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Medeiros Ribeiro**

Entre Baco e Dionísio

**As Políticas da União Europeia para o
Desenvolvimento Rural – os casos das regiões
vitivinícolas de Nemea e Basto**

Between Bacchus and Dionysus

**European Union Policies on Rural development –
the cases of Nemea and Basto wine regions**



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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Planeamento Regional e Urbano, realizada sob a orientação científica do Dr. Carlos José de Oliveira e Silva Rodrigues, Professor Auxiliar do Departamento de Ciências Sociais, Políticas e Território da Universidade de Aveiro e da Dra. Elisabete Maria Melo Figueiredo, Professora Auxiliar do Departamento de Ciências Sociais, Políticas e Território da Universidade de Aveiro.

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o júri

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palavras-chave

Desenvolvimento Regional e Rural; Políticas Europeias; Qualificação de Produtos; Produtos Locais; Indicações Geográficas.

resumo

A actividade vitivinícola possui um conjunto diverso de características presentes no solo, território e comunidade que fazem parte do património cultural de uma determinada região.

Quando a tradição se traduz num conceito como terroir que é formado por características territoriais, sociais e culturais de uma região rural, o vinho apresenta uma “assinatura” que se escreve “naturalmente” no paladar regionalmente identificado.

Os vinhos da Região de Nemea, na Grécia e de Basto (Região dos Vinhos Verdes) em Portugal, estão ambos sob a proteção dos regulamentos das Denominações de Origem. No entanto, apesar de ambos serem regulados por sistemas institucionais de certificação e controlo de qualidade, afigura-se a necessidade de questionar se o património cultural e a identidade territorial específica, “impressa” em ambos os terroirs, pode ser protegida num sentido mais abrangente do que apenas origem e qualidade.

Em Nemea, a discussão entre os produtores diz respeito ao estabelecimento de sub-zonas, isto é incluir na regulação PDO uma diferente categorização territorial com base no terroir. Ou seja, para além de estar presente no rótulo a designação PDO, as garrafas incluirão ainda informação certificada sobre a área específica (dentro do mesmo terroir) onde o vinho foi produzido. A acontecer resultaria em diferentes *status* de qualidade de acordo com as diferentes aldeias de Nemea onde as vinhas estão localizadas. O que teria possíveis impactos no valor das propriedades e no uso dos solos. Para além disso, a não participação da Cooperativa de Nemea na SON (a associação local de produtores de vinho) e como tal na discussão principal sobre as mudanças e os desafios sobre o terroir de Nemea constitui um problema no sector vitivinícola de Nemea. Em primeiro lugar estabelece uma relação de não-comunicação entre os dois mais importantes agentes desse sector – as companhias vinícolas e a Cooperativa. Em segundo lugar porque constituiu uma possibilidade real, não só para os vicultores ficarem arredados dessa discussão, como também (porque não representados pela cooperativa) ficar impossibilitado um consenso sobre as mudanças discutidas. Isto poderá criar um ‘clima’ de desconfiança levando a discussão para ‘arenas’ deslocalizadas e como tal para decisões ‘desterritorializadas’

Em Basto, há vários produtores que começaram a vender a sua produção para distribuidoras localizadas externamente à sub-região de Basto, mas dentro da Região dos Vinhos Verdes, uma vez que essas companhias tem um melhor estatuto nacional e internacional e uma melhor rede de exportações.

Isto está ainda relacionado com uma competição por uma melhor rede de contactos e *status* mais forte, tornando as discussões sobre estratégias comuns para o desenvolvimento rural e regional de Basto mais difícil de acontecer (sobre isto a palavra *impossível* foi constantemente usada durante as entrevistas com os produtores de vinho). A relação predominante entre produtores é caracterizada por relações individualistas. Contudo foi observado que essas posições são ainda caracterizadas por uma *desconfiança no interior da rede interprofissional local*: conflitos para conseguir os mesmos potenciais clientes; comprar uvas a viticultores com melhor rácio qualidade/preço; estratégias individuais para conseguir um melhor *status* político na relação com a Comissão dos Vinhos Verdes. Para além disso a *inexistência de uma activa intermediação institucional* (autoridades municipais e a Comissão de Vinho Verde), a inexistência entre os produtores de Basto de uma associação ou mesmo a inexistência de uma cooperativa local tem levado a região de Basto a uma posição de sub-promoção nas estratégias de promoção do Vinho Verde em comparação com outras sub-regiões. É também evidente pelos resultados que as mudanças no sector vitivinícolas na região de Basto têm sido estimuladas de fora da região (em resposta também às necessidades dos mercados internacionais) e raramente de dentro – mais uma vez, ‘arenas’ não localizadas e como tal decisões desterritorializadas.

Nesse sentido, toda essa discussão e planeamento estratégico, terão um papel vital na preservação da identidade localizada do terroir perante os riscos de descaracterização e desterritorialização.

Em suma, para ambos os casos, um dos maiores desafios parece ser como preservar o terroir vitivinícola e como tal o seu carácter e identidade local, quando a rede interprofissional em ambas as regiões se caracteriza, tanto por relações não-consensuais em Nemea como pelo *modus operandi* de isolamento sem comunicação em Basto. Como tal há uma necessidade de envolvimento entre os diversos agentes e as autoridades locais no sentido de uma rede localizada de governança. Assim sendo, em ambas as regiões, a existência dessa rede é essencial para prevenir os efeitos negativos na identidade do produto e na sua produção. Uma estratégia de planeamento integrado para o sector será vital para preservar essa identidade, prevenindo a sua desterritorialização através de uma reestruturação do conhecimento tradicional em simultâneo com a democratização do acesso ao conhecimento das técnicas modernas de produção vitivinícola.

keywords

Regional and Rural development; European Policies; Product Qualification; Local Food; Geographical Indications.

abstract

Wine growing and producing has a diverse set of characteristics that reflects on territory and the community of a region's cultural heritage. In countries like Portugal and Greece, where the wine history is almost so long as the country's history itself, this cultural heritage is deep rooted on a long past constructed tradition. When this tradition is translated into a concept like *terroir* that is embedded by specific territorial, social and cultural characteristics of a rural region, the wine bears a "signature" present on the "natural" taste regionally identified.

On the recent years there is a renewed interest on the notion of *terroir*, where discussions arose about the preservation/re-creation of *terroirs* on the ongoing process of history.

One of most used protection of wine *terroirs* lies on geographical indications property rights instruments. On the context of European Union the commonly used is Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), strongly influenced by the French *appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC).

Nemea (Greece) and Basto (Portugal) are two high quality demarcated wines regions (VQPRD) under the protection of labels of origin that in legal terms have (commonly) the format of Geographical Indications (*GIs*). Despite both follow institutional overseeing certification systems and quality control, recent discussions have emerged on the reconstruction of local/traditional knowledge and thus on the reconstruction of both regions *terroir*'s. Therefore, those discussions arose challenges to rural development of the regions between the preservation of *localness* (implicit on the protection by labels of origin) and the threats of *de-territorialization*. In Nemea, the discussion among the wine producers concerns the establishment of sub-appellations. Therefore, if formally established, there will be included on the bottles (besides the general Nemea PDO label) certified labelling of the specific rural community (inside Nemea region). We observed that may result into different status of quality accordingly to different sub-zones of Nemea wine appellation. The opposers believe that this changes will have impacts on property values and also confusion between consumers regarding Nemea wine will be brought. Besides, the non-participation of Nemea Wine Cooperative on SON (the local interprofessional association of producers) and thus on the main table of the discussion about the changes on the *terroir* of Nemea, constitutes a *problem* on the chain of Nemea network. It establishes, at first, a non-communication between the two most important stakeholders in Nemea – the private wineries and the cooperative. Second, it constitutes a real possibility for, not only the rural community (farmers and other inhabitants that have a indirect relation with the wine economy) be set apart from the discussion as a important stakeholder, but also (because not represented by the cooperative) an overall consensus over the discussed changes will be almost impossible. This can create a 'climate' of distrust and driven the discussion through *non-localized* 'arenas' and thus to *de-territorialized* decisions.

In Basto there are, increasingly, closer relations between wine producers and bigger companies located elsewhere than between themselves. This is related with a conflicting competition for stronger network and status, making discussions on common strategies for Basto wine region(al) rural development very difficult to take place (regarding this the word *impossible* was constantly used during interviews with wine producers). The predominant relation between producers is characterised by individualistic positions. However, we observed that those positions are augmented by the distrust within the local interprofessional network: struggling for the same potential clients; to buy (grapes) from vinegrowers with better price/quality ratio; conflicts for better social and political status on the relation with the Vinho Verde Commission. Furthermore, the *lack of institutional active intermediation* (municipal authorities and Vinho Verde Commission), the inexistence of a Basto wine producers association or even the inexistence of a local cooperative has leading to the sub-promotion position of Basto on Vinho Verde promotion schemes in comparison with others sub-regions. It was also evident from the results that the changes on Basto's wine sector have been stimulated from outside (in response to international markets needs) and barely from within – once more, *non-localized* 'arenas' and thus *de-territorialized* decisions.

In sum, for both cases, the main challenge appears to be how to preserve wine terroir and therefore its *localness*, when the interprofessional network is being driven in a way of, either non-consensus relations (Nemea) or isolated *modus operandi* without discussions at all (Basto). There is indeed a needed 'spark' for all involved actors and local authorities to come together – a *necessity of localized governance networks*. Therefore, in both wine regions, the existence of localized governance is essential to prevent the negative effects on terroir's identity and wine production localness through strategical planning involving all stakeholders and political authorities both at local and regional level. This integrated strategical planning will only play a vital role to preserve *localness* over *de-territorialisation* if able to mobilize *re-territorialization* under a *re-shaping of traditional knowledge* along with the winemaking modern techniques.

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cabeceiras de basto - refojos de basto

Source: illustration by Mário Teixeira

*O que mais há na terra é paisagem.
Por muito que do resto lhe falte, a paisagem sempre sobrou,
abundância que só por milagre infatigável se explica,
porquanto a paisagem é sem dúvida anterior ao homem,
e apesar disso, de tanto existir, não se acabou ainda.*

José Saramago, Levantado do Chão.

Introductory notes

Sometimes everyone has a tendency to look into a given subject as the ticking of a clock, following the rhythmic pattern of its mechanical sound and the certainty of its mathematical logic. But just as a clock that over time needs to be placed in the 'right' track of time with the readjustments accordingly to summer and winter seasons, our perspectives on a subject need also to be placed on the (apparent) 'right' track that the results from scientific research provide. However, even though there are always readjustments needed after any research and its consequently results analysis and conclusion, this readjustments provide us the continuously and permanent consciousness for questioning ourselves on the apparent certainty of a clocks mechanical and mathematical movement.

Since the first moment we have chosen to address the role of European Union Policies on rural development and, more precisely, to investigate this role through the assessment of two wine regions, that the above mentioned continuous and permanent consciousness for questioning has been enforced to constitute the main methodological positioning.

Therefore, this research thesis structure, methodology, theoretical framework, field research approach (sociological ethnographic) and the main findings are all presented following always that positioning. Along the work that all through the further pages is presented, was thought always to be sustained by a permanent criticism of what seems to be institutionally accepted as certain; to meet the confrontation with the ones for who rural development strategies framework of the EU is perceived as the orthodox guidelines of *best practices* manual. However, the permanent criticism is neither done with a posture of total opposition to each and everything that has been done as regarding EU's strategies for regional cohesion and rural development neither a criticism concealed by a dubious or hypocritical political positioning. Here it is believed that most of all the academic field must be clear on its political positioning so the reader, whoever it is, knows how to place its perspective either on the moment he reads either on the moment he prepares his reactions in form of critiques. Right from the beginning the work was designed with this clear statement always in mind, so the approach to controversial themes such as rural development within the context of EUs policies and the role of geographical indications qualifications schemes for the development of rural communities as the ones in Nemea and Basto wines regions was placed on the *radical* effort of going to the *roots* of the research questions. Only this way the researcher

can learn how vulnerable or fortified those roots, considering its backgrounds, will hold to the challenges ahead.

1.2. Thesis organization

After Introductory part we present **Chapter II** *EU Regional and Rural Development Policies: between theory and reality* that focus on the European Union policies for Rural Areas and Rural Development. This effort implied to understand the conceptual and political framework over policies like Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), Social Cohesion Policy and the overall Regional Development perspective either present on the European guidelines for territorial cohesion and its evolution towards European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). Furthermore all this conceptual and political framework was also analyzed on the light on the notions of progress and development, in order to clarify the author's positioning along the discourse regarding what is quite often legitimized under the uncontested acceptance of those notions, determined by the nation-States more powerfully positioned in the EU's political and economic negotiation and accordingly to the geo-political spectrum of power division, based either in the ones who establish the settings of dominant ideologies either by the ones that, by compliance, confer the legitimacy of the power exercise that emanates from the first. The mentioned effort revealed to be important once, as expressed by the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek (2006) the acquisition of the language by humans is the origin of the symbolic sphere in our lives. By analysing the EU policies rationale on regional and rural development we have focused on the symbolic power of the official rhetoric which allowed us to grasp precisely the above mentioned relations of geopolitical power, as expressed by Pierre Bourdieu in his following statement: <<The effectiveness of symbolic words only operates when the person recognized as the target plays as "established" for the exercise, or, what comes to the same thing, forgets and ignores submitting himself as if he had contributed, by the recognition of the symbolic meaning that grants its effectiveness.>> (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 107)¹. Furthermore, it implied an effort to summarize the EU regional and rural policies through the last 50 years, the evolution of the concepts of regional and rural development along those years and finally the territorial impacts of CAP in agriculture and rural areas and as well its relation with the ESDP. Finally it was addressed the need to question or re-think all those policies accordingly with the set of connections internalized on agro-food geographies theory.

¹ Own translation from the Portuguese edition.

Precisely this agro-food geographies makes the bridge to **Chapter III** *The Place(ment) of agro-food geographies* in which the academic literature on *local food* was revised considering its assumptions or claims of alternative food systems versus globalised industrial food commodities. However, this was made not following a generalised and descriptive revision that soon would lead us to a considering amount of conceptual accumulation resulting in torrent of quoted theories, lacking in clarification towards confusion and boredom. Instead the focus went to the political agenda(s) of local food debates, either by analyzing the evolution of the alternative food systems movements, their political discourses, means to stimulate the implementation of food (re)localization process but also the way the dominant ideology, at a great extent backed up by economical neoliberal ideology, strives to incorporate the alternative food systems movements in a trap of their own rhetoric for environmental concerns. Therefore, the focus was placed in the analysis between accepted and contested notions on local food and their explicit or hidden political agenda(s) in order to first clarify the tactics of dominant food systems ideological attempts to be accepted as eco-friendly or green (among other buzzwords) either in EU and US but also to demonstrate that a unreflexive localism will only crystallize the social inequalities on food systems under the flag of counter-acting to industrial food at any cost, being in many cases appropriated by ‘their own enemy’ – to which product qualification or geographical indications are used as a tool. Thus it is argued that a reflexive politics approach to local food debate is needed through analysis that go to the core of micro-scale cases and social embedded initiatives, and not through a global approach that antagonizes merely alternative food systems versus industrialized ones. To complement this analysis on local food, the role of geographical indications on product qualification was addressed specifically, either by revising the mainstream views on their importance for local food systems and rural development, either by addressing particular real examples of their implementation with success but also with failures, paying particular attention to the European geographical indications. After passing to the two first theoretical pillars of the research, EU policies on rural development and local food/geographical indications, as the analysis to the case studies gets closer there is a need to understand first the agricultural and rural contexts of Greece and Portugal, essential to contextualize what comes afterwards, the wine regions of Nemea and Basto. So **Chapter IV** is dedicated, through a similar approach, to an overview and the main (past and current) challenges of agriculture and the rural of Greece and Portugal. First it was decided to consider the evolution and quest for a model in Greek and Portuguese agriculture and rural;

in one hand by analysing the crucial moments of relatively stability or of instability caused by political turmoil's and considerable changes (in the case of Greece suffering a considerable amount of historical important changes through conflicts and political regimes shifts, but also in Portugal after 40 years of dictatorship) and in the other hand by addressing the (current) resulting rural and agriculture model, especially regarding the past influence that forge them and the challenges ahead considering potentials and weaknesses. This chapter finishes with some considerations for Portuguese and Greek cases regarding local food and geographical indications, not just to make the bridge with the previous chapter by contextualize it considering the evolution and quest for a model in agriculture and rural of those two countries and how local food can lead to rural development through product qualification but also, considering the latter, by addressing real cases previously studied. So for the Portuguese case some research results regarding the Tourism Region of Serra da Estrela were quoted to exemplify some of the bigger challenges between the connection of regional food products and rural tourism but also some results of a recent research project at Portuguese national level conducted in University of Aveiro designated *Rural Matters* (in which I also collaborated) to express the connection between urban and rural areas through the consumption of local food from rural areas motivated by family relations to those areas. And for the Greek case two interviews carried for the purpose of this research were used to empirically 'illustrate' at first the future challenges for Greece agro-food production and secondly on the importance of geographical indications to protect agro-food products but also the problems and weaknesses of this instrument in product qualification considering the transition of the EU law to the Greek one. For the first the Secretary General of Agricultural Policy & Management of European Funds in the Greek government, Charalambos Kasimis was interviewed, focusing mainly on the question about the vulnerability of local producers in the current context of economic crisis and generalized pro-market neoliberal policies in Europe and also on the importance of qualification rather than intensive production to reduce the vulnerability of those farmers. For the second Charalambos Moulkiotis, Chief of Unit for PDO, PGI & TSG in the Greek Ministry of Reconstruction of Production, Environment & Energy was interviewed where, among other things, a relatively lack of national autonomy to deal with the qualification schemes and some problems related with scale of production and lack of regional integrated perspectives and promotion strategies, were addressed. In two last chapters, **Chapter V** and **VI**, Nemea and Basto are at last the centre of all attention, first, in Chapter V, through a brief historical and geographical characterization

moving then more deeply into some socio-economic data and finally into the characterization of the keys issues under the spotlight of the research – the interprofessional network operationalization seen in the relation between winemakers, farmers, political authorities, certification institutions and other important stakeholders and the overall outcomes, challenges but also conflicts and weaknesses considering (lack of) public policies and rural development strategies. Chapter VI comes to show empirically that set of discussions by the interviews results and analysis.

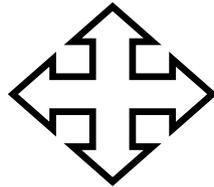
Research Objectives

To identify and understand the content (objectives; ideological positioning; evolution and motivations) **of EU's policies for Regional and Rural development.**



Objective

Analysing CAP; Social Cohesion Policy; Rural and Regional Development perspectives and ESDP.



To understand the rationale of those policies concerning rural areas in Europe and Europe's regional disparities.

What is the place(ment) of agro-food geographies in EU's rural development policies?



3-step answers*

1. European perspectives on local food and industrialised food;
2. The EU protection of local food and the role of product qualification through GI's;
3. The Greek and Portuguese cases of local food and GI's. **(Chapter IV) – [Basto and Nemea wine regions]**

Hypothesis*

2. EU's policies for rural areas have stimulated more local food networks **OR have stimulated more industrialised food commodities.**

1. EU's product qualification schemes based on GI's are able to protect local food and ensure rural development **VS De-territorialisation threats **(and threats to wine terroir as cultural heritage)****

RESEARCH QUESTION

3. What are the connections between the wine production and rural development in Basto and Nemea?

[Existence (or lack) of regional integrated strategies for development and role of public policies in the two wine regions]

1.4. Methodology

Considering the topic of the research, we decided to support it on qualitative methods. Therefore it has been planned and worked through five steps: **Data collection; Interview guide; Choice of the sample; In-depth interviews and data analysis.** Data collection has focused on research's main concepts: EU's rationale on regional and rural development and its different programmes; Local food and Geographical Indications; Wine terroir and also on both countries rural and agricultural background and the two wine regions existing literature. Semi-structured interviews were carried out under a framework of two main sections: the evolution of terroir between local knowledge and expert knowledge and the regional and local interprofessional network. This key points were designed to lead into a better understanding on how in a wine region with recognized identity, cultural and traditional heritage the concept of terroir is known, discussed and re-created. The sample was selected accordingly both convenience sampling and snowball sampling and taking in consideration two criteria: origin of the winery and market orientation (local/domestic or international). For Nemea case 13 interviews were made; 6 with winemakers, one with the former wine Cooperative, one in a Vine Nursery, one with a public servant from the local agriculture office and one with the Head of the Ministry office that deals with geographical indications. The remaining 3 were exploratory interviews to prepare better the following ones in Nemea (one with a Greek wine promotion organization called EDOAO, one with a Greek Master of Wine and one with a wine trader to international markets). For the case of Basto less interviews were made once the time spent in Portugal to do research was way less than the one spend in Greece and so 9 interviews were made; 8 with winemakers and one with the Vinho Verde Commission that regulates officially the wine sector for all Vinho Verde region. Regarding the **interview guide**, it was designed in order to carry out a semi-structured interview, this way the interviews were made following a framework of themes to be explored. Considering that only three interviews took place and, despite of the efforts to have at least three more, the framework was conceived focusing on three broad key points, however the last interview was based only in two. All of them are presented by the following:

1. – Wine regions terroir evolution between local knowledge and expert knowledge

On this first key point the questions were addressed in order to urge the producers to talk about the evolution of Nemea and Basto wines (by first being asked about their winery history) in both countries wine sector context and thus the evolution and importance of both terroirs. Besides, they were asked about the role of local knowledge and expert knowledge on the shaping and re-shaping of the terroir that constitute both wine regions as demarcated wine regions under Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). Moreover, it was also part of the interview the relationship between this two types of knowledge, especially when, for the case of Nemea, its PDO wine has been presented the most important red wine region in Greece, and its grape variety of the four flagship varieties, making winemakers turned more and more into international market, and for the case of Basto, there has been an increasing investment in promoting Vinho Verde either domestically either to international markets, having consequences on wine terroir cultural heritage specificities at the sub-regions levels. Finally the future of both wine regions terroir between the need to preserve it and the increasing attractiveness of the area and the international market orientation.

2. Regional and Local Interprofessional network – between competitiveness and cooperation

All the questions around this second key point attempted to approach and reach the interviewees about the functional ‘gears’ of the relationship between wine producing and wine consumption inside and outside the region of Nemea and Basto. Not only between the private wineries, each winemakers, the local Cooperative, political authorities, wine associations and institutions but also to address the role of the local community in this network, on the figure of the farmers. In order to be prepared for discuss the topic of the Interprofessional network of Nemea wine region the structure that Papadopoulos (2010: 253) was used as a fundamental tool, even if some of this structure does not correspond with all it extent to the current situation, as we will see in the results. Regarding Basto, several informal contacts were done in the region with people that work or have worked with winemakers of the sub-region but also in all Vinho Verde appellation. Through this contacts, that could not be recorded in a interview format as it was the condition to talk with these

people, it was possible to re-adjust better the questions that were done previously in Nemea, for the Basto case.

Regarding the **sample choice** and the **in-depth interviews** just some brief considerations. The sample was selected accordingly both convenience sampling and snowball sampling and taking in consideration two criteria: origin of the wine company and market orientation. In both case studies the contacts were made through exploratory contacts that acquainted the researcher with the one of the oldest local winemakers in Nemea. Then this winemaker made the contacts to arrange interviews with three more winemakers. In Basto the approach was different because it is a sub-region composed by four municipalities and not just one as Nemea, therefore the purpose was to interview at least two winemakers from each municipality that was succeed for most of them with exception of one, Mondim de Basto in each only one was interviewed. Therefore, though information provided by the Commission we have contacted by email all the wineries and the first ones who answered (this decision has to be made due to constraints of time spent in Portugal to conclude this part of the research) and fit in the two criteria (origin of the winemaker and marketing orientation) were ‘chosen’ to be interviewed.

The following two tables present a categorization and codification of both cases interviews.

Table 1. Interviews categorization in Nemea

Code	Category/location winery	Description
O1²	Winemaker/ Archaies Kleones	Origin: Local. Market orientation: half domestic half international.
O2	Winemaker/ Archaies Kleones	Origin: Non-local. Market orientation: more domestic market.
O3	Winemaker/ Malandreni	Origin: Local. Market orientation: more international market.

² For Nemea it was chosen the code ‘O’ because of the Greek word for winemaker that is Οινοποιός.

O4	Winemaker/Koutsis	Origin: non-local. Market orientation: more international market.
O5	Winemaker/Asprokambos	Origin: Non-local Market orientation: half domestic half international.
O6	Winemaker/Nemea	Origin: Local. Market orientation: more domestic market.
FPC	Former President of Cooperative	Former President of the Wine Cooperative of Nemea that resigned office in 2011.
LAO	Local Agricultural Office (under Agriculture Ministry supervision)	Public servant in the local agriculture office in Nemea.
VN	Vine Nursery	Specialized in Vines plants; Grafts plants; Rootstocks. Providing technical assistance to winemakers and vinegrowers.
MW	Master of Wine	A qualification issued by The Institute of Masters of Wine in the United Kingdom. This qualification is generally regarded in the wine industry as one of the highest standards of professional knowledge.
EDOAO	New Wines of Greece	Promotional Greek Wines Institution
WT	Wine Trader	Greek wine trader to International Markets.
	Greek Chief of Unit for PDO, PGI & TSG	Greek Chief of Unit for PDO, PGI & TSG in the Agricultural Ministry.

Table 2. Interviews categorization in Basto Sub-Region

Code	Category/ location of winery	Description
PV1	Winemaker/ Celorico de Basto	Origin: Local. Market orientation: almost only domestic market.
PV2	Winemaker/Cabeceiras de Basto	Origin: Local. Market orientation: only domestic market
PV3	Winemaker/Cabeceiras de Basto	Origin: Local. Market orientation: almost only international market.
PV4	Winemaker/ Ribeira de Pena	Origin: non-Local. Market orientation: half domestic market and half international market.
PV5	Winemaker/ Celorico de Basto	Origin: Local. Market orientation: only domestic market.
PV6	Winemaker/ Ribeira de Pena	Origin: Local. Market orientation: almost only domestic market.
PV7	Winemaker/Cabeceiras de Basto	Origin: Local. Market orientation: almost only international market.
CVRVV	Vinho Verde Region Commission	Institutional Commission responsible for the certification of Vinho Verde PDO and Minho Region PGI and also responsible for the institutional promotion of Vinho Verde.



Frescoes of the *Good and Bad Government*, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1338-40) Sala dei Nove, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.³

II CHAPTER

EU Regional and Rural Development Policies: between theory and reality

We cannot turn our back on politics, retreat into private life, and imagine the way we are governed will not have profound effects on our personal happiness.

Miller, 2003, p.3

³ << Ambrogio Lorenzetti's most revolutionary achievement - one of the most remarkable accomplishments of the Renaissance - is the fresco series that lines three walls of the room in the Palazzo Pubblico where Siena's chief magistrates, the Nine, held their meetings (Sala dei Nove). Ambrogio's task was unprecedented, for he was apparently called upon to paint allegorical depictions of good and bad government and to represent the effects that such regimes would have in the town and the country.>> Web Gallery of Art. <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?html/1/lorenzet/ambrogio/governme/>

2.1 The Regional and the Rural within European Union Policies Meeting its *Rationale* on the notion of progress and development

It is broadly accepted that since its very beginning European Union has devoted a great percentage of its programmes budgets to social and economic cohesion, that, also, extendedly accepted, are the very core of the key stones from which Rome Treaty was built upon while the ashes from 2nd World War were faded, but still, dimly, blazing. At the initial standpoint, due to the relatively homogeneous nature of its founding countries the concerns were directed at cohesion between social groups, particularly between agricultural workers and industrial and services employees (FAO/WB, 2009). Regional policy was back then, and still now at some extent, depended on the idea that by opening less developed regions to trade, participating in European common market, along with infrastructure, growth would be simply generated. This theory that propounds the necessity of opening markets and thus bringing growth with the use of regional ‘aid’ funds⁴ proved to bring convergence at countries level but deepening regional divergence: <<If convergence *between* countries has been clearly observed, the accumulation of economic activities *within* countries has actually increased at a faster pace in wealthier/agglomerated areas, causing further regional divergence.>>(ibidem, p.2). Furthermore, if generally it is accepted that countries can, in fact, benefit from trade opening as means to foster growth, it has to be at the same extent accepted that those benefits may not trickle down to regional level.

Therefore, the first common EU policy, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was also concerned about social cohesion but at a first stage intrinsically linked to agriculture (the so-called second pillar of the CAP focusing on rural development only came forth after 1992, strongly influenced by the regional policy evolution once beforehand rural development was considered to be as part of cohesion policy) and despite several objectives entailed on the famous Article 33 of the Treaty of Rome, the CAP had put all its focus on supporting farm incomes with price and market support. Under this regime⁵ the production within EU was

⁴ Besides CAP, concentrated in agriculture in its beginnings, the use of Trans European Network (TEN) funds, to promote the emergence of transportation, telecommunications and energy corridors is still motivated by current regional cohesion policy.

⁵ A price support system that was based on intervention prices that were considerably higher than world prices combined with border tariffs and threshold prices.

extendedly intensified leading to large surplus that were, in result, to be subsidized to exports or simply destroyed – this export subsidies also have an impact on productions worldwide.⁶ Either with regional development programmes and funds with the EU's cohesion policy, used to implement changes in the administrative culture of Member States as an indirect mechanism to press for strategic planning systems, as well the rural development programmes, integrated in CAP's new formulation and programmes, agriculture always appeared to be a key sector in EU's policy rationale, even determining government strategies towards economic development. In this rationale, particularly after the latest enlargement, those strategies (aimed to be strategical or in other words integrating the so-called diversity of stakeholders⁷) have changed the 'face' of large parts, if not the whole of, agro-territories of member state countries, but strongly in southern European countries – quite often with, still, ignored social costs.⁸

Especially regarding scientific works, there will not be so many moments in which we can use the words –'It is certainly undeniable', however we would risk here to use them to say that agriculture occupies a central role in the European continent (as certainly valid for the rest of the world), for its society, economy and environment; although its complexity lies on the great set of diversities both geographically and structurally. In fact, regarding the latter, structurally, EU agriculture has become capital-intensive, with more machines and buildings, more large-scale, with less but bigger commercial farms which are also less self-sufficient

⁶ << The sugar sector is Mozambique's single largest source of employment, employing 23,000 workers in 2011. (...)However, the country faces many obstacles in its attempts to rehabilitate production. The dumping of European surpluses reduces Mozambique's export revenues. Despite the EU being one of the highest-cost sugar producers, its subsidies mean that it is the second largest sugar exporter in the world.>> Stop the Dumping! How EU agricultural subsidies are damaging livelihoods in the developing world.>> Oxfam, October 2002 [online] http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp61_sugar_dumping_0.pdf [consulted on 20-05-2015]

⁷ The existence of *diversity of stakeholders* is considered, for this context, to be strategical once it was noted in the aftermath of the interviews that without this diversity, or in other words, *an existing set of different level stakeholders* in the region, is a *tactic* itself and therefore part of the whole strategy that has to come up. Without this *tactic* the whole wheel of the strategy, relying on communication, will never work, once as we will see further, miscommunication will bring in an unbalanced set of political and economic power, leading to capital accumulation instead of its dispersion through the rural community – making rural development outcomes be distorted in the end.

⁸ <<Untill recently, the effects of the CAP upon European regions were largely ignored in the formulation of the policy (...).This attitude was a reflection of the sectoral nature of the policy itself, and of neglect by land-use planners, who concentrated mainly in settlements, from megapolis to village, rather than on the rural areas within which these are located.>> (.>>(Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts, p.2, 2005).

and considerably more regulated, in terms of subsidies administration, food safety and animal welfare.

Furthermore besides the highly complexity of Europe's agricultural geography, there has been in the past decades significant changes that have turn the already complex geography of agricultural areas into a 'field' of constant moveably discussions and lesser solid grounds in terms of policy and decision-making at national and transnational levels:

The agricultural sector has been under technological development as fuelling an increasingly push towards massive extended production to feed a urban population and urbanised areas growth at an impressive rhythm in Europe⁹, all justified by the mystified notion of economic progress, not rarely at the cost of social one, as we will see further;

It has been subjected to policy intervention under national policies and within the context of an expanding European Union, where this national policies of state management of farming have been absorbed by EU's most extended and important policy-framework (also the most costly) – the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

Accordingly to Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), about a quarter of the total population is recorded as "rural" and about 8% as "agricultural", although any of this population definitions are easy to settle. Regarding European agricultural industry in terms of GDP, the share is lower than that, between 2% and 3%, mainly due to lower labour productivity in farming and the often difficult differentiation of this activities with fishing, forestry and hunting, and obviously due to higher levels of under-recording agricultural activities that fall into 'black' or 'grey' economies. Despite of agricultural and rural are different concepts, they share in common the *space of production*, being, not strictly but still at a greater extent, rural areas.

Defining a concept like *Rural Areas*¹⁰, both territorially, economically and socially, would reveal so difficult task that the whole thesis could be dedicated to such endeavour. Obviously,

⁹ <<The urban population in 2014 accounted for 54% of the total global population, up from 34% in 1960, and continues to grow. The urban population growth, in absolute numbers, is concentrated in the less developed regions of the world. It is estimated that by 2017, even in less developed countries, a majority of people will be living in urban areas. The global urban population is expected to grow approximately 1.84% per year between 2015 and 2020, 1.63% per year between 2020 and 2025, and 1.44% per year between 2025 and 2030.>> World Health Organization (WHO) [online] http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/ [consulted on 18-06-2015]

¹⁰ Rural Areas appear above demarcated with italic for a quite important reason, besides the obvious of underlining a central concept that by its words composition intends to refer to the broader concept of *Rural* as a geographical *Area* in which agriculture has an important role to play. This reason can be found in why we

the purpose here is not to put forward an exhaustive attempt to define it. As with Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts (2005) it was decided to bring here the territorial scheme by the OECD¹¹ Group of the Council on Rural Development. In general, and accordingly to the above mentioned territorial scheme, two levels of geographical detail are described. Being **the first** the classification into urban or rural of each basic administrative or statistical unit accordingly with a population density threshold of 150 inhabitants per square km. And being **the second**, a classification of the degree of rurality of a region (each one of them either comprising several or many of small communities) considering the share of the population living in those rural communities. In result this territorial scheme distinguishes the following three types of regions:

1. *Predominantly rural regions* (more than 50% of the population living in rural communities);
2. *Significantly rural regions* (between 15% and 50% of the population living in rural communities) and *predominantly urbanised regions* (less than 15% of the population living in rural communities).
3. *Predominantly urbanised regions* (less than 15% of the population living in rural communities).

This schematic approach and classification using an hierarchical and distinctive territorial levels is central to further analysis on the impacts on rural areas, once << Only through the different levels can the complexity of rural problems in various national and regional contexts be seized.>>(Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts, p.55, 2005).

However a definition of rural areas that sustains only a territorial scheme is quite a limitation to address rural development, and thus a dimension that assess rural economies also needs to integrate a definition of rural areas. This differentiation towards the assessment of rural economies it is important, because within the above mentioned three types of regions, there are different, as quite obvious it would be, regional development prospects. Generally rural regions have a tendency to lag behind the national averages of regional development (that

have started the current page by addressing agricultural areas and not rural areas, because even though they are in strict close tied relation, one does not mean the other neither they overlap to be the same as Rural is way wider as a *place* (with a growing diversity of activities) than just a space of agro-food production.

¹¹ The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

can be measured with primary indicators as the territorial distribution of a country total employment by the different regions). There are also evidences that illustrate many rural regions, in several OECD countries with a dynamic regional development. This way, according with Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts (2005, p5), by comparing regional development performance with national averages <<(…) a further differentiation of regions is achieved by means of a simple split into *leading* and *lagging* regions (…)>>.

Focusing in this two categories *leading* and *lagging* it is important to rescue what we have said, previously, about the notion of progress, in which from Enlightenment period to 19th century views, passing by Industrial Revolution as well as in old and new Colonialism (where that notion was a legitimacy tool), progress has been somehow always related with the existence of conditions to move *forward* in terms of technological achievements, political stability, economic growth (as more or less direct consequence of the latter) but not so often about the human conditions and social development as social equality.¹² The notion of progress is intimately related with the two above-mentioned categories of leading and lagging once the process that brought ‘together’ most of the nation States of Europe within the EU has determined as leading and lagging nations the ones that had domestic stronger economic and social structures being the evolution of those structures designated by progress – from here comes as well the regional distinctions between core and periphery regions¹³.

¹² Despite Enlightenment period notion of progress is at a certain extent dominated by Adam Smith emphasis on spontaneous improvement in economic life, Immanuel Kant appeared to present a quite ‘fresh’ perspective to the Enlightenment *state of art* on associating the notion of progress to an emphasis on world peace and its detailed description on how domestic and international institutions needed for peaceful conditions.

For Kant human faculties can only reach their fullest expression only in free and peaceful circumstances, which in turn require a particular set of institutions – the mentioned political stability. Therefore, for him, progress from one era to another is measured by the development of human faculties during that time.

But only later with the Marxian materialism perspective on human History the contradictions within the means of production relations and capital accumulation of capitalism, as the established notion of progress, were addressed to sustain the alienation and exploitation of the human in that process of capital accumulation and assets creation.

¹³ Immanuel Wallerstein in his famous work of 1974, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, proposes a model of four categories as a basis for comparison between world regions. For this author capitalist world system was based on an international division of labour that determined relationships between different regions, and furthermore the type of political system was also directly related to each region’s placement within the world economy. Core, semi-periphery, periphery, and external, were the four categories proposed into which all regions of the world can be placed and this categories describe each region’s relative position within the world economy as well as certain internal political and economic characteristics.

Closely two decades later, Krugman (1991a; 1991b) also developed, although in two categories, a core/periphery model sustaining that the cumulative causation of agglomeration of activities along with imperfect competition will lead to regional disparities intensification.

For example, when countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece joined the EU, coming from contexts of less favourable economies (and specially the last two, they are still, *mutatis mutandis*, in less favourable economies), the strong differences between EU region's economies became a concern; while countries like Portugal and Spain have been candidates to be part of EU as a vigorous political option to consolidate their democracies believing in the future of Europe¹⁴, expecting the single market would bring overall economic growth, the reasons for concern were on the fear that instead of convergence, regional divergence would be exacerbated. In the same year of 1957, when six countries of western Europe signed Treaty of Rome as a co-operation to <<(…) ostensibly, at least, designed to pool economic resources and resourcefulness, not to dissolve western Europe into a single amorphous entity.>>(McGiffen, 2005, p.1) Myrdal's theory predictions, contradicting neoclassical models, contributed to augmenting this concern by assuming that the single market reinforces the feared regional divergences and economic agglomeration. Accordingly to Myrdal's theory, designated *cumulative causation*¹⁵, a continuous development of the (already) more developed regions, and member States, will take place in a circle of production and wealth, keeping their prospering status quo, while underdeveloped regions would not only not develop but also decline by the negative causalities of being integrated in that market. Later on, in 1990, Krugman and Venables came up with *economic geography* theory, in which in fact leading and lagged concepts are very much expressed, sustaining that, under a imperfect single market, transportation and transaction costs are essential to determine the level of convergence, thus, benefiting central economic regions that with stronger economies, benefit from that convergence level, and therefore, reproducing (cyclically) regional disparities. Similar problems in terms of regional disparities and

¹⁴ <<The candidate countries (Portugal and Spain) have made a political option, to consolidate their new-born economies, and the request constituted an act of faith in Europe's future.>> (Santos Varela, J.A., 2007, p.57) quoting Réflexions d'ensemble relatives au problèmes de l'élargissement. Doc. COM (78). European Commission – 1978. Own translation.

