and the commitments required by environmental certification guarantee the seriousness of our approach.

Rural Development and the Environment

Guy Beaufoy
Institute of Sustainable Rural Development

Introduction

Rural development policy in the EU and Spain focuses on subsidies, in terms of agricultural production under CAP Pillar I as well as for structural development and compensation payments to farmers under Pillar II. The policy debate surrounding rural development focuses on the distribution of funds between these different subsidy packages and between EU member states and regions.

In a district such as La Vera, sustainable rural development cannot be “bought” merely by making available a collection of subsidies to different economic sectors. Two essential elements for sustainable rural development programmes are absent: the organisational structure to deliver these aid packages in a way that produces the desired results and the local population’s capacity and motivation to respond to policy measures and objectives.

To address this problem and implement sustainable rural development, investment is needed in human resources to build the capacity of local organisations and local people. This capacity-building should be designed and planned in an effort to realise a set of basic principles needed to implement new rural policies:

- inform, involve and stimulate local people;
- develop a shared vision based on objective analysis of problems and opportunities;
- design appropriate targets and measures, with local involvement;
- facilitate effective delivery on the ground, with local involvement;
- monitor outcomes, with local involvement.

The needs of La Vera may be common to other rural areas in Spain and across Europe, but there are also areas with more developed institutional structures where the rural population has an improved capacity to respond. In developing new rural policies in Europe, the distinct needs of different areas and regions should be clarified and policies tailored accordingly.

Brief description of the area

La Vera is in the north-east of the province of Cáceres, Extremadura. The district covers approximately 900 km² and is bounded to the north by the Gredos mountains and to the south by the river Tiétar. Altitudes range from 400 to 875 metres. The population of the district lives mostly in small towns and villages, with an average density of 33.1 inhabitants per km².

The district has important natural values, associated with the diverse land cover, the large proportion of forest, scrub, grassland and the presence of numerous water courses, some with well-conserved riverine woodlands. La Vera is notable for its bird populations, including Black Stork, Red and Black Kites, Booted Eagle and Short-toed Eagle. The river Tiétar and several of the smaller mountain rivers in the district are proposed as Sites of Conservation Importance under the EU Habitats Directive, for their fish species, otter and riverine woodlands.

In economic terms, La Vera is a predominantly agricultural area (over 30% of the active population are employed in farming), but also has considerable tourist activity, as well as an increasing presence of second homes established by people living in Madrid (2.5 hours away by car).

The lowlands are dominated by tobacco cultivation, a situation reinforced since 1986 (EC accession) by the CAP tobacco regime, which provides a price subsidy equivalent to over EUR 8 000 per hectare. It is estimated that the 4 300 ha of tobacco production provides EUR 35 million in farm subsidy and sustains as much as 80% of the economic activity in the district (Pérez Yruela *et al*, 2000). This subsidy seems certain to be phased out by the EU over the coming years. To date, the regional authorities have developed no strategy for adapting the district to this dramatic policy change.

Much of the uplands (and some lower altitude areas) are under forest and scrub, part of which is in public ownership, the main use of which is goat grazing. The main upland crops are cherries and olives, with some raspberry production in greenhouses.

Holdings are mostly small, with over 90% having only 1 to 10 hectares, and farming is generally combined with other sources of family income (bars, hotels, holiday lettings, unemployment subsidies, etc.). Holdings in the uplands tend to be much smaller than in the lowland area.

Socio-economic progress

As with most rural areas in Spain, the population of La Vera declined due to emigration from the 1950s. At the beginning of the 1980s, only 22% of the population had received primary schooling, and illiteracy rates were high. The district was isolated from other districts by poor roads, while basic services (hospitals and medical centres) were limited.

From the 1980s and Spanish accession to the EU, public funds combined with economic growth to produce major changes. EU Structural Funds have helped to improve transform communications by road both within the district and with Madrid. Basic services, especially health, have been similarly transformed, through construction of new hospitals and local medical centres.

Public subsidies (CAP, unemployment benefits, pensions) have provided a great increase in the level of basic financial support for the rural population, compared with the past. From 1991, the population decline was halted, and the total number of inhabitants registered an increase in the period 1991-1994 (Pérez Yruela *et al*, 2000).

Considering the three sides of the sustainability triangle (*i.e.* social, economic and environmental development), there has been considerable progress on the first two aspects. However, the heavy dependence on CAP tobacco subsidies is not politically sustainable in the longer term (Table 1).

Table 1. **Comparison of expenditure on CAP product subsidies and PRODER (local rural development scheme)**

	Tobacco	Olives	Goats/ sheep	Suckler cattle	PRODER
Approximate total subsidy (in thousand EUR)	000 (1)	280 (1)	540 (1)	620 (2)	430 (3)
Number of beneficiaries	800	384	233	180	–
Number of hectares or livestock	300	300	1 271	595	–

1. (1) Estimate 1995 (2) Estimate 1994 (3) Average annual budget available 2000-2007.

Source: Extracted from Pérez Yruela *et al*, (2000).

Environmental decline

Much less progress has been made on the environment. The expansion and intensification of agriculture and other sectors, such as building developments and new roads, are causing a degradation of environmental values. The problems are exacerbated by inadequate measures for controlling and reducing impacts. Some of the more significant environmental problems in the district include:

- Clearance of semi-natural forest and scrub for new land uses, especially fruit plantations and construction. Greenhouses are also appearing in increasing numbers, including at high altitudes where semi-natural habitats have been cleared to allow the change of use.
- Pollution of rivers from urban waste water, agricultural run-off and specific bad practices, such as washing pesticide containers in rivers.
- Over-exploitation of rivers for tobacco irrigation.
- Bad land management practices, including burning of forest and scrub, excessive soil tillage and intensive herbicide use in olive and fig plantations.
- Very limited conservation actions for the most significant natural values of the district (rivers and semi-natural habitats) and no public participation in environmental protection.

