

The role of EU rural development policy in the neo-productivist agricultural paradigm

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ABSTRACT

The role of EU rural development policy in the neo-productivist agricultural paradigm. *Regional Studies*. European Union rural development policy tools have renewed their emphasis on agriculture for the period 2014–20. This shift has been driven by an incoming neo-productivism paradigm, a terminology only recently applied to rural studies. This paper focuses on the discussion of European Union rural policy positions in the context of key drivers of neo-productivism. Existing academic debates focus mainly on ‘neo-productivist agriculture’, with less attention paid to rural development policy. This review shows the need to address the terminological issues of this policy and to reflect upon the territorial impact of other sectoral policies.

KEYWORDS

rural studies; neo-productivism; post-productivism; rural development policy; agriculture

摘要

欧盟乡村发展政策在新生产主义农业范式中的角色。 *Regional Studies*。欧盟乡村发展政策工具已有所更新，从2014年至2020年转而强调农业。此一转变是受到即将到来的新生产主义范式所驱动，而该术语是晚近才开始应用于乡村研究之中。本文聚焦新生产主义的关键驱动力脉络中，欧盟乡村政策的位置之讨论。既有的学术辩论主要聚焦“新生产主义农业”，并较少关注乡村发展政策。本回顾文章显示出需要处理此一政策的术语问题，并反思其他部门政策的地域影响。

关键词

乡村研究; 新生产主义; 后生产主义; 乡村发展政策; 农业

RESUMEN

Le rôle de la politique de développement rural de l'UE dans le paradigme agricole néo-productiviste. *Regional Studies*. Les outils de la politique de l'Union européenne pour le développement rural ont réaffirmé l'importance accordée à l'agriculture pour la période 2014–20. Cette nouvelle orientation a été animée par un nouveau paradigme néo-productiviste, une terminologie que l'on applique que depuis peu aux études rurales. La présente communication se concentre sur la discussion relative aux positions de l'Union européenne en matière de politique rurale, dans le contexte des moteurs du néo-productivisme. Les débats académiques actuels se concentrent principalement sur l'«agriculture néo-productiviste», en se penchant moins sur une politique de développement rural. Cet examen illustre la nécessité de soulever les aspects terminologiques de la présente politique, et de réfléchir sur l'impact territorial d'autres politiques sectorielles.

PALABRAS CLAVES

études rurales; néo-productivisme; post-productivisme; politique de développement rural; agriculture


RÉSUMÉ

Die Rolle der EU-Politik zur Entwicklung des ländlichen Raums für das Paradigma der neoproductivistischen Landwirtschaft. *Regional Studies*. Für den Zeitraum von 2014 bis 2020 betont die Europäische Union bei ihren politischen Instrumenten zur

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Entwicklung ländlicher Gebiete erneut die Landwirtschaft. Diese Verlagerung wurde durch das neu entstandene Paradigma des Neoproduktivismus bewirkt, einen Begriff, der erst seit Kurzem auf Studien über ländliche Gebiete Anwendung findet. In diesem Beitrag konzentrieren wir uns auf die Erörterung der Positionen der Europäischen Union im Bereich der Politik für ländliche Gebiete im Kontext der zentralen Faktoren des Neoproduktivismus. Im Mittelpunkt der akademischen Debatten stand bisher vor allem die neoproduktivistische Landwirtschaft, während der Politik zur Entwicklung ländlicher Gebiete weniger Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird. Dieser Beitrag verdeutlicht die Notwendigkeit, die terminologischen Unstimmigkeiten dieser Politik zu beheben und die territorialen Auswirkungen von anderen sektoralen Politiken zu untersuchen.

MOTS-CLÉS

ländliche Studien; Neoproduktivismus; Postproduktivismus; Politik zur Entwicklung ländlicher Gebiete; Landwirtschaft

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

El papel de la política de desarrollo rural de la UE en el paradigma agrícola del neoproduktivismus. *Regional Studies*. Para el periodo de 2014 a 2020 la Unión Europea ha vuelto a hacer hincapié en la agricultura en relación con sus herramientas de la política de desarrollo rural. Este cambio se debe a un nuevo paradigma de neoproduktivismus, una terminología aplicada tan solo recientemente a los estudios rurales. En este artículo nos centramos en los debates sobre las posiciones de la política rural de la Unión Europea en el contexto de los principales impulsores del neoproduktivismus. Los actuales debates académicos se centran sobre todo en la 'agricultura del neoproduktivismus', pero prestan menos atención a la política de desarrollo rural. En este análisis mostramos que es necesario abordar las cuestiones terminológicas de esta política y reflexionar sobre el impacto territorial de otras políticas sectoriales.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER

estudios rurales; neoproduktivismus; posproduktivismus; política de desarrollo rural; agricultura