¹⁵ Myrdal's cumulative causation theory express that a change in a form of institution will lead in a cumulative way to successive changes in other institutions in a circular way, creating cycles, and this cycles concerning social reality do not lead to a self-stabilization in the social system but rather in the direction of what the change has caused:

<<What is wrong with the stable equilibrium assumption as applied to social reality is the very idea that a social process follows a direction – though it might move towards it in a circuitous way – towards a position which in some sense or other can be described as a state of equilibrium between forces. (...) In the normal case a change does not call forth countervailing changes but, instead, supporting changes, which move the system in the same direction as the first change but much further. Because of such circular causation as a social process tends to become cumulative and often gather speed at an accelerating rate>> (Myrdal, 1957, p.12-13)

divergence as resulting from the imperfect single market when economies were agglomerated along the enlargement of EU member States are also admitted by Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts (2005). They consider that the different profiles of EU's regions, emerging from distinctive territorial characteristics that are frequently agricultural and rural, embodying historical and environmental heritage, are being reduced rather than conserved and valued. This territorial differences reducing attempt entails the purpose of the stronger economic forces of EU to converge through transportation improvements and search for scale economies in manufacturing and services and by not taking into account the spatially distinctive features have led to <<(…)both congestion in urbanising regions and depopulation of more remote areas>>(p.1)

Stronger economic forces within EU set the direction of the compass that points out the *forward* arrow of progress, aligning the latter by the spatial and territorial features of the first.

Here it is important to roll back again to the notion of progress and bring into the discourse the critique of Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin to the Hegelian philosophy of history, and intrinsically by consequence, his notion of progress. The criticism on the notion of progress were deeply influenced in 20th Century by the upheavals and catastrophes from its beginning to its first half. For this account Adorno express his repulsion from Hegel's assumption that a reflective individual will be reconciled with the tragedies of mankind when understanding that they are not just intrinsic to the course of history but also they have a contribution to the progress overall. This repulsion is explained, firstly, by Adorno's scepticism that fascism and the Holocaust can be part of any upward historical trend and secondly because he denies Hegel's method¹⁶ of examining history saying that Hegel moves past human evils and individual fates in a cursory fashion, hurrying toward the stage of reconciliation (Adorno, 1951, p.16-17). In his proposed new method of examining history, presented in *Minima Moralia*, Adorno considers that <<(…)the whole is the false(…)>>(Adorno 1951, p.50) to express that history dwells between individual experience and catastrophe and the *whole* of considering individual's experience within catastrophe in

¹⁶ In the <<(…)Phenomenology of Spirit, Hegel advises “tarrying with the negative” (1807, 32), which means giving the negative moments in history a full dose of philosophical attention.>> in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy [online] <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/progress/> [consulted on 17-05-2015]

a process of contribution to progress¹⁷ ends up to legitimating the consequences of catastrophes to the individual and, consequently, to humankind. Walter Benjamin offers also a criticism that is aligned with Adorno's view, actually the latter even considers the first an inspiration. The ninth thesis of Benjamin's *Theses on History* reflects, using Klee's *Angelus Novus* painting, on how humankind has led history through massacres and catastrophic destruction in the name of progress, moving forward without looking back as a storm that propels us to future regardless of what's left in the past:

<<A Klee painting named "Angelus Novus" shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. **This storm is what we call progress.**>> (Benjamin 1941, 257–8)



Fig. 1. *Angelus Novus*, Paul Klee, 1920

Later on, a more recent storm lies on the discussions about progress taking place on the aftermath of Decolonization as a second occasion for rethinking the concept of progress. Here the focus is placed on the fact that the European apologists of the colonialism claimed that the latter has modernized the *lagged* non-European world, situating colonialism in a progress narrative. In Samir Amin's *Eurocentrism* the biased notion of progress setting the direction of development, still, by the European former-colonizer countries (to whose the

¹⁷ Hegel considered that development necessarily involves periods of conflict when the old and new ideas clash, therefore he justifies war and destruction in the name of progress, and later on, one can be reconciled with those negative elements by seeing their place in the larger future picture.

suffix *centrism* stands for) has still ideological reflections on how current political view sustain that global economic equality is caused by internal features of individual countries.¹⁸ This theoretical review on progress criticism over time is especially important in order to place firmly our discourse on the rationale of European Union rural and regional development policies, withstanding that much of the negative consequences of those policies, such as undervalued regional disparities resulting from circles of underdevelopment of some regions, is quite often justified with the distinctive features of a given country that did not adapt to the determined canons of central ones, that have sketched the main features of those policies in first place. The resulted ‘storms’ (such as the recent case of Greek crisis) are then placed into a narrative of a need to move forward accordingly to what are the ‘rules agreed by the European institutions’; sometimes institutions that are not even democratic elected political (or technical) authorities. Therefore, before moving into EU’s impacts on rural and regional development, by addressing for instance CAP policy, it is strictly indispensable to understand this clear ideological positioning, stating that categories like *leading* and *lagged* are never analytical but purely judgemental.

Rural development as, among other things, rural prosperity can be found in countries with low degree of rurality like Germany or UK and also found in countries with a large degree of rurality (but with low population density) as USA or Finland. However, even considering that in those areas the change of employment in dynamic rural areas can even be more than 10 points higher than the national average (OECD, 1996), one must have take in account that these indicators are not clear synonyms of social development, neither they offer information about the quality (but instead about the quantity) of the created employment that can range between employment in low-wage sectors, part-time occupations or even unfavourable working conditions. Nonetheless, even considering that several extended in-depth analysis (eg. for the case of Portugal see Figueiredo, 2012) enlighten the attention for the critical situation of some small and medium-size towns in rural development where a decline on the rural economy has been an eminent phenomena for years, there are also several other analysis that assert the potential of the connection between regional foods and regional development as a way to leverage economic growth in rural areas (Marsden et al.,

¹⁸ Samir Amin’s work appears as seeking to replace Eurocentrism with a truer account by presenting an alternate sketch of historical development with non-European contributions. Along with this truer account he argues that current global inequality is produced by international capitalism and cannot be eradicated without dismantling that system, influenced by Marxism he ends stating that socialism is the only stable political and human system.

2000; Murdoch et al., 2000; Parrot et al., 2002) as well on relocalised food systems (Goodman, 2004; Ibery et al., 2004). According to this literature, regional foods are presented as a form of cultural capital with a high potential to stimulate wider social and economic benefits to rural areas (Tregear et al., 2003) while several empirical studies have also indicated that regional foods can play this role (Brunori and Rossi, 2000) as a territorially based product qualification schemes. Therefore, in this territorial approach of product qualification a several number of authors have consider this potential at a macro-political economy level (Moran, 1993; Barham, 2003). However Tregear et al. (2003) warn us for the fact that less examination of the territorial qualification schemes impacts at micro-level, where European Union agro-food policies, such as CAP, have a stronger tendency to cause higher impacts, once as less the size of the rural community the higher the level of social and economic vulnerability, generally speaking. For now, let us say that rural areas definition and rural development brief characterization has been mentioned in different dimensions that needed to be taken in account. Furthermore it is clear, so far, that despite the common tendency to assume rural areas as meaning predicted economic decline << Rurality in itself is not a handicap. It is not synonymous with decline, as much as urbanity and agglomeration are not automatic guarantees for prosperous development.>> (OECD, 1996, p.53). Nevertheless, being the majority of the land use shaped by agriculture which underlines the relevance of agricultural structures and rural economies, CAP policy regulations assume a crucial relevance for the transformations of those structures, the growth or decline of those economies, and therefore, the territorial impacts on those agricultural shaped lands. However, before entering on CAP policy “grounds” a clarification needs to take place on the discourse. It seems so far that we have made a direct and instantaneous connection between rural development, both social and economic, regarding the development of rural areas through agricultural activities, specifically agro-food farming. Although it is true that agriculture is still the activity with more social and economic importance in rural areas, being *rural* does not mean anymore being *agricultural* (Figueiredo, 2011). The rural as strictly agricultural is practically “death” in European countries, once most of rural areas has been “suffered” a process of diversification of economic activities, with third sector activities growing in expression specially related with agro-tourism. Nonetheless rural does not mean strictly agricultural, rural development is inextricably linked to agriculture, in which the latter undoubtedly plays an essential role to the first, but there is a need to coordinate it with

other territorial and economic development instruments. Therefore the rural aspect of the territorial cannot be detached from the whole and its integration with the whole in terms of infrastructure, the development of non- agricultural activities, services or education represents a common strategic framework for rural.

Box 1. EU Regional and Rural Policies – milestones last 50 years

1964 Launch of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)	Focus on price support.
1972 Introduction of Rural Development Funds	Farm restructuring measures.
1975 Creation of Regional Funds	Transfers between member states (not regions)
1988 Delors Package I	Present budget structure was founded; multi-annual financial frameworks and regional funds principles introduced.
1992 Delors Package II	Large increase in Regional Funding.
1992 MacSharry Reforms of CAP	Direct payment mechanisms and price support; rural development policies reinforcement .
1999 Agenda 2000	Deepening of the reform of the CAP.
2000 Lisbon Strategy	Focus on innovation to foster growth and employment
2003 Mid-term Review on CAP	Decoupling of direct income support from production in the CAP.
2005 Reform of Rural Development Policies	More rural policies to support non-agricultural actors.
2007 New EU Financial Perspectives	Stronger focus on employment and innovation
Europe 2020 Strategy	Common Strategic Framework (CSF)

Adapted from FAO/WB, 2009.

Overview:

1964 – 1972

Focusing on **price support** was the core rationale on first CAP policy once the main concern was placed on the fact that incomes in other sectors of economy were increasing while in farming they were stagnated. Furthermore, agricultural sector within the European Community was underdeveloped while self-sufficiency was still something unachievable. In order to address this key issues a broad-scope approach was proposed by EU Commissioner Sicco Mansholt that called for a rural development approach based on agricultural transformation to turn farms into viable units¹⁹, along with welfare measures, early retirement schemes and training. However, the Council of Ministers only endorsed on a system of price support. If one cannot deny that during the first decades, the price support system had a success by ensuring farmers' revenues and encouraging production, converting EU into a global exporter leader of food products (more than productivity and self-sufficiency this goal seems more plausible to have been always the key one on the agenda)²⁰ it cannot be likewise denied that price support system became irresponsible over time since 1980's subsidies were then distributed to stop and compensate a structural over-production.²¹ For countries like Portugal and Greece, in which farming structures were still adjusting to EU's reforms to consolidate agricultural viable units, this confusion transition between production's stimulation to promote a lid on over-production had severe consequences, as we will see later on.

¹⁹ 'Viable Units' were considered back then to be units in which intensive and technologically development agriculture would start to face the problems on self-sufficiency. Only then a strong internal market could be enforced with single market operating with EU fixed (artificial) price floors for all the major farm products.

²⁰ In 2001, France was, as it seems to be usual, recorded as the main receiver of CAP funding, with 22.2% of the total budget (€41.53bn) while the other biggest receivers were Spain with 14.8%, Germany with 14.1%) and Italy with 12.8% (EC,2002).

Quite often member states and, mainly, agribusiness lobby stress the vulnerability of small farm holdings to sustain the need for subsidy-based policies, while in practice the main beneficiaries of those farm supports are the largest farmers and agribusiness to gain share in international markets: <<Since the CAP reforms of 1992, the EU has continued to pursue a strategy of agricultural competitiveness in international markets by a combination of export subsidies, internal price support, and direct aid to producers(...)>> Oxfam, October 2002 [online] http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp61_sugar_dumping_0.pdf [consulted on 20-05-2015]

²¹ <<In the 1980s, however, price support became highly criticized. The 80s were indeed marked by images of "lakes of wine" and "butter mountains" due to over production, major criticisms to the harmful effects of export subsidies on developing countries' agricultures and annual rocketing CAP budgets.>>(Chambon and Rubio, 2011, p.6)

1975 – 1992

In 1975 the Community established the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and allocated it into law (Treaty of Rome Art.130C). The funds were allocated nationally (so despite the name was never about regions) based on a quotas-system per country and the projects for development had to be co-financed by national budgets. Accordingly to Martin (1998) most funds were spend on infrastructure projects lacking on economic rationale; meaning that most countries used the funds for projects that were already planned.

The **Delors I and II packages** are intrinsically related with the enlargement of the EU marked by the new entries of Spain and Portugal that together with Greece and southern Italy and Ireland created a wider area of countries that had in common a income structure considerably below the richer Member States. The first Delors package had a focus on boosting the role of EU in regional development. The funds to boost regional development were called *multi annual frameworks* where the management of the funds started to be done between the Commission and the national authorities. Then, the package introduced five principles according to which the funds would be released (that are still in force today):

Concentration – Interventions have to focus on areas in need like low income regions where GDP is less than 75% of the EU average or areas in industrial decline.

Programming – Coordinated medium-term plans came to oppose single project financing.

Partnership – Shared responsibility for preparation and implementation between national and regional authorities and Commission.

Additionality²² – Requires Member States to ensure and demonstrate that EU support does not replace the already planned national expenditures but to be additional to it.

Monitoring & Evaluation – basically a follow-up control to verify all the other principles, mainly additionality one.

Furthermore, the package had another significant decision that altered completely regional development funds – the creation of new regional policy (named **Cohesion Policy**) and clear eligible criteria:

²² Wostner and Slander (2009), point out that if the additionality principle is a necessary condition to guarantee the macro-effectiveness of the regional development and cohesion policy, it is not a sufficient condition for having a positive effect in the recipient territories in terms of outputs and outcomes. The authors consider that positive effects will only come if there is an effective and successful management of public funds at the micro-level.

1. Development and structural adjustment of regions with GDP per capita under 75% EU average;
2. Converting regions severely affected by industrial decline;
3. Combating long term unemployment;
4. Occupation integration of young people;
5. Speeding up adjustment of agricultural structures;
6. Development of rural areas.

Delors package II was a response to Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and addressed the fears of regional divergence that was increasing as a single market consequence. It went further on cohesion funds for regional development in terms of promoting the so-called trans-national transport corridors and other infrastructures in countries with GDP per capita below 90% of EU average. As it has been seen, it is clear that through the 70s and 80s the CAP demonstrated a lack of vision on rural development, since the Commission announced for the first time in 1988 that the rural development policy had to take into account overall potential for rural areas that not, just strictly, intensification of agriculture boosted by price-support subsidies.²³ Therefore the **MacSharry reforms of 1992** intended to change the nature of EU's agricultural policy by creating the basis for strong rural development policy. However, it is argued by Chambon and Rubio (2011) that in this 'change of nature', the reform focused on stopping to stimulate farmers to produce by removing price-support; consequently as this generated sudden loss of income for farmers, direct payments were introduced.²⁴ In addition of such a change, one year before the new reform, in 1991, the first LEADER Community initiative was implemented, firstly as pilot programme intended to change mentalities on rural development and stimulating endogenous local development²⁵

²³ The regional economies on the Community had suffered a process of diversification and thus rural areas start to depend on the development of more sectors than agriculture: in the document *The Future of Rural Society* of European Commission it is recognised that in 1988, of the total 166 areas of the Community, only 10 Mediterranean regions had a share of employment in agriculture in excess of 30%, while in 118 less than 10% of the employed were working in agriculture.(EC, 1988; FAO/WB, 2009)

²⁴ Considering that EU fixed prices on farming goods were, deliberately, higher than global prices, a compensation system was established with subsidies to export, in order to compensate EU farmers from the loss of revenue from selling products abroad.

²⁵ <<Local development means territorial, integrated strategies which mobilise many local actors in the form of a partnership. Its short-term aim is to improve local living and working conditions, and its long-term ambition is structural change.(...)>> (Jouen, M., 2011)

in rural areas (Chambon, et al., 2011). All this new approaches were significantly influenced, and at same time were leading by, the introduction (with MacSharry reforms of 1992) of rural development as a **2nd Pillar of the CAP**²⁶ and no longer part of the cohesion policy whose funds were established by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).²⁷

1999 – 2006

Next CAP reforms, in 1999 and 2003, went further on the 1992 MacSharry reform by continuing the decouple of payments from production (like the price support systems) and introducing compulsory ‘cross-compliance’²⁸ for payments that were intended to achieve progressively two goals:

a) to ensure farmer’s revenue b) to induce farmers to deliver environmental public goods

Along with the introduction of CAP’s 2nd Pillar, the creation of a single fund in 2005 for rural development named European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)²⁹ marked an evolution on the policy-concept of the CAP from a sector-centered policy to a wider approach and objectives stressing that to deal with long-term problems of rural communities an integrated policy that involves agricultural and broader objectives was necessary. Therefore, from 1992 until 2005 policies started to assume the framework of what OECD has called in 2006 New Rural Paradigm. Thus, while, nowadays, Member States design their rural development programmes under a common framework, deeply inspired by that *new paradigm*, CAP 2nd Pillar is responsible for covering those programmes in a co-financing system between Member States and the Commission.

²⁶ The pillar itself was called ‘Rural Development’.

²⁷ However, part of the cohesion policy measures were still available for rural areas, especially the most deprived ones as part of a strategy for regional development and communication between urban and rural areas.

²⁸ Accordingly to European Commission, this mechanism sets a condition to farmers to comply with basic standards concerning the environment, food safety, animal and plant health and animal welfare as well as with the duty of keeping land in good agricultural and environmental condition. Source: <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/>

²⁹ Council Regulation (EC) No 1290/2005 of 21 June 2005 on the financing of CAP.

Box 2. The New Rural Development paradigm

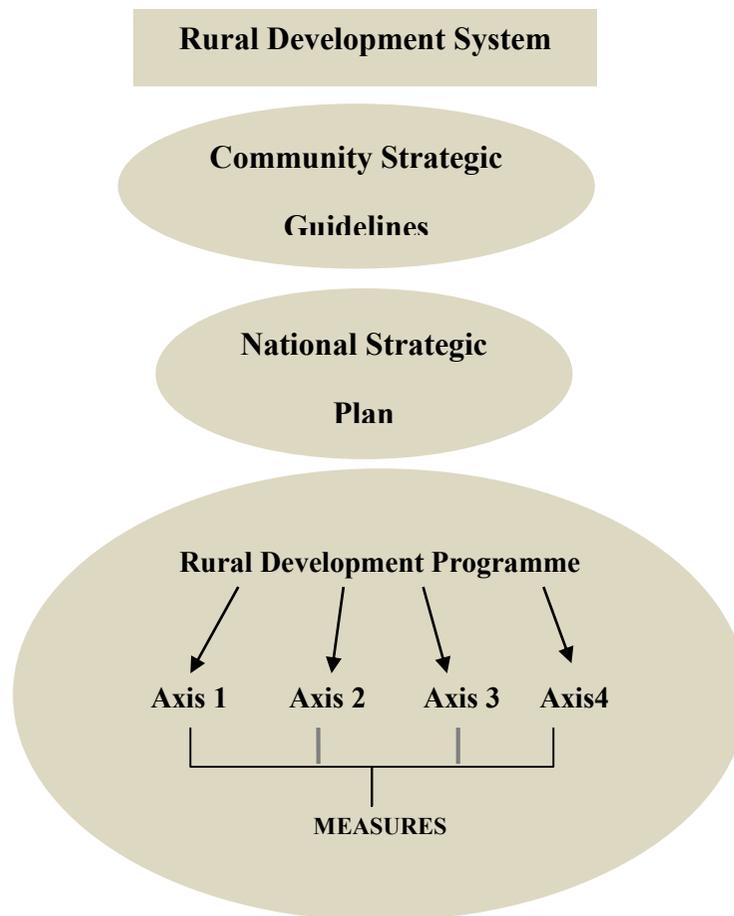
(...) Governments have moved away from a defensive attitude to rural policy, essentially focussed on trying to halt a decline, to concentrate more on seizing new opportunities. Some of these opportunities are linked to agriculture, but most will be in non-agricultural activities.

(...) The question is how to adapt current rural strategies, which are often sector-based, to take into account the different development needs of rural regions, many of which are based on exploiting specific local resources.

	Old approach	New approach
Objectives	Equalisation; farms incomes; farm competitiveness.	Competitiveness of rural areas; valorisation of local assets; exploitation of unused resources.
Key target sector	Agriculture	Various sectors of rural economies (ex. rural tourism, manufacturing, ICT industry, etc.)
Main Tools	Subsidies	Investments
Key actors	National government; farmers.	All levels of government (supra-national, national, regional and local), various local stakeholders (public, private, NGOs)

Source: Adapted from Reinventing Rural Policy, *Policy Brief*, OECD, November 2006

Box 3. Programming of European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)



Axis 1 – Improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and forestry sector;

Axis 2 – Improving the environment and the countryside;

Axis 3 – Improving the quality of life in rural areas and diversifying the rural economy;

Axis 4 – LEADER programme (first approach to endogenous development potential of rural areas)

Source: Extract from Mantino Francesco, “The Reform of EU Rural Development Policy and the Challenges ahead”, *Policy Paper No. 40, Notre Europe*, 2010, p. 47

In the same quoted document, OECD also reveals that the new approaches to rural development have not been accompanied by allocation of resources to stimulate an integrated rural policy, once to accomplish such policies for different communities or territories requires a more coherent approach between sectoral policies, like policies for transports and wider regional development policies, like the ones covering industries to enhance employment and economic growth. A very similar criticism is also present by FAO/WB working paper of 2009 where it is even admitted that it was the weak economic performance at this level that led EU Heads of State to launch the Lisbon Agenda³⁰, but also, even after it, it is again admitted that the concrete impact of Lisbon Agenda was limited. There also other critiques concerning funds that did not respect any of the objectives of CAP's 2nd Pillar. This Pillar 2 represents 20% the overall CAP budget and after 2007 (in the 2007-2013 programme) Member States have a minimum threshold to respect for each one of the axis in their rural development plan (the national strategic plans as presented above) being 10%; 25%; 10% and 5%. It has to be pointed out, that curiously the axis with lesser share of funds is the one that was more successful (and also the one that address more actively the approach of endogenous development) – the LEADER³¹ programme. The minimum thresholds were set in order to <<(…) ensure consistency with other EU policies, in particular those for economic cohesion and the environment.>>³² However, even though the word *ensure* is used to assume the need for consistency with other EU policies, the option of streamlining rural development funds with other funds has been opened but non-mandatory for Member States. Regarding this, and also about LEADER programme there are some criticisms that, as said above, are important to refer to.

Accordingly to Bureau and Mahé (2008), even considering the good effects that a shift from direct payments to the allocation accordingly to referred axis, there are yet three issues constituting the main criticism:

³⁰ A declaration of intent calling for member State policies to promote growth, by focusing on the knowledge economy and innovation while, and through, fostering the quality of human capital along with investment in missing infrastructures.

³¹ Started in 1991, this programme is a EU scheme for rural development of rural areas by helping rural actors to improve the long-term potential of their local region with the creation of Local Action Groups (LAGs). The approach of LEADER looks for integrated regional development strategies against sector-specific ones along with the requirement to focus on local population participation.

³² European Commission, European Network for Rural Development, EU Strategic Guidelines for Rural Development [online] http://enrd.ec.europa.eu/policy-in-action/rural-development-policy-overview/eu-strategic-approach/en/eu-strategic-approach_en.cfm [consulted on 2-06-015]

The criteria to allocate direct payments are not necessarily related with CAP objectives

In the same year EU launched a further decoupling of direct payments from production (to stop the past stimulated intensification) introducing single farm payments, those were still allocated accordingly to farmers past production levels (something called “historical rights”). Not only past production is not linked with any objective of the CAP as well those farmers with historical rights are not necessarily delivering more environmental public goods (axis 2) neither they are necessarily farmers in need, the poorer ones (axis 3). More than that, those direct payments are highly concentrated in the largest farmers³³ and besides this being highly unequal and also inefficient, in terms of environmental impacts with the production of environmental public goods is not likely to expect that a farmer that receives three times more is going to deliver such goods in the same triple proportion. Furthermore, still concerning historical rights, it can happen also that non-farmers (ex-farmers that do not produce anymore) are elected to receive subsidies, thus benefiting sometimes huge landowners, meaning that the policy valorises more property holdings than labour, which is completely contradictory with Rome Treaty objective on article 39(b)³⁴. In fact, has it was mentioned before, the share in all direct payments for the largest agricultural production in Europe had in 2006 a similar pattern of 2001, by the beginning of 2000-2006 programme – in 2001 those four countries agglomerate 63% of total direct payments and in 2006 the same four countries received 62%.

³³ In EU’s authorities rhetoric this is often justified, seeking for legitimacy, due to the fact that agri-food markets are so volatile that this market failure will harm the farmers that need to be protected with price income support and direct payments. However, when looking to European Commission indicative figures on the distribution of direct farm aid it is clear that subsidies are concentrated in the hand of its richest agricultural landowners, therefore, smallholder agricultural in Europe is been hastened to demise, completely on the contrary of CAP’s objectives presented since 1992.

³⁴ <<To ensure a fair standard of living for the agricultural community, in particular by increasing the individual earnings of persons engaged in agriculture>> (Treaty of Rome, Article 39 (b)) [online] <http://www.gleichstellung.uni-freiburg.de/dokumente/treaty-of-rome> [consulted on 15-06-2015]

Table 3. Direct aid to the producers (2001 to 2006 in comparison)

Largest agricultural production (by countries)	All direct payments (percentages of the total amount in € bn)	
	Financial year of 2001	Financial year of 2006
France	22.2%	23%
Spain	14.8%	13.4%
Germany	14.1%	15.2%
Italy	12.8%	10.4%
	Total amount for 2001 budget: €41.53bn	Total amount for 2006 budget: €33.1bn

Source: European Commission indicative figures on the distribution of direct farm aid. [online]http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-funding/beneficiaries/direct-aid/index_en.htm [consulted on 15-06-2015]

Environmental records

Despite of the removal of the incentives to intensification by stopping price support in 1992 the results regarding the environmental footprint of agriculture were still very limited in terms of improvements, while other indicators are, even currently, still deteriorating (losses of grassland, biodiversity, wetlands, bird populations, water quality, rural landscapes, soil fertility). The criticism here concerns the cross-compliance system, once it is known that farmers are required to comply with certain rules and goals to receive payments, however they are incentivised to go further. In other words, cross-compliance imposes a negative constraint in order to prevent environmentally-damaging farming but there's none incentive tool to adopt environmentally-friendly practices (axis 2).

The distribution of competences between EU and national levels

There is as well criticism regarding the way EU policies are coordinated inbetween European, national, regional and local levels, where the lack of agreement in which levels the competence should be settle regarding the establishment of strategic plans but also on the coordination and implementation processes, leading to inefficient policies that promote the conservatism of status quo rather than the most needed changes. Concerning this, there

is still a disagreement in political debates around whether the various public goods provided by farmers (landscapes, biodiversity, food security, water quality, etc.) can be qualified as European public goods, or they are rather national or local public goods. Therefore, this results in lack of consensus on which of the above mentioned levels the responsibility should be placed to ensure the production of the different public goods linked to farming. Of course, one cannot be naive. This disagreement is obviously economically, in terms of deciding where the funds come from and in what shares from which country to what shares back to which country. And by being economically is certainly politically in terms of the influence each country can aspire to have to decide the eligible conditions of access to funds and also the conditions under which the funds will be disbursed. Sotte (2011,p.9) put forward three arguments to explain the discrepancies that exist between appropriation and payments before the commitments in CAP objectives (either in cohesion policy Pillar 1 and rural development Pillar 2), or as he says about the existing differences noticeable <<(…) “between ex ante programmed expenditure and ex post actually disbursed payments in structural policies (cohesion and Pillar 2 of the CAP).>>. **First**, argues the author, there is a different ability of the Member States or Regions to co-finance programmes and this can vary accordingly to their national strategies, their early economic growth and future prospects, generating large discrepancies between Member States; **second** the ability of beneficiaries to enter into commitments where generally the divisions are asserted accordingly to core-periphery EU countries; **third** the late approval of programs by Member States or Regions that delays considerably the application of programmes and in fact has an impact on its performance.

2007 – 2013

For 2007 – 2013 programme the EU Commission determined that eligible countries have to draft a National Strategic Reference Network (NSRF) in which they present the main guidelines and objectives addressing the utilisation of funds and, as well the implementation and the structures that will manage those funds, while in another detailed programming, Member States were called to describe the expected utilisation of funds by the so called Operational Programmes. In this period funding can be used to actions in 16 different thematic areas³⁵, and from here arises the critique that considers that there is a too broad

³⁵ The introduced innovation in this programme is the extension of thematic areas in which action can be funded but with each of them with narrow scopes of action. Therefore European Regional Development Fund

scope of action in this programme that <<(…) blurs the rationale of EU-level interventions and makes very difficult to monitor and appraise the impact of the policy on the ground.>>(Chambon and Rubio, 2011, p. 10). As recommend by the Sapir Report (2003) the solution is to come back to a more traditional EU cohesion policy, designed to target the low-income regions and focused on two or three priority areas. Also Barca (2009) argues for the same by saying that the solution is to improve the system of strategic planning that focus on no more than three or four priorities. Actually Sapir Report goes further in its argument by demonstrating that poor regions in wealthy member countries should no longer be supported by EU regional policies, once these regions have already, in a general basis, a growth performance that depends more on the quality of the national macroeconomic framework and not so much in the allocation of EU funds. However, considering that there is, indeed, a difficulty on the evaluation of the success of both CAP policies and Cohesion policy during the programmes, due to the fact that in this programme Member States were called in with more responsibilities for the timing, focus and methodological approach of their national programmes, in order to promote a more results-oriented approach (Polverari et al., 2007), it is considered by the authors that the results indicate poor quality impact evaluations. Although a certain lack of credible analysis and overall evaluation on the last financial programme of 2007-2013, there is a consensus towards the lack of consistency that in this programme (Chambon et al.,2011; Jouen, 2009; Bureau and Mahé, 2008), and actually even in the previous ones, was revealed in terms of coordination between the cohesion policy and rural development policy. This is at the origin of two main criticisms. The first concerns the gaps in coordination between both policies (cohesion and rural development) having repercussions for national and regional funding by means of partnership co-financing. The second is related to a lack of coherence between sectoral policies that have a major impact on rural areas – policies concerning major transport infrastructure, communication and energy, health, education, training and research. Therefore, critiques consider that a rationalisation of the entire set of instruments was necessary. Before the programme, in the already mentioned OECD's report of 2006 *New Rural Paradigm*, some clues are pointed out in the need to change towards a better coordination, even assuming that a better coordination is only a small part of broader and

covers 12 expenditure categories, the European Social Fund 7 categories and the EU cohesion fund has a more limited scope, it covers three areas: transport, energy and environment.

deeper changes, like implementing an area-based approach instead of a sectoral approach to rural policy or including cross-cutting and multi-level approach of governance due the fact that traditional hierarchical administrative structures are likely to be inadequate to administer these policies effectively. The following table shows a summary of key coordination challenges and solutions that OECD proposed in 2006 on the verge of 2007-2013 programme.

Table 4. Key coordination challenges and solutions

Governance challenge	Solution
Persistent sectoral approach	Address central as well as local co-ordination
Lack of implementation mechanisms	Look at good practice, e.g., LEADER
Partners must take partnership seriously	Legislation and incentives
Weakening of local government	Restore powers to local levels
Local government too small	Incentives to co-operate
Ex ante control and approval	Control by results
Difficulties in evaluating policies impacts	Develop and combine “soft” and “hard” indicators
Ineffective local planning	Establish performance reserves and reward mechanisms

Source: The New Rural paradigm, OECD, 2006.

Europe 2020 Strategy

The new programme 2014-2020 claims that the new designed policy instrument, the Common Strategic Framework (CSF), will finally solve all this contradictions and set-backs that both Cohesion policy and CAP policy have demonstrated since 1964. For the purpose of our research, the guidelines, structures and objectives of this CSF will not be deeply analysed once it is a very recent programme, whose thematic areas for funds were revealed around half year ago, thus, any kind of evaluation is impossible but merely a description of the official documents information, which is not at all our purpose. For the record we can say that 2020 Strategy is focused in one key mechanism through which the CSF intends to

implement a coordination between all established 11 thematic objectives; the mechanism called Partnership Contract (PC) will commit the European Commission and each Member State to ensure that each implements the thematic objectives of the CSF in accordance with their development level and macro-economic status.

At last, as far as rural development is concerned, the preparation for 2020 Strategy resulted in six EU-wide priorities to <<(…)steer the future EU rural development policy>>³⁶ :

1. Transfer of knowledge and innovation;
2. Competitiveness and farm viability;
3. Food chain organisation and risk management;
4. Preserving and enhancing ecosystems dependant on agriculture and forestry;
5. Resource efficiency, low carbon and climate-resilient economy;
6. Social inclusion, poverty reduction and economic development in rural areas.

One way or another, soon, the future of the newly created acronyms CSF and PC that are currently being freshly printed in the millions of guidelines and directives pages, flowing into Ministries offices, carried in the enormous ‘suitcase’ of each Member State bureaucratic systems will be clear about its results, between theory and reality, as well as for the six priorities for rural development. In another perspective, we should always go to the past, too recent in Europe’s history, to remember the contradictions that lie now, in the millions of yellow pages of all past programmes strategies and thematic areas, long forgotten inside old wooden drawers or simply destroyed. That ‘old’ theory has today strong visible impacts on the territory, especially on those (southern) territories that had already met a long history full of their own contradictions:

<<The history of European Union’s idea is, before all, a narrative of contraries, moved by the principle of the contradictory. A history in permanent tension, from its diversity and vitality. A history looking for a Europe. A dating between a geography and a history yet not

³⁶ European Commission, COM(2011) 627 final/2 [online] http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-post-2013/legal-proposals/com627/627_en.pdf [consulted on 08 - 07 – 2015]

accomplished. Since the dawn of western philosophy, in one of those cities of Ionia³⁷, Heraclitus [of Ephesus] wrote this decisive sentence that needs to be considered as the formula of a specifically European unity “what opposes also cooperates and from the struggle of contraries comes the most beautiful harmony”.>> (Covas, 2002)³⁸

2.2 Territorial impacts of CAP – A long talk

2.2.1 A clear statement

Addressing the Common Agricultural Policy impacts nowadays, demands for, first of all, a clear statement in which the authors clarify their positions. Which means that, addressing the European’s Community most important and costly action (more than all others by far) without such clarification, will just lead into the ambiguous and enormous group of documents that were so far written about this matter. In terms of historical and political, juridical and legal, economic and social, spatial and territorial, almost everything has already been said about the CAP (however the latter, spatial and territorial, remains to be the less discussed field on this matter). Of course, this is not a denial that new perspectives are yet to come, but it is a fact that considering a purely (and merely) descriptive perspective of writing, CAP has been the target of an uncountable amount of works. Thus, it is not our purpose to go on with such perspective on this essay, also because an overall description of the evolution of the CAP already took place in Chapter I, but mainly because we do not intend an extensive and “empty” (of critics) descriptive analysis on CAP’s impacts on European Community regions. However, more than a brief and general analysis on the territorial impact of the Common Agricultural Policy our attempt will be focused on a multidimensional critical perspective on the CAP’s impacts on agro-food geographies. We consider it to be a, as was said, a multidimensional critical perspective once we intend through, asserting different important concepts, reach an assessment of the different impacts

³⁷ Ionia (in ancient Greek: Ἰωνία or Ἰωνίη and in Turkish: İyonya) is an ancient region of central coastal Anatolia in present-day Turkey, the region part of İzmir Province.

³⁸ Own translation from the original Portuguese version.

on agro-food geographies. This way, first we need to clarify what we mean by different impacts and also what we mean by agro-food geographies.

Regarding the different impacts, they will be presented throughout the relation between different concepts that are translated into different major and general policies: how the CAP policies defines *Rural Areas* along its evolution, the importance of those areas inside the territorial “dialogue” between the *European Spatial Development Perspective* and the CAP (resulting in structural policies), what are the *Regional Development* (political) outcomes of such a “dialogue” and finally how all of those related with CAP affecting rural areas on the multidimensional assumption of *Agro-food Geographies*.

To clear it, at last, by agro-food geographies we mean the postulation presented by Winter (2003). The authors believe that the turn into food chain analysis of agro-food geography theories in the 80’s and later the conceptualization of consumption is <<(…)linked to the discovery of ‘culture’ in economic geography, and this had some positive impacts on agro-food studies>> (Winter, 2003; Goodman and DuPuis, 2002). Furthermore is referred that this shifts towards food chain and consumption are not result of merely conceptual shifts and fashion but <<(…) reflecting political and policy realities arising out of the shift from a homogeneous agricultural commodity market to a more segmented market.>> (Winter, 2003).

Last, but not least, the author calls for the necessity, towards both food system and consumption issues, to come out with new connections internalized on agro-food geographies theory. This way, there are four sets of reconnections presented: farming and food, food and politics, food and nature, and farmers and agency. All this four sets of reconnections, that will be addressed individually later on, are crucial to understand our critical analysis a important part on the overall purpose of this chapter – the CAP multidimensional impacts on agro-food geographies, which imply the territorial impacts on rural areas.

2.2.2 Systems in relation: the notion of ‘impacts’

In order to understand the impacts of the CAP policies in rural areas (and even firstly, how are rural areas defined on the different frameworks of those policies through the several reforms) and moreover, to understand how those policies were set in relation with the ESDP and together defined the strategies for regional (and rural) development within the European

Community, we need to clarify the very notion of impacts that will be presented for the following analysis. In other words, to clarify under which analytical framework the impacts will be presented on this essay, which is to answer, *why and for what* these impacts were originated in the first place. It is clear, so far, that the most important impacts on rural areas and thus on agro-food geographies on its four sets presented above are the ones resulting from the operationalization of CAP's policies under those areas on EU Member States. Besides, it is also becoming clear that those impacts that will take part of our analysis are, also, the ones originated by either PAC or ESDP in relation as different (planning³⁹) systems in relation. But what we mean by 'systems in relation' and such impacts resulting from it?

We believe that this question needs to be answered taking in consideration the theory of the known German sociologist Niklas Luhmann. To Luhmann, society can be represented as a general system, this way, in *System Theory*, systems are defined as *autopoietic*. The etymology of the word *Autopoiesis* has origin on the Greek *autos* that means self and *poiein* that means to produce; this way autopoiesis means, on its root, self-(re)production. The concept appeared originally on biological field to represent for example a plant that reproduces its own cells with its own cells. However, Luhmann appropriated this biological concept and applied it to the social domain. Therefore, in a similar way as biological systems, social systems were thus conceptualised as systems that reproduced their own elements on the basis of its own elements. This self-(re)production process was designated by the German sociologist as a system's *operative closure*, which does not mean that a social system is a closed system model. In other words, a social system reproduces itself, by reproducing its own elements and structure within an operative closure process, however the closure does not imply that changes occurred in a specific system cannot be stimulated by the relation with other systems, having *impacts* that will be reproduced by the system's own elements and structure. Therefore, Luhmann does not deny the importance of the external environment for a system neither the relation between systems for the system inner functionality. Actually

³⁹ In general terms CAP has to be considered a planning system (with several planning instruments) that was created originally to institutionally *plan* a common agro-commodities market and for it to function under the same production control and pricing control rules. Also a planning system that resulted from <<(…) a common desire amongst the nucleus of west European countries to establish a political and economic union.>> (Ritson and Harvey, 1997, p.11). CAP is this way, planning system, not in the strict territorial-physical sense of it, that settles through legal and juridical mechanisms a common policy for western's Europe (in the beginning) agricultural sector. While ESDP, is an overall planning system based on strategical proposals (a perspective as the name says) to <<(…) establishing balanced spatial development as a key to economic and social cohesion.>> (Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts, 2005, p.48) within European Community.

for Luhmann's theory, without those external communications there will be no system. Instead, he postulates that the systems autonomy is based on the concepts of autopoiesis and operative closure, and thus external relations cannot determine a system's inner reproductions, but they can stimulate them to happen. What in Luhmann's theory can help to clarify the 'systems in relation' and their resultant impacts? Or, in what *systems theory* contribute to understand the notion of rural areas territorial impacts resulting from both PAC and ESDP planning systems in relation?

