Marginal areas in rural Europe – towards more appropriate policy support

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Characterising EU marginal areas

Rural Europe is highly diverse – as we have already seen

As much as one-third (by area) may be considered marginal, in economic terms:

- recognised in the designation of Less Favoured Areas (EC Regulations 1975 -) under the Common Agricultural Policy
- targeted through territorial elements of EU structural policies, especially 1994-9



Characterising EU marginal areas:



LFA, *EU-15*

Yellow = non-LFA

Green = mountain LFA Purple = LFA areas in danger of depopulation

Brown = LFA areas with specific, other handicaps

Source: Baldock and Bennet, 2003, using EC data



Characterising EU marginal areas

Natural constraints:

 Poor soils, limited growing season, steep slopes, harsh climates

Socio-economic constraints:

- Geographically remote, poor infrastructure
 and communications
- Employment and incomes: higher than average dependence upon primary sector
- Where combined, may » low standards of living, economic and demographic decline

Characterising EU marginal areas

Natural and cultural assets:

• Often rich in biodiversity, with dramatic & internationally-recognised cultural and historic landscapes – partly preserved because of economic marginality, but dependent upon continued 'low-intensity' management

- Critical reserves for water (catchments, reservoirs), and carbon (deep peat soils, forests)
- Potential value for wind and hydro- power generation (low density settlement, exposure)



High Nature Value areas EU-27



Favoured destinations

Production spaces with a proud heritage

Marginal farming – policy context

CAP Pillar 2 is an important source of revenue:

- LFA / Natural Handicap payments to 'compensate for competitive disadvantage and preserve active farming'
- Agri-environment support, to influence farming practices
 & maintain environmental value
- In some regions, rural economic diversification and quality of life / LEADER have been targeted....

By contrast, these areas receive generally low shares / low intensities of Pillar 1 aid

Overall, they receive lower CAP support than economically favoured agricultural areas, and this support may be declining due to modulation



Case study of policy impacts: the English Uplands

Very heavy dependence upon public subsidy (CAP P1 and P2), persists and remains critical to farms' viability – the balance has shifted more to Pillar 2, over time

Policy emphasis upon (agri-)environment support, but business performance and adaptation are also a key influence upon environmental outcomes

Current and past policies have contributed to farm structural change which is increasing a 'disconnect' between environment and business, farms and landscape / ecosystem services



Dramatic agricultural landscapes, rich in biodiversity



Farm change since 2000

>75% of farmers interviewed had enlarged the area they farm, at least 25% have more than doubled farm size, while stock numbers have dropped for the areas as a whole

> 50% farms have completely changed grazing of the moor, with at least 25% giving up hill sheep, using extensive hardy cattle or ponies only, others spreading sheep more thinly *"Having a few stock on the moor, now, it just isn't worth it – labour or stock-quality wise"*

Almost half subsidise the farm with non-farm or diversified income (tourism, contracting, most common) and **all are in agri-environment schemes**

Very few have strong supply chain linkages – they are '*price-takers*', even when stock are finished (traditional practice would be to sell as 'stores' to lowland farms), and very suspicious of direct sales or cooperation. Few have used Pillar 2 aid for competitiveness or diversification.

Marginal HNV areas, England case study

Moor In-bye / in-take 'lowland' DA Hill sheep, cattle, ponies: **Biosecurity** – Pure hardy breeds disincentive to graze / move Supply ewe lambs to.... - buy new stock Agri-environment funded Upland flocks - hill crossed if herd culled stock reduction on moor, with lowland sheep breeds. P1 decoupled so shifts to Also suckler cows *minimal usage – business focuses* **Dairy and lowland** upon best in-bye land: intensified use sheep, beef fattening, The system is fragmenting in the landscape arable

Pillar 2 alone is insufficient to counteract Pillar 1 decline and regulatory impacts, farms are inviable without subsidy

Farmers multi-tasking, cutting costs, enlarging, farming is losing skills and careful management – the process is not sustainable NVZ 6month waste store capacity: - dairy disappearing, nowhere to send lambs over winter



Diagnosis

- The main problem with the current policy mix is the separation of policies and farm business thinking
- Environmental schemes are not delivering their goals because markets, regulations and CAP support trigger farm change in the opposite direction, as farmers seek to cope with major business challenges
- An enhanced approach could add:
 - Help to develop sustainable business models using measures for training, research, collaborative exchange, adding-value, diversification, *but probably before that....*
 - Networking support to enable resilience planning time and space for farming communities to discuss, recognise and plan to maintain what is important to them



Diagnosis

A more territorial policy approach could also include:

- enhanced financial underpinning as CAP reform increases the competitive exposure of HNV marginal farms, their case for support to maintain viability, not just for additional environmental goods, increases. This could be:
 - from a new, stronger 'Less Favoured Area' (LFA) payment; OR
 - from new payments targeting the long-term provision of 'Ecosystem Services' – using a mechanism that is not the 'income foregone' model of agri-environment, maybe harnessing private sector finance (water companies, energy companies, carbon offsetting); AND / OR
 - from redistribution of CAP decoupled aid, to give a higher share to the most marginal land.



Conclusions, and learning from EU successes

- These systems require a territorially-sensitive approach, to identify their potential markets and design a package of appropriate policy supports
- We can learn from successful 'marginal' areas analysing the 'virtuous cycle' cases
- We need to foster 'learning communities', keen to identify, celebrate and maintain their distinctive assets through economic action, able to link actors and interests at local level