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INTRODUCTION

The European Commission (EC) presented its rural development policy as a second pillar of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (European Community, 2004). However, this policy was not as financially significant compared with the first pillar containing direct subsidies to farmers. The focus of rural development policy gradually shifted to a strong support of multifunctional agriculture, accompanied by a low reflection of non-agricultural activities. Potter (2006, p. 195) criticized the escalating interest of politicians in favour of agriculture, which led to the promotion of agricultural fundamentalism within European rural development. McAreavey (2009, p. 22) stated that the second pillar of the CAP is not significantly associated with an effective solution to the socio-economic problems of rural communities. According to Pélucha, Květoň, and Jílková (2013, p. 92), the creation of this policy was basically just a conspiracy of the European Union (EU) towards the public and the World Trade Organization (WTO). The EU tried to find an answer to the question of how to strengthen the argument for maintaining subsidies for the agricultural sector.

The end of the first decade of the new millennium was affected by the economic crisis. Appropriate consequences were reflected in the formulation of the Europe 2020 strategy and the definition of the 'socio-ecological production model' (European Commission, 2009, p. 22). The efforts to strengthen economic growth, according to Porter's hypothesis of environmentally dynamic competitiveness (Porter & Linde, 1995), have become the central themes

for the new concept of economic policies. The main parameters of this hypothesis have been incorporated into the new approaches of the 'fight' against climate change (e.g., European Commission, 2012, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2013). The agricultural sector thus regained its importance as an instrument for more sophisticated forms of environmentally friendly production and support for rural employment. This shift in the paradigm of the rural development policy began to be known as the incoming neo-productivism (Almas, Bjørkhaug, & Rivera-Ferre, 2011; Marsden, 2014). Wilson and Burton (2015) conceptualized this new 'ism' with a focus on agriculture and not on 'rural development'. This is very crucial because the agricultural concept prevailed within EU rural development as a renewed paradigm of the rurally based policy.

The main objective of this paper is to discuss the position of EU rural policy in the context of key drivers of the incoming neo-productivism. The purpose is to continue with the discussion of the Wilson and Burton (2015) view on neo-productivist agriculture. However, this paper emphasizes more the role of rural development policy in these paradigm shifts. The neo-productivism paradigm of rural development has not yet been confronted in the literature. Existing academic debates focus mainly on the discussion of 'neo-productivist agriculture' and agricultural change, with less attention paid to implications for rural development policy-making. Therefore, this paper draws on an in-depth literature review of relevant academic and policy documentation, and provides a synthesis of the existing knowledge about the rural development policy in

contemporary trends (e.g., climate change, green growth or sustainable intensification). The contribution to the policy debate is related to the identification of neo-productivist elements in rural development policy and to the criticism of a weak 'rural' focus in the current EU rural development policy.

The paper is structured as follows. In the next section, further attention is paid to the genesis of problematic agricultural dominance in the single EU rural development policy. In the third section, the critique of the endogenous development by an external context of EU rural policy is assessed. The fourth section introduces key drivers of EU rural development policy in the neo-productivism paradigm. The final discussion focuses on the meaning and necessity of a single rural development policy.

GENESIS OF THE PROBLEMATIC AGRICULTURAL DOMINANCE IN THE SINGLE EUROPEAN UNION RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY – THE CONTEXT OF OLD, BINARY PARADIGMS

The establishing of a separate EU rural development policy was perceived as a comprehensive approach to rural areas in the programming period 2007–13. Generally, rural studies define the genesis of rural development policy as a transition from 'isms' to 'post-isms'. The first view represents the linear concept of a transition from a productivism towards post-productivism with a multifunctional agriculture and rural space (Hermans, Horlings, Beers, & Mommaas, 2010; Marsden, 2003; Marsden & Sonnino, 2008). Marsden (2003, p. 4) assumed a gradual change from an agro-industrial- to a post-productivism-oriented policy during the CAP reforms. This old, binary reflection of 'productivism' versus 'post-productivism', is simplistic and inaccurate for expressing the principal dynamic of the CAP reform (Wilson, 2007, 2010). Therefore, Tilzey and Potter (2008, p. 43) suggested a second view, which is represented by a politico-economic conjuncture. This view is described as a shift from political productivism (Fordism) to neoliberal market productivism (post-Fordism, or more precisely 'embedded' neoliberalism). The shape of the rural development policy was influenced by all these factors. However, less attention is paid to a critical analysis of the processes driving the policy change.

The framework of rural development policy has its roots in regional policy where it was part of various measures for a long period of time (Dwyer et al., 2002; Marshall, 2001). The incorporation of this policy into the CAP from 2007 marks the beginning of the agricultural dominance of the rural development concept. Viktorová and Pélucha (2005, p. 7) pointed out the continuous efforts of EU member states (previously European Economic Community (EEC) and European Community) to find strong political arguments for the defence of high subsidies for the agricultural sector. The McSharry reforms in the 1990s responded to this development. According to Bureau (2002, p. 21), these reforms addressed the stabilization of agricultural production (compared with demand), a change in the

competitive environment and a contribution to a better territorial distribution of the CAP impacts in rural areas.