Quite simple. Social systems, from the macro-level scale as Political systems (democracy system, totalitarian system, monarchy) to micro-level as the ESDP, are structured in order to reduce world's complexity⁴⁰ (which does not mean that all of them accomplish that goal). Furthermore, being the principal purpose of the systems to reduce world's complexity, which is to say the complexity perceived as the different (changeable) states of different societal 'spheres' (social, economic, political...), the systems face in that purpose the problem of *double contingency*, another central concept in Luhmann's theory. Double contingency can be explained by the example of Ego and Alter dilemma. This dilemma happens when Ego does not know how Alter will react to his action, when both of them have several alternatives of action (Mathis, 2008,p.6). For an individual or for a social system the problem of contingency, which means the possibility of different actions when one communicates to the other will be understood with the liberty to choose those different alternatives. In order to be possible for the system to face that complexity, it will need to create changes within structured elements in order to solve the external contingency and to, progressively, adapt. Luhmann's theory discusses the double contingency as a problem that motivates the constitution of social systems, concentrating on the positive aspects of double contingency. These positive aspects refer to the moment when communication is received without miscommunication and agreements and understandings are created – thus reducing world's complexity (Luhmann, 2010). Therefore, when a system in external communication does not take into account the way communication will be received by the receiver, miscommunication can easily happen.

⁴⁰ One of the most important purposes of a planning system is, precisely, to reduce the complexity of the territory throughout setting mechanisms to 'read' it and to analyze it, creating a framework with a determined order to a specific proposal. A system in which the operative communications within reproduce themselves, resulting on structured elements (plans) to answer to problems – master plans, territorial management, strategic planning, land use, and so on.

Finally, for our case, both CAP and ESDP were designed to reduce European Union complex integration, either for agro-food sector (production and market), rural development, regional development, regional cooperation and economical and social cohesion. Both planning systems, as were previously designated, are autopoietic and function with a operative closure. Moreover, when both are implemented to operate their strategies and purposes, and eventually they face themselves with communication, a double contingency problem is faced. The occasions when miscommunication takes place, with consequences to rural areas, represents the notion of impacts that will be used. In the following sections some brief characterizations will take place regarding conceptual definition on Rural Areas and its relation with the main settings and trends of CAP policy; the relation between ESDP and CAP will follow and how the later assumes importance on the regional cooperation within the EU and then finally the CAP territorial impacts on agro-food geographies.

2.2.3 Rural Areas and the CAP

The Common Agricultural Policy, the most important and costly of European Community actions, was constructed in the 1950s⁴¹ by people whose memories of depression and war were still fresh⁴² (McGiffen, 2005)

To begin with the first expression of the above quoted sentence, *most important and costly*, we can question *does agriculture receive too much money dedicated to rural development?* First of all, the question should be reformulated to be sensical, once it would be contrived to separate, in those terms, rural from agriculture, even though as previously said they are not strictly connected anymore, but are for sure essential to one another. The question needs, then, to be addressed in these terms, *was the (much) money expended by EU's costly policy used on ways that contributed to rural development through common market rules?* Or even

⁴¹ In 1957 it was the Benelux countries that outlined a series of economic proposals for the creation of a fully integrated European, once they were aware of the difficulty of establishing a political union. In the same year, with the Treaty of Rome, along with Benelux countries, West German, Italy and France, its Article 38 <<(…)defines the scope of the Common Market as it applies to agriculture (…) and states that the Common Market for agriculture should be accompanied by a common agricultural policy.>> (Ritson and Harvey, 1997, p.15).

⁴² The importance of the creation of an economic union on the heart of Europe between nations that were until recently (before the 50s) involved as enemies worldwide conflicts, is reflected on the goal of political unification as a guarantee for peace in the post resolution of world war.

were the strategies implemented by CAP, with a lot of money used, responsible to enhance rural development or instead to constrict it?

Treaty of Rome article 39 presents a set of objectives for the CAP, years before its official “birth” in 1962:

1. Increasing agricultural productivity;
2. Ensuring a fair standard of living for farmers;
3. Stabilising markets;
4. Guaranteeing food security;
5. Ensuring reasonable prices for consumers.

Besides these five main goals, CAP policy is framed by three main principles that were defined in order to pursue the mentioned goals. A **market unity** that involves the abolition of internal barriers to trade and an establishment of common standards for food safety, quality and labelling (this labelling functionality refers among other things to the certification control of product qualification through, the legal figure of, propriety rights as geographical indications like Protected Designation of Origin or Protected Geographical Indication). A **community preference** that shows the establishment of the European Union as a single custom union, having common external tariffs applied to non-EU countries as an instrument of market protection. Finally a **common funding** that reflects the use of income from EU resources and expenditures through European Agricultural Fund. Furthermore, the interventions in farming undertaken by the European Commission for the purposes of seeking to achieve above mentioned five objectives are: expenditures from EAGGF (European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund); market prices support via non-expenditure methods such as tariffs and import quotas and relevant EU Regulations and Directives.⁴³

Despite all the objectives and principles appear to be directed to promote rural areas development through the improvement of agro-food production and market control within the EU, there are lot of criticism on CAP that is reflected on the question <<Why, then, is the CAP more than any other aspect of the European integrationist project, not only the bête

⁴³ Specific policies within the three main policies pillars are reflected in structural funds programmes like LEADER (funding farming and farmers); in environmental policies; competition policies like Single market with a set of regulations to control state aids, national and regional.

noire of sceptics and opponents of the Union, but an embarrassment to its staunchest supporters?>> (McGiffen, 2005, p.132)

In order to understand this question, we will get back to the question addressed before about the *lot of money used by the CAP* policies. The CAP works first on the basis of the Common Market Organizations, which means, works in the direction of removing, firstly, the obstacles to trade in primary agricultural products between the member states that are under CAP regulations. Secondly, as following, a number of goals are pursued by the removal of trade barriers between member states, which are (to supposedly) enhance farmer's incomes by the establishment of a pricing regime that keeps prices artificially high (by comparing with world average prices). This pricing-regime by creating a artificially high condition for prices, which is to say in other words, to create a virtual free market, where the *free* condition remain constricted for the "borders" of member states – a free market closed to the rest of (worlds) free market.⁴⁴

Besides, the pricing-regime, the CAP is also based on the so-called community preference, as one of three pillars, which functions through protectionist devices in order to prevent that imported products can be sold at lower prices than the ones produced within member states. This preference has been the focus of many controversial debates regarding the very core principles of free-trade and the notions on international commerce. In order to avoid lower priced imports, the EU settles a threshold price, thus fixing a minimum under which products may not be imported. Then, finally, the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) that is designed to redress any economic disruption that decisions under CAP may cause – like for example, if a specific price that farmers are receiving falls too far below the guide price to a level that it is known as **intervention price** then it will require an intervention by a state organisation that is legally obliged to buy and store the product in question, with money provided by EAGGF. When the product cannot be store by its specific perishable conditions then those surplus are exported avoiding destruction.

These are the basic features under what the CAP policies framework can be expressed. The severe and multidimensional criticism of the CAP also reflects on this basic features. First of all as been said that CAP policies have a long history of sheer expenses and the criticism

⁴⁴ <<It seems that free markets, whose wonders are reckoned limitless when it comes the distribution of the baubles of twenty-first century consumerism, are not to be trusted with the prosaic business of filling our bellies or, indeed, [rich] farmer's pockets.>> (McGiffen, 2005, p.132)

goes on the sense that if those expenditures would contribute to lower food prices, an effective redistribute mechanism would be achieved (for the poorer, both individually or as family) and a proportion of net income that could be spent in food would be higher. However quite the opposite is happening⁴⁵; when CAP wants to maintain prices paid to farmers at around two times more the world markets level it causes a double burden of artificially high prices that are coupled with taxation. Adding this to the fact that, in fact, the farmer is, nevertheless, suffering (as smaller as higher the suffering) once despite being virtually forced by CAP rules to employ the most environmentally destructive methods, in order to “feed” the stimulated (because subsidized⁴⁶) over-production to avoid imports and create surplus to export, farmers have for a long time seen their incomes decline, in most Member States. This way, besides a subsidized destruction of nature, there is an added, wholesale destruction of rural communities. No just only the fluctuations (invest or not to invest/more and less attractiveness) caused in land value⁴⁷ by the double burden of artificial prices and taxation, but also, and specially, the damaging consequences of the surplus creation, as result of over-production, for the poorer farmers in the poorer member states (like Portugal and Greece) that sooner or later (sooner than later) are being driven-off the land by the availability of low-priced imports and the disadvantage to compete with massive producers where massive agriculture production is the common pattern. It is clear that the 90s decade of CAP policy, where the main motto was to create a “vibrant rural economy” along with improvement of farmers life conditions and access to inexpensive food, failed completely, while poverty resulted to be the higher incentive to leave the land.

In sum, CAP suffers heavily criticism for enormous detrimental effects on agricultural production, especially out of Europe in developing countries. First, they are directed to how locals markets for domestic producers are undermined by the EU subsidised policies and

⁴⁵ <<There is also the matter of the CAP's staggering costs. Last year, the EU devoted \$42 billion to the policy, or just under half its total budget. For the European family of four, that means an extra \$1,200 in higher taxes and grocery prices>>. In Wall Street Journal, 10 January, 2000 by the title “Europe Goes Free Market, But Agriculture Remains Behind”

⁴⁶ <<Price supports (whereby the European Union bought up all produce not sold on the market) encouraged rampant over-farming -- to the extent that by the late 1980s, farmers were irrigating their crops with excess milk. Such overfarming also caused real environmental damage, with ancient hedgerows and old-growth forests needlessly cut down, and pesticide use several times greater than in the U.S.>> In Wall Street Journal, 10 January, 2000 by the title “Europe Goes Free Market, But Agriculture Remains Behind”

⁴⁷ For example the average value of French farmland fell by two-thirds between 1975-95 (McGiffen, 2005).

(out of Europe) how trade barriers make it more difficult for African producers to export to EU markets. There are several NGOs like Oxfam⁴⁸ or ActionAid⁴⁹ that have worked in case studies, presenting the damage caused to local production due to subsidised EU exports of milk powder, sugar, preserved tomatoes and tomato concentrate, beef, cotton and the sale of frozen chicken.

These are the first signs of a “miscommunication”, or impacts, resulted by the problem of double contingency (to come back to the initial metaphor of Luhmann’s systems theory) in CAP attempts to, by its elements and structure, reduce the complexity of the world – which is in this sense, the main objectives that were formulated in the very beginning at CAP’s birth.

2.2.4 Agriculture and Rural development within ESDP concepts

(...)this notion of an emergent European planning system extending over many spatial planning scales, from a supranational level to a local one (...). It is that different national planning approaches could and should coexist. Whether in the fullness of time these various approaches will coalesce into one overall approach is for the future to decide. (Rivolin, U & Faludi, A., 2005).

If we say that European policies (at diverse levels and not just territorial one) do not have the same impact on the member states domestic policies, we will not be saying something surprising; once, in fact, the influential power on the “design” of those policies at the European Commission negotiation table is asymmetrical and where clearly, Europe’s central - northeast Member States claim for themselves a high power position. This asymmetry generates a kind of two-speed relations, where some States are more (pro) active on leading EU structures and functions and other have a more passively relation with, so, revealing dependency.

Boaventura Sousa Santos (2011) on Wallerstein famous world systems theory says that <<The linear conception of time that dominates occidental modernity (...) allows to central

⁴⁸ “Stop the Dumping! How EU agricultural subsidies are damaging livelihoods in the developing world.” Oxfam, October 2002 [online] http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp61_sugar_dumping_0.pdf [consulted on 20-05-2015]

⁴⁹ “The developmental impact of agricultural subsidies” ActionAid, August 2002. [online] http://www.actionaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/doc_lib/farmgate_report.pdf [consulted on 20-05-2015]

or developed countries, by that reason placed in such direction, to define as lagged everything which is asymmetrical when compared to them.>>

In this sense, to address the possibility of a European planning system to develop, like ESDP, is simultaneously to, as with Rivoli and Faludi (2005), to understand the different ‘velocities’ in which each Member State participates on ESDP discussion, as well as how they ‘finish the race’ after its implementation. With a special focus to southern European countries that being the *hidden face* of European territorial planning, ESDP will only be truly European if the southern European countries have real influence on the discussion of integrated strategies formulated on ESDP⁵⁰, as planning on a relatively isolated form is not possible anymore.

A quite “tacit” form to discuss the integration of ESDP is by the reference to EU structural funds once this instruments are mostly used to pursue territorial cohesion. However, it is quite known that structural funds application has a long history of economical disasters, mainly (and then again) on southern European countries, and all of this because, in the several funding programme frameworks its structure is more ‘cloudy’ on the definition of strategical priorities for the ones that intend to “becloud” in one side to ‘polish’ the(ir) other in geopolitical and economical terms. Furthermore, even as Davoudi (2005) indicates on the translation of concepts like territorial cohesion, from language to language, the meanings get progressively lost, becoming in simple and common *buzzwords*. Moreover, as Kunzmann(2003) alert us, concepts like competitiveness in bureaucratic documents like ESDP represent a clear “danger” once they can be used merely as political rhetoric in planning.

In this sense, and before we mention the relation of agriculture and rural development within ESDP concepts, we advocate that there is a necessity of taking the best possible out of the empowerment that the Atlantic and Mediterranean regions conquered throughout autonomous initiatives on transnational planning. Besides, along with this network of initiatives there is a need to stimulate even more those regions as *the real innovative actors* by decentralizing the decision power from the European Commission, which not being democratically elected, is too, institutionally, far from being able to mediate the divergences between European territories – which is a *sine qua non* condition to the creation of a European planning system. Otherwise

⁵⁰ The principles of ESDP were agreed at Leipzig in 1994 has being: to establish a balanced spatial development as a key to economic and social cohesion; spheres of activity included a more balanced and polycentric urban system; a parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge and wise management of Europe’s natural and cultural heritage.

everything will continue to be guided by conscious ignorance as the elegant expression of Peter Hall expresses: *ignorance can sometimes have serious consequences*.

Competitiveness, which from an economic point of view can be described as the ability to earn income from the localized resources of a specific area that depends on the, in one side, the market demand for commodities and services and in the other side from a region's efficiency in using its resources accordingly to markets demands, and obviously, also a matter of marketing and product innovation. This is the classical view. Considering this, and on the communication of CAP and region's product competition, it can be said that the establishment of a common market in EU <<(…)has allowed the forces of comparative advantage within agriculture to favour those better placed geographically (climate, transport) and in terms of policy support (milk, cereals) while disadvantaging others (mountainous and some Mediterranean regions).>>(Shucksmith, Thom and Roberts, p.50, 2005). Spatial planning, and in particular, the ESDP can actually prevent the long-term, territorially unequal, developments. A relation based more in communication than miscommunication, a relation that, between CAP and ESDP, could actually stimulate inner changes in those systems in order to deal with double contingency, and pursue the needed interventions; like direct intervention on the over-intensive exploited regions with more strict landscape and water regulations for example; help more disadvantaged ones with communications (transports, accessibilities) that are unlikely to be successful towards their resources facing the "cold" (ir)rationality of competitiveness. In other words, strategical spatial planning, at ESDP level, can towards its (soft) recommendations and (hard) implemented ones, at each Member State level, conduct a discipline operation under the uncontrolled market forces, in one side to avoid over-exploitation of certain areas by over-development, and under-exploitation by the lack of infrastructure.

Territorial cohesion, and to go towards the ESDP expressed will into achieve a more balanced distribution of activities between territories, assumes an extremely importance once, being agriculture, socially, economically and environmentally, a central character between regions, is therefore a determining factor to achieve overall cohesion. Taking in account what previously said for competitiveness, in which territorial adjustments have to be made in order to pursue territorial cohesion by reducing agricultural production 'weight' in many areas to stimulate it in others – creating a balanced ratio. This way, a spatial planning perspective (as Perspective is the last word on ESDP) has to identify alternatives uses of land

in order to make possible that mentioned balanced ratio, but also alternatives for buildings and people, as human resources, on these regions and help with more instruments like design region-specific plans, regulations and fiscal systems that work along to the necessity of adjustment. While this adjustment does not take place, concepts like polycentricity, in which complementary and interdependent networks of towns as alternatives to metropolitan and capital cities, in order to help the integration of countryside and avoid rural desertification (like it happened in Portugal and Greece in the last 30 or 40 years followed by in the case of Greece to an incredible amount of immigrant rural labour force to ‘fill the gap’), will just be a mirage, or like Davoudi (2005), just buzzwords. The reference to the integration of rural areas, implicitly, by mentioning small and medium sized towns, has to have agriculture as essential rather than residual. However, it appears to be difficult to promote polycentrism as an efficient objective for food production, once the loss of farming population and the sense of ‘farming communities’ do not relate directly to centres, and besides there is a growing preference for local foods that suggests that smaller settlements could bring much more, and wider, advantages regarding the goal of balanced ratio of production and development. Nevertheless, local food in small settlements as only ‘to perish’ as destination if there is no networks of accessibilities that, more than connect the latter to bigger towns, does not create ways to inflow people to this areas, where only diverse agro activities can prosper, stimulating agro-tourism and products promotional initiative – exploring the problematic and potentials on geographies of agro-food.

As it expressed in the beginning, there were changes in agro-food production and consumption that call for the necessity, towards both food system and consumption issues, to come out with new connections internalized on agro-food geographies theory. This way, there are four sets of reconnections presented: farming and food, food and politics, food and nature, and farmers and agency. Concerning the connection between **farming and food**, there are two main drivers of this relation, which are the trade policy and the alternative food economy. Regarding the first there is a lot of criticism in the way it driven globalized markets to the trade-distortion of agriculture protection measures: <<Driven by both reform of the European Common Agricultural Policy and the inclusion of agriculture high on the agenda of the World Trade Organization since its formation in 1995, farmers in Europe face a continuing reduction in the level of direct support payments and other hidden support measures.>>(Winter, 2003)

To the contrary of this, the second drivers of this relation sets on the opposite and by the contrast of the first, which means that its related with the attempts of the farmers and consumers to challenge the global agro-food massive industry by establishing alternative systems of food provision, like the ones that sustain the more quality and sustainable localised food networks around the potential of qualification schemes (geographical indications, uniqueness, biological productions). The ‘turn into quality’ concern unveils broader concerns over human health and food safety or even the environmental consequences of the globalized and industrialized agriculture. The notion of quality besides this, also sustains the concept of embeddedness, with quality seen as inherent to the uniqueness of the local, the traditional know-how to produce and more ‘natural’ foods.

On the connection between **food and politics** are sustained the critics under the way the complexities of agricultural supports (the ‘bureaucratic trap’ that CAP funds applications reveal are one of the main critiques of the policy regarding this matter) have hidden the true agenda in supporting, instead of farmer’s production, the politics of corporatism. In this sense, the emergence of alternative food networks on production and consumption are one of the examples of the repoliticization of food in terms of the so-called ‘ethical consumption’, followed by an emergence of the desire to enlighten this ‘ethics’ and to achieve a more complete knowledge of production and to enable consumers to ‘eat with a clear conscience’. As Marsden et al. (2000) in this emergence there is a revealed shift in those agencies (like NGO’s) and actors that have a desire to raise their voices and have a say (and stake) in this new sphere of food politics and governance systems.

Moving to the connection with **food and nature**, and very briefly, this conducts to the discussion under relationship between humans and nature on agro-food debate. Where several research studies, moved by one of the liveliest debates on research studies of recent years (Winter, 2003) for a more adequate conceptualization of ‘nature’ followed by a higher engage by scholars with the implications of environmentalism. Finally, on the connection between **farmers and agency**, in the recent years there has been a revigoration on studying farmers not just as actors from which policy and market signals can be perceived but actors within those policies and market networks. So there is a growing concern on addressing the role of farmers as active members within rural communities. This revival of the farmers as active members more than just occupants of rural households and farming workers has been

stimulating also the way agricultural policies differentiate farmers and have into account the responses to different policies to re-evaluate and re-adapt future policies.

In sum, for the worse and for the best, the miscommunication between CAP as a system and the external environment and also ESDP, have resulted in changes or re-connections between the previously mentioned four sets. Considering the main three mottos of Europe 2020 strategy as **smart growth** with the development of an economy based on knowledge and innovation; **sustainable growth** by promoting a more greener economy and more efficient in the use of its resources; **inclusive growth** through the encouragement of the rise in employment rate while seeking social and territorial cohesion; it remains uncertain if future outcomes will show miscommunication with buzzwords or fundamental (and needed) changes.



These olives are headed for a press to become Paxos olive oil, considered by many to be Greece's finest. Photograph by Ira Block⁵¹

III CHAPTER

The Place(ment) of agro-food geographies

*If Greece is entirely destroyed
an olive tree, a vine and a boat will remain.
They are enough to rebuild it from the ashes.*

Odysséas Elýtis

⁵¹ National Geographic: http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/countries/greece-photos/#/greece-olives_9074_600x450.jpg

3.1 Local food and political agenda(s) - from *accepted* to *contested*

Revising the academic literature on *local food* and its assumptions or claims (depending if defensive or offensive strategies) of alternative food systems versus globalised industrial food commodities, entails an exercise that soon involves the reader on conceptual spirals that might arise a mist rather than any desired clarification. The alternative food system appears to be a movement that had grown considerably fast in the last decades: while in US food activist discourse there is a strong connection between the process of localization of food systems as potentially promoting environmental sustainability and social justice, in Europe localization is, recently, more, and institutionally, seen as integral to a new European Union system that focus on rural governance as a mean to enhance rural livelihoods and preserve the European heritage (concepts like *terroir*, preserved broadly around Europe by intellectual properties registration schemes, also integrate this sense of *patrimoine* or *heritage*). Furthermore, while in United States the strength of an embeddedness of local norms is emphasized on academic literature of alternative food systems, which means a <<(…)normative localism that places a set of pure, conflict-free local values and local knowledge in resistance to anomic and contradictory capitalist forces(…)>> (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005,p.359), in Europe, praising the benefits of local food systems, in academic literature, has different roots. The latter is vigorously related with the process of reform of EU's CAP, in which is comprised, by a gradual transformation, a shift from a <<(…)strongly centralized, productivist sectoral policy towards a more decentralized model in which a multi-functional agriculture is a key element of an integrated, more pluralistic approach to rural development.>> (Ibidem, p.360). Despite of the different roots in which the encouragement of the shift to local food systems rely, either in US and Europe's literature, it is broadly accepted that shortening the food chain and distance between production and consumption, getting closer producers and consumers, stimulating proximity relations, is believed to have benefits for the environment, the local economy and the rural community. As it follows, in this activistic-type narratives the local is framed as a space or context where norms and ethical values can flourish, giving birth to buzzwords, defining the local, as *beautiful*; *pluriactive*; *organic* and *multifunctional* (Fonte, 2010; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005). In fact, the radical alternative that local food's activists and proponents promote,

appeals to three aspects of sustainability <<(...)invigorating local economies; sustaining diverse environments; nourishing healthy communities(...)>> (Fonte, 2010, p.6)⁵². The political strategy here intends a wider support of citizen-consumers, which means, to widespread the idea that consumption choices carry a visible expression of social agency and citizenship, so in this sense, food consumption represents a political statement, more or less encompassing persuasive intentions to change others in society, but also an expression of an *alternative* way of life. This political statement is moved against (and by exploring the contestation on) the great paradoxes of the global food chain like overproduction and simultaneously food shortage resulting in the greatest paradox of all – having in opposite sides, but with co-presence, people suffering from hunger and people suffering from obesity. Considering the “old” premise that history repeats itself, as some criticism on local food arise nowadays (we will see later that several authors *contest* some *unreflexive* and too enthusiastic preachers on local food benefits for local economies and rural communities⁵³) a post-organic local food movement gained force in the 1990s by a growing perception that the organic movement has being absorbed by the seduction of multinational retailing companies, in which certification was associated with non-local food consumption encouragement and at same time responsible for higher production and local consumer costs. Therefore, the increasing conventionalisation (Guthman, 2003) of the organic movement (it was believed they had dropped alternative and environmental ideological positions) originated the shift from direct sales to the consumer to locating the focus on the sustainability of the distribution system in the food chain (Fonte, 2010).

Conceptual discussions, conflicts, sub-divisions of movements from inside of broader movements (disagreements on specific action-directed initiatives are a motive for division) and, at the extreme, shifting political positions, represent the simple fact that local food project emerge from different contexts which implies the existence of different values that encompass different strategies, social practices and relationships between involved agents. As Fonte (2010,p.6) puts it very sharply:

⁵² Referenced author quotes the material at www.localfood.org.uk

⁵³ For authors like Guthman (2007) policy schemes like Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) which are defined as product and place strategies (and one of the most used ones in EU's food policy context) are not alternatives at all. It is argued that labelling is an instrument of neo-liberal politic that limits the right of access and creates, artificially, scarcity through enclosure.

<<Local food cannot challenge globalised industrial food production everywhere in the same way, for the simple reason that there is not, and could not be, either a generally accepted definition or a uniform practice of relocalisation.>>

As it follows, it is precisely here that local food emerges in discussion as a *contested concept* for the heterogeneity mentioned above of different initiatives and their own specific objectives.

Local food as *that* contested concept is undoubtedly related with the concepts of social *embeddedness* and *place*, from which arise the sociological point of view that local food is place-embedded⁵⁴ in opposition of the placeless food of industrial agriculture. However we will not focus directly in this opposition relations that commonly place local food in one margin and industrial agriculture food in the other, while many much important discussion go along on the middle stream, between them, unnoticed. For the latter, Holloway et al. (2007) argues against the analysis of projects on production-consumption food networks through the dichotomisation of alternative versus conventional, that, in author's view, does not allow the analysis of their diversity and heterogeneity characteristics, once when labelled in advance in one of the mentioned above categories, all the analysis tends to be obscure:

<<Rather than categorising heterogeneous modes of food provisioning as alternative, we explore how particular food projects can be understood as arranged across a series of inter-related analytical fields in ways which make their operation possible.>> (Holloway et al. 2007,p.3)

However, if agreed here that the approach should go on the direction of exploring carefully the particularities of each food projects that attempts to implement an alternative and localized food system, by shortening the space between producer and consumer in the food chain, a similar careful approach also needs also to take in consideration some aspects of this emancipatory food agenda. For instance, DuPuis and Goodman (2002, 2005) consider

⁵⁴ Embeddness appears as the social meanings related with a given place that are elaborated by the rural communities' inhabiting that place. Thus, when related with food systems, place-embeddedness represents the possibility to trace the food to (or almost to) the individual farmer. Therefore, this shortness on the food chain allows relations of trust to be built within the local society as a place of production closely to the place of consumption. This way, the geographical proximity of place-embedded food systems acquires the significance of a political project for rural communities to flourish with a degree of independence from globalised forces (Fonte, 2010) and as a resistance against globalisation and neo-liberalism (Polanyi, 1957).

that even supporting the idea that global industrial agriculture has succeeded on the creation of “placelessness” on the food system, and the alternative food system has a role on counteracting that process of systemically emptying the place focus, cautious is needed when dealing with a “unreflexive” localism⁵⁵. In that sense, the above mentioned authors and also Guthman (2004) consider that it has two major negative consequences, being the first a denial of politics of the local with potentially social justice consequences (see later Harvey,1996) and secondly, the proposed solutions can be based in <<(…)alternative standards of purity and perfection that are vulnerable to corporate cooptation.>>

Therefore, addressing the local has to be done with the clarity that *local* is not an ‘innocent’ term and several times it conceals the ideological foundations for reactionary politics and nativist sentiment⁵⁶ (Hinrichs, 2000).

In sum, what has been argued is not a destructive critique of the alternative food agenda by some kind of fetishism that such agenda implies merely fashionable and unreflexive attempts to propose localism as a counter-hegemony to the globalization thesis, but instead, emphasizing on the political and ideological side of alternative food agenda(s) to unveil and discuss their most hidden narratives, and thus, to identify and/or avoid cooptation and absorption by the ‘volatility’ of the neo-liberal agenda.

As Winter (2003,p.30) concludes <<(…)the turn to local food may cover many different forms of agriculture…giving rise to a wide range of politics(…)>> and therefore, only reflexive local politics of food will take into account that people’s notion of “right living” and more important “right eating” are <<(…)wrapped up in these possessive investments in race, class and gender>>⁵⁷ (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005, 362).

⁵⁵ DuPuis and Goodman (2005,p.361) consider that unreflexive politics are generally based on the assumption of “the politics of conversion” of Childs(2003): ‘a small, unrepresentative group decides what is “best” for everyone and then attempts to change the world by converting everyone to accept their utopian ideal.’

⁵⁶ As Hinrichs (2000) and Winter (2003) have noted the concept of *local* implies the inclusion and exclusion of certain people, places and ways of life. This negotiable process of inclusion and exclusion constructs representations of the *local* that privilege particular categories and trajectories over others – the effect of such is that naturalization occludes the politics of the local, where the naturalized local ‘then becomes heralded as the incubator of new economic forms whose emergence configure a new rural development paradigm (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005 quoting Ploeg et al.,2000)

⁵⁷ Different research in US (Dupuis, 2002; Lipsitz 1998) have noticed that in US food reform movements, there is a certain “politics of perfection” (particularizing ways of living as perfect) are originated not only from a class hegemonic politics but also ‘incorporates a racial representation of whiteness’.

Finally, only through the operationalization of a reflexive politics approach between accepted and contested concepts of local food political agenda, it is possible to address clearly Morgan et. al (2006, p.81-85) question: alternative food systems based on local food promotion are (just) a niche phenomenon or they can really indicate a paradigm shift towards an alternative food economy? In the many forces at play, on the struggle between food regimes, product qualification through geographical indications has become one of the most important strategies for alternative food systems, where less analysis of its politics than the one carried so far is simply not an option.

3.2 Product qualification and the role of Geographical Indications

Qualification processes or, if preferred schemes⁵⁸ (when their boundaries are institutionally and legally defined and controlled by an independent body) can be defined as <<(…)the specification of production practices and/or product characteristics by an agent, which is then linked to a particular name or label(…)>> (Tregear et al.,2007,p13).

Therefore, qualification processes have been theorised by authors like Parrot et al. (2002) as representing shifts on moral and ethical conventions of societies, as powerful instruments for geopolitical negotiations (Barham, 2003), and also as foundations and logic for the competitive advantage of firms. This advantage is strictly connected with the fact that consequentially, labelling in qualification process, raises the market profile of the product and thus distinguishes it from other products competing in the same categories. In other words, qualification labels are market mechanisms engaged to stimulate certain designated consumer responses in order to make the latter choose the labelled one over a non-labelled. Following the same direction, addressing product qualification and the marked (as the certified symbols of geographical indications) ‘advertisement’ of it to the ‘world’ of consumers, represents more than the product qualification process itself, but instead an attempt of distinguishing one thing from another based on the concept of *uniqueness*. Which means to say (when considering the local food qualification schemes): a region is “better”

⁵⁸ In agrifood context of qualification this schemes involve producers who agree to accept and respect in their production, pre-determined codes of practice.

than another in a specific agro-food production, because it is more ‘qualified’ to produce it. Along all the pre-requisites that a agro-food product has to respect in order to be accepted with a stamp of Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) or even the broader one, Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) as examples of EU’s certified Geographical Indications (GIs), that proves (carrying a scientific authority) to consumers the presence of unique characteristics in a given product. Besides, it is the region or another specific lower geographical unit that is been ‘consumed’. It is not just about choosing a specific wine over another one based on the price, the grape variety, the name of the company or producer and even the label design. It is about, above all, the name of the geographically delimited area where the production is located that is being transmitted. Creating a possibility of a *journey to* this specific area on the consumer’s imaginary representation, carried out by the social construction of those localized unique flavours and taste. And, at the same time, establishing patterns of consumption behaviour with different origin labelled products based on the acceptance and the feeling of being protecting this *local, quality* and *endogenous* food systems. This last three terms characterize how most of the authors identify origin labelled products (Van der Ploeg and Long, 1994).

Following on the ‘trail’ of those products, long before they have been recognized under the modern legal frameworks of GIs, there are several examples of place names that enjoyed a remarkable history in trade. As G. Allaire et al. (2011) points out correctly, the regulation of geographical origin for products has its roots in wine trade since the ancient Greek empire, and along different periods of time this wine trade regulation constituted the basis for the establishment of legal systems and institutions for several good products, like olive oil and cheese, to be identified as *to be protected*. Three factors are identified by the same authors as the main factors that GIs encompass on origin products: idiosyncratic specialty, quality reputation and design protection (Ibidem, p.2). Altogether they represented (having the designation of product given by the name of region of production) a way to provide information on the trade relations among merchants and connoisseurs.

In the large modern markets inundated by mass production, GIs protection of origin products rely on established codes of practice as a means of quality differentiation, being represented as economic assets for rural development.

In accordance, it is evident from the reputation associated with names of origin products and their related attempts of usurpation along with debates and discourses on the qualities of

products and also from the rules implemented to preserve this class of products by states and international trade treaties that international processing and marketing firms have a enormous interest on integrating origin products on global market. Therefore, this interest has been arising debates on how and why GIs on origin products are so important in product qualification and if, at social, economic and political level, they really do mark a significant *difference* in terms of rural development or if they lead to just another way of globalisating a market opportunity (G. Allaire et al.,2011).

Last but not least, recognized qualification of GIs are employed by firms with a very explicit, even strictly profitable goal:

<<(…)to capture the added value or economic rent derived from consumer confidence in the good reputation of a firm or producer group, via the controls they impose on product quality.>> (Tregear, et al.,2007, p.13)

In accordance with Belletti (2000) this added value or economic rent is distributed through a mechanism strongly influenced by, for example, the different economic dimensions of the participants. Quite often, the most vulnerable group participating on the qualification processes or schemes are the ones entitled with the lower share of this distribution, as we will see further later on the text⁵⁹.

From a different angle, but not less important, areas known by their product qualification networks, have a strong impact on reshaping family farming and farm structures in the countryside. This way there is a important impact upon social cohesion and sustainability of rural locales that cannot be ignored (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013). This processes are reflected on two patterns of a new demographic trend in developed countries; being one the counterurbanization and the return to the countryside and the other represented by the inflow of international migrants to various rural places (like the case of the Albanian emigrants working in Greek rural areas) which constitutes a recent phenomenon in rural Europe (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013).

Finally on this matter, the attractiveness of areas under product qualification schemes with geographical indications, delimited by European and domestic legislations, are entwined

⁵⁹ In one of the study cases of Tregear et al. (2007) the artisan producers resisted the inclusion of industrial producers once the latter were seen as able to capture the accumulated rent via the efforts and resources, already accomplishe, at the expenses of the artisan. Furthermore, those larger producers, seen as ‘free-riders’ were also feared to decrease consumers quality perceptions resulted by the inclusion of those larger producers in the qualification scheme.

with the referred increasing mobility to rural locales for work, leisure and tourism. Representing new forms of involvement with agriculture and its overall connection with the production and consumption aspect of this rural areas. As referred by Fonte & Papadopoulos (2010) different population movements, on the context of relocalization of food production, represents adaptability and survival of rural communities. Thus, if in the consumption side local food production is perceived as alternative production, considering rural locales as symbolic where food constitutes the possibility of lived experiences, on the production side they become known territories of specialized food production. And here, precisely, the geographical indications come to play a role in order to protect this “special” territories (terroirs in the wine terminology) to counteract the ones that might produce a similar product but do not possess the uniqueness of product and territory entangled. It must be underlined regarding what has been said about product qualification that not always it comes as a synonym of rural development of the areas which products are under geographical indications. Despite of, in agro-food scientific literature many references can be found for a growing demand of these products and they are often seen as evidence of a new rural development paradigm emerging (Barham, 2002) (in which they are seen as change in the consumer behaviour), they are still a lower niche in comparison with the foods produced and distributed by multinational corporations.

In addition, even considering that qualification schemes on origin labelling products can signify shifts on the conventional agricultural model, the latter, on the figure of the power that food multinational companies have on the markets will attempt to mischaracterize the unique identity of the locality impressed on the products. Besides various examples of trying to install confusion in non- or less regulated markets by using the same name of origin labelled products, the multinational companies will invest their accumulated capital to reshape food production in order to dissolve the place specificity of food production. This attempt, that can be called *de-territorialisation process*, will continue to <<(…)intensify and to appropriate some of the functions of agriculture in ways that stretch the links, networks, and chains between production and consumption spheres.>> (Morgan et al. 2006, p.53).

Tregear et al. (2007) present a discussion about the qualification schemes on agro-food production, regulated by UE, through geographical indication of origin labels like Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), as a tool of promotion and differentiation of those products. However, the focus of the article does not lead strictly to expressing the advantages of those

qualification strategies, but on the alert towards what frequently happens along with this qualification schemes when they become a goal for broader strategies of territorial development, and simultaneously, being incompatible with more localized strategies of rural development.

How so?

One of the cases analyzed on the article that express perfectly the negative consequences on localized rural development, and thus on producers (farmers), as the vulnerable group of the chain, is the Lari Cherry of the Municipality of Lari, Pisa Province and Tuscany region.

In Lari the initiative for the PDO qualification of the cherry came from the local political power structure, at municipal level, once it was intended to create throughout reputation of Lari Cherry an environment of touristic attractiveness, not only for Lari Municipality but for all the region. Nevertheless, the farmers join forces, being associated, and prevented the certification process of the product because the potential attractiveness of the Lari cherry started to demand for a higher production and thus implied an increase on producers which production was extended to areas and ways of production not traditionally used for this product. In one hand there was a distortion on the unique specificity and quality of the product and in other hand there was decrease on overall quality, once even the ones not producing under traditional methods and standards were benefiting from the prestigious and status of the local and traditional producers, by benefiting from prestigious status on the name Lari Cherry.

Nonetheless, the (certified) qualification procedures, that did not conclude, brought, as well, benefits by creating the needed “spark” for the producers to unite on a associative way, and to defend their product, once before such spark there was not any tradition of associative dialogue on the area. Therefore, the greater advantage of this example is represented by the balance (or harmony) created by the organized dialogue between its farmers against what it would be the destabilizing factors of the growing attractiveness of the area where Cherry Lari is produced. Thus, under a risk of social and economic negative effects, the most vulnerable group considering this risk (the farmers) had decide together to reduce this vulnerability by acting as a key and active stakeholder on the final equation, which is called by Winter (2004) the *necessity of localized governance networks*.

In sum, geographical indications can have negative effects on farmers, when being a motto for rural communities’ development, and only the capacity to promote themselves as political

actors by institutionally formed associations can reduce their intrinsic condition that makes them the most social and economically vulnerable group.

Furthermore, it is also important to sustain here that in the discussion about the sustainability of the agro-food sector development (that supposedly the product qualification schemes claim to strive for), in a quite silent way, the question of social sustainability has been left out. In other words, the shift to alternative food systems, by opposing to conventional industrialized ones, does not carry in its paradigm an automatic implementation of social justice in rural communities and family farmers. As with David Harvey (1996,p.74) warn us <<(…) we are concerned that alternative AFI's [Alternative Food Initiatives] through their silence about social relationships in production, inadvertently assume or represent that rural communities and family farmers embody social justice, rather than requiring that they do so.>>

How, then, strategies can take place in order to *require that they do so*?

On Michael Winter's (2004) is also referred that alternative food networks is the most solid path to resist to de-regulation brought by the massive liberalization of agro-food international markets. In this case, and considering the specific effects on individual farmers, Winter considers that this liberalized markets and its impacts on agricultural territories and activities are accomplished through a neoliberal rhetoric that makes the farmers internalize those negative impacts and their own failures as incapacities to deal with the "needs" of the free-markets logics. Regarding this, accordingly to what same author postulates, farmers need to gain, between themselves in an organized way, political capital by the creation of associations that express, institutionally, their concerns and claims towards the local political power structures. In another article, Winter (2003) presents this need as a connection between food and politics (as one of the reconnections mentioned in the Chapter I) in which he sustains critics under the way the complexities of agricultural supports⁶⁰ hide the true agenda in supporting, instead of farmer's production, the politics of corporativism. In this sense, the emergence of alternative food networks on production and consumption are one of the examples of the repoliticization of food in terms of the so-called ethical consumption, followed by an emergence of the desire to alight the visibility of this ethics and to achieve a

⁶⁰ The "bureaucratic trap" that CAP funds applications reveal to be, are one of the main critics of the policy regarding this matter.

more complete knowledge of production and to enable consumers to eat with a clear conscience.