Underlying many of these problems is a lack of environmental awareness and information among local people. Furthermore, the few environmental initiatives which take place tend to be executed by the Regional authorities, with little or no local involvement.

Making rural policies work for sustainable development

The EU's Rural Development Regulation aims to promote sustainable rural development as the Second Pillar of the CAP. The introduction of this Regulation in 1999 raised expectations in some circles of a new approach to rural policy, in line with recognised principles of sustainable development. In order to fulfil this aim in La Vera, a triple challenge must be met:

- To maintain the current level of economic activity when tobacco subsidies are withdrawn, but with a more balanced distribution of wealth.
- To give greater priority to the conservation of the natural values and resources which must underpin an alternative development model.
- To develop the participation of local people in the planning and execution of rural policy.

The district has considerable potential for alternative development approaches which could help to create new areas of economic activity, for example, through quality local products, diversification of agricultural products and rural tourism.

The environmental challenge requires a change in the behaviour of local people, particularly farming practices, as well as investment in new infrastructure and new actions (*e.g.* water treatment plants, forest management) on the part of the regional and local governments.

Several opportunities are available under the Rural Development Regulation, including agri-environment incentives aimed at improving farming practices, measures for forest management and nature conservation, and PRODER, a bottom-up, local development measure under the Spanish implementation of the EU Regulation. These measures are implemented in the district, but their impact has been marginal. For example, only two farmers have participated in the agri-environment scheme since it was first introduced in the mid-1990s.

The relatively small budgets allocated to these measures are only part of the problem. At least three other essential elements seem to be missing:

- The Spanish rural development programmes have no clear objectives or quantified targets concerning environmental improvements, or the development of more sustainable economic activities. This stems in part from the weak or non-existent analysis of environmental problems and opportunities at the outset.
- There are no effective organisational structures to promote and deliver these new measures to the local population or to stimulate their participation. The new policies operate in response to

demand. This passive approach goes hand-in-hand with the absence of clear objectives and targets.

- Local people lack the motivation and the capacity to respond to the new policy measures. They are not aware of which measures exist, why they exist or what they aim to achieve, because nobody has told them.

Pérez Yruela *et al*, (2000) emphasise the lack of initiative and entrepreneurs amongst the local population of La Vera, including political leaders of the Municipalities. NGOs and other fora have developed little. Underlying these weaknesses is a dependency mentality, developed during the years of dictatorship and consolidated since the 1980s by the apparent security of CAP and other subsidies.

Furthermore, local experience suggests that when initiatives do emerge from the local population, these are often stifled by the unresponsive bureaucracy of the Regional Government. The lack of information and transparency, the complex forms and legal “jargon” and the plethora of different departments and offices present an insurmountable barrier to the majority of local people.

The local office of the Agriculture Department is dedicated to administering the CAP subsidy regimes; advisory visits to farms are rare and there is no active promotion of the agri-environment scheme, for example, or initiatives to address problems such as soil erosion in partnership with farmers. Grants are provided to farm co-operatives to employ advisors on integrated pest control, but there is a lack of continuity to these grants, and they do not form part of an overall strategy for agriculture.

Box 1. Rural policy and the environment: what does it mean to local people?	
Rural policy	= subsidies, usually received by “other people”
Environment	= government controls
Extension services	= form-filling bureaucracy
Local authority	= self-interest
Local people	= irrelevant (in the eyes of political decision makers)

The current approach to rural development policy in the EU does not address these fundamental problems, because it does not invest in human resources and organisational structures. The main focus is on subsidies, whether for agricultural production under CAP Pillar I, or for structural development (rural roads, irrigation, afforestation, village renovation) and compensation payments to farmers (agri-environment and Less Favoured Area schemes) under Pillar II. The policy debate is concerned mainly with the distribution of funds between these different subsidy packages.

Faced with having to implement a complex set of funding programmes in a tight timetable, the Spanish and regional governments tend to concentrate on actions they are familiar with, and which are relatively straightforward to execute and monitor. They continue to take a predominantly “engineering” approach to rural development, focusing on the construction of roads and dams, farm infrastructure and afforestation.

The tradition of rural development projects involving local people, as found to a greater or lesser extent in most other parts of western Europe, is largely absent in Spain, and particularly in less-developed regions such as Extremadura (Beaufoy, Atance and Sumpsi, 2002). Thus, although some more innovative measures are made available within Spanish programmes, the local authorities, farm extension services, co-operatives, NGOs and individuals mostly do not have the experience or the knowledge to respond.

In these circumstances, policy makers cannot expect sustainable rural development simply to be “bought” by making available a collection of subsidies to different economic sectors, and waiting for people to respond. It requires a more imaginative and challenging approach, involving the building of human and organisational capacity at the local level.

At the most simple level, this means investment not only in farms, physical infrastructure and businesses, but also in people who will make things happen, and who will actively promote the objectives of new rural policies: farm advisors, facilitators, rural *animateurs*, whether they are employed by local authorities, NGOs or co-operatives. In some cases, the bottom-up process requires a powerful top-down stimulus and facilitation to make it happen.

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