Lowe, Buller, and Ward (2002) described the above trends as a battle between two alternative ideas concerning further development of the CAP. On the one hand, there was the liberal-market perspective emphasizing the reduction of subsidies in agriculture, and, on the other hand, there was a protectionist view that was justifying the subsidies for sustaining agricultural activity. In both variants, it was obvious that the quantity of agricultural production of supported commodities must be reduced. Maintaining support for agriculture was supposed to represent a 'third way' in the form of the European model of multifunctional agriculture (Shucksmith, Thompson, & Roberts, 2005). In the rural development perspective, this period represents the continuation of the emphasis on the agricultural view in rural development and is referred to as the transition from productivism to post-productivism (Mather, Hill, & Nijnik, 2006). The EU has chosen the agricultural view for the formation of rural policy.

In this context, the criticism of the temporal linearity as a background of this transition is noteworthy. Wilson (2007, p. 44) suggested that such transitions are not necessarily linear, predictable, regular, directional and inevitable. On the contrary, transitions are characterized by alternative pathways where individual components of the transition move along the pathways at different speeds. This represents another view, described by Wilson and Burton (2015, p. 58) as a 'market productivism' (with synonyms of post-Fordism or embedded neoliberalism). Australia and New Zealand are good examples for the distinguishing of this agricultural policy dilemma (see also OECD, 2014a; Zhou, 2013). This dilemma focuses on the support of farming (entrepreneurial view). The achievement of the neoliberal market liberalization measured by the producer support estimate (PSE) is shown in Figure 1. According to the OECD (2015, p. 44), most countries are moving towards less of a distortive policy mix, which is represented by a shift to transfers without any direct link to agricultural production.

At the turn of the millennium, the agricultural perspective of rural policy was highly criticized by a number of authors (e.g., Dessein, Bock, & Krom, 2013; Dicks & Benton, 2014; Johnson, 2001; Marshall, 2001; Pe'er et al., 2014; van der Ploeg et al., 2000). The most significant criticism of the productivist and post-productivist perspectives was introduced by the OECD, which formulated the basic theses of the *new rural paradigm* (OECD, 2006). The main emphasis was placed on endogenous development, the diversity of the rural economy and the importance of the role of non-agricultural actors. Shortall (2008, p. 455) warned that rural development is organized by the EU, which labels participating groups. This approach could lead to overlooking the other social processes that are not covered by EU rural development programmes. Nevertheless, the first decade of the new millennium can reasonably be considered as a period of hope for a new approach to rural development and formulation of ambitious objectives of rural development in its post-productivist form. The basic elements and

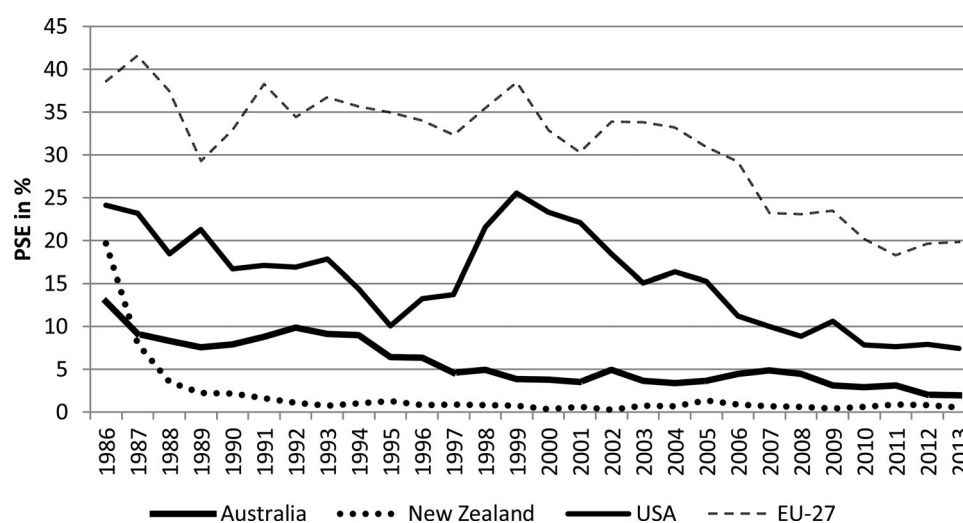


Figure 1. Development of the producer support estimate (PSE) in selected countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (%).