In sum, is absolutely crucial the creation of strong connections between farmers and politics, which means the production side of the equation gains progressively a institutional importance at the discussion of agro-food markets features, all along with the transition to alternative food networks, where localized food systems can represent, besides food production sustainability also a social one.

3.3 European Geographical Indications – an overview

Schemes in regional products qualification have a long history. If we consider the PDO, and also the PGI, certification labels from the EEC Regulation 2081/92, they are based on protocols developed in the late 19th century, in France, to protect producers in prestige wine-making regions like Bordeaux from fraud after the phylloxera epidemic situation that cause enormous damages in many winemaking countries in Europe.

Nowadays qualification systems are, at a great extent, based on this wine qualification system, which means, the French AOC labelling (*appellation d'origine contrôlée*) where the entanglement between product and territory is explored in two different directions: first linking the wine to the local through the concept of *terroir* and second linking the wine to the global as geographical indication (Barham, 2002).

In fact, wine *terroir* is one of the most recognizable expressions to represent the idea that qualified products characteristics are tied to physical and/or cultural features of a given territory:

<<Terroir has become a buzz word in English language wine literature. This light-hearted use disregards reverence for the land which is a critical invisible element of the term. The true concept is not easily grasped but includes physical elements of the vine-yard habitat – the vine, subsoil, siting, drainage and microclimate. Beyond the measurable ecosystem there is an additional dimension – the spiritual aspect that recognizes the joys, the heartbreaks, the pride, the sweat, and the frustrations of its history.>> (Wilson, 1998, p.55)

Of course this system is just one convention towards food quality, but it is undeniable that the same logic stands for other agro-foods – as previously mentioned, qualified producers distinguish themselves by following an accepted and regulated code of practice, believing

on the premise that consumers are willing to pay a premium price because they value certain quality levels.

Furthermore, the official certification (we will see how it works this certification process later on for our case studies), as the final procedure in the qualification process, intends to protect the regional products reputation value, as an intellectual property from being usurped by competitors. For the case of EU's qualification process based on geographical indications, like PDO, there is a complex set of laws that frame all the procedures from the application of the qualified producer until the official certifications and regulations – in all this procedures the local knowledge and natural resources that the regional food incorporates are transformed into collective intellectual property (Pacciani et al., 2001).

However, before we focus further attention on the way EU's PDO qualification scheme works in its institutional recognition and certification, it is important to have into account some important considerations. The local food paradigm for Padel et al. (2007) has developed from a critique of the conventionalisation that organic farming turn to, however, in this new paradigm even if certification of origin quality products start to be understood as a synonym of rural development, authors like Tovey (2011) express that certification can be harmful and also useless. This critiques are sustained by the facts that certification raises costs for producers and the prices for the local consumers. Furthermore it is also considered that certification ends up to de-localize consumption, which entails a trend that local food paradigm is supposed to reverse. Moreover, the processes like certification, followed by labelling schemes like PDO, are perceived as 'market-oriented' and by this assumption also perceived as not leading to the radical transformation on the food system that local food paradigm also, in its political and ideological core, strives for (Winter, 2003).

Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate and certainly intellectual dishonest if, even by accepting the above mentioned critiques, we do not mention here a crucial question at this point. In the same line as Fonte (2010 quoting Anderson and Cook, p.244 and Feagan 2007, p.35) if its certain that food has become placeless and re-connecting producers and consumers at the local level is evidently an alternative to globalised food system, how much in a given region can we sustain a local production and simultaneously local consumption?

For sure certification and labelling will not ensure re-localization of consumption, but by protecting a re-localization of production, can instruments like PDO, create the necessary

conditions for wider strategies to local food be re-connected with local consumption, and therefore, enabling a true alternative paradigm to globalised food system?

Onwards this questions will be debated in more detail, but for now, let us just mentioned that the most important impact qualification and labelling have, can actually be found as a governance tool (Oosterver,2007) to constitute a basis to solve information asymmetry in quality food economies, like local food protected by, for example, PDO collective property. In other words, the place-based process that qualification and labelling constitutes, respond to a gap of information that exists by the separation of place of production and the place of consumption, separation which may be seen both from a spatial and from a social and cultural perspective (Fonte, 2010, p.150). Additionally, this processes are not just information vehicles to fill the above mentioned gap, but also, generating a new dynamic and interaction between different actors, like producers and consumers with experts and certification agencies that can stimulate, through discussed new ways of knowing, wider strategies than only the market-orientated ones. In other words, besides the qualification scheme there is an important role played by certification in the local knowledge dynamics and procedures – for Oosterver (2007) social movements can guarantee that producers and retailers take into account social and environmental standards while other independent parties ensure that products meets the proper standards in production and processing, building trust between actors in the commodity chain.

At this point, and getting back to EU's legal schemes for qualification and certification, we can say firstly that while some GIs of food are considered analogous to corporations trademarks, and thus being equivalent to a private label, the EU interpretation to certification of origin is quite more restrictive. European regulation has introduced two definitions of GIs, in accordance with the TRIPS agreement⁶¹, which are the Protected Designation of Origin (PDOs) and Protected Geographical Indications (PGIs), differing in terms of quality requirements. In other words, while PDOs cover products for which the quality or characteristics are essentially or exclusively due to geographical conditions, including

⁶¹ The TRIPS Agreement is Annex 1C of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, signed in Marrakesh, Morocco on 15 April 1994. This agreement on trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights presents its main driving force as: 'Desiring to reduce distortions and impediments to international trade, and taking into account the need to promote effective and adequate protection of intellectual property rights, and to ensure that measures and procedures to enforce intellectual property rights do not themselves become barriers to legitimate trade;' in World Trade Organization [online] https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/trips_e/t_agm1_e.htm [Consulted in 18-06-2015]

natural and human factors, in other hand, PGIs cover products for which <<(…)a give quality, reputation or other characteristics may be attributed to its origin.>>(G. Allaire et al.,2011).⁶²

This interpretation of designation of origin identifies as quality sign *territorial identity* in which strict norms are imposed on the production methods as consolidated in the history and tradition of a particular geographical area. Which is to say, *territory* as a protected place-production enfolds the physical place (natural and human factors), the specific methods of production and specific characteristics of the products (previously mentioned as *uniqueness*) and even the circumstances in which is consumed (an important aspect of the cultural identity of the product, however, probably the weakest link on the designation of origin chain once re-localization of consumption is not enforced) (Fonte, 2010, p.151).

Officially the EU states that these systems encourage the diversification of agricultural production, protect the product names from misuse and imitation and help consumers by providing information on the specific characteristics of the products. Relating this quality policy of the EU's products qualification scheme with its marketing standards the official discourse is: <<European marketing standards replace the different national standards. They encourage farmers to place products of a given quality on the market, in line with consumer requirements, and allow the prices of products of equivalent quality to be compared.>>

In the end, as an overall conclusion promoting the policy it is affirmed that such provisions ensure minimum quality standards for the consumer and facilitate the operation of the internal market and international trade. (EC,2010)

On the following chapter III we will devote special attention on how *helping consumers by providing information on the specific characteristics of the products; encouraging farmers to place products of a given quality on the market* and finally *facilitation on the operation of the internal market and international trade* stated officially by EU authorities applies to examples of Portuguese and Greek agro-food products, including the two wine regions addressed in the Chapter V and VI, in the final results.

⁶² There is also a broader geographical indication within the EU's origin certification framework called Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) that 'emphasises a product's traditional composition or traditional mode of production.' in [online] ec.europa.eu/agriculture/.../newsletter-2010_en.pdf [Consulted in 18-06-2015]

*Alto Douro,
Portugal.
Three
generations
of workers.*



Espólio Fotográfico Português. Fernando de Sousa

IV CHAPTER

The Rural and Agriculture of Greece and Portugal

Overview and Main challenges

*A fome aperta. O jornaleiro,
Chove e não pode trabalhar;
Já não tem pão, nem tem dinheiro,
Ouvem-se pragas num pardieiro
E criancinhas a chorar...*

Conde de Monsaraz, Musa Alentejana

4.1 Evolution and quest for a model in Greek agriculture and rural

Greece is a relatively small country with a total area of 131. 957 km² and cluster of 217 populated islands that correspond to 19% of country's total area. With a coastline of 15.021 km long, mountainous and hilly areas occupying almost two-thirds of the country, where most mountain peaks have a height of over 2,000 meters located within short distances from the sea, the wider part of the country is only 275 km. Also dominated by a core mountain range intersected by river basins of various sizes is the line that goes from the eastern border of Thrace in northern Greece to the southern part of Crete, while the same applies to northern Greece where the mountains along the borders of the country are even closer to the Aegean coast. As regarding country's climate, East part of Mediterranean is characterized by dry summers while there are none up in Thrace, and summer drought are usually acute in plains but less felt in mountainous regions and getting less and less as moving to North.

If it is true that a rapid look to Greek territory does not make justice to that fascinating country, revealed by a rich culture that marries perfectly with breathtaking diverse landscape, it is also true that a rapid look (needed for an overview purpose as presented in Chapter's title) at the history of Greek agriculture since the early nineteenth century can bring light to a set of characteristics that is important to underline (Damianakos,1997):

1. A long tradition of petty commodity production and resistance by family forms of production⁶³;
2. Agriculture's predominant share in the economy;
3. Absence of a native industry for integrating farming into the national economy;
4. Widespread revenues from emigration and supplementary employment;
5. The 'fluidity' of cleavages between urban and rural zones.

⁶³ Traditionally, and also still (although not so much in past recent years, even though economic crisis put this question back on the spotlight) persons in the secondary and tertiary sectors work in family agriculture business.

Furthermore, these characteristics also highlight the discontinuity of the nation-building process over a long period after unification that spread since 1830 until 1947⁶⁴, however this process was rocked by the Balkan wars, several conflicts with Turkey especially the ones concerning Cyprus, two world wars, civil wars and even a dictatorship regime from 1967 to 1974. It is quite obvious that this affected the structuring of a State and consequently resulting in an extreme slow pace of integration of diverse local social structures into the first.

Therefore, if even, as Servolin (1989) refers, land reforms over the past two centuries, <<(…) by making peasants bear the ‘burden of owning the land’ have succeeded in placing European agriculture on the service of accelerated capitalist accumulation(…)>> in Greece the socialization of farm work assumed paradoxical forms (Damianakos,1997, p.193). It is then clear as water that rural destinies in Greece have been closely linked to the process of building contemporary political, social and economic systems, therefore, to understand the Greek’s agriculture model evolution and currently quest towards a new model integrated as *new rurality* (as we will see further in Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013) it is necessary to understand first which cufflinks form the mentioned link. These cufflinks represent first of all the weight of tradition (re)built of shifts from diverse to uniform agrarian structures, especially from the nineteenth century to the 1950s. This way, during the previously mention century up through the first decades of the twentieth century, the Greek society have seen more or less autonomous regional markets, which were closely linked, and were originated by, different varieties of local relations with the land, and ways of working the land making therefore several types of agrarian systems. Damianakos (1997) explains that these different agrarian systems were associated with a wide range of different social conflicts; they were stemmed from those specific systems and each one of them had its own rationale and dynamics. Following this, Karavidas (1931 quoted by Damianakos, 1997) describes those six main systems.

⁶⁴ In 1830 the State was formed and in 1947 the Dodecanese islands joined Greece that until then were under Italian rule.

Table 5. Six main ‘socio-economic’ formations in Greece (beginning of twentieth century)

Type	Description
Tseligato	Many centuries old form of co-operation among transhumant shepherds
Çiftlic	A big estate born out of the breakup of the Ottoman land system
Zadrouga	Egalitarian, joint family land-holding of a Slavic type
Céphalochori (free commune)	A form of the old Balkan village community
‘Peasant System’	The small family farm (a diminished form of Zadrouga)
‘Half-urban, half-peasant’	Family farm in Peloponnese

These formations, when they did not ignore each other, move from being co-operative or having hostile relations, but transversally, and maintained for long time, there was an interdependence between herding and farming, that explains, in the position of above quoted authors, why Greece, differently to other Balkan countries, have missed the eighteenth century ‘agricultural revolution’⁶⁵ and was not the only revolution Greek farming missed. Then, it is considered that some of those six formations had become ‘parasitical’ (Karavidas, 1931) during the 1920s, representing an export-oriented model⁶⁶ that illustrates one of the ways Greece agriculture entered the market economy where there was a failure of capital to become productive. Despite a recession in 1920s that marked a considerable decrease on the volume of exports, the population had grown in great expansion in grape-growing regions, while banks started to intervene in agriculture⁶⁷. Considering all this Kalafatis (1990 and 1992) is led to put forward a question that then he replies by pointing out some

⁶⁵ By planting fallow land with fodder had solved once and for all the food shortage problem in the West

⁶⁶ Raisin production during the 1860s accounted for 95% of the volume exports from the port of Patras while in 1870s it occupied three quarters of arable land in some areas of northern Peloponnese.

⁶⁷ Agriculture Bank of Greece was created in 1929 by the government meant exclusively to finance the modernization of Greek agricultural sector. However, before the creation of this Bank, there was an unwillingness of the National Bank to extend credit to small and middle size farms, discouraging peasants from intensifying the production and benefiting only the bigger farms.

contradictions: << Why did this premature transition from traditional towards an exclusively market-oriented form of production deteriorate?>>⁶⁸

The contradictions mentioned are the archaic relations of production, land fragmentation and a burdensome bureaucratic weight that both delayed state of technology that remain backward and also helped local politicians under the patronage system to capture part of the surplus. The State, having its actions in agriculture completely limited to the reproduction of the existing relations of production⁶⁹, conducted a overall land reform from 1917 to 1929 considered as the first major State intervention in Agriculture⁷⁰ that had very weak results in terms of making improvements in infrastructure and on the provision of adequate social, technical and economic support but mainly in trying to solve the serious problems resulted from the recession caused by World War I. However it accomplished to homogenize the agrarian structures and creating conditions for a ‘take-off’ of Greek agriculture after the 1950s – actually Gutelman (1974) considered about this land reform that it can be accepted as one of the most radical conducted in Europe, if not the world. The land reform stimulated farming which results started to be felt by early 1960s, the foundations of petty commodity production were not affected and the same former goal for peasants continued to be reproduced, meaning support their families and reproduce their means of production that now were owned by the family and as well the organization of the production and the production outcomes itself. Therefore, we can say that at this stage Greek agriculture was half way between subsistence farming and capitalist agriculture, once most peasants produce for the market but they sold, from their non-mechanized production, only what the family did not consume.

This occurred in a period that in Greece, differences, disparities and inequalities have been arising, while the agriculture was being forced by a rational agricultural policy to increase productivity, intensify labour and accept relatively moderate or even low incomes⁷¹ while

⁶⁸ With this question Kalafatis tried to understand what happened with Greek’s economic engine that by that time was mainly Corinth, which failed in accelerate capital accumulation as it happened in the primary sector in the West.

⁶⁹ Peasants economic rationale focused on family subsistence.

⁷⁰ Damianakos (1997, p.196) believes this intervention was more motivated by the necessity of settling 1.5 million Greek refugees from Turkey following the 1922 war than <<(…)by the will to modernize the agricultural sector for the profit of the nascent industrial sector(…)>>

⁷¹ Even considering a notable annual rate increase in farm income from 1975 to 1985 (ratio of a farmer’s income to that of worker in other sectors rose from 40% in 1975 to 56% in 1985) the farm income in Greece

losing independence (to homogenise and produce unified productive structures). The disparities and inequalities on farming social structures and to what Damianakos (1997) called the highly unlikely 'end' of Greek peasants were due to the quite fragile structures of Greek Agriculture.

These fragile structures still being reproduced on the beginning of the 1990s, with which Greece felt (and suffered the consequences of) the accession to the European Union: land fragmentation in small, non-adjacent lots⁷²; ageing of the farm population⁷³ and a increasing disparity between ways of organizing farm work and a combination of farm work with non-farming occupations.

Other trends were also, by the 1990s starting to appear, that actually later were intensified by crisis, like the rising of a younger generation that was turning away from farming (curiously the current economic crisis had a reverse effect at some extent, as we will see later on) while different types of farming were being multiplied, leading to several sorts of relations of production, even co-existing in the same farm, like subsistence, wage-earning or sub-contractual, reinforcing simultaneously the evolution of non-farming activities.

In fact, if wage labour relations were by the time making progress on the farm, they have undergone a significant change, once permanent jobs have given way to temporarily employment⁷⁴ (Moissidis, 1986). Greek agriculture had then become pluriactive to the point that, while from the first decades of twentieth century to the 70s and even late 80s employment in non-agricultural occupations, both at individual or family levels, was just a mere way to supplement farm income, by the 1990s it has start to take such proportions that farming tend to represent just an extra source of income. Therefore, this new trend had altered the process of agricultural production in such significant way that this production

was among the lowest in EU by 1990. While in Greece the average annual farm income per family working unit was 4,924 ECUs (European Currency Units) the EU's average was 8,924. (Eurostat, 1990).

⁷² The fact Greek farmers tend to not transfer property, already formed by non-adjacent plots, during their lifetime and then to divide between the heirs, keep this issue into a cyclical reproducible form, increasing high parcelization of land properties. Accordingly to Moissidis (1986) in 1977 the average number of parcels per farm was 6.1 and the average size of parcel 0,6ha. Regarding small farms with less than one hectare in 1971 it was 21.6% increasing to 24.7% in 1981 and 26% in 1989 (with Greece already in the EEC).

⁷³ Accordingly to Eurostat data (1989, 1990) 5% of Greek farmers had less than 35 years old and 29% over 65 compared to EU averages of 9% and 23% respectively. To understand how these figure reverse it is important to have in account that by 1971, 20 % of Greek farmers were less than 30 years old and 10% more than 65 (Pezaros, 1987).

⁷⁴ Number of wage earners decreased from 8.2% of farm labour force in 1961 to 3.9% in 1981.

started to adjust somehow to the ‘other’ occupation to which farming was secondary to⁷⁵, especially when the first occupation was tourism (Tsartas, 1991).

The overview through how Greek agriculture evolved from its independence as a country to the verge of the twentieth first century, demonstrates, without any doubt, signs of progress, namely in the rationalization of the production and in the agricultural co-operation (specially in times where the exports demanded for so), however the basic structure of Greek agriculture remained characterized, mainly, by mixed farming⁷⁶.

In other perspective, considering labour relations, and although the rise of wage labour, by the 1990s most farm wage earners were still undocumented day labourers to which migrant labour contributed with a considerable importance. Therefore, almost all previously quoted authors agree in addressing Greek farmers, back then, as still far from forming an occupation group, and in fact, anyone that owned a tenth of a hectare of arable land could claim to be a farmer since there was no records of farmers. Furthermore, there is also a consensus concerning what all these changes in the social relations of productions in recent decades have confirmed; first that politics continues to dominate the economy and in addition rural society is at a great extent ruled by the balance of power rather than economic logics, and second that this domination has manage to keep a relative autonomy over the years. Was, then, with a politically ruled rural society, still in a quest for a model that back then dissolved into mixed agricultural structures, and with a peasantry as a major factor shaping the whole Greek society, that Greece took-off for the accession to the European Union. As it would be expected, but however seemingly not predicted, the PASOK, elected in 1981 as a socialist party whose main motto was to support ‘non-privileged’ Greeks (and that was sceptical about EU until mid-1980s) implemented the most developed and costly policy of the EU, of course the CAP, in ways that economic and social inequalities were exacerbated as well the heterogeneity in rural society (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 1994; Louloudis and Maraveyas, 1997).

If it is true that on the contrary of PASOK alarmist prediction on the certain destiny of ruin to farmers with the European Union integration of the country and mainly on CAP’s effects,

⁷⁵ European estimates on Eurostat (1987), 34 % of Greek farmers in 1987 (EU average was 31%) had a second gainful employment and from these total of 34%, 27% was the main occupation (23% as for EU average).

⁷⁶ <<(…) although capital is exerting a more direct hold over farming, and even though the development of means of transportation and communication has modified the scale of local society, there is no sign that family, village or farm structures will be dismantled.>> (Damianakos, 1997, p.204)

the results contained (at least in a first stage) the rural depopulation that was felt significantly between 1950 and 1980 and constituted a amelioration of farming incomes with EU subsidies. However the results of this subsidies and the way CAP was implemented in Greece, also fuelled by the PASOK's pro-agricultural policy, had considerable negative effects to the balance of agricultural trade in the country⁷⁷, the competitiveness of Greek agriculture continued to drop, agricultural output was stagnant, and especially the most affected by the implementation of those policies were, at regional level, farmers of mountainous and less-favoured areas, while farmers cultivating intensively in plains and semi-mountainous area benefitted more⁷⁸(Louloudis and Maraveyas, 1997). This selective pro-agricultural policy of PASOK had as results the transfers of considerable high resources to agricultural production to the cost of the overall agricultural structure, creating regional disparities and also inequalities at branch levels, affecting mostly livestock production. Besides the referred party proceeded on its main electoral commitment which was the restructuring of co-operatives that marked also an intention to replace the price fixing mechanisms that were subject of 'political pressure' (addressing the pressure of the EU policies) by a 'national and socially just system', however, without clarifying what was meant by a socially just system. This was the beginning of a extended 'social policy' that led co-operatives to bankruptcy while being political beneficial to PASOK that turned the first into centres of clientelism and intermediate actors between the party and the farmers⁷⁹. In sum, as Mavrogordatos (1988) stated regarding the uniqueness of the Greek case on the relation between farmers and the State, there was a <<(..)absolute prevalence of State corporatism which, from, a structural point of view, manifests itself in the primacy of the co-operatives taking on the characteristics of a decentralized state service. >> Before addressing the Portuguese case, in a matter of speaking with some similarities presented for Greek one, it is important to finalize by mentioning a series of changes that took place in the

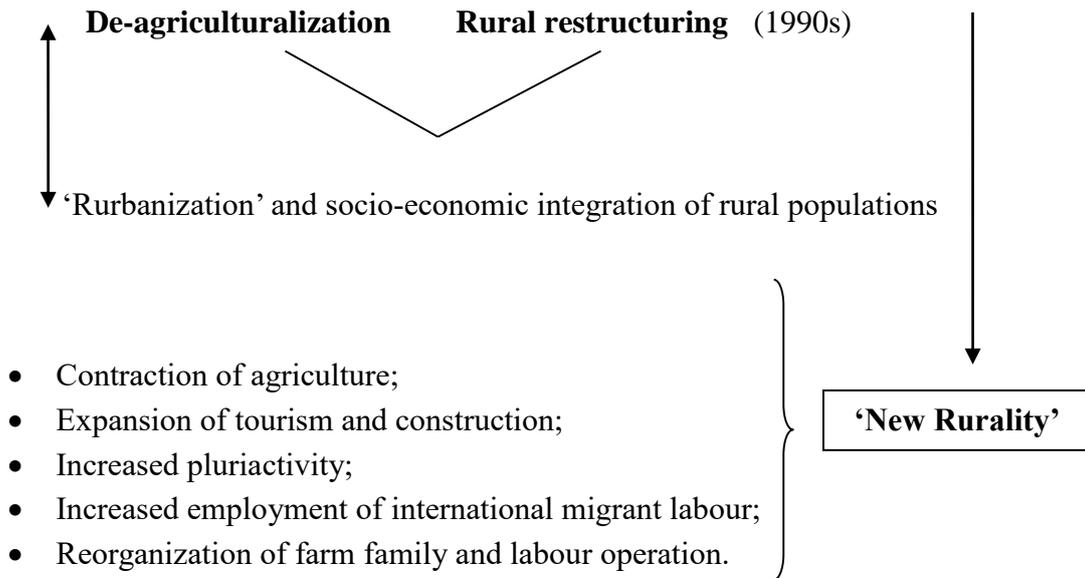
⁷⁷ In 1980 imported agricultural products were covered by exports to the extent of 105% while in 1989 this percentage had dropped to 80%.

⁷⁸ Cotton and its expansive production is one of the strongest examples of PASOK disproportionate subsidization policy. The production of cotton rose from 130.000 ha in 1979 to 440.000 ha in 1995, making to one-third of overall Greek arable land. The rise of this production was not only stimulated by subsidies but also from the guaranteed high-prices that inside EU were almost triple to world prices.

⁷⁹ The Agricultural Bank of Greece (ATE) was used to finance often unsuccessful investments to increase farm income through price support while was being created and illusionary state of agricultural development when in fact it was being doubly (also at the European level) creating inequalities that were felt much later.

past 20 years and that have transformed the face of rural Greece with higher focus on the changes occurred in the rural farm household marked by the European agricultural and rural development policies.

In the early 90s a set of processes have transformed the rural areas and thus, accordingly to Kasimis and Papadopoulos, (2013) forming a ‘new rurality’:



Nonetheless, with the environment of the recent economic crisis the conditions of this ‘new rurality’ were affected by a contraction of public services, a ‘back to the land movement’ and also a generalized falling incomes context. The most interesting aspect of this so-called ‘new rurality’ is a reverse mobility that bears elements of modernity and tradition with new methods of organization and work appearing but also a rediscovery of traditional crops, products and cultures. Therefore, to understand the changes on the physiognomy of rural Greece in the past 20 years the above mentioned authors point out three paths: *de-agriculturalization of the countryside; the perplexity of rural mobilities and rural resilience during economic crisis.*

Rural Greece and its rurality has been transformed between modernization and transformations; if in one hand, rural areas have been affected by farm size polarization and land concentration in the other by an increased activation of newcomers, either hobby farmers or farmers with non-agricultural origins but high-status professions. Thus, rural Greece can be considered to have been in constant changing processes between

discontinuities and regressions where progressions and innovations are so important as drawbacks and delays (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2001).

Regarding the *de-agriculturalization of the countryside*, several factors have to be emphasized that lead to this path. First, an expansion of employment in non-agricultural sectors⁸⁰, and even though the sector has maintained a role of supporting the livelihood of rural populations, according to Farm Structure Survey of Eurostat the number of holdings fell 14.3% from 824,460 to 706,400 between 2003 and 2010. Second, the already mentioned contracting competitiveness in Greece's agriculture is explained by a decline in private investments but also to irrational management of EU funds and ineffective policies implemented by Greek governments since EU integration. Third, with the economic crisis, and especially after 2010, in a period of economic recession the employment in agriculture started to fall and not even the emergence of mobilities could contain this fall. Furthermore de-agriculturalization is also related with the fact that nearly two thirds of farm family population are in a situation of extended underemployment⁸¹ (PASEGES, 2011, p.26-29). Moreover, a multifunctional environment in rural Greece was also created where the conditions for off-farm employment had prevail, stimulating labour demand that came along with the expansion of non-agricultural activities like tourism and housing construction but also the growth of new consumption patterns linked to leisure and recreation uses of rural areas. There has been also a considerable growth in pluriactivity over the past three decades, where its degree among family farm heads is nearly 30% where 18% of those hold a main job outside their farm and agriculture work. Another factor that lead to the de-agriculturalization of the countryside is the fall in farm household incomes that started to be felt with economic crisis⁸² and, as Karanikolas and Zografakis (2008) argue that there is a relation between household dependence on agriculture and the poverty line in the way that as higher the first, larger is the percentage of farm population below the second. In fact, their estimates present that one in three rural households is below the poverty line. Summarizing, the process of de-agriculturalization can be seen as the result, and not so much the cause, of the transformation of Greek countryside once <<(…) the adaptability of Greek family farms,

⁸⁰ Currently agricultural sector stands for 11% of all employment (4,5% for EU-25 average) and contributes 3.5% for the country's GDP, while being responsible for 25% of exports.

⁸¹ Average employment close to 60 labour days.

⁸² Between 2000 and 2009 agricultural income per working person was reduced by 16.9% while in crisis years (2009-2012) the decline was marked in 10.8%.

which may be considered as a form of ‘reflexive responsiveness’ against the calls of agricultural policy and European integration process, is both the cause and the effect of de-agriculturalization of the Greek countryside.>>(Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013, p. 276)

As far as it concerns the *perplexity of rural mobilities*, it is strongly entangled with the previously mentioned process at two levels. First regarding a *rural exodus* that started to be felt strongly between the 50s and the 70s and then to a second level between the 70s and the 90s, was connected with the social transformation of the countryside that itself was part of the structural disintegration of traditional rural society. While for Vergopoulos (1975) this process was caused by a commercialization of agricultural production that was done (re)producing inequalities and led to rural household budget deficits, Kavouriadis (1974) argues instead that as result of mechanization, there was an increasing productivity, in a context of worsening terms of trade, that intensified the proletarianization of the peasantry. In other perspective, a generalized improvement in educational levels and living standards followed by urban consumption patterns being spread, created higher expectations by the younger generations that wished and strived for jobs outside agriculture and consequently outside rural areas. Moreover, the Greek countryside and its current ‘era of mobilities’, where both <<(…) rural areas and agriculture are simultaneously becoming recipients and/or providers of population movements>> (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013, p. 286) allow us to found the meeting point with the *rural resilience during economic crisis* not only because there has been a maintenance of rural structures, functions, activities and identities, even though through a reorganization and reshaping of rurality but also because the contemporary reverse mobility or more fashionably called ‘return to the land’ reveals that capacity of rural areas, and the very *rurality* itself, to adapt *resiliently* to changes, where modernity and tradition co-exist⁸³.

However, the difficulties that this movement entails after the first enthusiasm, need to be addressed by considering the a necessary discussion accompanied by policy framework that can lead strategies for rural development, once the return not always signifies a involvement with agriculture. Therefore, and in conclusion, it is imperative that a reform of the institutional agricultural environment where the deep mistakes of the past will not be repeated, mainly the clientelism and corporatism that resulted into the collapsing of farmer’s

⁸³ Where it occurs, of no less importance, the emergence of elements that form a new space and time division of living and working between urban and rural areas. (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013)

cooperatives and other organizations. This can only be prevented by considering seriously the importance of how a ‘new’ rural space is going to be ‘politicized’ by the reconstructions between the ‘locals’ and ‘non-locals’ in ways that neither the first will be excluded from the sensitive issues like heritage and tradition neither the latter will be marginalized from being integrated into the social space of the first. It is above all, those tensions that have to drive the dynamism of rural areas, where the conditions to reconnecting the rural with politics means to connect the rural with a local(ness) autonomy to participate in the decisions that in the past (even the recent one⁸⁴) so negatively had affect this areas, both territorially and socially.

4.2 Evolution and quest for a model in Portuguese agriculture and rural

Lástima é que para se escolher um melão se façam mais provas e diligências da sua bondade que para um conselheiro e para um ministro.

D.Francisco Manuel de Melo⁸⁵

Portuguese ‘rural world’ has been losing its (strictly) productive character, called, in existing literature, as an *identity crisis* (Figueiredo, 2008) for which have not, yet, been found answers that lead to a *new agro-rural reality* (Covas, 2011; Oliveira Baptista, 2011). Furthermore, Portugal agriculture is currently, for the most part, about household farming, still very traditional and small scaled. Besides, rural areas as space of consumption stand out (albeit timidly) as an alternative to large commercial spaces and processes of globalization where local foods are recognized for their deep connection to the territories and their climatic and soil characteristics, as we have seen before. Towards this new agro-rural reality, Portuguese rural have been called *post-productive* and *consumption place* (Figueiredo, 2011; Oliveira Baptista, 2011) that seems to express the currently search for recreational and

⁸⁴ The austerity programme approved in 2012 raised the costs of production and undermined the future of rural areas, especially in times of crisis where uncertainty spreads faster than the necessary time to implement long-term stable strategies for rural development.

⁸⁵ Published after author’s death in 1721(p.104). It address satirically a problem, that remains present today, on the righteousness of how Ministries and Minister counsellors are chosen lacking on capacity for their responsibilities. The satirical sentence express that in Portugal to ‘choose a melon’ more care is put into it than to choose a Ministry or a counsellor.

leisure purposes, for people committed with environment protection and preservation of cultural traditions and memories (Figueiredo, 2011).

We will return to this topic later on, to address as well the very question that Figueiredo (2011) does in the introduction of a recent work on the plurality of the Portuguese rural: *A rural full of futures?*⁸⁶. First it is important to present an overview of the evolution of Portuguese agriculture and rural, that thus, led consequently to that quest(?) for a new-agrurality.

Portuguese territory, as a territory geographically small, conceals in its continental and insular dimensions a great diversity of landscapes and traditions. It is not so common to find a territory with this geographical dimensions to be so rich in contrasts but at the same time built upon delimited borders that are in fact amongst the oldest in Europe. No monotony can be found when we pass from North to South, from Minho at Northwest to Trás-os-Montes at Northeast, along we trail all Alentejo and all the way towards South until we met Algarve. One could also expect that Madeira and Azores for its remotely geographical condition in Atlantic Ocean would be enclosure in a melancholic *saudosismo*⁸⁷ by the distance and the sea. However, they have own and vivid popular expression in their traditions and expressive *folklore*; besides in the case of Azores, when Portugal lost its independence to the kingdom of Spain, it was a stronghold for Portuguese independence struggle, refusing to surrender under Spanish domain.⁸⁸

Therefore, it is precisely in geography that we must understand the relational geopolitical positioning of Portugal that had and has its consequences, as in general the geopolitical position for any country does, either in the Iberian integration, either in the European Union in 1986 (back then called European Economic Community).

The simultaneous access of both Iberian countries to EU came with a common obligation to both countries, as conjugated and synchronized development of their great communication ways, either for motorized vehicles, either by train lines, to the rest of EU and neighbour

⁸⁶The books name, in Portuguese original title, is 'O Rural Plural' and the question was translated from the original 'Um Rural Cheio de Futuros' (Figueiredo, 2011, p.13)

⁸⁷ *Rather die free than in peace be subjugated* is the motto of Azores Coat of Arms. It comes from a letter that Ciprião de Figueiredo, Corregidor of Azores, has sent in 13 of February of 1582 to the King Felipe II of Castela, refusing to give him the control of Terceira island.

⁸⁸ Saudosismo is the expressive feeling of Saudade and it designates an aesthetical movement of literature occurred in the early years of the Twentieth century, to which writers like Teixeira de Pascoaes and Fernando Pessoa were precursors. For Pascoaes saudosismo reflects the great spiritual trace that defines the Portuguese soul or the feeling of being Portuguese, as a nostalgic anxiety of material and spiritual unity.

countries. However, for Santos Varela (2008) only through a integration with plenitude in the Atlantic with its maritime routes can bring us the needed centrality for the affirmation as a developed country with influence either in the context of Europe either in the context of globalization. The development of the insular regions of Madeira and Azores can enhance precisely that Atlantic affirmation either in the connection with both Americas, Asia and Africa. Without these connections we would be condemned to be no more than a periphery of the European Continent. Furthermore, and considering another aspect of such diversity, Portuguese agriculture is tremendously influenced by its geo-climate differences along the territory, and therefore, after the European integration our agricultural panorama started to reflect the evolution of EU policies for agriculture, established by the CAP. In a way that, after the European integration and the nature of its agricultural policies, considerable impacts were felt in the economy of Portuguese agricultural production. The below presented figure 2 illustrates, through a cartographical representation, the diversity of the Portuguese production systems, either in the sense of the landscape variety and the dispersion through the country of natural dominant landscapes either the agricultural and forestry regional types of production.

Meu Portugal, meu berço de inocente
Lisa estrada que andei débil infante.
Variado jardim do adolescente
Meu laranjal em flor sempre odorante
Minha tarde de amor. Meu doce Outono
Sê meu berço final no último sono
 Tomaz Ribeiro

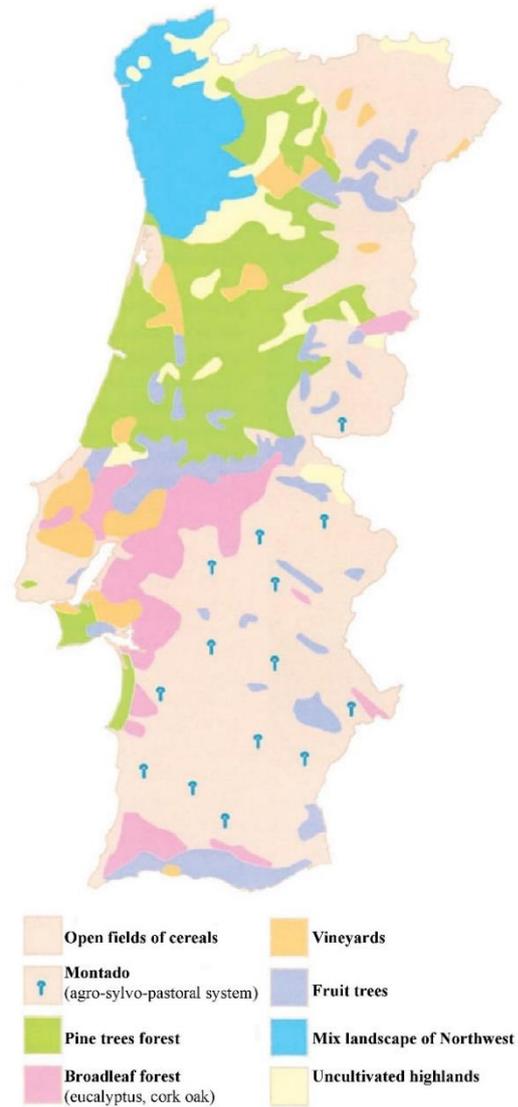


Fig.2 Production systems in Portugal

Source: Adapted from Varela Santos (2008)

One cannot deny the diverse landscape seen in Portugal, from the breathtaking scenario of the wine region of Douro, sculptured between the human effort and the natural beauty to the genuine richness of Azores landscape. However, within such landscapes, Portuguese agrarian structure, either in the past or currently with consequences after the European integration, presents considerable contrasts, in which diversity is not a symbol of strength such as the different systems of production or the landscapes of Portugal. To address them

is especially important, once regarding rural regions, they constitute 80% of Portuguese territory, being the agrarian structure one of most salient aspects of the territory.

4.2.1 Portuguese agrarian structure and the consequences of EU integration

The Portuguese government has asked in 1977 for the country's access to EEC, and by this period Portuguese agriculture had inherited a 'history' of a passive performance and accumulated difficulties. Argues Santos Varela (2007) that on the contrary of Europe that after the destruction brought by the 2nd World War, accomplished in edifying a Common Agriculture Policy in which a solid support was reached for the construction of EEC and the common market to be based upon, Portuguese agriculture never managed to meet a common agriculture policy at national level that could initiative a defined strategy of development at the country's scale with capacity to stop the negative consequences of the scattered incentive programmes of the XIX century and second that would give an orientation to Portuguese farmers to organize themselves to be prepared to face the challenges of the XX.

Same author give us the example of investment on the production of cereals that always managed to see a continuity all through different political regimes in Portugal, since the end of monarchy to 1st Republic, all through the dictatorship of Estado Novo (1926-1974), after the agrarian reform that 'born' from the Revolution of April of 1975, and even after the European integration with funds from the CAP – all of them based in monetary support with highly inequalities on the distribution. This examples of 'untouched' continuities mark the contrasts of Portuguese agrarian structures. Boaventura Sousa Santos (2011) reminds us of the words of the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset when he said one century ago that the *problem was Spain and the solution was Europe*, to express that nowadays we cannot say the same concerning Portugal, once if the latter is the problem *this* Europe is not the solution. The same author places before us two questions, concerning the instability of current days in which <<We live a intense episode of being that is also an episode of non-being. Are we Portuguese in the same that we are Europeans? Meanwhile, we are in but the instability of being is so big that we feel like we are displaced. Are we in Portugal in the same way we are in Europe?>> (Ibidem, p.7)⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Translated from the original in Portuguese: <<Vivemos um intenso episódio de ser, que é também um episódio de não-ser. Somos portugueses do mesmo modo que somos europeus? Entretanto, estamos, mas a instabilidade de estar é tão grande que nos sentimos desinstalados.>>.