Source: Authors' own elaboration according to OECD (2014b).

assumptions of post-productivism were distinguished by Wilson (2007, p. 99) as five dimensions:

- Agricultural policy (decoupling, new forms of rural governance, greening).
- Ideology (agricultural fundamentalism, agricultural exceptionalism).
- Management of rural areas (agricultural policy that is community widened).
- Food regime and agricultural commodity chains (critique of protectionism, free market liberalization, changing consumer behaviour).
- Agricultural production and farm management techniques (extensification).

The above list of elements construct the post-productivism which reflected the main problems of intensive agriculture. The previous system resulted in overproduction and the subsequent bizarre nature of various 'subsidies for subsidies', and the negative impacts on the environment (Baldwin & Wyplosz, 2008; Caballero, Hober, Dinechin, & McMahon, 2005; Ramniceanu & Ackrill, 2007). In the context of post-productivism, however, the rural development policy was not focused primarily on strengthening sustainable development, but on supporting sustainable agriculture. An unfulfilled ambition of post-productivism was an attempt to find a balance between the support for multifunctional agriculture and stimulation of the local endogenous potential. This has started to be criticized in the context of extra-local factors within a neo-endogenous development (see the next section).

EXTERNAL CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN UNION RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND APPROPRIATE CHALLENGES

The external context of EU rural development policy was more reflected in the policy-making process after the

emergence of the global economic crisis in 2009 and 2010. Hudson (2010) identified that the resilience of rural policy was affected by a deep economic crisis, with a threat of an imminent ecological problems caused by a climate change. Scott (2013, p. 598) described this process as a challenge – to cope with the economic instability and to encourage a transition towards low-carbon rural futures and ecologically sensitive rural economies. Generally, this relation of economic crisis impacts to the policy-making process was known as a socio-ecological production model (European Commission, 2009). The essence of this model lies in promoting elements of a low-carbon economy, green growth and green economy.

One way to face these new challenges was the formulation of the place-based development model, which was first introduced in the Barca Report (Barca, 2009). Appropriate economic policies need to be designed according to general principles on the one side, and to reflect local or micro-regional contexts on the other. The place-based development model was further strengthened in the Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 (EU Committee of the Regions, 2011). In this context, Carayannis, Barth, and Campbell (2012) indirectly criticized the assumptions of the entrepreneurially based 'endogenous development' as the normative ideal of European agri-rural policy. They identified attempts at the political level to incorporate a 'fight' against external threats associated not only with globalization but also with global warming and climate change into the objectives of economic policies. They referred to the external context as a quadruple helix and a quintuple helix of factors, affecting the local and regional development.

The growing importance of external factors also resulted in a gradual redefinition of endogenous development. Generally, rural studies emphasize the diversity, autonomous development and importance of local actors for the formation of rural locality (e.g., Johnson, 2001; Léon, 2005; Lowe et al., 2002). The importance of the external context of (neo-)endogenous development was discussed in detail by Ray (2006, pp. 278–290), who

pointed out factors of extra-local importance. Similarly, High and Nemes (2007) identified the LEADER programme as a hybrid form of the combination of endogenous and exogenous values. Gkartzios and Scott (2013, p. 17) conceptualized new rural development narratives and identified that neo-endogenous development is based on balancing local needs while competing for extra-local resources. They expressed them by inclusive storylines for sustainable rural development. Neo-endogenous development (Figure 2) thus lies in the ability of networking and the use of extra-local factors (see also Atterton, Bryden, & Johnson, 2012; Shucksmith, 2010; Woods, 2011).

The first pillar of the CAP is under the pressure of two extra-local factors. First, superproductivism (Woods, 2011, p. 83), which is caused by the global food crises of post-2007, global population increase, increasing demand for biofuels and the EU interventionist stance to secure food supplies in the light of global market volatility. Second, climate change has become the central theme for the EU's approach to the formulation of agri-rural policy. The result was not the strengthening of the structural (non-agricultural) tools of rural development policy. On the contrary, more emphasis was put again on agricultural measures. The programming period 2014–20 is in the spirit of retreat from the application of a holistic rural development policy. This new era has begun to be gradually classified as the period of neo-productivism for agriculture. Therefore, this represents a paradigm for the agriculturally based second pillar of the CAP (rural development).

KEY DRIVERS OF EUROPEAN UNION RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY WITHIN THE NEO-PRODUCTIVISM PARADIGM

According to the emergence of neo-productivism, it is necessary to distinguish the influence of the economic crisis

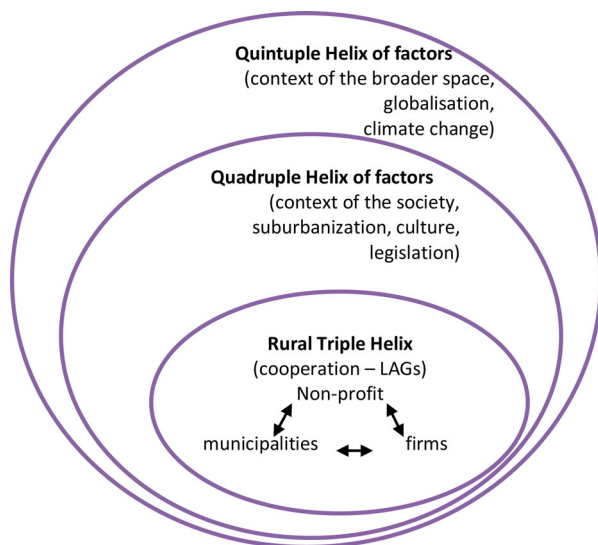


Figure 2. Neo-endogenous development framework as a basis for the formulation of policy instruments for rural development.

Source: Authors' own elaboration with inspiration from Carayannis et al. (2012) and Rizzo (2009).

and environmental challenges related to climate change. The emphasis on economic growth was replaced by a greater reflection of the vulnerability of places to global economic uncertainty (Davoudi, 2012; Hudson, 2010; Scott, 2013). On the other hand, the CAP reflects primarily environmental challenges and global trends and translates it into the adjustment of the agriculture support. The combination of both effects is reflected in the use of the term neo-productivism, which appeared in the literature and in academic discussions from 2011. However, this term was already used by Evans, Morris, and Winter (2002) when criticizing the paradigm of post-productivism. In the opinion of those authors, this was a more sophisticated form of productivism. Nevertheless, in the first decade of the new millennium this term did not succeed and the academic and political circles continued to use the distinction between the productivist and the subsequent post-productivist periods (Marsden, 2003; Mather et al., 2006; Wilson, 2007).

The starting points of neo-productivism were supported by Hermans et al. (2010, p. 50). They formulated the prerequisites for sustainable agriculture in rural development, but without reflecting on non-agricultural activities in rural space. Kitchen and Marsden (2009) described the role of sustainable rural development similarly and formulated the eco-economic paradox of rural development. This paradox 'typifies many peripheral rural areas that both hold potentially high ecological value and show persistently low levels of economic activity and welfare' (Kitchen & Marsden, 2009, p. 274). The potential sources of eco-economic development in rural areas predominantly includes agricultural externalities. These externalities are ensured by stricter rules for farming (cross-compliance system) which is understood by Ilbery (1998, p. 21) as a gradual return of new forms of regulation (reregulation). The eco-economic concept of rural development can be described as a factor affecting the gradual support for more sophisticated farming within neo-productivism. Reregulation means the return of interventionism to 'agricultural' rural development.

Another view of the newly emerging trend of neo-productivist agriculture was provided by Almas et al. (2011) when assessing the role of bio-economy and climate change. Even these authors use the term 'neo-productivism'. The dilemma lies in the connection or separation of the post-productivist concept of farming and the need to ensure the stability of agricultural production which is affected by climate change. Marsden (2014, p. 2) clearly responded to these ambiguities, considering post-productivism as an obsolete period, and provided the following division:

- Industrial-intensive regime (1900–80s).
- 'Post-productivist compromise' (1984–2008).
- Neo-productivism – sustainable intensification through covering the values associated with the bio-economy.

Wilson and Burton (2015) explained all possible views on the neo-productivism paradigm of agriculture. They interpreted the current CAP in two main forms – market

productivism (appropriate for the CAP Pillar I) and neo-productivism (appropriate for the CAP Pillar II). The territorial cohesion within the neo-productivism is seen in the stabilization of the 'agricultural' population in rural areas. The main instrument is a support of the agricultural production through environmentally friendly farming practices. Shortall (2013, p. 265) stressed that social policy objectives of EU rural development policy are related mainly to 'the controversial debate about genetically modified foods (as a means to combat hunger or to compromise food supply), climate change and animal welfare'. Wider social policy goals are reflected, especially in EU Cohesion Policy in 2014–20. This approach can be considered as a step backwards in promoting the (old) new approaches to rural development. The result means the elimination of support for non-agricultural activities in rural policy.

In the practice of the CAP, Wilson (2007, p. 142) described the period of post-productivism as a phase of reducing subsidies to farmers, for the benefit of other rural development actors (especially in the programming period 2007–13). This aspect was also assumed by Ilbery (1998, p. 15), who emphasized the growing importance of non-agricultural actors in rural policy. In reality, however, there was a partial 'U' process model of support and involvement of farmers within the rural development policy. This trend is shown in the simplified illustrative scheme shown in Figure 3. Generally, it shows the background ontology of EU rural development policy that was a part of complex spatio-temporal agricultural pathways. The CAP is a very broad-based policy under the pressure of external and internal factors. Therefore, in this simplified scheme, it is possible to illustrate the role and involvement of farmers and non-farmers in rural policy.