But is the problem *this* or *that* Europe? Is the problem placed in the way European integration has evolved in such a way that regional disparities had increased the centre-periphery dichotomies? Had this a tremendous impact on the contrasts that current agrarian structures present, and thus, on the successive amount of erroneous politics (and politicians) that led Portuguese agriculture to the dependent, non-competitive and fragile scenarios of nowadays? It might be, at some extent, but here we should also remember, the speech that the Antero de Quental has made back in 1871⁹⁰ in which he sustains that until XVI century the people of Portugal and Spain had shown a remarkable creative capacity, an independence of the spirits and actions, supporting the de-centralization and federalism that brought and stimulated the development of sovereign countries and a multiplicity of reigns, where the creative and individuals capacities but with communitarian will was flourishing. Portugal and Spain were emergent centres spreading knowledge in philosophy, literature, geography and navigation. Then with the upcoming XVII, XVIII and finally XIX centuries, Portugal and Spain revealed the decadence of not keeping up the scientific modernization of the rest of Europe, perishing to the hands of Catholicism dogmas of an all-powerful dictating Rome, and stagnant absolutist Kings: <<The absolute power is based upon the ruin of local institutions (...) The monarchical centralization, heavy, uniform, has fallen over the Peninsula as the stone of a tomb.>>⁹¹(Quental, 2010, p.32-33). Quental also addresses the effects of this decadence in agriculture: << [The country] was governed by the nobles to the nobles. And the consequences we all know them (...) immense properties were created. With this, the class of small land-owners was annulated, the large-scale cultures being impossible, and the small gradually disappearing, agriculture fell; half of the Peninsula became a heath: population decrease but the misery was not less than before.>>(Ibidem, p.33)⁹² Even afterwards, with the Liberalism that resulted from the Liberal Wars, a civil war between 1828 and 1834⁹³, and the defeat of the Absolutism, the emancipation from the ancestral

⁹⁰ Published afterwards under the title 'Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares Nos Últimos Três Séculos'.

⁹¹ Translated from the original in Portuguese:<<O poder absoluto assenta-se sobre a ruína das instituições locais. (...) A centralização monárquica, pesada, uniforme, caiu sobre a Península como pedra dum túmulo.>>

⁹² Translated from the original in Portuguese: <<Governava-se então pela pobreza e para a pobreza. As consequências sabemo-las nós todos. Pelos morgados vinculou-se a terra, criaram-se imensas propriedades. Com isto, anulou-se a classe dos pequenos proprietários; a grande cultura sendo então impossível, e desaparecendo gradualmente a pequena, a agricultura caiu; metade da Península transformou-se numa charneca: a população decresceu, sem que por isso se aliviasse a miséria.>>

⁹³ Also known as the Portuguese Civil War or the War of the Two Brothers was a war between progressive constitutionalists and authoritarian absolutists in Portugal over royal succession that lasted from 1828 to 1834.

orders that heavily had restrained the people and agriculture, as Quental had affirmed, did not stimulate the communitarian way of living, traditional in the most part of the rural Portugal, mainly in the North and in the Centre, and with the ‘seed’ of individualism brought, with confused policies, the root of an erroneous agrarian capitalism, that affected mostly the South (Varela Santos, 2007). In 1832, with the ‘Agrarian Revolution Law’⁹⁴, the nationalization of some of the properties of the Crown and of the Religious Orders was determined, with the purpose that all this land properties could be shared in an equal and fair way among the population in a need for land as an instrument of work. However, as referred Castro Caldas (1991) when the farmers sought, with considerable difficulties, and reunited, in groups of common interest, the financial resources in order to buy bigger plots of land, public auction were being announced and the places were changed, at the last minute, in purpose, so a privileged buyer would take it for a moderate price. In a process that the same author considered to be one of the most inglorious in the history of the Liberal Regime where the <<The rich land-owner that agglomerated in his vast property also the national properties.>> and has <<(…) served to convert several capitalists in land-owners.>>⁹⁵ (Ibidem, quoted by Varela Santos, 2007, p.15). Another important example of consequences of this redistributive land policies is expressed by the comparison of the agrarian structures before and after the Liberal Revolution, (in the South of the country where the interventions were more expressive), that failed, in its *modus operandi* (even though the idea had good intentions) to develop Portuguese agriculture.

⁹⁴ The law was known by that name among the historians of the time. The original in Portuguese ‘Lei da Revolução Agrária’.

⁹⁵ Translated from the original in Portuguese: <<O rico proprietário que conglobou nos seus extensos prédios vastos, prédios nacionais.>>; <<(…)o que serviu para converter muitos capitalistas em proprietários.>>

Table 6. Agrarian Structure in the Old Regime that Liberal Revolution faced (South of the country)

Types of property by ownership	Area (1.000 ha)	(%)
<u>Royal and Patrimonial lands</u>		
- Of people	1.700	43
- Of Church	900	23
Peasantry properties (familiar)	70	2
Commons	1.250	31
Nationalized lands of the Crown	50	1
Religious Orders lands	30	1
Total occupied	4.000	100

Source: Adapted from Varela Santos (2007, p.17)

Table 7. Property distribution after the Liberal Agrarian Capitalist Implementation (South of the country)

Types of property by ownership	Area (1.000 ha)	(%)
Big sized properties	3.300	83
Medium sized properties	600	15
Peasantry property (familiar)	90	2
Commons	-	-
National woods	10	-
Total occupied	4.000	100

Source: Adapted from Varela Santos (2007, p.17)

Both tables show that, despite of a change in the *nature of the land-owners*, that in fact, is strictly related with the liberal ideology that have won the war to change the *status quo* of the relation of the society with the Kingdom (through a constitution and not by absolute command of a all-power King), the distribution of the land had concentrated even more into bigger plots of land, while peasantry structure remained untouched and the consequent dominant relations – perpetuating the old known aphorism that *poverty becomes its own cause*⁹⁶.

Later, with other political establishment, the corporative State (Estado Novo) in the early years of the twentieth century (1926), the situation did not improve. Besides, decades after decades concentrated in the intensive cultivation of cereals in the South⁹⁷ that lead even to a degradation of the soils, and a consequent massive irrigation plan for this region⁹⁸ that was a confirmation of a considerable mistake once in all the three districts of Alentejo region only around 25% of the total area represent soils with agricultural aptitude (Santos Varela, 2007, p.26-27). As resulting from the massive investment in the above-mentioned region the North, Centre and far South agriculture have lived with almost no State incentives. In fact, this regions had to face several deficiencies that distort the agro-markets functioning for its main productions like wine, milk and meat, olive oil and horticulture, that were the country's agriculture natural aptitudes. The agrarian structure before 1974 was considerably dual and asymmetrical regarding land ownership. The farmland properties with less than 1 ha represented 39% of the total in the country, but enclosing only 2,5% of country's total area available for agricultural production, while the agricultural production lands with more than 500 ha represented 0,1% but were controlling 30% of total area.⁹⁹ The social configuration of the country was then still influenced by its colonial and imperial, but not imperialistic, characterized by a extensive production and for intermediate functions in comparison with the centre countries of Europe (Fortuna, 1993; Silva,2000). Furthermore, the rural exodus and mainly the emigration, the first signs Portuguese economy overture to a expanding

⁹⁶ Originally written by Gunnar Myrdal in his work 'Economic growth and underdeveloped Regions' of 1957.

⁹⁷ Known as 'Campanha do Trigo' (Wheat campaign) starting in 1929, it lead to a euphoric productions in Alentejo region that was back then called as 'Celeiro de Portugal' (Portugal's barn).

⁹⁸ Plano de Rega do Alentejo (PRA) in 1954.

⁹⁹ In a national survey to agricultural productions conducted in 1968 by the Portuguese statistics institute (INE) it was known that the 97% of the productions until 20 ha represented 39% of total area while the productions with more than 20 ha represented only 3% of the total agricultural productions in the country but occupying an area of 61% of the total.

Europe, with the accession to EFTA¹⁰⁰, increasing expectations of a social improvement led in the 60s by the future prospects of a growing economy¹⁰¹, but also the instability caused by the colonial war, represented all a beginning of the collapse of an agrarian society that was relatively satisfied and self-sufficient at the micro-scale, but yet, under the rule of retrograde elites for the benefit of local patron (Lopes, 1996, p.236). Therefore, until the 60s Portuguese society presented a configuration in which the main contradiction (also visible in the contrasts of the agrarian structure) was placed between the urban-industrial bloc (in one side the agro-industrial bourgeoisie and in the other side the young agro-industrial proletariat) and the old and strong conservative bloc, formed by the commercial bourgeoisie, the patrimonial and lender bourgeoisie and the landowners that had the support, mediated by the Catholic Church, of the peasantry, the artisans and even the catholic proletariat (Silva 1989, 1998).

In 1974 another major political system transformation occurred with the 25th April Revolution, that brought, with the 'revolutionary' feeling still pulsing¹⁰², one of the stronger (in terms of its impacts in agrarian structures) agrarian policies know as the Agrarian Reform¹⁰³ with Marxist ideology inspiration. In 1977, the Agriculture Ministry have ordered an impact study and on the prospects of Agrarian Reform to the north-American Prof. Earl O.Heady, justified by the exceptionable capacity of the latter in agriculture development. Among several conclusions, Prof. Heady stated that using the agriculture sector to stimulate employment and even to give unemployment subsidies would in time distort the efficiency of the sector and to compromise in long-term its productivity; furthermore, he suggested that more Cooperatives should be created but smaller in order to control them better, in terms of their efficient and qualified work and to keep the workers, their members, motivated. Any of the study conclusions were followed by the Ministry, and as the years passed, some of the predictions were in fact become reality, in a harsher way (Santos Varela, p.50-52). The authors Pinheiro and Carvalho (2003) address the profound economical transformations in

¹⁰⁰ Portugal was one of the founder members of European Free Trade Association in 1960 and was part of it until 1986 when integrated the EEC.

¹⁰¹ Portuguese economy was growing at 6,9% per year.

¹⁰² The individual's liberty but also associative, syndicate and parties liberties were reinstated, the end of colonial war, censorship was abolished and other forms of fascist repression as well as the implementation of more social redistributive policies in education, health care and social security. There were also implemented policies of against huge landowners, where the agrarian reform is the strongest sign.

¹⁰³ The nationalizations of the land properties started in 1975 by law-decree DL n°46-A/75.

Portugal and its effects in agriculture after the political regime in 1974, with special focus in Alentejo with the PRA. For the authors, the only visible change with this reform were <<(…)the temporarily passage of land ownership of its former owners to “cooperatives”(…)>>, as consequences they argument the dismantlement of the productive system, the fixed capital was sold in great quantity, the intensive cereals production system kept untouched, and the number of effective works raised in the double or triple proportion per hectare, resulting in the increase of public debt to pay salaries rather than to invest in the productive potential and modernization. One of the main reasons for all this, is pointed by the authors, as the lack of technical preparation among the cooperative managers, whose could not make the workers truly aware that they were part of the cooperative. As it said previously, all due to the failed policies, of erroneous politics from unprepared politicians, lead the country and its population (what it makes a country in first place) poorer, trapped its own poverty cycle – some stayed aging, other left migrating. With this scenario Portuguese rural and agrarian structure reached 1977, at the brink of EEC accession. History itself tell us, and has we have seen recurrently along all the text, the actions of Man have a strong impact on the territory and therefore in the space that he inhabits while (social) constructing it as we can note from the well stated expression of Boudeville (1961) <<Man not only lives in its space; he shapes it.>>¹⁰⁴

The farmland properties a little while after Portugal accessed the EEC, in 1989, were around 598 742 and their average SAU¹⁰⁵ was 6,7 ha covering a total area of 4 million ha. This agricultural land properties were occupied by around 1 million and a half people (between farmers and their family), representing this labour force 19% of the total employment and their agriculture production contributed 5,2% of the total GDP. Ten years later in 1999, a decrease of 30,5% in comparison to 1989 was noted, once in 1999 there as a decrease of 183 000 farmland properties. The reduction was higher upon properties with less than 5 ha of SAU, and the average SAU raised from 6,7 to 9,3 ha being this average more concentrated in properties with 50 ha or more while average SAU diminished in all the other classes (smaller ones); thus revealing a stronger decrease in agricultural assets of the poorer classes

¹⁰⁴ Translated from the original in French <<L’homme ne vit pas seulement dans l’espace;il le façonne.>>

¹⁰⁵ SAU is a statistical indicator used in Portugal to measure the real surface of the agricultural productions that is used for production. It can be translated to Agricultural Used Surface or to what usually is used in English literature as ‘arable land’.

(Cavaco, 1992; CORINE Project). In sum, Portuguese integration in EEC and in CAP caused a structural adjustment on the agrarian structures of the country, where the number of farmlands were reduced and consequently the number of farmers and employment, where Entre Douro e Minho (the region of Vinho Verde that we will address later) was the most affected region with a decrease of 39% in the number of farmlands (Cavaco, 1992).

This adjustment can be summarized with the following comparison between 1999-2005 (INE, 1999;2005):

- 92 thousand farmlands disappeared;
- The average SAU of farmlands raised 22% being 11,4 ha;
- The family agriculture population decrease 30% passing to represent 8% of resident Portuguese population;
- In 2005 around 1/3 of family agriculture population had more than 65 years and 28% had any kind of education;
- 56% of the farmers assume to keep the agriculture occupation more for ‘sentimental reasons’;
- Productivity of Portuguese agriculture was one of the lowest in Europe.

Regarding all this, Varela Santos (2008) considers that CAP was not a policy adjusted to the features of Portuguese agriculture, and so he further develops, when Portugal accessed to EEC in 1986, the founding countries already had (since 1957) practically 30 years of agriculture recovery and modernization, both on the production side and on developing the farmer’s skills with specific education and training in the sector. Therefore, the agrarian structures in Portugal have been simultaneously their own cause for delays, lack of productivity, contrasts and disparities and also by the consequence of its not well distributed and directed investments:

<< Most of the investments were absorbed to machinery and constructions. The policies that were needed, to support the productions to which we have more agricultural aptitude and to help to reinforce cooperativism in the regions of small farms (North, Centre, Algarve, Madeira, Azores) were not considered. And even less the management of the agricultural enterprise was faced.>> (Ibidem, p.242). In result the agrarian structure is still very unbalanced.

Table 8. N° of farmlands and SAU % by categories of SAU in 2005

SAU Categories	N° of farmlands	SAU (%)
<1 ha	23	1
1 to 5 ha	52	10
5 to < 20 ha	18	15
20 to < 50 ha	4	11
50 to 100 ha	1	9
= > 100 ha	2	54
Total	100	100

Source: INE – Inquérito à Estrutura das Explorações Agrícolas (2005)

Avillez (1997) considered that CAP brought negative changes to Portuguese agriculture in the sense that it increased the disparities in terms of agriculture structural funds distribution between Member States, regions and farmers. It continues by saying that (with exception of 1990-1992 period) the CAP policy has been orientated at the pace and interest european countries of the centre which dominant crops and productions (like cattle, dairy and milk) concentrated 2/3 of total budget.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, Silva (2000) concludes that CAP policy is inadequate to southern European countries like Portugal, where it affected the small holding agriculture in the North and Centre of the country, having no concern for production abandon, depopulation of rural areas but instead focusing on intensive agriculture support with environmental costs over subsistence and biological agriculture. This policy meant an increase of economic dependence in the agro-food system being for the country, in terms of trade balance, the double of the exports¹⁰⁷, having obviously, enormous negative effects, discouraging farmers and leading to a degradation of their lives quality.

Finally, it has been seen in Portugal all thought the 80s-90s period but also in all the governments of the XXI century to the current days that Portugal has, year after year, been reducing regional disparities¹⁰⁸, but relying in analysis that lacks one of the most important factor – the depopulation of the countryside that is responsible for diminishing the quotient

¹⁰⁶ In general terms 70% of CAP funds are concentrated in 5 countries (France, Germany, Italy, Spain e UK) being for Portugal only 1.7% of total budget.

¹⁰⁷ Portugal imports 70% of its food products.

¹⁰⁸ Silva (2000) presents that the government in 2000 affirmed that in the last 25 years regional disparities were decreased by 47%.

between resources and well-being conditions. More seriously, argues Machado e Costa (1998) and Silva (2000) is that political rhetoric does not have in account the extreme situations of the deprived populations in countryside regions like Alentejo and Trás-os-Montes. Portugal then, is still characterized by strong dualisms where the coast regions of the country attract 70% of the population¹⁰⁹. Besides this dualism there is also to have in account a strong resources concentration in the bigger urban centres and isolation processes with desertification, lack of infrastructures and resources in areas where aged population has been left in the deprived countryside. The impacts that these social-economical dualistic and unequal processes have affect negatively agriculture production, and thus a rural space, more and more poor, where the same political authorities for years and years considers (and condemns) to be of low productivity, of subsistence agriculture, projecting (strategically but without strategy) reforestation and rural tourism. All of this turns out to be defined in what Oliveira Baptista (2011, p.51) stated about the rural, that not being agricultural anymore, it is not yet something else, and Figueiredo (2011, p.19) for whom if rural ‘died’, if rural as we know it reached an end, new ‘rurals’ will (re)invent themselves.

4.3 Local Food and Geographic Indications: considerations for Portuguese and Greek Cases

Summarizing, as seen before, Greek and Portuguese “rural world(s)” have been losing its (strictly) agro-productive character, going through an *identity crisis* (Figueiredo, 2008). For the case of Portugal, several authors refer that, after this identity crisis, there has not yet been found answers that lead to a new agro-rural reality or paradigm (Covas, 2011; Oliveira Baptista, 2011). For the case of Greece, three paths are identified as main responsible for changing the physiognomy of rural Greece in the last 20 years. They are de-agriculturalization of the countryside, rural mobilities and rural resilience during economic crisis (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013). The same authors argue that this three processes (at certain extent similar also in Portugal) have transformed internally the rural areas, forming a *new rurality*: <<(…)characterized by contraction of agriculture, expansion of tourism and construction, increased pluriactivity, increased employment of international

¹⁰⁹ The axis Aveiro-Porto-Braga-Valença from Centre to North and Leiria-Lisboa-Setúbal in the South or even 80% if we consider until far-South to Algarve.

migrant labour and the reorganization of farm family labour and operation.>> (Ibidem, p.263).

Furthermore, both Portuguese and Greek agricultures are still mainly related to household farming, very traditional and small scaled. In addition, another aspect that Portuguese and Greek rural areas appear to be quite close to each other, lies on the fact that both are spaces of consumption that stand out (albeit timidly) as an alternative to large commercial spaces and processes of globalization. Consequently, is undeniable the importance for both countries the connection, between local foods, and their (supposedly) alternative food systems.

In a interview (carried by the author of this thesis¹¹⁰) with the Secretary General of Agricultural Policy & Management of European Funds in the Greek government, Charalambos Kasimis, to the question about the vulnerability of local producers in the current context of economic crisis (and generalized pro-market neoliberal policies in Europe) he replied:

If we try to have an agriculture sector that would compete with what we know has commodities agriculture production system then Greece will fail. Because of various reasons concerning structural problems like small size of holding, high parcelization, low productivity and that will not allow us to be competitive with large scale agricultures of England, Germany, France. The comparative advantages of the Greek agriculture sector, in my opinion, is to make a shift from the conventional production model to a production model which will exploit the comparative advantages resulting from the particular climatic conditions of this country in the production of products with identity, in other words, to quality products.

I is quite clear that the *shift* implies a strategical plan that intends to focus on product qualification, either through origin designation at the European qualification schemes or through other, more localized, schemes of product qualification without the origin designation as a EU intellectual property instrument.

Either way, what is of more importance from the quoted words is the perception that by investing in the current, generalized, model of massive agriculture production as the conventional one, *Greece will fail*, as far as there is no possibility to compete with the “giant” European agricultural economies.¹¹¹ We believe that it is an important step to realize the own

¹¹⁰ The interview was done not for the purpose of the research but for a Portuguese regional newspaper named ‘O Basto’.

¹¹¹ For the Portuguese case Avillez (1997) argues that the overture to agro-food products of the EEC and from rest of the World with lower prices side by side with the structural incapacity of Portuguese farmers to modernize their productions, has demonstrated its agrarian- structural debility in terms of competitiveness in

limitation of the country's agriculture structures like small size of holding, high parcelization, low productivity which applies also for the Portuguese agricultural context. However, the investment on the qualification products, especially when through the EU's origin designation, faces a needed new approach that does not just rely on the designation *per se*, but it needs to be integrated on a wider regional strategical plan, connected with other sectors of the economy and, more than anything, to protect the most vulnerable groups in rural areas:

<<Although traditional products have strong links with European food culture, they do not always achieve commercial success within their rural areas of production and/or in urban outlets, despite the good reputation they enjoy.>>(Arfini et al., 2011)

Of course we are not advocating that commercial success is the only indicator that should evaluate the case of quality products with origin designation, there are others, like recognition of its value by the public and the capacity to redistribute, equally, the added value between all the agents involved either in production and processing. Also the involvement of the local authorities in the qualification scheme, not only to reinforce the distribution of the added value for the sake of the economic development of the region (or locale) and to guarantee the communication between the interprofessional network and the local community, but also for the sake of the social development of the region. However, not being the only one, does not imply that it does not have a higher importance, once it depends on its commercial success the *encouragement of farmers to place products of a given quality on the market* as said in the end of the Chapter III. Nevertheless, if in more localized markets, there is usually a higher recognition of origin products between consumers once there are closer connection between producers, retailers and consumers, this type of product have a little market impact and thus there is a high risk of initiation, this way it is reasonable to question if EU's schemes are really needed and if really makes a difference. On the other hand, when discussing products that have the EU's designation, like PDO, when they do not even achieve consumer's recognition and therefore little market success, it is, again, reasonable to ask what is failing.

Arfini et al., (2011) mentioned two surveys of Italian consumers (INDICOD, 2004; De Ruvo, 2005) that found that <<(...)consumers pay less attention to institutional labels for

respect of Europe, has made great part of farmlands in Portugal unviable, increasing unemployment and provoking the sertification of the countryside.

food (quality labels recognized by government entity of some kind, including GI labels) than they do to other quality indicators such as private labels and retailer-owned brands.>> Additionally, even though EU surveys like EC (2009) on PDO's and PGI's showed that consumers are willing to pay a premium price for non-industrialized products; that they tend to buy products for their own area¹¹² and even consider a quality label as important in the choice of purchasing, the survey also showed that EU PDO and PGI are still at a large extent not recognized and consumers are not aware of the level of quality and protection that they stand for.

Moreover, it is in countries like Spain, Italy and Portugal, where it is expected for consumers to be more aware with official labels, awareness appears to be low (Teixeira and Marques, 1998; Sanjuán et al., 2000), while in France and Switzerland, where the tradition with this labels is deeply rooted, PDOs and PGIs appear to be more recognized. Why there is then, a two-speed recognition in Europe, where economically more powerful countries, with a higher tradition of labels of origin, seem to assume the faster one?¹¹³ It is strictly related with that economic condition and thus more investment on recognition? Or is just about the deep rooted tradition that through time "conquered" public's perception on labels of origin? Maybe both. Nonetheless, so far we can already express, by the brief indicators presented, that *helping consumers by providing information on the specific characteristics of the products* and *encouraging farmers to place products of a given quality on the market* as assumed main mottos for EU qualification schemes are not being accomplished, at least, not in every one of the member states. Considering that Portugal and Greece are the 4th and the 5th, respectively, countries in Europe with more origin certification label products¹¹⁴, let us

¹¹² For the case of Portugal, in an ongoing research project of Aveiro's University called Rural Matters, in which the author participates, the surveys indicated that for the population of Portuguese two main urban centres (Great Lisbon and Great Porto) it is quite visible the connection between respondents local food products consumption and a rural background, either by family connections either by a past experience living in one of those areas in Portugal. Similar conclusion were presented in an article, under the same research project, for the Portuguese municipality of Aveiro (Ribeiro, J.D. et al., 2014).

¹¹³ The main countries in terms of value of PDO/PGI production are Italy (33% of the total), Germany (25%), France (17%) and the United Kingdom (8%). Next come Spain with 833 million euros (6%), Greece with 606 million euros (4%) and Austria with 123 million euros (1%). Portugal is a particular case in which the number of registered names does not correlate with a turnover. It is assumed by European authorities that this situation is due to the fact that most of the names on the register are fruits and vegetables, which means, products of low economic value. (EC, 2010)

¹¹⁴ Accordingly to European Commission there are a total of 926 registered origin certifications (between PDOs, PGIs and TSGs). Portugal has currently 58 PDOs and the same number of PGIs making a total of 116 registered products, while Greece has 63 PDOs and 23 PGIs making a total of 86 registered products.

take a closer look on how above mentioned mottos “work” (or not) for the case of Portugal with the example of a case study on Tourism Region of Serra da Estrela, and for the case of Greece we will address some results from a research interview with Charalambos Moulkiotis, Chief of Unit for PDO, PGI & TSG¹¹⁵ in the Greek Ministry of Reconstruction of Production, Environment & Energy, and finally by making the bridge with next chapter and Nemea wine region case.

For the Portuguese we will address some conclusions of a case study conducted by Figueiredo and Vieira (2010)¹¹⁶ in the Tourism Region of Serra da Estrela (TRSE) – interior central region of Portugal¹¹⁷. In this work the authors aimed to explore the connections between regional food products (RFP)¹¹⁸ and Rural Tourism (RT) activities on the account of that connection’s limitations and difficulties inherent both to RFP and RT in remote and mountain areas. In a more specific way the research evaluates the modes and the intensity of the connection between RFP and RT activities; identifies (trying to understand) the main constraints for an ‘effective liaison’ between regional food products and rural tourism activities; and intends to identify the ‘main strategies rural stakeholders propose to reinforce that liaison.’ (Ibidem, p.1648)

The authors argue in the article that despite the existence of problems and difficulties between RFP and RT activities, when considering the attraction of urban populations to rural areas and rural tourism activities, it is expected that this urban consumers will choose typical and regional food productions, and this can constitute an amplification of their markets. Moreover, quoting other study cases (Tibério and Abreu, 2005; Malevolti, 2003) it is identified the strong interest by tourists on RFP and that interest seems ‘be significant enough to generate new consumption habits’. Crosswise, a referred study conducted in two rural

¹¹⁵ Responsible for the competencies of the Unit including the drafting of Greek legislation on agricultural products and foodstuffs and the alignment with the corresponding European (Reg 1151/12 Quality Schemes), especially in terms of Protected Designations of Origin, Protected Geographical Indications and Traditional Guaranteed Specialties, protection of these products in international agreements and the application of EU and national legislation for establishing new or modifying existing PDO / PGI / TSG.

¹¹⁶ To use our own conclusion from the master thesis research case study in Vinho Verde wine appellation in northwest of Portugal was thought to be done. However, we decided to diversify the analysis by bringing into discourse a region with several PDO products and not just one with the very specific characteristics that distinguishes wine PDOs from all other PDOs, even in terms of European regulation.

¹¹⁷ ‘TRSE is considered as a strategic tourism destination within Portugal in the recent Strategic National Tourism Plan, both due to snow tourism (more mass tourism related) and to eco and rural tourism. Moreover, part of this region is included in a Natural Park – the Natural Park of Serra da Estrela, created in 1976.’ (Figueiredo and Vieira, 2010).

¹¹⁸ This term will be used along the case study assessment, once it is the term used originally by the authors.

mountainous areas of Greece reveals that the mythical representation that rural tourists have on RFP is directly related with higher expenditures on this products when their perception on the products reveals that they are ‘indicative of a particular lifestyle, or as being authentic and wholesome’ (Skuras et al., 2006, p.776).

The designation Tourism Region of Serra da Estrela (TRSE) reveals that all its 13 municipalities¹¹⁹ have a homogeneous management in terms of tourism planning and valorisation. However in terms of tourism patterns, landscape features, cultural aspects and economic activities there it is an ‘extremely heterogeneous region’, even considering the similar fragile demographic, social and economic structures. In terms of landscape and natural resources this regions has an enormous richness¹²⁰, being for that reason placed as a strategic touristic destination in the national context (is even the most important one considering the snow tourism and Serra da Estrela mountain is the highest point of the continental country¹²¹ with 1993m). Along with this landscape and natural resources richness there is a large richness of local products. In the whole TRSE region 9 products have PDO label¹²², while 5 have PGI label¹²³, besides large variety of other products with strong local tradition, though not legally certified.

It could be thought, from the start, taking in consideration only the information provided so far on TRSE it seems almost immediate to conclude that exists an positive association between tourism and local food, once a great part of touristic expenses is related with food, however not always an positive association is easily achieved. On the regions of mass tourism, agriculture can appear in disadvantage in relation with touristic sector, bringing along negative aspects as the increased costs on land value and capital detours for investment in tourism. In TRSE, after empirical data analysis, the main results point towards obstacles in the liaison between RFP and RT. Considering, at first, the obstacles assumed on the research conclusions are: the higher prices of RFP in comparison with industrialized

¹¹⁹ The TRSE region that comprises 13 municipalities corresponds to 4.785,8 km² of total surface.

¹²⁰ The great majority of them it’s included in the Natural Park of Serra da Estrela.

¹²¹ The highest point of Portugal is the Pico Mountain (2351 m) in PicoIsland, part of Azores Islands.

¹²² Products with PDO label: lamb meat, old and new cheeses, olive oil (from both Beira Alta and Beira Baixa regions), yellow cheese and spicy cheese from Beira Baixa region, apple bravo de esmolfe type and chestnut from Soutos da Lapa area.

¹²³ Products with PGI label: lamb meat from Beira Baixa region, goat meat and apples from Beira Alta region, cherries and apples from Cova da Beira area.

alternatives in RT contexts; lack of knowledge either between the consumers either between the agents of touristic industry regarding the existing RFP (14 with European certified GIs!) and weak marketing and commercial organization structures. Considering the potentialities, it is referred: a better promotion strategy of RFP by the touristic agents and a (needed) higher associativism between producers in order to make their prices competitive with industrialized products, in similarity of the previously mentioned example of the Lari Cherry producers.

In this case study the imbalances in RFP consumption are related with the internal characteristics of the touristic industry that, by acting accordingly with reducing cost strategies, are not sensible to the genuineness of region's quality food – sometimes even selling their cheaper industrialized alternatives as *genuinely traditional*. The lack of knowledge of the consumers allows the success of this (deceptive) strategies, and the incapacity of distinction of the consumers linked to the weak promotional structures enable the continuity of such success. Therefore, being offer of RFP not organized to answer properly to touristic demands, plus the insufficient commercial orientation and the lack of creation and retention of added value (and consequently a scarce valorisation) dictate the stronger obstacles to better liaisons between RFP and RT and, thus, obstacles to a more efficient usage of GIs potential.

In sum, in both cases we have seen obstacles to the accomplishment of what European authorities claim to bring to rural development with origin qualification schemes instruments, or in other words, GIs like PDO have still a long way to go when applicable to a determinate area. It is obvious that we do not advocate that European GIs regulations have in *itself* a root of that failure, but for sure, they have to imply a stronger involvement of the local authorities that need to be empowered in order to stimulate sturdier rural governance networks at the local and regional level. As Papadopoulos (2010,p.261) refers for Nemea case:

<<The local capacity to re-construct local/traditional knowledge and negotiate knowledge forms remains a critical element for the territorial development of Nemea (...) The role of wineries, local government and vinegrowers is important in framing the local-expert knowledge nexus that is of pivotal importance for the governance of this '*terroir*'.>>

In the case of TRSE the same needed governance, and 'multilevel intervention' appears is assumed to be crucial to enhance the importance of local food in rural tourism, and thus,

achieve social sustainability for the producers, and by extent, to rural areas, allowing local food, with or without origin qualification, to be a consumption alternative and not just a fashionable eatable souvenir:

<<Hence this multilevel intervention presupposes conciliation among the various stakeholders as well as a coherent collective action, in order to foster fruitful liaisons between regional food productions and rural tourism activities.>> (Figueiredo and Vieira, 2010, p. 1658-1659).

The reinforcement of the politics of food systems, transversal to all actors involved (from farmers, producers, retailers, touristic agents, local authorities) but dissolving that political power throughout the role of associativism seems to be the most effective (and democratic) to ensure that consumers are helped with information on the products uniqueness, farmers are encouraged to go for quality and the market operations are facilitated (while progressively increasing relocalization of consumption) – as the main goals (officially) presented by origin qualification schemes. However this reinforcement of the politics of food systems by conciliating various stakeholders and promote collective action is only possible if the more localized autonomy to manage the implementation of the origin qualification schemes, either at the national and (within the first) local level, otherwise inadequate legal establishments and rules from the European level will continue to constitute impediments to referred reinforcement.

This was precisely outlined in the interview with Greek Chief of Unit for PDO, PGI & TSG, Charalambos Moulkiotis:

(...)in some cases we have to question 'Ok, I will give you that [the Geographical Indication] but how much are you able to produce?...if it is just for your village or the next one then it does make any sense that they have the denomination of origin.' Or in some other cases we see here that someone comes and say 'I want to protect my product but not the same in the village next to me' and so we see this kind of application for people that want to protect products just for themselves. So there must be some kind of flexibility to the national public administration to deal with these, because EU regulation cannot focus in all this because these are specific to each country.

In this question Moulkiotis was asked about the importance of GIs to rural development in Greece and if the EU legislation was prepared to deal with the specificities of the Greek agro-food production that are inserted in GIs qualification schemes. Therefore, it was answered that in some cases national public administration does not have the power to make

a more rational selection with criteria that with the current legal framework they are not able to implement. Greece, as we have seen is the 5th country with more GIs in EU and for the interviewed most of those GIs do not mean anything for the consumer once there are not enough information and promotion to make people realise that is worth to pay the price of qualified products:

In many cases for a product to have a PDO or PGI name means nothing for the market. We have to connect this names with promotion strategies and information strategies for the consumers to gain this added value to the products, otherwise just to see a logo with a protected denomination means nothing to the consumer. (...)This products lack promotion and of course we have incorporate in our way of thinking that...maybe the State should have more power to make policy with this products, because now the Member States just make the intermediate between EU level and national level. (...)we have thousands of thousands of names regarding European GIs. Who knows them?

Furthermore, the Chief Unit for Greek GIs also criticized, along with the a relatively lack of national autonomy to deal with the qualification schemes, a certain levity that characterizes some of the GIs allowances that accordingly to this current legal framework cannot be denied. This problems are related with scale of production and lack of regional integrated perspectives and promotion strategies:

I am not saying that the places where the production is small that they should not have a GI...they should... but we have to look to whole picture. If the same product is produced also in the next village or within certain close-by communities, then we have to go back to this people and say 'No, I cannot pass your application because you should look first of all if the other communities around you, produce the same product and if they are interested in register such a name and so, there is a need for a more integrated regional perspective.

In sum, this question of a needed more integrated regional perspective acquires even more importance when in countries like Portugal and Greece where, as we have mentioned, there are strong connections between local food production, as quality food production, with localized consumption, either familiar either as an asset for rural tourism. Besides, local food has also a considerable potential to connect rural and urban; not just as the first appearing as a consumption space to feed the space of the second (as it was merely traditional) but to explore the local food consumption in urban areas motivated by familiar connection with rural areas as a possibility to promote local food, alternative food networks and also to enhance the strategies of promotion that, apparently, GIs lack so much. A recent concluded

research project, named Rural Matters¹²⁴ conducted in University Aveiro under the lead of Professor Elisabete Figueiredo, in which I could also collaborate, allowed to understand how strong are the familiar connections of local food consumption in urban centres.

To understand better this strong connection, let us have a look on the results for two main urban centres in Portugal: the broader region of Lisbon, called GL (Portuguese for Grande Lisboa) and the broader region of Porto, called here GP (Portuguese for Grande Porto).¹²⁵

The people surveyed from this two main Portuguese urban centres (N= 886 for GL and N=452 for GP) were analysed on their local food consumption, the relations between this consumption with their existing background related to rural areas like familiar connections and also the motivation for the consumption of this products.

- **In GL** 75% of the respondents have visited a rural area in the last three years. Between those 75%, 55% have visited family relatives during rural visits and 89% indicated this last reason and ‘to do tourism’, simultaneously.

In GP 67% have visited rural areas in the last three years, 49% have visited family in rural areas and 91% visited rural areas with this last purpose and ‘to do tourism’ simultaneously.

- **In GL** 69% consume local products and 36% consume local products and visit family when visiting rural areas. This relation is reinforced by the fact that 64% of the ones who consume local products have access to that consumption by direct relation with the production place (either by own production/ family and friends either during the visits to rural areas.) Furthermore, 27% of total GL sample consume the local product more consumed by this direct relation.

In GP 75% consume local food products and 28% consume this products and visit family in rural areas. Regarding direct relation between access to local food and production place we find 50% of those who consume local products, constituting 20% of total GP sample.

¹²⁴ Full name is *Rural Matters - Meanings of the Rural – between social representations, consumptions and rural development strategies*. Is a research project funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT reference: PTDC/CS-GEO/117967/2010) and by FEDER (POFC/QREN) (COMPETE reference: FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-019872).

¹²⁵Sub-region of Grande Lisboa covers 9 municipalities and a population of 2 242 326 inhabitants (according to the Portuguese general population survey ‘Censos 2011’) Sub-region of Grande Porto covers 11 municipalities and a population of 1 287 276 inhabitants according to the Portuguese general population survey ‘Censos 2011’)

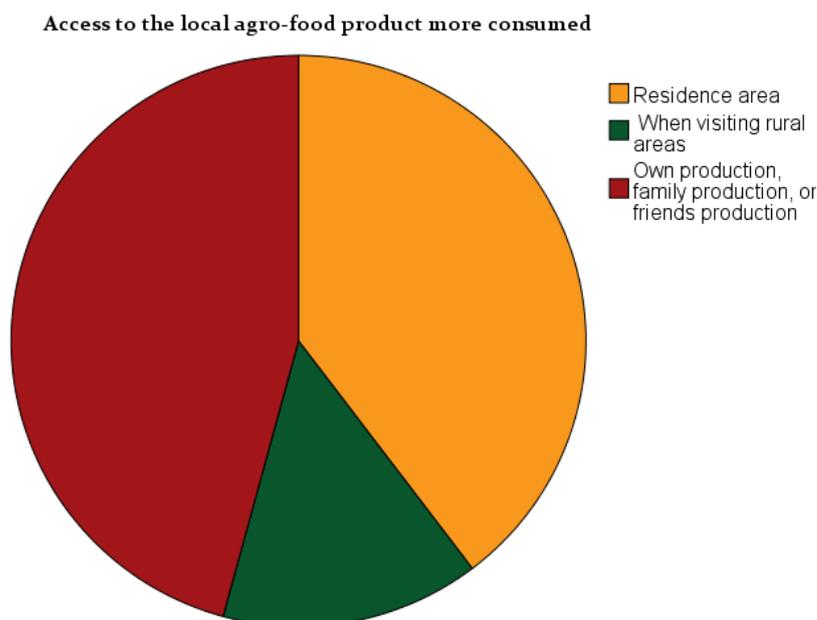
- **In GL** 11% of the ones who have access to the local food products by own production or family relatives production participates actively on the production process, meaning 7% of total GL sample.

In GP this values are 9% and 7% (being the last surprisingly the same as for GL), respectively. This participation on the production process is particularly important if we consider that more than half (in both GL and GP) of the ones that consume local food products assumed that the most consumed products are placed in the category of ‘products from soil cultivation’ (in contrast of animal origin products or transformed products).

- Finally, **in GL** 46% of the ones who consume local food products lived in a rural area in the past, meaning 32% of total GL sample. For **GP** case we find 27% and 20%, respectively.