Figure 3 depicts an illustrative visualization of the efforts to reduce the level of farmers' participation in total subsidies in rural policy. This trend was most evident in the programming period 2007–13. In the programming period 2014–20, however, non-agricultural actors in rural development are pushed back into the Cohesion Policy. The programming period 2007–13 can thus be described as the peak of previous attempts at uniform implementation of non-agricultural policy tools (hereinafter referred to as structurally conceived

measures). Total expenditure of EU rural development policy was about €148.5 billion in 2007–13. The agriculture part covered roughly 80% of these expenditures. In the programming period 2014–20,¹ nearly 90% of the total funds of the support (€161 billion) within EU rural development policy is again aimed at farmers, or processors of agricultural commodities. This approach is specified under the auspices of the neo-endogenous development associated with climate change, and food quality and safety.

During December 2015, the EC approved a total of 118 programming documents for rural development in EU member states. Each state could choose from 19 measures (without technical assistance) and dozens of sub-measures. For the purposes of this paper, measures were aggregated into structurally conceived measures and measures related to the concept of neo-productivism, i.e., support of the agricultural sector. In the 118 programming documents, the following were quantified:

- The total allocation for the Rural Development Programme (national and regional).
- Allocation planned for structurally conceived measures (i.e., measures aimed at supporting the development of non-agricultural businesses, start-up businesses and activities of the LEADER).
- Allocation planned primarily to finance the agricultural sector (neo-productivism).
- 'Cross-cutting' measures (i.e., measures promoting the cooperation among small entrepreneurs in organizing joint work processes and the development of tourism and marketing etc.).

The map shown in Figure 4 illustrates the volume of total expenditure on rural development policy in 2014–20 in EU member states. Despite official rhetoric, which promotes rural development support, the situation is contradictory. Financial allocations of the CAP Pillar II are dominant in all countries, again in sectoral measures. At the country level, however, there are noticeable differences. In absolute terms, the biggest potential beneficiaries of this policy are located in France, Germany, Poland and Italy. In the case of allocations on annual work units (AWU), the

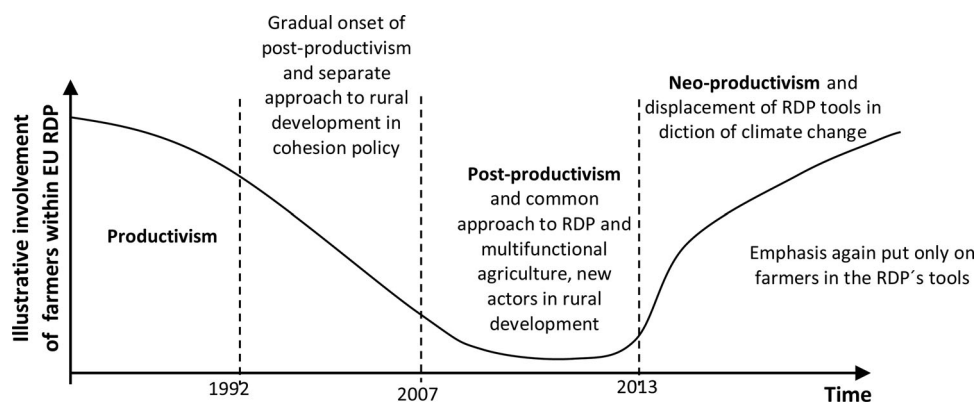


Figure 3. Evolution and changes of key stakeholder involvement within European Union rural development policy (RDP) – simplified illustrative scheme.

Source: Authors' own work.