It is quite visible the connection between respondents local food products consumption and a rural background, either by family connections either by a past experience living in one of those areas in Portugal, or even both of them, once the first could be reason of the latter (the total Portuguese sample indicates that the majority of those who lived in rural areas lived for periods between 17-25 years, being this precisely the time people leave rural areas to study in universities located in urban centres or to work).

Fig. 3 Access to the local agro-food product more consumed (total Portuguese sample)



Source: Own/ Rural Matters (2014)

This connections have the potential, if studied and stimulated, to contribute to keep or moreover to enhance the communications networks between rural and urban areas – especially in the current problematic contexts that Portuguese rural areas have been facing for many years (e.g. population decrease, ageing, economic decline). Not only to preserve the patrimonial and cultural value of local foods, that are vehicles of rural memories and identities (see B  ssiere, 1998; Brunori, 2007; Figueiredo, 2013 and Fonte, 2008) but also because there is a considerable potential for this family relations between rural and urban areas to establish local food systems where social embeddedness has a important role to play (Hinrichs, 2000; Murdoch, Marsden and Banks, 2000). And, finally, at the same time, establishing patterns of consumption behaviour with different origin labelled products based on the acceptance and the feeling of ‘being protecting the local’, ‘quality’ and ‘endogenous’ food systems (Van der Ploeg, 1997).

Finally, there are precisely this key questions of local(ness) protection, quality and endogenous food systems that will occupy our discourse in the remaining two last chapters for Nemea and Basto wine regions that constituted our research study cases.



Vineyards in Nemea¹²⁶

V CHAPTER

A ‘tale of two glasses’ Nemea and Basto wine regions.

Para recuperar a serenidade, e movido pela animação que me causava o vinho, contei dois episódios. Um aprendiz de calígrafo alto e magro, de tez pálida mas faces vermelhas, escutava-me com a maior das atenções, não tirando de cima de mim os seus grandes olhos verdes.

Orhan Pamuk, 2007

¹²⁶ Greekscapes : <http://galaxy.hua.gr/~landscapesatlas/index.php>

5.1 Nemea – a red wine region¹²⁷

Addressing Nemea wine region is to address the biggest wine appellations of the country, and one the two most important red wine appellation in the country. Being this regions one of the two wine regions that constitute the study cases of this research, the discussed results along this chapter, in the research problematic presentation and in the next chapter focusing only in results, will take in account all the collected and analysed data gathered either through documents analysis, either from all the interviews that took place. But for now, let us devote our attention to historical, geographical and socio-economic features of this red wine region.

Nemea wine appellation coincides, almost totally, in terms of its demarcated area to Nemea Municipality¹²⁸. Nemea Municipality is located in the Prefecture of Corinthia in the north-eastern Peloponnese. The ‘capital’ of the Prefecture is the city of Corinth and Nemea is located 25km from it and 110 km from the country’s capital Athens.

¹²⁷ There is also white wine being produced in Nemea and white wine under the IGP geographical indication; however our focus was mainly devoted to Nemea PDO and therefore made with Agiorgitiko that produces red wine.

¹²⁸ Nemea Municipality is part of the Prefecture of Corinthia in which 15 communities are comprised (at 750 m height – Kephalaria, Bogikas, Titani, Kastraki, Asprokambos. At 650 m – Psari. At 450 m – Dafni, Petri, Aidonia, Koutsi, and two of the rural communities (Gymno and Malandreni both at 300m) are part of Prefecture of Argolida. European Commission legislations says about the borders delimitation of a origin certification label: ‘Generally, the limits of the area are naturally defined by natural and/or human factors which give the final product its particular. In certain cases, the area will be defined by administrative borders.’ (EC, 2004) The latter is the case for Nemea appellation.

Figure 4. Nemea Municipality / Nemea Demarcated Wine Region



Source: Freevectormaps¹²⁹

Modern Nemea municipality is constituted by three basins: the small basin of Archaia Nemea, where the ruins of the temple of Nemean Zeus¹³⁰ can be found, the basin of Archaies Kleones and the basin of modern Nemea¹³¹ that forms the largest plateau in the Corinthian heartland.

¹²⁹ Own edition from the original: <https://freevectormaps.com/greece/GR-EPS-01-0002>

¹³⁰ The temple of Nemean Zeus is related with the Nemea Games that were elevated to the status of panhellenic games in 573 BC. The games were held every two years by the end of the first and third year of each Olympiad in July/August, because being summer was favourable for voyaging by sea and for camping in countryside. (Kourakou-Dragona, 2012).

¹³¹ In Antiquity called *Phliasia Chora*. During classical Antiquity wine gained reputation because of its consumption at the drinking parties that were known as *symposia*. The wine was reaching this parties via maritime trade and transported inside *amphorae*. However there are no evidences that wines was being transported out of Phliasia once the latter was rimmed by high mountains and had no harbour, otherwise the land routes would have smashed the amphorae. The Phliasian wine and Agiorgitiko (the successor of Phliasian wine from the early twentieth century onwards) were circulating in the surrounding towns and villages in wineskins. Therefore, the Phliasian wine did not get famous for its sea-lanes journeys, the hidden secret of its wealth is related with the Nemean Games. (Kourakou-Dragona, 2012)

The Peloponnese must surely have been one of the first places on earth to systematically grow grapes and make wine (at least for the past 4.000 years). Corinth is the major red wine supplier of Greece, with a total vineyard hectares of 6.137 in which about a third (2.123ha) is Nemea VQPRD (*Vins de Quality Produits dans des Régions Déterminées*¹³²). Nemea is the only PDO of the region and in fact, viticulture is the main agricultural activity in Nemea, where most local income comes from the wine economy. Considering its size as a wine region, Nemea is one of the major ones in the country, consisting of 17 rural communities (presented on the map below) and Nemea VQPRD is traditionally 100% Agiorgitiko grape variety¹³³ ('Ay-Ghiorgios' is the former name of Nemea town and it means Saint-George)¹³⁴. Agiorgitiko is also one of the country's flagship varietals (kind of a greek wine ambassadors varietals) promoted by *New Wines of Greece* which is an initiative developed by the National and Interprofessional Association of Vines and Wines (EDOA) to promote Greek wines abroad.¹³⁵

This wine appellation became registered at same time of the most of the wine appellations registration in the country, in 1971, long before the implementation of the regulation of wine appellations by European Union throughout the European Council Regulation 2081/92. In terms of production, between 10,000 tons and 12,000 tons of wine are produced in Nemea each year, of which 3,000 tons are Nemea VQPRD (Papadopoulos, 2010).

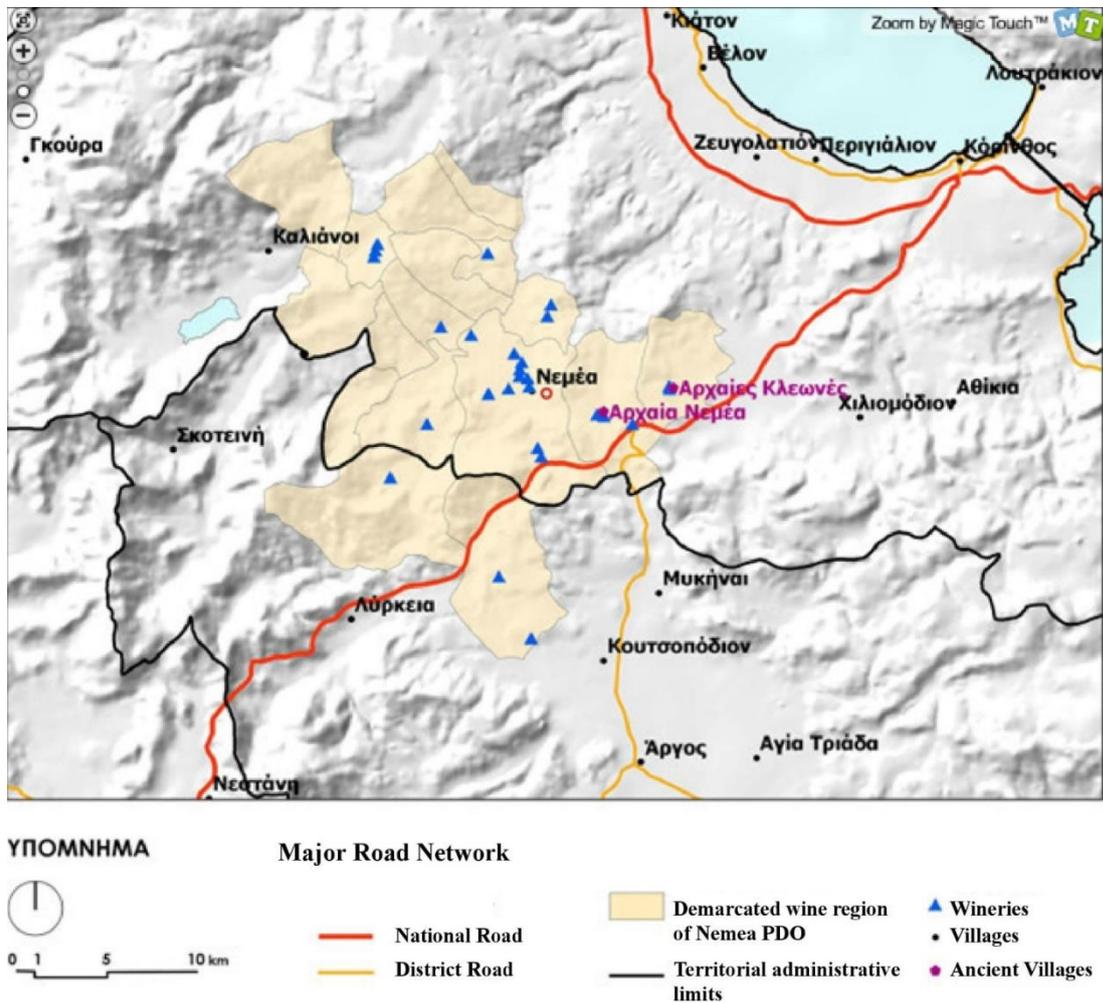
¹³² The equivalent of QWPSR (Quality Wine Produced in a Specified Region). However, VQPRD is known mainly in the wine market for its French designation, it comes originally from the Portuguese *Vinho de Qualidade Produzido em Região Determinada*, once the first demarcated region of the world is the Demarcated Region of Douro, in Portugal, established by law in 1756. So Portugal was 25 years ahead of France's 1855 Appellation d'Origine Controllee (AOC) in classifying "quality wine".

¹³³ However accordingly to EU's wine appellation law, if a maximum of 15% from other grapes is added to the one under the protection of the appellation, being this 85%, the wine is then labelled as another geographical indication, which is Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) under the form of the wider regional unit – being for this case *Peloponnese* PGI.

¹³⁴ In 1923 the community council of Agios Georgios raised for the second time an appeal to change the name from Agios Georgios to Nemea, for commercial needs to promote the Nemean wine better as linked to the name of the town, and the Ministry of the Interior approved the renaming. Indeed, some winemakers interviewed referred the importance of this change, once considering the adaptation of the Appellation to the EU laws the wine had to be labelled also with the latin alphabet besides the Greek one. So, the toponym NEMEA is written the same way in both, which comes in great advantage to target the international market.

¹³⁵ The other three (out of four) Greek flagship varietals are Assyrtiko from Santorini, Moschofilero from Mantinia and Xinomavro from Naoussa/Amynteo.

Figure 5. Nemea Demarcated Wine Region / rural communities and wineries



Source: Greekscapes / own edition

What conditions were created for that process to happen in 1971?

Kourakou-Dragona (2012, pp. 137-148) provides a detailed answer:

First, there was a raisin crisis in Greece in the late nineteenth century – early twentieth century that happened due to huge decrease in the exports of raisins to France in 1892. This happened as an outcome of the restoration of French vineyards that were destroyed by the phylloxera¹³⁶ in the mid-nineteenth century and French government measures against import of raisins. In order to manage this situation, being granted the privilege of dealing exclusively with the raisin recouplement, the Hellenic Wines and Spirits Company was created

¹³⁶ It is estimated that over 40% of French grape vines and vineyards were devastated over a 15-year period, from the late 1850s to the mid-1870s.

in 1906 as an affiliate of the Bank of Athens. This Company proceeded into buying wineries in almost all of the major wine regions in Greece, as it happened in Nemea, where they have settled a winery in 1924, however this industrial wine-making unit closed few years later, creating a critical situation for the vine-growers of all Corinthian hinterland that hoped for a better future with the settlement of that winery. This situation led then to the creation of the Nemea Wine and Olive Cooperative in 1937. The authors tell us then that <<Apart from directly serving the vine-growers by absorbing their grapes and selling their wine in bulk, this winery was destined to play a decisive role in 1971, in the recognition of the wine Appellation of Origin Nemea, for one specific reason (...)>> (ibidem, pp.137). Before going to that reason, it is important to underline firstly that then in 1971, considering the framework of Greek wine production legislation the place named Nemea was acknowledged as a geographical appellation of origin for red wines made from Agiorgitiko grape variety grown in the vineyards of fourteen rural communities of the Prefecture of Corinthia, while few years later, in 1974, two communities were added from the Prefecture of Argolida and one, in 1988, from Corinthia as well. This legislation demarcated that the wines under Nemea wine appellation had to be made exclusively from grapes of Agiorgitiko variety and to be produced in wineries (but not bottled – and important issue to be addressed later) within the boundaries of the demarcated zone. Besides this legislation being a <<(…) a milestone for the vine-growing and wine-making economy of the wider region(...) [it also] prepared in time for its adaptation to the wine legislation of the then European Economic Community(...)>> (ibidem, pp.143)

When Nemea was then recognized as one of the Greek Appellations of Origin one of the preconditions that the region had to meet in order to be accepted was the obligation of one or more native varieties of vine had to be cultivated but also at least one winery should operate with the suitable equipment to deal with grape production. Nemea zone met all the other preconditions easily but this mentioned condition was fulfilled thanks to the existence of the Cooperative's winery – first operating in 1938 and bottling after the license granted in 1965 (once bulk wine was not qualified for the Appellation of Origin) – and so this is the reason why the Cooperative played a decisive role. Therefore, this way Nemean wine as managed to go out from the anonymity as the historical place named Nemea began to appear on the labels of bottled wine, actually, as expresses Kourakou-Dragona it took 15-20 years for Nemea PDO to go from anonymity to be marketed in bottles with the place name,

likewise it is in fact very surprising that 40 years ago there was only one winery in the region while today there are around 33 wineries, of which 31 have Nemea PDO wine production (although still lagged to the potential as we also see later on).

Therefore, although there is a millenary history of vine-growing and winemaking in this part of the vast Peloponnese, the evolution of Nemea as a high quality demarcated wine region was astonishingly fast (a ‘revolution’ as called over and over again by the winemakers interviewed) being 2011 only the fortieth anniversary of this wine appellation. However, one should never confuse the Nemea wine appellation with Nemea wine region or vine-growing region – they are different things, and once besides Nemea is mainly known for Agiorgitiko, over the past 25 years foreign varieties had been introduced either for wines of their own or blended with Agiorgitiko.

Furthermore, along this evolution another processes took place; in terms of viticultural practices employed for many years by the local vine-growers have been gradually replaced by modern, cutting-edge, internationally-influenced viticultural practices¹³⁷. Therefore the new system supports fewer vines per hectare but vine-grapes have more space to grow while the amount produced is way less, however targeting for higher quality grapes. Despite there are still a lot of farmers that do not follow this system (this is also a key question to be debated later) the winemakers that want to ensure a production of high quality Agiorgitiko and/or other grape varieties have established networks of trust with vine farmers that, thus, follow proper viticultural practices – this networks of trust are important as some winemakers and other stakeholders underlined to stimulate the broader development and consolidate Nemea as a wine appellation, knowing that counter-acting processes of distrust may have the exact opposite effect.

In terms of production, between 10,000 tons and 12,000 tons of wine are produced in Nemea each year, of which 3,000 tons are Nemea PDO (Papadopoulos, 2010).

Not only the oldest as we have seen but also the largest winery in the area is the Nemea Wine Cooperative that dates back to 1930’s, absorbing more than 50 per cent of the local production. It has around 1,700 members registered but our field visit to the Cooperative

¹³⁷ In fact this procedures began, by the force of circumstances, by the beginning of the twentieth century due to the phylloxera epidemic, when American cultivars were grafted with Agiorgitiko vines, planted in lines with distances of 2.2m to 2.4m between the rows to allow mechanical cultivation with tractors.

(mainly a tour visit without an interview¹³⁸) proved that only a bit more than a thousand keeps a regular activity as a member. The members are winegrowers that sell their grape production to the cooperative but they are also free to sell their grapes to private wineries. In terms of private wineries Nemea has around 34 that both produce Nemea PDO and other kind of wines made of other Greek varieties like Moschofilero or foreign ones like Cabernet Sauvignon, Chardonnay, Cabernet Franc, Merlot and others. It is also common to blend foreign varieties with Ayiorghitiko.

A characterization under four-kind typology has been made by Papadopoulos (2010), which we transcript below. Also important to state that our contacts made in the field research that some slight differences have occurred since 2010 but they are not significant enough to make this typology overruled.

Four types of Wineries in the region (Papadopoulos, 2010)

1. Do not bottle wine and sell bulk wine through informal networks or under subcontracting for outside companies (up to 7,000 hl).
2. Mainly producing for domestic market. Informal networks to sell and also work with large store receiving a percentage (less than 1,000 hl).
3. More dynamic in advertising and promoting their quality wine for export (1,000 – 4,000 hl).
4. Wineries of large capacity that sell wine to large Greek wine companies (7,000 – 100,000 hl).

As we will see on the results part, several initiatives have been taking place in the past five years, with a special growing focus after economic crisis, to promote Nemea as a unique wine region for tourists and also to drag international market attention for it.¹³⁹

In annex the first four figures are presented that reflect the investment on marketing and promotional events.

¹³⁸ Despite our several attempts and many visits to Nemea it was not possible to have an interview with any responsible in the Cooperative board of directors, neither from any other department. However we had an interview with the former president of the Cooperative, to which considerations are devoted in the last chapter.

¹³⁹ There are annual activities to promote both the Nemean archaeological site with the summer revival of the Nemean Games but also the Great Days of Nemea, to celebrate the Agiorgitiko grape with wine tastings and wineries exhibitions dedicated to touristic visits.

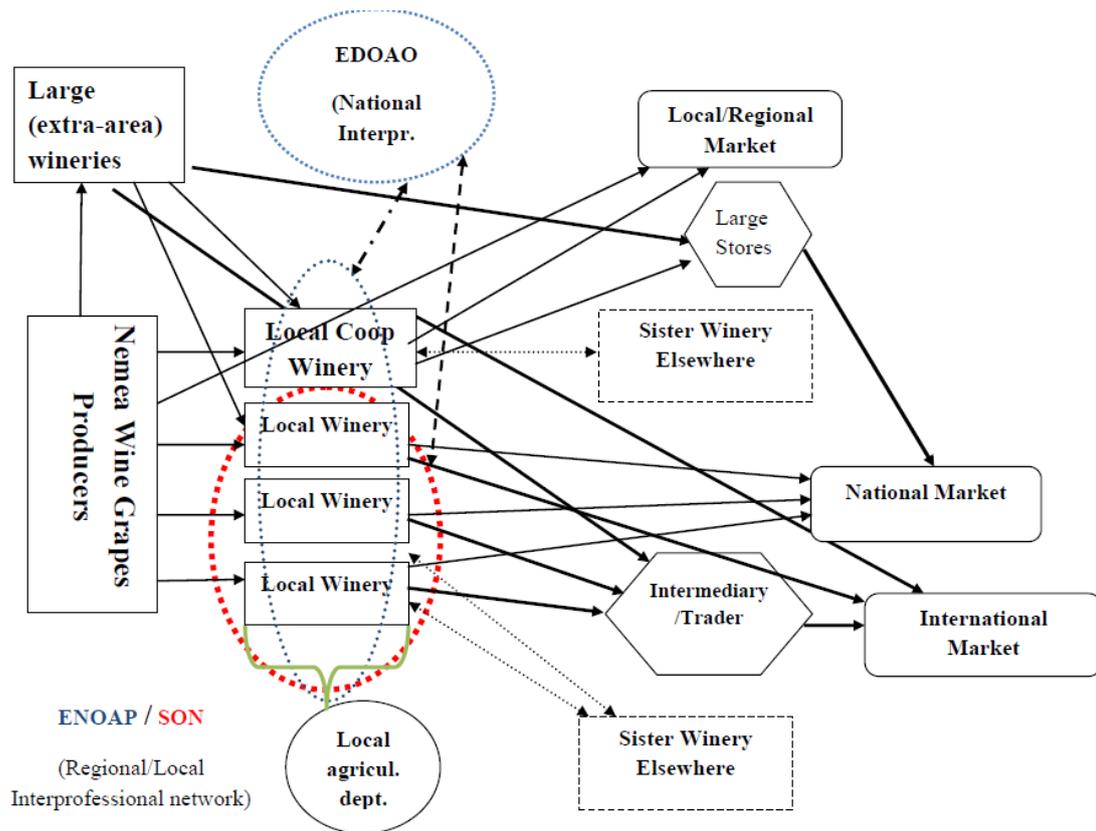


Figure 6. The local production network of Nemea VQPRD

Source: Papadopoulos, 2010 / Ribeiro, 2014

Yes, I agree. It is not easy to understand the network by analysing this schematic representation and one has to feel even less compelled to do it just by looking at it. However, it was not easy to reach such a scheme only afterwards the limited time of our research in Nemea and for that it was of great value the already existing scheme of Papadopoulos (2010) to which some changes were made. Mainly, it is important to underline that different types of wineries have different strategies to reach both local/domestic international markets (either through sister wineries either through intermediaries or trader or just by themselves where the risk is bigger but the economical and networking profits higher). Furthermore, in terms of institutional relations one of the changes from 2010 to 2015 is the non-participation of the local Cooperative winery in the interprofessional association of winemakers called SON created in 2011 after the previous ENOAN had closed. To the reasons of such a considerable amount of comments and interviews results will be devoted further. But one considerable important thing that we need to refer that is not ‘readable’ from the scheme above is the fact that, despite Nemea wine grape producers or, as we have been calling them,

vinegrowers, sell to all types of wineries their position remains and the more vulnerable in the network and the ones that less have felt and profited from the so-called rural development of a wine appellation protected by geographical indications qualification schemes. The answer will be given in the next chapter.

5.2 Vinho Verde – A green wine region

As Vinho goes, obviously, for wine, Verde means green. Well, you are wrong if you think that Vinho Verde is ‘green wine’ because its colour is green or the grapes are not full ripened, matured, when picked at harvest season. Vinho Verde demarcated region goes from the upper Northwest extreme of Melgaço down until Vale de Cambra, from the coast of Esposende to the granitic mountains of Basto, announcing the proximity to Trás-os-Montes region, just on the border of the latter with Minho, forming in its total area a region called Entre-Douro-e-Minho¹⁴⁰, meaning ‘Between Douro and Minho’. Along 7.000 km² and 21.000 ha of vineyards¹⁴¹, we behold one of the biggest demarcated regions in Europe¹⁴² and the biggest in Portugal (see Portuguese wine map in annex figure 16), where the green colour appears as the strongest identity mark on the landscape, and so, we find here the reason of the Verde designation of this wine region.¹⁴³

When the geographer Virchow arrived to Minho he wrote “Who, after weeks travels over plains and bare hills with almost no trace of trees, feels entangled when it encounters such a

¹⁴⁰ It was one of six provinces that Portugal was commonly divided into since the early modern period until 1936, then in 1936, when Portugal was divided into 13 official provinces, Entre Douro e Minho was split into Minho Province and Douro Littoral Province. Although, Entre-Douro-e-Minho is not a official territorial unit for administrative purposes, this region is still commonly called this way, specially to refer to Vinho Verdes.

¹⁴¹ In the beginning of the XX century, Vinho Verde Demarcated Region Commission published a extended document to celebrate 100th anniversary of this demarcated region, where it was referred that this region had 35.000 ha of vineyards. This 40% decrease in existing Vinho Verde vineyards is due, partly, to a restructuring in the vineyards to which EC funds contributed, to stimulate quality rather than quantity and partly due to process like de-agriculturalization of the countryside and rural mobilities to urban coastal areas in Portuguese, and of course, also emigration.

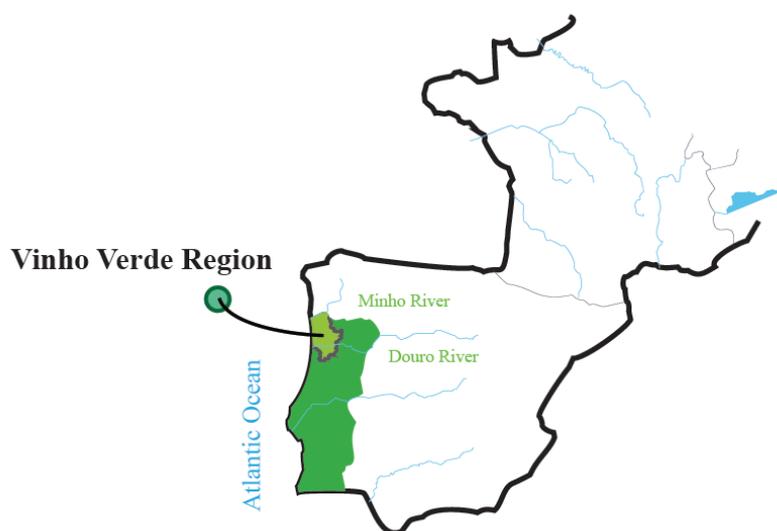
¹⁴² A legally established demarcated region is known in Europe as VQPRD from the French ‘Vins de qualité produits dans des régions déterminées’ meaning Quality wine produced in demarcated regions. The regions that have legally established wine labels of origin/ protection or qualification schemes like PDO or PGI are firstly recognized under this VQPRD designation. Further considerations on this matter were already developed in previous chapters.

¹⁴³ It is also considered that the ‘green’ designation comes from the acidity and freshness that characterizes this wine, remembering the flavours of fruits like apple when they are still green.

lovely country, so rich and fresh”¹⁴⁴ (Carvalho, 1997,p.8). We could even consider that there is some kind of a exaggeration in the traveller’s description but it is undeniable that this region is unique in the country where the green of its name lies in ryegrass meadows, fields of various vegetables side by side to each home or in its backside gardens, the trees in thickets, brambles on the edges of the roads and high vines among the granite walls, hanged in robust trees like oaks or chestnut.

For a better understanding we should have a look the following map that shows Entre-Douro-e-Minho region, which boundaries are coincident with the demarcated region of Vinho Verde.

Fig.7 Entre Douro e Minho Region / Vinho Verde Demarcated Wine Region



Source: CVRVV/ Own edition

*A mesma porção de terra
É maior, se é serra e val':
Deus fez os altos e baixos
P'ra aumentar Portugal*

Cancioneiro tradicional

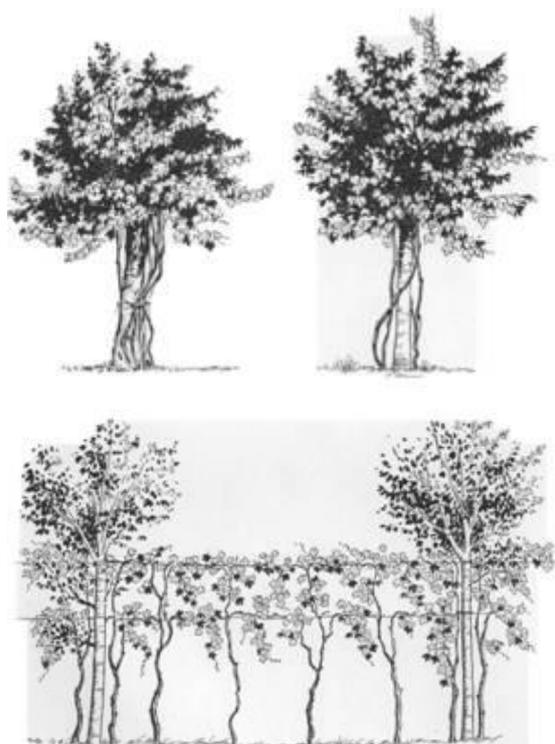
- **Entre-Douro-e-Minho**

Located in northwest of the country, in altitudes never higher than 700 meters, this is a region with abundance in water (the green has also this reason), allowing to historical great demographic concentrations and therefore the dissemination of extended farming culture, always characterized by property divisions in relatively small plots of land, where a intensive agriculture activity was developed through a enormous variety of crops and where the hills

¹⁴⁴ Translated from the Portuguese by the author.

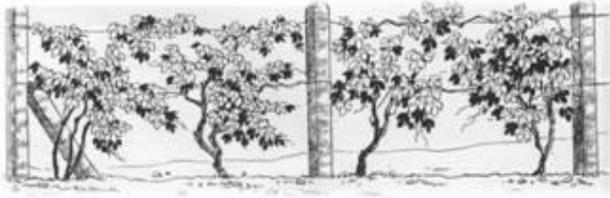
always have fed the flocks of sheep and goats. In this region where it is known that since the III century B.C. vines are cultivated with regularity and where the wine produced was mainly for families consumption, the economy was always essentially agrarian and where since the Middle Ages each family had a small plot of land. And once, due to a great population density there was always a great diversity of farm crops, essentially cereals and cattle, the vines were let for 'secondary role' and to spare space, growing in the edges of the land plots or in high conduction systems like *enforcado* (tree-vines), *arejão* or *bardo* that are traditional vine training systems of Vinho Verde region. This is an important feature of Vinho Verde region landscape, however as these vine training systems were not considered suitable for higher quality wines some years after the EU appellation recognition came into force legally established, funds were allocated to restructuring those systems by modern ones adapted usually to the characteristics of the grape variety. This had a consequence on the wine region's landscape, which is a subject that will be addressed later.

Figures 8. Vinho Verde region traditional vine training systems



Tree-vines: several (4 or 5) vines are planted around the foot of each tree. The vines ascend the trunk of the trees and along the branches.

Arejões: vines are planted between the main vines of the festoon type. Festoon type is when the lower branches of the vines are joined together along horizontal wires while the main stems of the vines grow up trees.



Bardo vines are planted between granite posts and runners clink to 3 or 4 wires between the posts in large fields. Bardos [are also found on the edge of fields](#) of cash crops, fodder, and vegetables.

Source: Illustrations by Dan Stanislawski, *Landscapes of Bacchus*.¹⁴⁵

As the commercial relations between Portugal and England flourished along the sixteenth century, Portugal was already exporting wine and after the Windsor Treaty in 1386 the conditions to establish this commercial activity were settled. Therefore, it was from Viana do Castelo, the northern district of Entre Douro e Minho Region that the shipping of wine to England was carried, mainly wine from Monção (that still today is regarded one of the most important sub-regions of Vinho Verde region) and from Ribeira Lima. Actually the increasing on the volume of the exports to Flanders, to England and North Sea led to a establishment of a English trading post in Monção and Viana do Castelo. After the restoration of independence in 1640, in almost all the provinces of Portugal the cultivation of the vine has spread, leading to the establishment in 1654 to the first wine syndicate and the distinctions between *common wine*, *local wine* and *high quality wine* to export to Flanders and England, while the wine exports also intensified to Brazil, to Portuguese islands and to the Portuguese African colonies, leading also to more and more plantations of vines. In 1703 with the Treaty of Methwen the prohibition of English textiles entering in Portugal was abolished and in return Portuguese wines were entering in Englang by paying 2/3 of the taxes that French ones had to pay (Pinto Ferreira, 1982; Marques, 1985). However Vinho Verde would meet a period less favourable for his production when in 10 of September of 1756, due to a need to control the production and the quality of wines in the country, it was created the *Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro* (General Company of High Douro Agriculture and Vines) that had the monopoly of exporting the wines from this region, and therefore, wines from the Douro region were privileged. Therefore, by causing a decrease on wines from Entre Douro e Minho region, NW of Portugal, in 1784 it was

¹⁴⁵ <http://people.uwec.edu/ivogeler/travel/portugal/vines.htm>

established in Viana do Castelo a Society of Agriculture and Commerce of Minho that had protest to the Portuguese crown against Douro monopoly and tried to regulate the wine form this Minho region. Another important aspect that brought a revolution to the winemaking¹⁴⁶, however with brutal effects, was the phylloxera plague that affected most of the winemaking regions in Europe, especially in France, by destroying almost all the vineyards in Central Europe. In Portugal the effects were more felt in Douro region, and so as Entre Douro e Minho was one of the least affected regions the exports from this region increased especially to France, so it was a period that although catastrophic to most European wine regions, it brought a relative prosperity to this region. Afterwards, due to a considerable growth of wine production and thus on the progressively higher quantities of wine available on the markets around Europe, there was a need to regulate the quality to ensure the economic value of the wine and the sociocultural importance of vine growing and winemaking. This is why regions like Douro were legally demarcated to protect Porto wine, and that happened also for famous Bordeaux wines afterwards. Following the same need other regions in Portugal were officially geographically demarcated, including Vinho Verde region, by the creation by law-decree of 18th September of 1908 of Demarcated Region of Vinhos Verdes.

- **The Demarcated Region of Vinhos Verdes and the CVRVV**

In the beginning due to cultural questions, vine training systems and other viticultural practices the division of Vinho Verde region consisted in 5 sub-regions(while currently there are 9): Monção, Lima, Amarante, Basto e Braga. Many years had to pass to reach the first official regulation for production and commerce of Vinho Verde¹⁴⁷ published in 1926, establishing officially the status of demarcated region by defining its geographical limits, the rules that producers have to follow to declare their productions and the system of production and origin certificates and for the regulation of Vinho Verde commerce. Therefore, in order to regulate all those established rules it was also created the Vinho Verde Region Viticultural Commission¹⁴⁸, constituted by a General Council headed by the President of the Executive

¹⁴⁶ Phylloxera plague was cured and a immunity against it was found with the discovery that European vine varieties could be grafted with American vine rootstocks (*Vitis America*).

¹⁴⁷ The original document was called, in Portuguese, *Regulamento da Produção e Comércio dos Vinhos Verdes*, based on a thesis presented in 1924 by Conde de Azevedo in a agriculture congresso in Braga

¹⁴⁸ In Portuguese *Comissão de Viticultura da Região dos Vinhos Verdes (CVRVV)*.

Committee¹⁴⁹ (elected by the council) and constituted by 10 representatives of the Production¹⁵⁰ and 10 representatives of the Commerce¹⁵¹, and also by a Fiscal Council responsible for the financial management of the commission. On its official declaration of scope of action the Commission claims:

1. To certify, control and promote Vinho Verde designation of origin and Minho Geographical Indication;
2. To support and promote the quality of the viticultural practices (of the vines).
3. To preserve and defend the national and regional heritage that Vinho Verde constitutes.¹⁵²

The last one can be already criticized if we take in account what was previously said regarding the effects on the landscapes by the replacement of the traditional high vine training systems. Of course, it has been scientifically proved that the productivity of the vineyards in Vinho Verde were bigger after the restructuration of the training systems, however one cannot also deny that this landscape feature genuinely found in Vinho Verde region (still found in small familiar productions) encompasses a distinctive features of the wine region landscape, unique in all world, and so one part of the cultural heritage of Vinho Verde region. However, further considerations are to be seen later.

Following the work of this commission, in 1935 analytical characteristics of Vinho Verde to export were defined and in 1937 were defined the ones for domestic consumption. In the end of the 50s around 90% of the production was consumed within the region while the remaining 10% was directed to exports. The current picture is very differently nowadays, where a strong campaign to approach international markets was put forward since the beginning of the 90s when the commission created the marketing department. Therefore,

¹⁴⁹ The Executive Committee constituted by the President and two vowels is responsible for the daily management of the commission, to abide by the official regulation of the commission and to put forward the directives decided in the General Council.

¹⁵⁰ Like Cooperatives, viticulturists and bottlers-viticulturists representatives (both the ones that only produce grapes and the ones who produce grapes, make wine of those grapes and bottle it.)

¹⁵¹ Like wholesalers, the Portuguese association of wine traders and exporters (ANCEVE), bottling-cooperatives and wine bottlers-producers (the ones who bottle wine from grapes that they buy to viticulturists).

with a strategy strongly hold on the bigger companies (with a product especially prepared for the taste of those countries)¹⁵³ within the Vinho Verde region the exports increased greatly – while in 2000 the exports rate was still on 10% it raised up to 40% in 2015, also thanks to a considerable increase on production due to the currently more than 20.000 Vinho Verde viticulturists.

- **Basto**

Basto sub-region is one of the 9 sub-regions of Vinho Verde Demarcated wine region. It is constituted by four municipalities, being at the west bank of Tâmega river Cabeceiras de Basto and Celorico de Basto (Braga District) and at the east bank, Ribeira de Pena and Mondim de Basto (Vila Real district) having in total an area of 811,51 Km². Its main natural resources and also industries, besides the wine sector, are of forest resources like wood (mainly pine trees but also eucalyptus) and granite stone extraction; in terms of agriculture main productions consists in cattle and a diverse set of crops like corn, rye and wheat. In the centre of the municipalities there are some transformation industries like shoes, clothing but also some establishments commercializing products related with the above mentioned wood and stone industries. However is still agriculture the main economic activity on the region with 67% of the area with a total of more than 4.000 thousand farm holdings.

Basto region has a population of around 54.496 inhabitants, representing 1,5% of total North region of Portugal. The distribution of population by the municipalities is uneven considering that Cabeceiras de Basto and Celorico contribute with more than 70% of the total Basto region inhabitants. This has an impact in the wine sector distribution of wineries knowing that most of the around 30 existent are located in this two municipalities and they also registered, obviously, the bigger quantities of wine production.

In the last two decades, counting back from 2001, the active population has maintained a quite stable value with a average value of 34.036 inhabitants, representing more than 60%

¹⁵³ In some interviews winemakers considered that this idea that Vinho Verde has to be ‘light’ and ‘sweeter’ with low percentages of alcohol below 12° (this was precisely confirmed by an interview that the President of the commission gave to portuguese SABADO magazine on September of 2015: http://www.sabado.pt/dinheiro/detalhe/vinho_verde_no_top_das_exportacoes.html).

Accordingly to that interview that does not correspond to the real Vinho Verde but to recreation of an idea and taste of a wine that some international markets like Germany, EUA or Canada prefer or got used to relate Vinho Verde with that idea.

of the resident population. In the first sector there was a reduction of activity from 39% to 18% being the third sector the one with high rate of employment in the region with 43% - which is also a motive for concern considering that agriculture is still the main economic activity. However, besides a structural serious problem of aging, following same generalized problematic in the country that affects more severely countryside regions, Basto region have lost 3445 inhabitants inbetween 2001 and 2011 according to *Censos 2011* (the National survey on Portuguese population information that occurs each 10 years). All municipalities of Basto have lost population since 2001, being Cabeceiras the one that suffered more the consequences of migration flows, losing for this reasons 6,5% of its local population (currently 16.709) in those last 10 years, meaning 1137 inhabitants. Celorico de Basto was the less affected, losing ‘only’ 362 inhabitants and being still the municipality with more population of the four, 20.104 inhabitants. However it was Mondim de Basto that had the highest drop, in terms of percentages, once its population has decreased 12,5% since 2001, having currently less 1077 inhabitants, meaning a number of 7496 inhabitants. For its turn Ribeira de Pena has lost 869 inhabitants being the less populated municipality with a population mark 6.543 inhabitants.

Regarding, finally wine production, just some brief considerations before the analysis of Basto wine region discussion features. Looking at the number of wine production for the campaign of 2013 and consequently 2014 vintage (below on Table 9), we could be led to say that the numbers of population coincide, in terms of municipalities relative positioning in comparison, with the positioning of the municipalities that produce more and less. Celorico de Basto, also the municipality with more wineries, registered in the Commission, amongst the four (12 in total) has by far the leading positioning in wine production. While, Ribeira de Pena has by far the less quantities of wine production. Later in one interview with one of the few wine producers in Ribeira de Pena (there are only two registered as selling Vinho Verde PDO in the Commission) we discuss his words regarding the non-suitable conditions for wine production in this municipality considering its difficult topography.

**Table 9. Production in each Municipality of Basto Vinho Verde Sub-region – 2013/2014
(hectoliters¹⁵⁴)**

Concelho	Vinho			Vinho com IGP			Vinho com DOP			Total Geral		
	Tinto	Branco	Total	Tinto	Branco	Total	Tinto	Branco	Total	Tinto	Branco	Total
Cab. Basto	223	100	323	538	131	669	5.417	3.700	9.118	6.178	3.931	10.109
Cel. Basto	5	0	5	1.051	1.237	2.288	13.033	22.200	35.233	14.089	23.437	37.526
M. de Basto	10	0	10	1.206	222	1.427	7.382	3.997	11.379	8.598	4.219	12.816
R. de Pena	6	0	6	50	24	74	2.943	1.065	4.007	2.998	1.088	4.086

Source: IVV/own edition

Furthermore, it is also due to notice that Cabeceiras de Basto is the only municipality where there are considerably high quantities of wine without any geographical indication being produced, and the only one that produces white wine without geographical indication. This can be crucial to understand some differences that will be analysed with more detailed later. For instance the fact that the more export-orientated companies are located in Mondim and Celorico and not so much in Cabeceiras were the market seems to be more local and domestic market orientated, with a exception of a company that is the oldest in the Basto region and one of the oldest in all Vinho Verde region that we have also interviewed.

Unfortunately, as it was done for Nemea region, it is not possible to come up with a scheme of the wine sector network functioning once there was no enough information available for it, as it was for Nemea. Besides, data only based on interviews and some scattered statistic information was not considered strong enough to produce such a scheme. Nonetheless, it was produced a very brief typology of wineries for the region. There appears to be 4 types

¹⁵⁴ 1 hectoliter = 100 liters

of wineries as for the case of Nemea. A **1st type** which production aims mostly international markets in whole world (mostly Europe, United States and Canada) and working with wine traders to do so. A **2nd type** with a medium sized production of a exclusive line with a different brand and label for international markets, approaching them almost individually without traders, but having still the higher percentage of production to aim domestic markets in a medium-high quality for both exclusive pricing but also more affordable ones. A **3rd type** focusing almost totally in domestic markets with medium quality and affordable prices while having in some cases, although the minority, a single distinct brand for higher pricing. At last, a **4th type** producing mostly bulk without geographical indications for localized markets of medium and short-channels, for larger wineries or cooperatives that then sell it with their own label.

Figure 9. Vinho Verde sub-regions and Basto sub-region



Source: CVRVV/ own edition

VI CHAPTER

Discussion features and Results

Challenges: between weaknesses and potentials



Hang in there, A vine in Basto. Photograph by Duygu Cihanger.

*Vinde à terra do vinho, deuses novos!
Vinde porque é de mosto
O sorriso dos deuses e dos povos
Quando a verdade lhes deslumbra o rosto.
Miguel Torga*

6.1. 1st Case study discussion features - *the appellation problems and difficult steps for an integrated strategy*

The problematic

In 2005, with the help of financing provided by INTERREGIIB¹⁵⁵ programme designated COHESION a formal interprofessional network was formed having as the three main social actors: the Nemea Wine Cooperative, the majority of the private wineries (over 20 by then) and the Municipality of Nemea. This network had as main purpose to promote agro-tourism and wine tourism in the region and was called ENOAN¹⁵⁶ (Nemea Union of Winemakers and Viticulture). However in 2011 due to a set of disagreements ENOAN ‘disappeared’ or ‘vanished’ (to use some terms heard during the interviews). This disagreements were first on the voting system, which means that before the Cooperative had 50% of the votes once they represent most of the vinegrowers and the other wineries only one vote. Therefore, when the purpose came out to change this, attributing only one vote for the Cooperative, as a winery, and to stimulate the Vinegrowers to have an Association of their own to represent themselves the Cooperative left ENOAN and did not wanted to participate in SON¹⁵⁷ (Nemea Winemakers Association) that was created in the same year. Following the position of the Cooperative, and strongly politically linked to it, the current political authorities have abandoned the communication network with the winemakers, participating only in isolated moments when there are some wine festivals or exhibitions, by giving a financial support to the organizers. Besides, there is also another discussion going on about the Nemea appellation that has been dividing all the stakeholders of the wine sector in Nemea as different opinions do not meet a consensus.

Thus, currently, the discussion among the winemakers concerns the establishment of sub-zones on the appellation. Therefore, if formally and legally established, there will be included on the bottles (besides the general Nemea PDO label) certified labelling on the specific rural community (inside Nemea region) where the wines comes from like

¹⁵⁵ It was a funding programme of the EU integrated on the European Fund for Regional Development for the period of 2000-2006.

¹⁵⁶ In Greek Ένωση Οινοπαραγωγών & Αμπελουργών Νεμέας.

¹⁵⁷ In Greek Σύλλογος Οινοποιών Νεμέας

‘Asprokambos Nemea’ or ‘Koutsi Nemea’.¹⁵⁸ We observed that it may result into different status of quality accordingly to different sub-zones of Nemea wine appellation. The opposers believe that this changes will have impacts on property values and land use and also confusion on the markets between the sub-zones indications labelling on the bottles and the capacity of the consumers to understand it, and therefore a confusion for the Nemea appellation name itself. But even inbetween the ones who believe in this proposal’s benefits (like the vine nursery oenologist and agronomist in Nemea that were interviewed) there is a belief that this is not the key problem in Nemea or even a current necessity for the development of the appellation and first there is a need to stimulate and help the vinegrowers to follow the same quality standards to make them feel and be part of the future benefits of an integrated appellation and only then some scientifically research and a integrated discussion can be done about sub-zoning the same appellation.

Furthermore, the non-participation of Nemea Wine Cooperative on SON and thus on the main table of the discussion about the challenges on the terroir of Nemea but also on the functioning of the interprofessional network, constitutes a problem on the chain of Nemea wine sector. It establishes, at first, a non-communication between the two most important stakeholders in Nemea – the private wineries and the cooperative. Second, it constitutes a real possibility for, not only the rural community (farmers and other inhabitants that have an indirect relation with the wine economy) be set apart from the discussion as an important stakeholder, but also (because not represented by the cooperative) an overall consensus over the discussed changes will be almost impossible:

<<But there is still a long way to go for a territorial identity to be elaborated for quality wine in the Nemea wine zone. The role, attitudes and ideology of the farmers are of crucial importance, as are those as the winemakers that are co-creators of local wine quality. Empowerment of the existing institutions can provide further for re-embedding of local wine in its social, economic and territorial context.>> (Papadopoulos, 2010).

¹⁵⁸ The European Commission regulation ((EC No 607/2009) allows on its article 67 to integrate on the label a name of a smaller or larger geographical unit than the area underlying the designation of origin or geographical indication and geographical area references. The article 2 of this article 67 expresses: ‘For the use of the name of a smaller geographical unit than the area underlying the designation of origin or geographical indication the area of the geographical unit in question shall be well defined. **Member States may establish rules concerning the use of these geographical units.** At least 85 % of the grapes from which the wine has been produced originate in that smaller geographical unit. The remaining 15 % of the grapes shall originate in the geographical demarcated area of the designation of origin or geographical indication concerned.’

If re-embedding the origin product to its ‘social, economic and territorial context’ is presented as the stronger aim of GIs certification and qualification schemes, and if this re-embedding is at stake, a ‘climate’ of distrust can be installed and driven the discussion through non-localized ‘arenas’ and thus to de-territorialized decisions.

The question

When a territory is under a wine appellation, like Nemea, and thus its wine is regulated by Greek and EUs geographical indications rules, and there are some changes about to happen within the rural community for the sake of the appellation development, how can this processes be driven in order to reduce the risks of the most vulnerable groups? And for the sake of the cultural heritage that wine terroir constitutes?

In other words, terroir is not a fixed physical state, and when winemakers are striving to produce a wine that is special because it bears the “signature” of their style of vinification it does not mean that any interference will occurred with the “natural” taste that wines produced from a certain terrain should display, even if they deny them to happen in reality. This pursue for different styles of vinification is inextricably related with making wine out of different vineyards located in different villages within same region, as it is the case of Nemea. There are specific villages (like Asprokampos, Gymno, Koutsi) that some believe to have special soil and environmental micro-climates preferable for Nemea higher quality wines¹⁵⁹ and also better for the winemaker to pursue its own experiments for achieve is personal signature. This occurs entangled on a changeable and progressively process between traditional local knowledge and expert-technical knowledge that the new winemakers (high educated in oenology) brought to the regions (the process happened in Nemea between 80’s and 90’s – the *revolution* how it is called by Nemea winemakers themselves). In sum, all of this, brings also the necessity to discuss changes on the wine appellation, which is entwined with the changes on the terroir (for instance when it gets to complex and there is a need to differentiate it from village to village). This changes on the appellation, by for example the creation of sub-zones where different terroirs of the same area will be able to be identified on the bottle can proceed to ‘destabilizing’ the rural

¹⁵⁹ This position is strongly defended by some winemakers interviewed, curiously the ones that have vineyards in this villages, while others defended that it is necessary further expert analysis to certify that some villages are, in fact, more suitable for higher quality wines.

community if distrust starts to grow between different positioning of winemakers and vinegrowers.

Therefore, considering that those changes can affect negatively the terroir as a cultural heritage, PDO regulations as well as with governmental regulations on development and planning, do not seem to be prepared to protect it. We aim to project the fact that, localness should not constrain by all means the terroir, but it surely needs to participate on the ongoing construction of a terroir identity along with both tacit and expert knowledge. This way, there is a necessity to discuss, between both types of knowledge, the effects of such changes and even to prevent the negative effects with strategic planning, involving all stakeholders and political authorities both at local and regional level. This will play a vital role to preserve localness over de-territorialisation.

In this sense, it is clear that any changes occurred in the Nemea appellation towards a distinguishable proposal on sub-zones has to meet the agreement between both sides of the equation that are opposing each other, specially, the side of farmers that are the vinegrowers and thus the basis of the wine economy itself. Being that basis, it also means, in most of the cases regarding agro-food systems, being the social group facing a higher vulnerability once the risk of negative effects its intrinsic to their condition. In the last field research visit to Nemea, both the interviews, in a vine nursery and with one of the first winemakers in the region, revealed two important features in the appellation: first it was argued that Nemea appellation is not working as *an united appellation because the farmers are not being stimulated to go for quality instead of what they are doing, going for quantity*. Here it was advocated that the winemakers are not meeting their role as conducting the region, as a whole, to its higher quality potential certified on the designation of origin. In other words, it is not *real* presenting Nemea PDO as the most important in the country, leading in exports, if the region works in a two-speed logic, being the vinegrowers on the lagged position. Second, it was demonstrated a strong conviction that are still no conditions to present Nemea appellation with different sub-zones and not enough knowledge of Nemea terroir to point out different villages as originating so (much more) complex Nemeas that justifies the distinguishable classification (when expressed this position the interviewed winemaker, that acquired his education and experience in Bordeaux, showed me from his winery the Koutsis community and said *That is Koutsis, here it is not, in so short distance how can somebody say without enough knowledge that the wine there is so different from here?*).

Therefore, if the sub-zones establishment provokes a negative impact on the area, both on the sense of land value and land use, either from a strictly economic effects perspectives either from the growing distrust between winemakers and farmers, the latter will face the stronger impacts and thus their require the focus on the needed rural development planning. This rural development planning has to take in account the example that Lari Cherry (Chapter II on page 56) expresses to us. Rural development strategies are quite often resulting on severe consequences on rural communities which vulnerable structures are more than usual not prepared to handle sudden and non-discusses (therefore non-consensual) changes both (extremely) bureaucratic by EU regulations and free-market based, bringing distortion along with attractiveness. When attractiveness can reveal, here in this case, both as a potential and as a risk, the way how the discussion (of politics of food in Winter assumption) will take place will dictate the future outcomes.

Before expressing some final considerations on the challenges, between weaknesses and potentials of Nemea wine region and its wine sector, let us finally devote some attention to key results accordingly to the interviews and its chosen quotes, either from winemakers, the Cooperative perspective, important stakeholders from either inside and outside the region but also local agricultural department.

Interviews results

To begin with what we have set for this research in order to answer to the settled research objectives and hypothesis, the first pillar is designated, as previously mention in the first chapter on the methodology considerations, **Nemea appellation and terroir evolution between traditional knowledge and expert knowledge**. The answers of the winemakers, without exception on this topic come to confirm what was expressed to the general wine regions, with or without appellation, in Greece by Lazarakis (2011,pp.30-31) <<The pioneers of the 1970s opened the floodgates for a big rush in the 1980s. The profile of wine was raised and viticulture became the most prestigious form of agriculture. Being a wine producer – that is, a small wine producer – was desirable, esteemed, and profitable. The number of wine labels on the market rose exponentially and demand from consumers easily absorbed most of this growth. (...)The new age of Greek wine should not be viewed as one major renaissance but as numerous small revolutions. Every producer introducing something

new, or a fresh interpretation of something old, was adding a meaningful touch to the greater picture. >> Let us not forget the word **revolution** and take a look to the words of some winemakers:

O1

*The revolution on the Greek wine, because we are talking about **revolution**, happened from 1985 onwards, from there starts the reorganization of the Greek wine... Before 1985 the wineries that existed were really limited, there were big wineries that mainly were concentrated in production of Retsina and everyday wines, low quality bulk wines, the wines that you can find now did not exist.*

O3

*I had studied in France, especially in Dijon and I had the opportunity to work in France and in Italy for some years and then to come back in the 80's and starting working here as a oenologist in different wineries..hm..because I am from this area from Nemea area and in the 80's the Greek wine sector it was not so developed..it was about mainly bulk wine and few major national brands..and you know the pioneers like me and other winemakers they were studying on winemaking and they came back to Greece and they did..and without knowing each other they have started to build a new generation, a **revolution** on the Greek wine.*

O5

*From this time began the new **revolution**...the nouvelle vague of greek wines. Before the 80's there were just 3 or 4 greek companies...in the 80's with Strofilia wineries and others it began a new style of Greek wines..with supervision of the vineyards, bringing the grapes when it is the right time and making wines with connection to the land..half, middle scale wineries and the big ones collapsed..Greeks were ready to taste new wines, they were ready to pay more for this new wines and they were ready to see in what they were better.*

But what reveals and what conceals this revolution in the case of Nemea appellation and how the terroir evolved between the two mention types of knowledge? – Either in its more technical and economical (promotion, marketing) terms and either in the sociological terms between the relations of winemakers (locals and newcomers) with vinegrowers (farmers of Nemea).

Regarding the relationship between local (traditional) and expert knowledge in its evolution and current structures **O2** goes again for his own personal case to refer to this matter.

To begin with we are a company that is not from this area, my family does not have origins in this area. I came here in 1990 first as a buyer of grapes and then we made our first winery but with the really old tradition of this area I don't have relations.

It appeared right at first sight that **O2** wanted to transmit a detachment from the traditional vine growing and winemaking that after a long-period he started to mix it with his own experience and technical knowledge as if the latter intended to formally educate and improve the first:

I don't think personally, that we had to gain anything from the technology [the traditional one] in wine that existed in the area. We made our own research and we, you can say, transmitted our own technical knowledge and science and we incorporated it in the context of this area and I feel that we made a step forward in the quality of wine comparing to the wines that we found here that were produced here.

However, this distance should not be misunderstood. **O2** also refers that the farmers had bad experiences in the past with big companies that were buying grapes from them:

Sometimes at some points in the old times the old companies exploited the farmers. They were not so ok with their payments, the deadlines, so there was a distrust that took many years of care concerning payments.

In other hand, **O1** by is linked-origin to Nemea had a more 'relaxed' version to tell regarding the local-expert knowledge interaction. He starts by pointing out the shift towards expert knowledge that even result in a better understanding of the farmers towards their own vineyards, all this possible to the intervention of the private vineyards: *We intervene, in the grapes and the vineyards that we want and we care about we have a dialogue with the farmers.* An interesting aspect is when **O1** admits the strong stand of the farmers when in some cases they believe their experience on the vineyards is right:

Someone (private owner) can give a specific direction to the farmer but if the direction does not correspond of what he know based on the terroir he (the farmer) will say it.

Nevertheless, there is no assumed rivalry once he considers there is not anymore a generalized pure traditional knowledge on the region between farmers:

There are some old farmers still that are following just the experience knowledge transmitted by their fathers but we talking here about bulk wine...but the new generation of farmers...people of mid-age or young have studied and learned more on scientific base in collaboration with us and with the agro-experts they have gained knowledge in the field of wine. So the knowledge of the experience after all those years is married with technology.

However, there is again a different perspective from a winemaker, **O4**, that is one of the so-called newcomers to Nemea and also as **O3** considers himself as a pioneer that has changed the winemaking scene and wine sector in Nemea. First, after affirming that there was never an integration of him within the local community he considers that:

So it was the foreigners like myself, hm...that came in the area and realized that you have this treasure here in Nemea and you don't know how to handle it. So on the one hand there

were very intrigued to see the locals, if what we would do, what we were doing would be sustainable and then it was a bit of jealousy: “so why are they doing that and it was not us doing so?”. It was as if they never acknowledge our right of being here.

O4 goes even further to express that *many years down the drain, more than 25 years, fortunately we see that things have changed and there are many local guys that finally did the obvious, which means, they are growing their vines, they are handle their wines and they are bottling the wines. So what I want to say by that is the non-Nemeans, the foreigners that showed the way to the Nemeans. Not only about taking the wine to another scale, because it was not just a question of different type of technology, both in growing vineyards as well as doing wine, but also we had the skill to promote the wine abroad..so we actually worked for the name Nemea outside of the country so in this sense...hm...the community earned greatly.*

However **VN**, the interviewed oenologist and agronomist from the Vine Nursery in Nemea does not exactly agrees to this version that the community, especially on the behalf of the farmers or vinegrowers earned greatly. Actually, he even considers that there has been a two-speed development of the appellation in which the farmers have been not stimulated to produce quality grapes because they keep being paid more or less the same of quantity rather than quality which does not motivates to improve viticultural techniques. Therefore, in his words, the appellations is not working well in the sense of knowledge transmission and the positive effects of a wine appellation over the years:

vine growers are not changing their cultural practices so easy..ok..I said no one is changing anything if they sell every year 20 tons per ha with 0.3 euros each kilo and my neighbour is producing 9 tons per ha and take 0.35 each kilo. Which one is a better position? The one who is making very good wine and he is not paid by quality or the one just making quantity and selling at more or less the same price? So why to change?

(...)

the farmers are not paid enough to work properly their vineyards, the wineries do not make the best wine possible...and this goes round and round..of course there are many producers who make very good wines from Agiorgitiko but this amount of wine that is sold at a good price is a small amount of the whole production..generally, the grapes are sold per kilo and not per quality..so this is something that does not help to make better result at all...

(...)

The only why, and you should ask the winemaker, all of them, if they have vineyards how much is the cost of the grapes that they produce? Because every winemaker that have their own vineyard they try to produce the best... So that question is very important...so why they do not pay the same price to buy to convince someone to make it better. Because they want the better quality for no price and this is not possible. Of course it is very difficult to communicate with vine growers because the way they think..but it is not impossible..you have to make an agreement..a long term agreement, you have to work on it..because there are consequences and you do not need to make a lot of questions..you see it... when you are in an appellation of wine and you go to the market, you go to the Cafe and you will see what

the people drink...in winter..how many you will see of them to drink Nemea PDO...or even bottled wine..how many? And using the right glass..how many? Most of them drink whisky or tsipouro..and that is it.. This in an appellation..we do not feel it...

Nemea has indeed suffered a great evolution and it is undeniable the role of the newcomers with new technological wine for the improvement of the wine quality and the development of Nemea as a wine region, however there are still problems on the way farmers have been, or even better, have not been stimulated through fair prices for quality and not for quantity. Not only to make them improve and for the rural development effects of the appellation to be seen not only in some wines quality but also in the vineyards of the region but to stimulate younger people to continue growing grapes. Furthermore, stronger networks based on long-term relations and trust between winemakers and vinegrowers is essential not only to protect the terroir of Nemea by the ‘marriage of experience with technology’ but also to promote better an appellation in which is truly felt from the local community. This is essential for some brief considerations on the winemaker’s views about **the sub-zones of Nemea appellation**.

From the six winemakers that we have interview there are two completely in agreement for this to go forwards towards implementation (**O3** and **O4**..curiously the ‘newcomers’ French-educated oenologists that brought a wave of new technical knowledge), two others completely disagree (**O2** and **O6**) and two other agree that this can be possible but believe that it is still not the time and other conditions have to be fulfilled first like long-term scientific analysis on the vineyards of different zones to produce continuous follow-up reports (**O1**, **O5** and also **VNA**). However **O3** and **O4** which reasons for having similar positions are easily understood, once they are both the most well established wineries in international markets and the ones to play higher in marketing and high-quality wines internationally recognised, **O2** and **O6** disagree for different reasons. Regarding the last three mentioned ones, they have this conditional agreeable positioning for similar reasons.

- **The ‘Pros’**

O3 starts by saying that he is one of the authors of this proposal and for that reason he is not seen with ‘good eyes’ by the ‘Nemeans’; there is then this acceptance of a conflict that we had supposedly created with his attempt of constituting in dividing a same appellation into sub-appellations: *You are talking to the person that actually wrote the proposal on this sub-*

appellations..hm..it is one of the reasons why I am not someone that...the average Nemean thinks that I am a devil with two heads.

The winemaker then moves to explain why he considers his proposal important and necessary for the wine region:

(...)everybody knows that in the area we have very distinct quality parcels, very very distinctive, the grapes that we are producing in Koutsi they are very different from Asprokampos..I am not saying that they are better..I am saying that they are different, the Archaia Nemea is different..the valley is ridiculous..so everybody knows that this is a fact..and also not only they do know it because of an intuition or because they like better the wine but because it has an absolute direct impact on the price of land. Here in Koutsi land costs three times more than it costs in the valley..why is that? Because of the view? Definitely not! Because they know that the wine generated from this hill side it will be so far more expensive than the wine from...so what is true in real life we want to be also exposed to legislation and it is only fair.

Then **O3** explains how this proposal can be settled and operational:

Nevertheless there was a proposal written in which we say that will be those areas like us in Koutsi and not only we would have the right to print the word Koutsi on our labels but we would have also an obligation to apply more rigorous to certain restrictions both in the vineyard and the winemaking and so it wouldn't be just easy ride to just write the word Koutsi, you would have to cultivate differently, you would have to make wine in a different way.

He finishes in a very strong way connecting the disagreement that this proposal has generated within the rural community with the influence of the Cooperative and the local municipal authorities, admitting that, however, this cannot be done without a consensus, to go forward with it the 'sooner is the better' once there is 'undoubtedly' difference in quality from zone to zone:

Nevertheless it has become such a huge issue in the community of Nemea that in the municipality last elections the present Mayor had that as his main plead in his campaign to not allow that to happen, the local community does not wants that to happen because they are not ready to admit that your plot of land being in the Valley produces a less quality wine than his plot up in Koutsi(...)

First of all we have to agree on a unanimous base, we have to have the consensus of community that cannot happened without the participation of the Coop, but for them this is a red line and people that are preaching for that like myself we are devils and we should be executed in the central square, the sooner is the better, the sooner is the better.

- **The ‘Cons’**

O2 is quite absolute from the first moment that he heard the question about the division of the appellation into sub-zones or sub-appellations and his oppositional statement focus on the confusion that this would bring to the market, and so not focusing so much specifically on the changes on the terroir perception and cultural heritage of what constitutes Nemea but more on the market consequences of selling Nemea PDO:

I am completely opposed to that initiative. The people that move those things do not know. Each one has its own knowledge of the area and the market and its own general knowledge concerning the environment of winemaking. I have dealt a lot of years with the market and wine producing, I am winemaker and oenologist, so I think this initiative would cause way more confusion about Nemea region. There is already the wine named Nemea and people don't know what it is. If Nemea starts becoming Archaies Kleones, Archaia Nemea, Koutsi, Asprokampos, Gymno what is going to change? We will create a even bigger confusion and a bigger problem to the name Nemea.

On the contrary he suggest a different categorization of Nemea PDOs by quality and not by geographically defined units of vineyards locations in different communities:

I personally on the contrary express the opinion that there should be created labels/categories of quality, there should be categories of quality no geographically defined zones. So there should be a premium Nemea, for which we the Nemean producers will know the specific characteristics and quality and we define that the price will be for 15 to 18 euros, also a Classic Nemea which will different maturing and aging and will have a price between 8 to 12 euros and will be the everyday Nemea that should have a another different name and will cost from 4 to 6 euros. And that's all.

In a complete different position, but still disagreeing is winemaker **O6**, considering that there is not still enough technical certified knowledge to consider that a wine made from grapes of a vineyard located community is better for higher quality Nemeas, and therefore is only by a desire of promotion from some wineries that this proposal is under discussion:

Nemea region is small and one sub-zone from Bordeaux...thing is I am not against sub-zones but give me the proof that a wine from Asprokambos is better from Koutsi..I mean it is different but is it better?(...) they had something to benefit or someone to benefit.. and now there are some winemakers that have wineries and they want to add some premium name to their wine but there is no proof that this is better..there is no study from the university saying that if we take one piece of land here or a piece of land there..put the same clones of grapes and have the same way of growing the grapes, the same winemaking production, the same protocol..and see that here we produce 100kg per stremma and there 400...ok..let us see what is different..then we can say this zone is totally different from that one and then call it a sub-region or a sub-appellation..whatever..but I do not think so..

- **Conditional agreement**

Winemakers like **O5** consider that some conditions have to be fulfilled before to go into the implementation of such a proposal:

Ok I am friend with [O3], I respect him very much but I believe he is impatient..he thinks everything can be done during his lifetime or my lifetime..”I want to make everything”...but..it cannot be like that..I haveve tried to explained to him..and they were four and I was just one.. “If you put Koutsis or if you put Psari” and if proves to be successful then the Cooperative will make 5 Koutsis and Zacharias will make 8 Koutsis and Koutsodimos will make 10 Koutsis...and then there will be 100 Koutsis.. Consumers they don’t know Nemea, they begin to know Nemea and so if they see 5, 12 Koutsis...does not mean anything..this was to be made progressively and not abruptly..

This ‘progression’ has to be made accordingly to his proposal on how the conditions can be created:

(...) but how can we do this? every winery who has vineyards thinking they produce high quality raises his hand and then we say let us begin with a 100 vineyards and then we find two young land engineers, once we have good analytical capacity and people who are looking for this grapes, for good quality, so professionals...and so if you say your vineyard is worth you pay a fee and we follow you vineyard, we vinify it and we do the same for the other 99..we keep track and then we taste the wines and we will find 60 of them that are really above the medium level and so we give a ‘star’ to this vineyards but he give it to the vine grower and so I live in a village and this vineyard is producing a very good wine and then I sell this to the winery the grapes and then the winery will have a sign of SON meaning that this Nemea is higher quality and we keep track of this(...)So it is a quality categorisation..for example, if we have a region that has 10 vineyards, one by the other all with a star then it is a good region and then we will say Koutsis!...

O5 assumes here as well a position of managing consensus and trying that winemakers do not start to go and reinforce for themselves their own isolated initiatives and this proves to be important once **O5** is, by the time this research was made, the President of SON:

(...)but [O3] is impatient he is like ‘ I am tired of all this Nemean growers and the Mayor, Cooperative..I want to make my wine’ and then I say “You have it!” their wine, their Estate is well known Nemea abroad and in Greece..it is ok..let us make something to help Nemea region. But I am not sure because the law now allows that for [O4] or [O5]...to make this sub-regional local wine..it is the law..so I have to persuade them..I am not sure I will be able to(...)If they do it they will bring confusion, if they do it 10 years or 20 years later it is ok but now they will bring confusion..Nemea is still not mature for this.

It is precisely to avoid that this possibility of confusion and its de-territorialization effects that it is important that a integrated and communicative interprofessional wine network exists in Nemea, however, has we have already mention, there are here also some cleavages, regarding mainly a so-called, by some, dualistic position between private wineries and local cooperative and political authorities. And with this we move for the second and last pillar of this interviews results analysis – the **competitiveness and cooperation in the regional/local interprofessional network.**

For this issue there are many different opinions and way of explaining the existing dualistic positions. Some of them place the focus under some 'suspicious' that exists between Cooperative and private wineries because of the nature of their relations with each of them with the vinegrowers in which the wineries say that the Cooperative acting as their representative creates this suspicious within the farmers. Other say that the Cooperative did not know how to manage their sells all this years and after the loans from the Agriculture Bank of Greece did not flow in anymore they wanted to enclose themselves more to hide their financial problems and to keep the vinegrowers trusting and working with them. And there are others that also place the lack of standardise quality viticultural practices inbetween the farmers because the Cooperative is not doing the technical counselling and help that they should and then they do not have better quality wines to go for better prices and to pay better to farmers. Nevertheless, all of the winemakers interviewed agreed that when they decided to close ENOAN to form SON the Cooperative did not wanted to lose their status of both winery and representative of the vinegrowers that was granting them 50% of the total votes and this is creating the current lack of communication not only with the Cooperative but also with the political authorities. Furthermore, it was also referred by one of the oldest winemakers of the region (**O1**) that they have decided to close ENOAN once every time the President of ENOAN was a winemaker things were moving but then when the President was the President of the Cooperative this were inactive. However, this can be related with an already existing lack of trust between one side and the other. Finally regarding the relation with the vinegrowers, it was clear that for the older winemakers on the region and especially the ones that are local, originally from Nemea, they have long-term trust networks with farmers that sell to them their best quality and to the Cooperative whatever is left. Nonetheless from the oenologist working for the Vine Nursery we heard that despite this relations of trust are important and this is the way to help farmers to go for better practices in their vineyards, he insists that winemakers, in general, could still do better by stimulating the farmers with better prices, in sum, to show them it compensates to go for quality rather than quantity. But before to end this analysis it is also curious that one of the winemakers (**O2**), non-local, placed again the Cooperative why the vinegrowers or farmers do not produce better grapes and even why they do not start their own vineyards. So, to summarize, it is clear the tacit conflict that exists in the subverses of the narratives, in which we will

understand better before the end by addressing the narrative of the former president of the Cooperative that was interviewed.

O1

ENOAN before 2011, in the framework that existed, in every three years was president the president of the cooperative and after him one of the winemakers, and in ENOAN the municipality was 1%. It did not work too much because when the president was one of the winemakers the things were moving and when the president was the president of the cooperative everything stopped and this had to change. So in 2011 we “deleted”, we abandoned ENOAN, we erased from the map and we founded SON, in this SON the cooperative does not participate because does not want to participate as an entity of the association, in the past the cooperative was stronger, it was like 50% the cooperative, 50% the winemakers...now they were suggested to participate as a single unit, as one of the 34 individuals..they did not accept so they are not in.(...)

The growers are obliged by the law when they are members of the cooperative to give a percentage of the production to the cooperative annually but they don't...they prefer to give to the private wineries..the ones they trust. And the farmers are supposedly members of the cooperative...some maybe registered but they never go and some not even registered...usually they trust the private winery that is closer to them. (...)

The competition is not even to take the grapes from the growers, is more suspicious kind of thing...concerning the fear that the private wineries will take the control of the area but basically this competition has no base at all..is in their minds if the cooperative will not exist we, the private wineries would exploit the farmers. There are some farmers that believe it. We the private wineries pay the farmer, because otherwise they would not bring the grapes to us...and the cooperative takes 3 years to pay them. So there is no substance in competition because what they say is not valid and probably the opposite is what truly happens. It is a suspicion that I think it was planted since the past days.

O5

They have asked for a French one to come here and give a speech and they were not ready to hear what the French said and the French thought thee wanted to hear how the Cooperative is working and he said ‘We are a cooperative and we have a file for every grower who has this obligations and we have a land engineer that goes without calling before to see what he is doing, what he is spraying, the obligations are this, the prices are this, and when we sell we have this market and we sell well and we give back more money if we sell more’ and they did not want to hear this because they just wanted someone who praise the value of Cooperatives and that’s it..because growers are collaborating and so on(..)

If you would give me the Cooperative for 10 years I would be rich because they accept so much wine with very little work and they could make 10 tanks of perfect wines and fifty tanks of medium wines..they sell it to Kourtakis [a large national-level Greek winery] ok but they would have a good wine in a very good price...they have a bottling line, they have wood to age the wine(...)

I have asked them many times to come, many times, I said ‘I believe I can persuade you to be part of SON’ but they have connections with all cooperatives and with KEOSEO [the

national wine cooperatives organization] and so with the Ministry so we just wait until a new guy with a fresh perspective comes there..

VNA

The Cooperative could do the work of helping the farmers to follow the same quality standards..giving counselling... they should have like 2, 3 or 5 viticulturists outside to give information to gather information in the cultivation and the period of harvest to say when to harvest, which one first, every parcel?...this is not complicated, it is simple to do, if they will do this, all the picture will change very fast, but it is a Cooperative..it is difficult to communicate inside the cooperative(...)

This happens first because there is a lack of strategy, because they are not able to do it because you need experienced people, you need management, it is not simple just to say that you can go all talk to the producers...there are isolated initiatives and not integrated.(...)

Here you will find very good vinegrowers and also very bad but the best way to go better is through the prices ..If you are paid by quality and you take more money to be paid by the quality you will try to improve..but if there are many wineries that do not mind the quality but mind more the quantity and pay as they pay now nothing is going to change...

So in during the conversation with the former President of the Cooperative, which is very much critique of the current situation, either on the side of the current managers of the Cooperative but also on the side of the private wineries we have chosen the following quotes to illustrate such:

FPC

First I have tried to convince some members of the board of the Cooperative that the members of SON are not our enemies and that there is a common interest to work for the region and that we have to protect the product.(...)There is a legislation in Greece that from the moment that the vinegrowers deliver their product to the Cooperative from that moment on they have no other role to play...and so there is no more work with the vinegrowers and the product gets downgraded..and for this reason we are sacrificing the development of the community and the name of Nemea.

(...)

*Well, as long as this kind of conflict continues either from the Cooperative either from the private wineries there is no focus on what is more important which is to keep the focus on making the vinegrowers go more for quality and have better practices on the vineyards and not so much for quantity(...)*This appellation has to protect its vinegrowers because they are the 'soul' of it...without them there is nothing..and the appellation will only get better, better quality wines and working fully integrated for the name of Nemea only when the vinegrowers start to feel that it compensates to invest in quality and to be part of the appellation as well(...)

The interview with **LAO** afforded some important information about the lack of knowledge of the farmers on evolving in their viticultural practices that the development of a wine region brought by an appellation process requires. First of all it was argued that there was an inefficient or even inexistent work of this office in providing the right and due counselling and general information about the possibility to apply for European funds that would benefit the vinegrowers, for example to renew their vineyards. Furthermore it was also argued to explain this inefficient work that this was being sustained by clientelistic networks between the office public servants and well-ranked people on the Agriculture Ministry and when the interviewed public servant wanted to do the right job when came to work in Nemea, he had problems with the regional director, actually problems that still exist currently and put a lot of pressure on this worker, especially when due to crisis he had to work alone in this office cause the others were transferred or fired. Secondly it was also argued that the winemakers and the local Cooperative could also do more for the sake of the farmers (vinegrowers) not only to inform them better about their rights and viticultural regulations and procedures but also to ensure that they would be able to profit more from the wine economy on the region. The latter added to the apparent inefficient work from the State agricultural authorities to guarantee the desirable and legally established regulation, counselling and support to the vinegrowers in Nemea wine region settles the conditions to make even more difficult the path towards an integrated wine appellation, while the wine sector does not guarantee the rural development of Nemea.

The first bigger problem I have faced here is that the people were not informed..or the people were badly informed..in a way that they would even think that some regulations were bad for their production..and this was for me also a moral problem..because the knowledge is in any field the most important think..to do your job and must know the rules and to know the truth about all this(...)

*they did not knew that they could take the money from a programme to renew their vineyards..which is a programme from the European Union..because if they knew that and they had known this the last two or three years the applications would be so many from one day to another they would have to work very very much and hard..and I think they did not want to work and that is why they did not give the right informations (...)*The farmers that come every day to my office that are sad and concerned and they are waiting for me to do something...they are many people who are interested to cultivate more but do not have the right to do that...and here we all have to work for the region, the winemakers, the cooperative and the regional office can do much more if they work together.

A region's development cannot be only measure by promotional status of 'most important wine region in Greece' and therefore the 'tale' of Nemea's 'glass' needs to be filled by a real rural inclusive planning and not keep with the fictional sonorous big words of marketing. As a winemaker told me, numbers do not lie when they are real and number do not forgive. The numbers in Nemea are, in sum, that the regions potential of wine production is way bigger than the current and that the profits of it need to be shared in a more balanced way between all the ones involved in the sector, where the farmers remain to be the ones benefiting less.

Challenges: between weaknesses and potentials

Once more, as it was already expressed by the VNA, the main problem of the appellations is focused on the fact that the vinegrowers are not feeling it, are not profiting both in economic terms and in technical development terms from this appellation which it will be reflected even more in the future on lack of integrated role of the community of Nemea in the development and promotion of Nemea wine appellation due to two factors: first because they are not promoting it themselves because they seem to be 'alienated' from the key and central discussions on Nemea PDO, and second because they (and especially the younger generations) are not being driven to place more effort in their activity rather than quantity and therefore are not stimulated to see this activity as a work that they can progress in the future days to come.

- **Potentials**

Nemea is the bigger appellation in Greece and has domestically and internationally recognised wines for their high-quality and distinctive characteristics. It has a considerable amount of wineries, although there is a potential for more, with cutting-edge technology and well-trained and educated oenologists and/or winemakers by allying a deep-rooted knowledge from the region to a striving will to experiment and innovate. It is then a very dynamic region in terms of winemaking. The existence of SON as a main driver of this knowledge on winemaking dynamic confers a political orientation to the wine sector network in which ideas, projects, proposals, strategical plans for rural and wine tourism have been conceived. The main challenge here lies on the need for this SON to focus and stimulate the creation of a same

interprofessional association for Viticulture, so then the vinegrowers can have a voice from within and not having necessarily the Cooperative as their representative. Furthermore, the Cooperative has to realised that they cannot sustain their isolated position once their work is essential for the community and the region, not only by being the ‘last shelter’ of the farmers (to use an expression of **O1**) but also to be a needed intermediate between vinegrowers and wineries, where relations of trust are deeply needed so everyone can profit from the best production quality possible and share the fair profits among themselves.

- **Weaknesses**

To not be redundant, we have already expressed most of the weaknesses and this are to summarize: the risk of the discussion under sub-zones/sub-appellations will lead into confusion of what truly means Nemea and thus, by the nature of the decisions, to de-territorialization of the product, once there is not a consensus and this changes will have strong impacts at regional and local level; the tacit conflict between Cooperative and private wineries that much more that opposing them by the old ideological division of labour relations, solidified by history in the political spectrums and social representations, it has been affecting, by negligence, a key actor on the wine sector chain, the farmers that are also representing the local rural community that is deeply dependent on the wine economy and in fact sustain this economy.

As Papadopoulos wrote in 2010 (pp.257) about re-discovery of local knowledge dynamics between the latter and modern scientific knowledge from his research in Nemea:

<<In terms of rhetoric everyone claims to be using traditional knowledge, and there is nothing surprising about that. Nobody of course denies that modern scientific knowledge and expertise is vital for the production of quality wine and for the diversification of wine production. But to redress the balance many of the winemakers claim, albeit unconvincingly, that: ‘good wine is produced in the vineyards’. >>

The main challenge for Nemea, to summarize it all in one, is for all the interprofessional network to place its main focus on ‘convincingly’ believe and work that the good wine is really produced in the vineyards and that to preserve the localness of this production through

the vinegrowers capacity to really feel the appellation as they improve in their trust with winemakers and in their viticulture practices fairly paid. This can only be done by the empowerment of the current institutions co-existing in integrated communication, not only for the appellation provide the desired balanced development for the region but also for <<(…)re-embedding of local wine in its social, economic and territorial context.>>(ibidem, p.259).