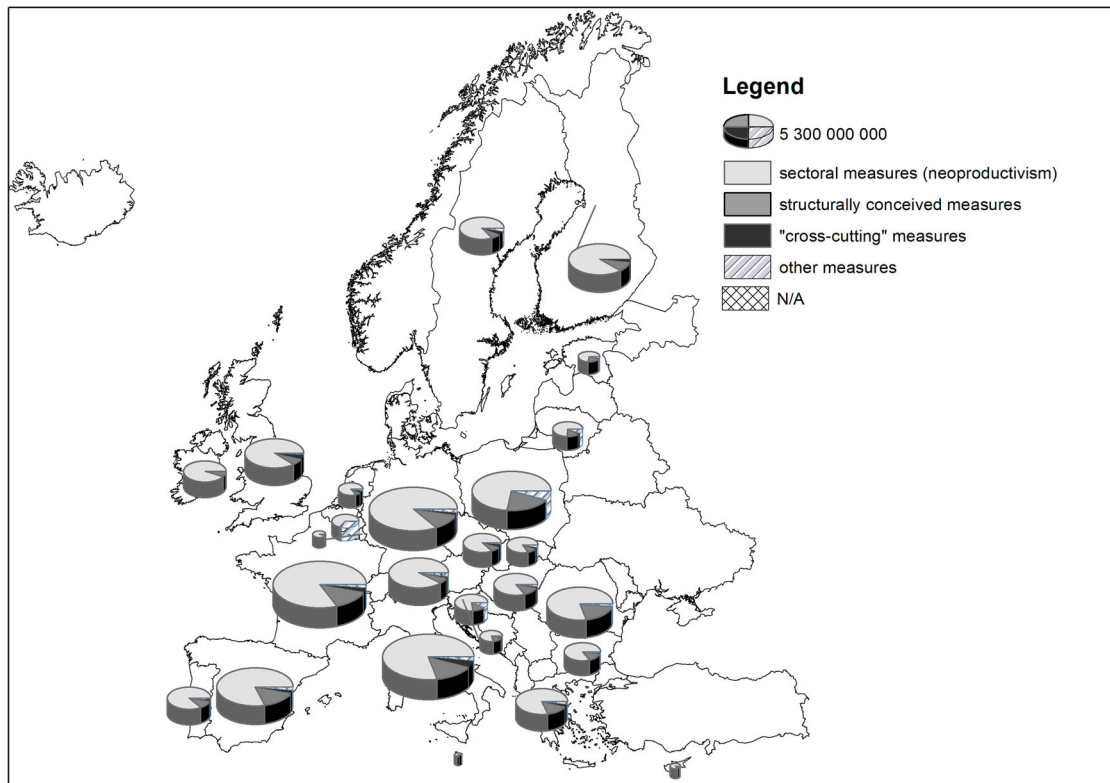


Figure 4. Total allocations of rural development policy and their distribution according to the focus of the measures (amounts in €). Note: In each state the authors summarized planned allocations for measures and sub-measures and then calculated their share in the total allocation for rural development policy in the country. In the cases of Spain, France, Italy and others with more than one programming document, the authors summarized the lowest level at which the document was prepared. Source: Authors' own work based on DG Agri data.

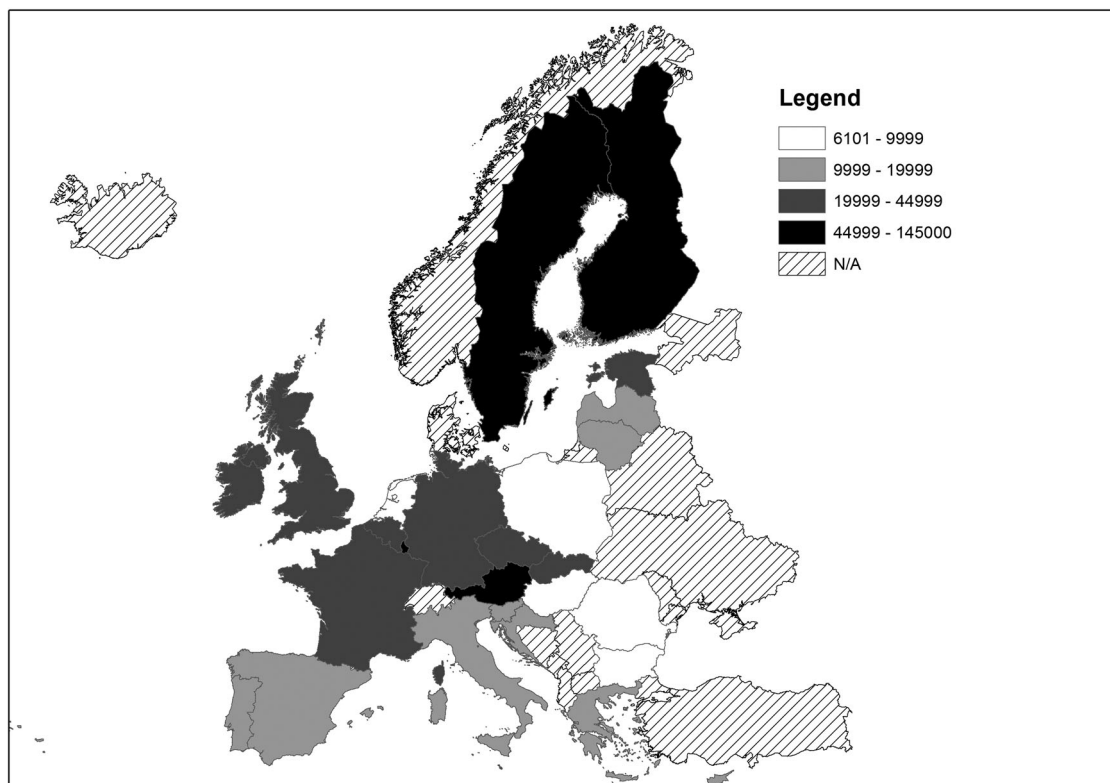


Figure 5. Total allocations of rural development policy and their distribution according to the focus of the measure with a recalculation on annual work units (AWU) (amounts in €). Source: Authors' own work based on DG Agri data.

Table 1. Change in the paradigm of the rural development policy concept in the periods of productivism, post-productivism and incoming neo-productivism.