6.2. 2nd Study case discussion features – Basto sub-region of Vinho Verde between sub-promotion and disintegrated wine network

The Problematic

Moving to the four municipalities wine region of Basto, one of the 9 sub-regions of Vinho Verde, four main discussion features were identified along the research. First of all there is a predominant environment of non-communication between Basto Vinho Verde producers where the sector seems to function in an each-one-minds-his-own-work perspective at a first sight, however, through a more careful look, one can understand the reasons that either are in the cause of the individualistic relations or the causes that augment the latter.

In Basto there are, increasingly, closer relations between wine producers and bigger companies located elsewhere than between themselves. This is related with a conflicting competition for stronger network and status, making discussions on common strategies for Basto wine region(al) rural development very difficult to take place (regarding this the word *impossible* was constantly used during interviews with wine producers). The predominant relation between producers is characterised by individualistic positions. However, we observed that those positions are augmented by the *distrust within the local interprofessional network*: struggling for the same potential clients; to buy (grapes) from vinegrowers with better price/quality ratio; conflicts for better social and political status on the relation with the Vinho Verde Commission¹⁶⁰.

Secondly, and furthermore, there is a clear *lack of institutional active intermediation* (municipal authorities and Vinho Verde Commission) and the inexistence of a Basto wine

¹⁶⁰ The commission responsible for Vinho Verde wine certification. Vinho Verde is the designation of the (broader) wine appellation being Basto one of its sub-regions.

producers association (like in the case of Nemea) or even the inexistence of a local cooperative has leading to the sub-promotion position of Basto on Vinho Verde promotion schemes in comparison with others sub-regions (Lavrador, 2011). Accordingly with the same author, although Basto sub-region takes advantage on its impressive natural forestal landscape that covers the mountainous topography along the 4 municipalities and its Tâmega river division (Cabeceiras de Basto and Celorico de Basto on the west bank of the river; Ribeira de Pena and Mondim on the east bank of the river) it does not have a integrated promotion that its capable to preserve the wine landscapes like the the high vines (traditional training systems), the granite walls as heritage in its rural communities dividing the small holdings and the structure of the small holdings itself. Furthermore, regarding the institutional promotion, in Vinho Verde Commission wine roads tourism initiative there is almost no reference of the wineries located in Basto sub-region(from the around 30 wineries in Basto region only two are represented in the wine roads of Basto – see annex figure 16), besides from the part of the local authorities tourism offices there has never been a strategical integrated plan at intermunicipal level for wine tourism, either not wine tourism by itself with wine maps and promotional strategies like local wine exhibitions or festivals neither to a more inter-sectoral map with rural tourism housing or local gastronomy included.

Besides all this, there is currently no wine cooperative working in any of the four municipalities. The last existing one was in Celorico de Basto but accordingly to the information gathered during the research there are almost inactive due to financial problems. There are some micro-scaled so-called cooperatives in the region but they function mainly as a farming equipment shop and all kind of products and some technical counseling offices than anything else. The lack of a local wine cooperative or even different wine cooperatives has also a profound effect on the inexistent network between vinegrowers, small producers that are demotivated to increase their production but also potential newcome young farmers that could be interested in starting their way in the sector but there is no company like a cooperative to guarantee the absorption of their production at a initial stage.

Therefore, there is no agrarian office in the region dedicated to wine production. The only thing closer to such that exists is a association called ProBasto that gathers all municipal authorithies (each year the President is a different Mayor of each of the Municipalities) to apply for funds related with agricultural investments and rural development. However, it was not possible first of all to have an interview with anyone from the association and

secondly, a closer contact to this association that did not want to be interviewed, affirmed that the association functions as a clientelistic network where closer stakeholders are always previously informed about the funds and manage to get them beforehand anyone else.

Therefore, despite of the individualistic positioning of the winemakers, the sector works mainly based on proximity relations and long-term trust built between winemakers and the viticulturists (vinegrowers) that sell them the grapes. Therefore, where properties are mainly based on a distribution of small holdings, each winemaker if do not have enough from their own vineyards they buy from several vinegrowers that are usually the same from year to year. At the municipal level there is no initiative to create a geographical information system on the location of the vineyards, the more productive areas, the areas where are located the vinegrowers that have bigger productions and sell more, the main problems that they face, what kind of necessities or deficits they have in terms of viticultural practices and also, very important, if they are aware of the European legislation and the funding opportunities.¹⁶¹

In sum, regarding to differences between of wine sector dynamics inside of the Basto sub-region there is also a different perspective (as right from the beginning the interview analysis will show) regarding the way to approach the markets, the way winemakers and viticulturists relate or should relate themselves, the way how the region should work and the role of the Vinho Verde Commission on regulating this, but also in what it means the PDO Vinho Verde – not only in some claims that Basto has a higher potential¹⁶² than all other 8 sub-regions and it makes a different Vinho Verde (with the freshness and full body that is hard to find simultaneously in other sub- regions) but also by considering that the true Vinho Verde should have different characteristics and thus there is a decision of not working with the certification system of the Commission and therefore not producing certified PDO Vinho Verde but only with the classification of table wine.

¹⁶¹ A contact within the municipality of Ribeira de Pena informed me regarding the lack of technical support on vinegrowing and winemaking that the public servant (an agronomist) that is supposed to be working for this purpose have left his position and no one was replaced so far. Only from time to time they have someone that comes for very special cases.

¹⁶² A winemaker considered that Basto was a red Vinho Verde that cannot be found, in terms of its higher quality, in any other sub-region of Vinho Verde. However due to the lack of investment or lack of strategy for this type of Vinho Verde in the Commission, once white Vinho Verde exports and red its related with local consumption, it was claimed that this product in Basto is completely below its potential for the domestic market but also for the international one in the future.

It was also evident from the results that the changes on Basto's wine sector have been stimulated from outside (in response to international market's needs) and barely from within – once more, *non-localized* 'arenas' and thus *de-territorialized* decisions.

Interviews results

As was done for Nemea case in this part of the interview the winemakers were firstly incentivised to talk about the origin of their wineries and its evolution so then it was easier understood what do they express on the topic of **Vinho Verde appellation** (in the context of Basto Sub-region) **and terroir evolution between traditional knowledge and expert knowledge**. However, on the contrary of what happened in Nemea, in Basto the producers seemed to relate as linked this first topic with the second one that was aimed in the interviews, which means, the **competitiveness and cooperation in the regional/ local interprofessional network**.

Therefore it was chosen here to address both topics simultaneously to facilitate the dynamics of the analysis accordingly with the flow of the different interviews

The first two winemakers interviewed **PV1** and **PV2** have a family connection to winemaking and also to vinegrowing. While the first with small holdings and small scaled, the second from within a family with long tradition with local wine production in large scale. Both of them with a very localized channels of selling their product, however **PV1** has a strong relation with restaurants and a wine cooperative outside of Basto region, **PV2** does not even has wine with PDO label, therefore does not work with the Commission, and sells almost totally inside Basto region. Another importance difference is that **PV2** produces only red Vinho Verde that can be in the origin of its refusal to work with the Commission once red Vinho Verde is still mainly related with localized markets and local consumption, and thus he does not feel the need (or the trust, as we will see) to work with a designation of origin certification institution, for a better promotion of his wine outside Basto region or even to international markets.

PV1

Within my wines I have two kind of white Vinho Verde, the normal one and the Grande Escolha that it is made with more selected grapes, with a more accurate flavoured, close to the 12°. And then you pick three bottles and we take them to the Vinho Verde Commission that makes the analysis, and then they give you a grade from 0 to 10. If you have at least 8

you can print the word Grande Escolha, if you do not have at least 8 you cannot put it. To be considered as Vinho Verde DOC you have to have at least a grade of 5, if not you have to sell it as a table wine.(...)

You have an account manager...they have an image of each producer and winemaker; they know more or less..and then they have some inspector; that come, I am sure they will come here today, and of course you have to have your door open..and they will see what you bought, what you produce, what you bottle. (...)

If we economical agents that support the Commission, if we sell well and if we have profit it is also good for them. I was there this year, for you to have an idea, and just to promote my wine I left there around 4 thousand euros, but in general the Commission works in a good way.

From **PV2** we get a completely different perspective on the perception of the Commission work.

I do not work with the Vinho Verde Commission, I sell only red Vinho Verde that it is certified by the Portuguese Institute of Vine and Wine [IVV] so, I do not sell wine with PDO certification, neither PGI of Minho region, only as table wine.(...)

It is a choice that I have made to not work with the Commission. As winemaker, for my taste, for my choice of what should be a red Vinho Verde I do not follow the standards of the Commission for a red Vinho Verde. At first sight you may think it is inferior because does not have PDO, but for me is more what a traditional red Vinho Verde should be(...)

There is no other promotion. I do not sell to other companies, my wine is being sold directly by me, no one sells my wine with another label on the bottle.

Right from the beginning one can notice a distinguishable perspective on what it means Vinho Verde PDO and it goes straight to our question around the cultural heritage, once there is a clear claim here that Vinho Verde PDO certified from the Commission it is not what red Vinho Verde from Basto sub-region should be. Besides, considering that there are winemakers in the region working with the Commission and therefore it is in this arena their main way of discussion and get acknowledge with the changes on Vinho Verde region there are others that are not interested in having their wines as PDO, and do even distrust the Commission, it does not constitute suitable conditions for either having a tradition of dialogue but also of building cooperative relations.

PV3 has a very curious position. He also has as **PV1** a quite long family connection with wine production, but almost all of his small sized but higher quality production is straight directed to international markets. Although he works with the Commission to certify his (exclusively) white Vinho Verde PDO production, he assumes a very critical position regarding the way the Commission works regarding the lobbying of the bigger companies of Vinho Verde and a certain lack of regulation on the different characterization of PDOs by quality.

If you decide alone that your wine must have a Premium designation on the label it is unthinkable..if you do it the next day the great companies like Quinta da Lixa, Romariz immediately would fake that and would call Premium to everything and then you would kill your brand right at birth.(...)

There is no control. I will explain you. The Commission has associated wineries and the one who really rule the Commission is a Council which 70% is composed by the biggest Vinho Verde producers, so they rule it as they please...it's a lobby absolutely indestructible (...)

Afterwards and regarding this positioning when asked on the possibility of a Basto winemakers association to be stronger against such a 'indestructible lobby' but also regarding a self-regulation to avoid the 'fake premium' labels this was the answer:

Nothing, nothing, it is impossible so far. We Portuguese, especially here, have this kind of mentality. No, no... there is right now some discussion to apply for a international project with funds to create a brand "Producers of Basto", between 3 or four producers...this way with some producers we want to apply for some money on the next European funds framework in order to make promotion internationally, but I am sure, in best case possible, I will gather two of them and nothing else. The others do not want me to know that they sell wine at 1,20 euro and or 1,30 euro, or they fear that I am going to steal their clients..do you understand?(...)

This minds work like that...like chicken brains..And it is such a pity because there is an enormous potential, because the Basto Sub-region is a region that starts to be known and that makes different wines from the rest of the all Vinho Verde region and therefore with potential to be promoted like that, but I am almost alone in this idea, almost alone(...)

Here it was quite explicit all the reasons previously mentioned on the problematic part for the not existence of network of winemakers and producers in Basto but also the distrust that exists among the wine sector.

PV4 is also part of a family with a long tradition of vinegrowing and selling huge quantities of wine as bulk to cooperatives located outside Basto sub-region and to localized channels also mainly outside the region like traditional restaurants, and to people that were coming to their house to buy directly also as bulk. The current manager of the company has come from a urban centre to take care of the family business. He was interested in changing radically their product by starting a bottling with a brand and also with PDO certification from Vinho Verde Commission. However the sectoral environment of non-communication and conflicts but also distrust have de-motivated him to go on with this project. Curiously it was this producer the one who revealed a stronger conviction for a necessity of a association between winemakers, producers, vinegrowers, expressing that the sector is completely disintegrated.

This buyers are usually big companies that then bottle it. This buyers were and they are still located within the Basto sub-region but mostly out of it... Currently, I am selling almost only

the grapes, I can say that this year I have made only 10.000 liters of wine, the rest I sold directly as grape(...)

I do not want to start a label brand right now, out of nowhere when there is no dialogue or relations between producers in Basto. Without that I don't want to be just another brand in the huge market of Vinho Verde, I don't need that, I already sell all my production without any label.

(...)it seems that no one is interested on developing a project for the sub-region of Basto and there is so much potential for that.

From the perspective of the **PV5**, that is the only non-local winemaker of the ones interviewed, Basto region as a huge potential and something special that you cannot find in any other region of Vinho Verde. This is precisely what brought him to invest in building a considerable large winery and buying also considerable plots of land to grow vineyards. It is also curious that his initial project was focused on gathering other winemakers from the region and having vinegrowers associated and also the local cooperative (while it was still active) for a partnership. However, he said that after some first attempts everything went wrong and he went forward with the project by himself.

We started the activity and three years later the other partners or associates of this business, they...ended it up to not understand what we were doing and they were looking to this in some way...in a strange way...the purpose of serving the consumer with a guarantee of quality as the name of the society transmits...Garantia das Quintas...this was not well understood..the persons did not want it(...)

(...)So I created even that goal to the cooperative of Celorico that is the only one working in the Basto but now it is even closed... So nothing finding there any anchor for my objectivity, I set up an association with four partners when we initiate our activity and also those did not understand that this was a association that each one of them participate with what they had..they were not obliged to have more or less...each one of them participate with the value that they would agreed to be the necessity...but money was a need...but...and despite of we are not talking about the problem of the wines or the problems of the region but I have to say that this is the principle of the sin of this region. This is a region that were there is a low culture of participation, is a region that suffers the consequences of being isolated, maybe even for a cultural issue.

This led the interviewed to the necessity of a integrated approach in Basto for the development of the region and despite of agreeing with this **PV5** insisted on the cultural nature of the difficulties in communicating, and curiously affirming that this posture of non-communication comes precisely from the old rich local families that are to individualistic, believing that will be the non-locals that in time with a new perspective will change this situation.

(...)this lagged condition...is not about the people are less capable than other regions..this lagged question is about the people looking to their piece of land and they cannot look for

the globality..for the bigger picture. And this is a cultural problem of the region that is motivated by two very important issues...in the past there was a lot of rich and few poor and the rich..I was talking before about the palaces..the 20 or 30 rich families in the region that are all bankrupt and there is 2 or 3 in the third generation are trying to save the patrimony and even those do not think on the globality and there too individualistic, they prefer to die alone with the family coat of arms ring in their finger...because they have looked to the commoner with despise and that brought a serious lag to the region(...)

The newcomers understood the need for change, the region has potential and I believe that in time this will change because everyone will be forced to...even the rich..the ones who understood that only having the castle is not enough anymore...they are changing...you have in Cabeceiras two persons doing something, in Mondim a person doing something, and in Celorico two doing something...which means 5 that are doing for the region because the rest do not want to do something for the region...but more they will appear...because the farmers will understand that they only will need to make their land available for production and to do the things right(...)

Also a very important feature is that there are some farmers (vinegrowers) in the region that they prefer to sell to bigger companies located elsewhere or even the biggest ones that buy grapes everywhere in Vinho Verde region. Therefore it was expressed that there should be better relations of trust between winemakers of the region and vinegrowers and this intermediation is lacking either by the local authorities either by the Commission, with obvious impacts on potential new winemakers that need to know to whom they can buy in the region.

This is an act of distrust and lack of support in the region...the region is hanged in this prejudices and distrust problems...and being me one of the winemakers that pay better the price of grape. I pay more than what Aveleda pays...but they do not want...they have a distrust...and in the last minute if I wanted I would go to their door and I would say "Ok I will buy for a cheaper price" ..and I will buy it because they do not have elsewhere to sell by that time...but they do not trust when I go there now and I ask how much they produce, if they want to sell and so on(..).

For example the Cooperative..it failed because there is not associativism..forget!...then there is an inequality... of course that it would be much better if everyone of us would gather and for example for Celorico, there is a given number of vineyards and we will restructure it and we will apply altogether for the restructure of everything... do not even think of that!...

And being the Commission a regulating body in the sense of the grape varieties, the quality control, besides this they do not much..and they cannot or they should not to do more...in terms support or not some sub-regions the question is not so black in white and they are not exempt as they say but ok!.....about this Commission with this President..some like some do not..I just would like to say that it could be more participation of farmers in the Commission and more support to them and if this does not happen is because the very statutes of the Commission, their range of activity is not well done, not well establish...really badly done..

PV6 that is also represents a local winery with, again, a long family tradition in producing medium quantities of red wine to sell as bulk locally, had made an investment to restructure his vineyards, to produce only white Vinho Verde PDO, bottled wine with own brand sell also mainly inside and outside (but nearby) the region. He addressed as well some critiques on the work of the Commission, especially regarding some loss of identity on characteristics that Basto wines should have in his opinion. Also it was made a reference to a question that already was addressed before, which is the importance of the red Vinho Verde and the white Vinho Verde inside of the region once, as previously said the latter is a better sale, especially on the international markets.

There are been many changes in the region's terroir and on the perception of it in the past recent years...I mean before I started the reconversion of the vineyards..you know from the traditional training systems to the ones that they advise to be more productive..we were producing high quantities of red Vinho Verde and sell it in large quantities locally..but then I was advised to go only for white..they told me 'make white because white you can sell it more' and therefore I followed that advise.

Then other start to appear with red Vinho Verde with other varieties but it is not the same thing as before...the white has been keeping more or less its identity and got better in terms of quality but red lost its identity that and it is not the same anymore...the red Vinho Verde that you see now on the market, the red Vinho Verde of this region has nothing to do with the one for which this region was known...I am not talking about quality because quality is also a subjective issue because its related with personal taste also...but it is different, not so acid...it is not the same, nothing to do with before.

After it has evident his opinion on a clear change on the red Vinho Verde but also on its progressively sub-production related with a strategy mainly concentrated on whit Vinho Verde, the question has addressed then to what he considers to be the potential of the region and the effects of the Commission on its production:

I see the production here as I see everywhere else...first of all the topographic characteristics of the territory are complicated...this is not like plains or plateaus everywhere..but the interesting thing here is that there are a lot of micro-climates in the region..this Basto region is very diversified and thats why it has a potential for some many different wines..but things are difficult..people are not being urged or stimulated to invest here and start winemaking(...)

And here the commission also..in the past more..did not worked well because in this region there are wines that reach 13° with a great facility on the contrary of other wine regions and they did not consider this a Vinho Verde PDO because..maybe..they want to market to sell white PDO with maximum of 10° or 11°...to be soft and light and...sometimes things that are not Vinho Verde...that do not taste like it.. and here there was some loss of identity..specially in regions like Basto. See..when this happened I said 'but my wine goes naturally to 13°' and

they said ‘ just put more water...you need to decrease the degree’... and I said ‘ but then it is not wine...and I want to sell wine..wine that people will recognize is wine from Basto ’

Finally, **PV7** is probably the first and therefore the oldest producer in the whole region and also the biggest. This winery as a long tradition in winemaking, not only in Basto sub-region but also as one of the first wine producers in the whole Vinho Verde region. Their first bottling goes back to the 1940s with even exporting to Brazil, afterwards there as a decrease on the bottling production and on the exports but on the 80s a renewed project was put forward, with the goal of bottling wines mainly to export. It was claim that exporting came as the main goal due to the conditions of the past in which the accessibilities to domestic channels of wine market were not easy for a region that was ‘in the end of the line’ of Vinho Verde region, meaning the distance from the urban centres that were the ‘heart of Vinho Verde region’. Currently 90% of its production is exported and therefore it is a winery that his mainly focused in high-quality wines to high priced wine markets in countries like USA, Canada, France, Germany, Belgium but also in Japan. One of the most important aspects of this interview is the fact that it was clearly assumed the important leading role of this winery for the improvement of the vine and wine knowledge dynamics in the whole Basto region – assuming that if Basto region is known as a distinguishable and unique wine region inside of Vinho Verde region today is due to the pioneer work aimed for high-quality done along the last 20 years in the region by them.

When they started to restructured the wines, my grandfather, when he started, everyone got quite puzzled because he brought new vine training systems..at a beginning the local farmers were kind of suspicious about this ‘experiments’ but there was already a relationship of trust inbetween us and then they accepted because they knew that what we were doing was the right way(...)

So the evolution of the knowledge of wine producing in the region was due to an effort of my relatives to invest and to bring people that knew about Vinho Verde, specialists and agronomists that were essential for the regions development as a wine region...not only for other producers and winemakers that started afterwards but also for the farmers in this village, in this rural community that still today look for the day we start harvesting this or that grape to start their own as well and they come here and ask and we have always our winery doors open so everyone can see that here we do not play tricks(...)

Then when asked if this dynamics of shared knowledge could also trigger broader strategies of cooperation between winemakers and this winery could constitute a strong agent in bringing wineries in Basto wine region together in a associative network this was the answer, also with a final criticism to the Commission:

If we study the Basto sub-region history within Vinhos Verdes region we see that in the first division in sub-regions this one was not included but it was not because there was not precisely back then a production of wine that made people realize that this region was a different potential, a special potential, it produces different wines with a different complexity and its probably the sub-region with more terroir diversity and richness of the whole region with a lot of different micro-climates...however there is not still enough wineries going for Premium products more based on quality, more complex wines and not the undifferentiated wines of 10° that lead the exports because they have very competitive prices, cheaper, and they are easier to like because they are sweet and light..but that path does not benefits the region...we have to have more wineries to go for quality wines like our strategy(...)

So it has not been easy to create cooperative strategies, integrated strategies with producers because we are not many, and it is not only here...and we are still dealing with our own way to deal with our wines inside of the bigger picture of the whole region and not yet focused on integrated initiatives and so...yes..there is not a integrated promotion of Basto sub-region...so there is still a learning process to go through and I am confident we will get there..but we need more producers that come here and believe in the promotion of this sub-region and to believe that this region make different wines and they deserve to be promoted as Basto Vinho Verde(...)

When the Commission created this division of sub-regions they did not worked so well because there are some sub-regions which divisions are not that clear and this also created this environment for sub-promotion of some sub-regions because it was hard for the Commission to promote the wines beyond their buzzwords of young, fresh and light...and this sub-region as lot more potential than that and this also had a negative impact on producers like in this region that had a special wine with a distinctive character (...)

Very briefly, because most of the interview with the Commission was leaded by the interviewers to a more historical evolution of the work of the Commission, it was very clear that the work of the Commission is indeed focused on addressing the international markets accordingly to their tastes and to what they believe is Vinho Verde, which is light, fresh, young and with low degree of alcohol:

We always promote the brand Vinho Verde as a whole. There is the possibility and you can see that information for yourself, concerning the labelling there are specific rules to place the sub-region in the label that was a consequence in the physical-chemical analysis...in terms of the alcohol percentage...without any reference to grape varieties or designation of reserve or selected harvest or sub-region the limit is 11,5%, if there is a reference to a sub-region that value increase to 14% so there is already a differentiation from our side that allow for such differences. So there is that possibility to emphasise the origin sub-region in which there are rules to do so, so we respect the idea of valorising each sub-region...but in my perspective the advantage is more in the way each one of them work their own products than necessarily if it is Vinho Verde from Basto sub-region or Lima...that is then exclusively the choice of the producer. Our first action is always to promote the region and to promote it as a whole (...)

The Commission when define a strategy to the international market does with knowledge of what we are doing...we hired the services of a company to do a extended international

markets study to find what would be the more receptive markets to our products and we have made the investment in that direction and we will continue to do it. And that will allow us the economical agents, the producers to keep up with that work and work for those markets. One thing is to do the institutional marketing and other thing completely different is to do the work on the field that have to be the producers to do for themselves...and this is a unstoppable process...it will not stop more...it would only stop if the investment would stop and that will not happen...in the plan for the next year that was approved it shows that the Commission will continue to invest in the priority markets and in other markets that we want to turn into priority markets and so far they are new markets for us...like for example Japan(...)

- **Potentials**

Basto sub-region as first of all the potential, agreed as consensual by almost all of the winemakers interviewed in their own way, of being a region with a great diversity of wine terroir with differentiated micro-climates spread all through the different four municipalities. Furthermore another positive signal is that there are winemakers that not only believe in this but they are also investing in this differentiation and having success also in international markets and not making the mistake to go for undifferentiated wines that can be found anywhere else in the Vinho Verde region. The biggest potential relies first on the possible trigger that this initiatives can cause in the already existing winemakers to follow the same paths and also to stimulate newcomers to invest in the region. Besides it seems also that in terms of relations of trust between some wineries and vinegrowers and even ones that bottle their local wine is better established, at least in some of the rural communities of Basto, than with the case of Nemea, being the dynamics of shared knowledge apparently more fluid. However there is none local wine cooperative in Basto and neither a winemakers association and therefore this relations of trust can be only of an apparent type once there are no local arenas of discussion that could possibly trigger disagreements and conflicts, like in Nemea.

- **Weaknesses**

There are two main weakness in Basto sub-region that were already more or less addressed. First of all it is related with the lack of integrated perspective on promotion but also on wider strategies of development. This is both regarding the winemakers that were never been able to discuss a joint association of winemakers but also on behalf of the local authorities that also do not have a so far come together for at least a intermunicipal strategy of Basto Vinho

Verde promotion neither a common strategical plan for the wine sector integrated with for example the rural tourism sector.

Second there is a sub-promotion of the special identity of Basto sub-region regarding its Vinho Verde, either due to the first weakness addressed, either due to the fact that being integrated in a wider wine region like the whole Vinho Verde in which the institutional promotion is done by a Commission that has been favouring the wines that are more undifferentiated because easier exported at lower prices. The cultural heritage that by consensus was considered to exist in a very distinctive way in Basto needs urgently an integrated approach for its protection and promotion so the region can benefit more from this wine sector not only as a source of potential employment and a way to fix people to rural areas that have been facing decrease in population but also as a way to make people from Basto to understand that there is a product with a stronger identity from which the whole region can benefit.

In a matter of conclusion – *half empty of half full?*

There are some fundamental questions that need to be placed after all this work. First of all, the wine regions have revealed that their wine productions are an asset for rural development through product qualification or their strategies have still a long way to go to avoid de-territorialization threats? And if nothing changes and those threats become reality what would be the territorial impacts of those conflicts?

Some clues to answer this questions were already placed along all the work but much more research needs to be done in wine regions like Nemea and Basto (and also in this two) with a more extended time and multidisciplinary scope.

In sum, for both cases, the main challenge appears to be how to preserve wine terroir and therefore its *localness*, when the interprofessional network is being driven in a way that leads to, either non-consensus relations (Nemea) or isolated *modus operandi* without discussions at all (Basto).

There is indeed a needed ‘spark’ for all involved actors and local authorities to come together – a *necessity of localized governance networks* Winter (2003). Therefore, in both wine regions, the existence of localized governance is essential to prevent the negative effects on terroir’s identity and wine production localness through strategical planning involving all

stakeholders and political authorities both at local and regional level. This integrated strategical planning will only play a vital role to preserve *localness* over *de-territorialisation* **if able to mobilize re-territorialization under a re-shaping of traditional knowledge** along with the winemaking modern techniques¹⁶³.

The reader will certainly place here, immediately, the question that I have carried with me since the beginning of the research work. How to *mobilize re-territorialization under a re-shaping of traditional knowledge*?

It would be too pretentious of me if this conclusion would claim how to do so or even if it would mention that the read of this entire work leads to an answer to the above placed question. However it is a pretentious claim to say that the entire work leads to *how not to mobilize re-territorialization under a re-shaping of traditional knowledge* because it focus mainly on place clearly, through the entire narrative and its visible ideology, *how de-territorialization mobilizes the distortion of traditional knowledge* leading to the loss of what is the root of rural development – the fortification of local’s community capacity to develop out of its endogenous resources.

Fortifying the roots

Bearers of water

Drinking first

Indicate great

Thirst.

Sun-Tzu, The Art of War, p.58

Both Portugal and Greece have a long history of agricultural production and strong links to rural areas. Rural development is, therefore, an unavoidable topic, in countries overall social and economic development, especially in the context of current economic crisis.

Michael Veseth (2011,p.7) ‘appropriating’ Charles Dickens book A Tale of Two Cities, writes that <<The global wineglass it seems is both quite empty and full to the brim(...)>> and thus calling it *A Tale of Two Glasses*.

¹⁶³ In a research publish in 2010 about Nemea, Papadopoulos (2010) wrote “The local capacity to re-construct local/tradicional knowledge and negotiate knowledge forms remains a critical element for the territorial development of Nemea.”

We have ‘recycled’ the *Tale of Two Glasses* to contextualize a problem that was addressed all along the last two chapters – of rural development policies, strategies and actors facing localness vs. de-territorialization.

Starting with, apparently, the ‘empty glass’: de-territorialization process is often seen as linked to the rise and dominance of the conventional agro-food chains, and thus, with the globalisation of agro-food system. The other ‘glass’, apparently, the full one, in terms of local food production and their related GI’s qualification schemes, is related with re-territorialization process in which regional geographies play a central role conducive to localness of food production along with, the so-called, alternative agro-food chains.

However, simply localization of agro-food chains does not mean localness of food production once both conventional and alternative agro-food chains are competing or interlocking since both processes may coincide in the same region and at the same time – and food and agriculture firms may even globalise to reduce uncertainty or to expand business (Hendrickson and Heffernan 2002:350, Papadopoulos, 2010).

Understanding this challenges requires to understand both regions networks and actors – from the ones who work on the fields to the ones that produce the final products that fill both ‘glasses’ – once agro-food system is a configuration that can be analyzed by using actor-based notions (Goodman and DuPuis 2002, Goodman 2004).

In this very last assumption, we think that a focus on actor-based notions and actors networks is a key to implement rural development strategies conducive to extended development of the region, in a way that all the people involved can be equally part of that process, not just in the terms of the distribution of production economical revenue, but mainly on a common (and political active) understanding of the network – which means fortifying the roots of the rural development towards a strong rural governance. When is precisely the opposite that happens, which is to say, the ones that have, by their accumulated social capital, higher (economic and political) power in the process, (the Bearers of Water) are so “thirsty” that they “drink first”, without sharing with the ones they are supposed to, it indicates an isolation and distrust. If a region wants to take the best of a qualification process, like Nemea or Basto for example, an integrated approach is imperative, communication inbetween stakeholders, winemakers, farmers, local public institutions and political authorities is crucial and therefore discussion that generates dynamics of different opinions colliding so then consensus can be achieved. As an oenologist in Nemea told me:

If you do not protect the common nothing works.. I understand that everywhere in the world there are conflicts but there is a common thing, a common place that you have to protect..if they [winemakers] understand that they have to protect I believe they will but they are doing slow steps and we need to go faster towards integrated discussions and initiatives(...)

(...) otherwise.. you see the vinegrowers...they are not feeling the appellation, they do not feel that this is something for them, it does not mean anything for them that Nemea is PDO or not, maybe they do not even know exactly what that means.

Too ‘thirsty’ people, moved by the impatient or simply indifferent pursue for their own isolated profit, will not make ‘good wine’, and generally this attracts the ‘empty glass’ of de-territorialization. Hopefully they will all drink, one day, from the full one.

*Uma taça do vinho novo é sempre desejada.
Os sons da flauta suaves ouviria sem cansaço.
Quando o oleiro transformar as minhas cinzas numa jarra
Que esteja sempre cheia de vinho!*

Umar-I Khayyām¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Rubā'iyat, Assírio&Alvim, 2009.

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VII. Annex

Figure 10. Article of Meininger (a wine international business magazine) on Greek wine



Source: <http://www.gaia->

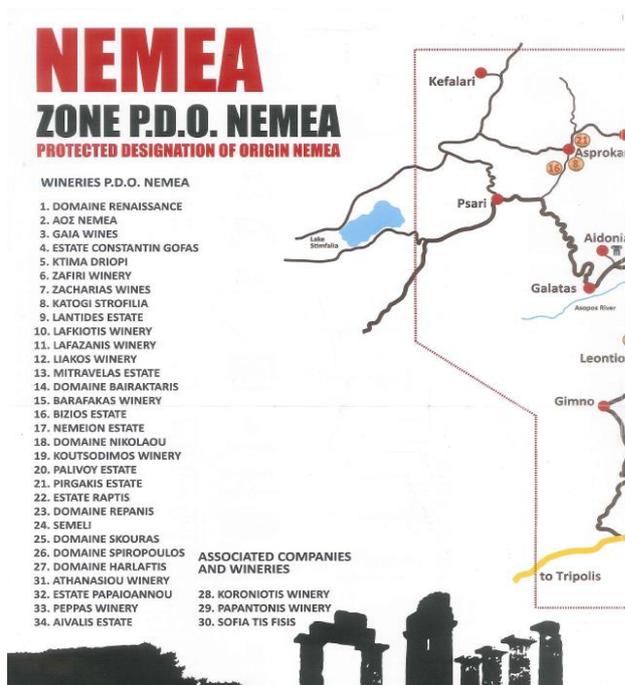
[wines.gr/sites/default/files/reviews/Wine%20Business%20International_July%2712.pdf](http://www.gaia-wines.gr/sites/default/files/reviews/Wine%20Business%20International_July%2712.pdf)

Figure 11. Great Days of Nemea event



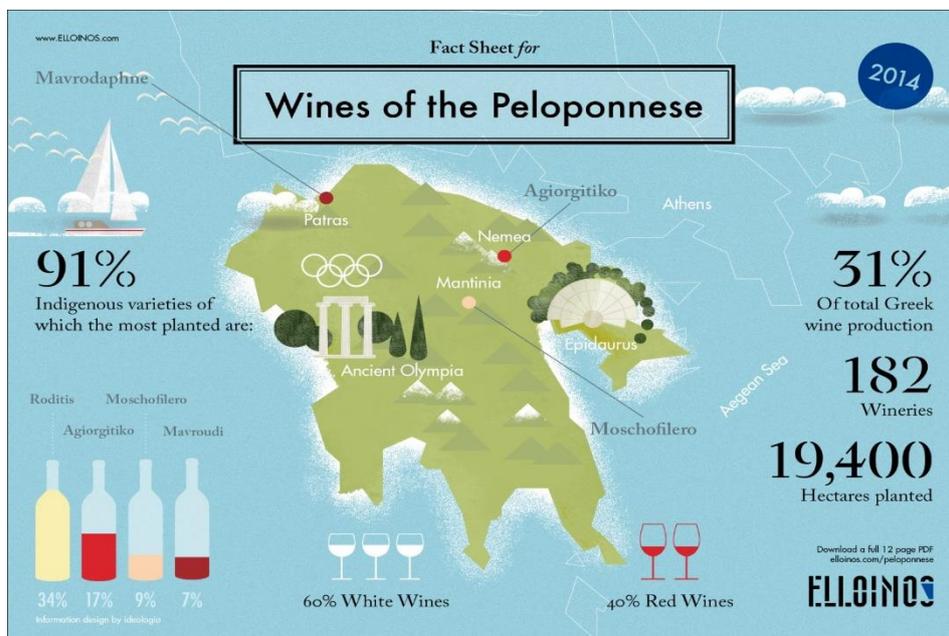
Source: <http://www.nemeawineland.com/>

Figure 12. Promotional map indicated all the Nemea wineries created by the Nemea winemakers association (Syndesmos Oinopoion Nemeas)



Source: SON

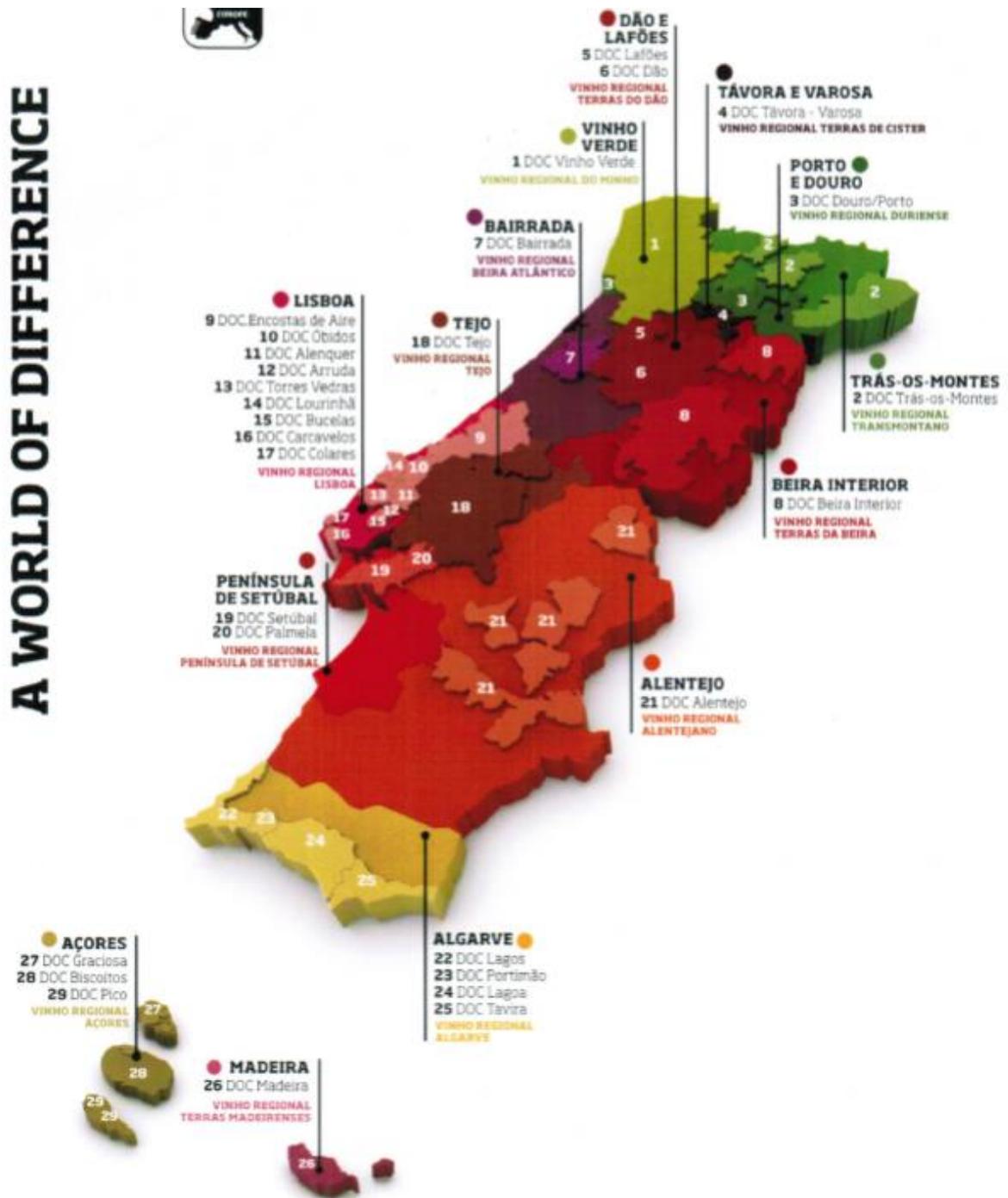
Figure 13. Promotional map created by the Athens-based wine trader ELLOINOS.



Source: ELLOINOS

<http://www.elloinos.com/wines-and-winemakers/peloponnese/peloponnese-land-of-diversity>

Figure 14. Portuguese wine appellations map



Source: Wines of Portugal

<http://www.winesofportugal.info/pagina.php?codNode=18012&market=1>

Figure 15. Vinho Verde Commission guarantee certificates/labels of PDO



Source: CVRVV

Figure 16. Wine Roads of Vinho Verde Commission – Part of Basto Sub-region



Source: CVRVV