Characteristic	Productivism	Post-productivism	Neo-productivism
Character of rural areas	Productive agricultural space	Consumption space, commodification of the countryside	Space vulnerable to global economic and ecological uncertainty (rural resilience)
Objectives	Agricultural production and stabilization of the agricultural population (stability of prices and incomes)	Multifunctional agriculture and partly also support for non-agricultural actors in rural areas for wider impacts	Agriculture as the main tool for damping the impacts of climate change, strengthening of green growth as a response to the economic crises of 2009 and 2010, sustainable agriculture support (bio-economy, food safety, organic foods, biofuels)
Economic policy approach	Protectionism and regulation	Deregulation	Reregulation, i.e., repeated regulation
Tools and concepts	Sectoral approach to rural areas (subsidies)	Mix of sectoral tools and structurally conceived tools (claimable payments and investment subsidies)	Locally oriented model of development with an emphasis on environmental payments (claimable payments and subsidies)
Structurally conceived tools for rural development	Dispersed in other economic policies, partly in European Union (EU) structural policy	Concentration of tools within rural development policy (Common Agricultural Policy – CAP, Pillar II)	Return back to European Union structural policy, fragmentation; emphasis on integrated territorial development (urban–rural relations). Solution of geographical exclusion caused by economic crisis
Key actors	European Economic Community (EEC)/EU, national governments, farmers	EU, national governments, farmers and, newly, also municipalities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-agricultural entrepreneurs	EU and farmers (non-agricultural enterprises only to a very limited extent)
Farming methods	Intensification (exploitation of the environment)	Extensification and environmental protection	Sustainable intensification
Approach to development	Optimal level of agricultural production (quantity)	Sustainable development, endogenous development, diversity of rural economy	Sustainable green growth, sustainable farming in the conditions of neo-endogenous development (quadruple and quintuple helix)
Paradigm of rural development	Agriculture as a synonym for rural	Hope for a new approach to rural development	Disillusionment and end of rural development policy – greater emphasis on the maintenance of agricultural and forestry land
Research questions and appropriate challenges	How to ensure self-sufficiency of European countries in food production?	How to solve the negative impacts of intensive farming while boosting the attractiveness of rural areas?	What is the role of rural areas in the territorial development in the 21st century? To what extent can there be a policy of ‘rural development’ which dominantly supports agriculture?

Source: Authors' own elaboration of the neo-productivism column; other columns: authors' own adjustment and processing with inspiration from Almas et al. (2011); Blakely and Leigh (2010, p. 94); Gkartzios and Scott (2013, p. 20); Ilbery (1998, p. 21); Marsden (2003, p. 4); Marsden (2014, pp. 3–6); OECD (2006, p. 60); Scott (2013, p. 599); Wilson (2007); and Woods (2011, p. 94).

maximum impact of the funding shall be in Finland, Sweden, Austria and Estonia (Figure 5). With regard to the lower number of workers in agriculture and the projected amount of funds in these countries, a higher concentration of financial allocations and potentially higher benefits can be expected. The spatial expression of monitored indicators also identifies a high proportion of structurally conceived measures in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe, unlike the traditional countries of Western Europe.

Table 1 summarizes and compares the main elements of the incoming neo-productivism and should promote an academic discussion on the purpose of EU rural development policy and its regulation. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first version of such a comparison, which has never before been undertaken to this extent with respect to EU rural development policy.

DISCUSSION: DO WE NEED A RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY?

In the context of the renewed emphasis on the agricultural sector in EU rural development policy, one can ask a provocative normative question about whether we need a single rural development policy. The approach applied by the EU for the programming period 2014–20 basically suggested that the EU needs a policy for the maintenance of agricultural land, in the form of extensive and ecological farming. The current regulation of EU policies suggests that we do not need a separate rural development policy, in the broader sense.

In fact, the EU decided to repeal this policy with broader socio-economic tools and incorporate it into the 'integrated territorial development' as a component. The problem, however, remains when it comes to the used terminology of the CAP Pillar II. This pillar is still called the 'rural development policy', whereby emphasis is placed on the environmental aspect of agricultural development through more sophisticated forms of agricultural production. This was all in the terminology of the incoming neo-productivism. A number of the rural development policy tools in the agricultural focus do not represent territorially specific support. The philosophy of the rural development policy in the programming period of 2014–20 is to support farmers as landscape managers. Less attention is paid to promotion of their rural entrepreneurial ability to perform their farming without any subsidies over the long-term. This is a problem of the whole CAP.

CONCLUSIONS

Within neo-productivism, EU rural development policy significantly degrades back to the dominant support for agriculture. This is perceived as a tool with the potential to 'fight' against climate change in policy-making. However, the need to analyse the spatial impacts of sectoral policies concerning rural areas still remains. The main challenge for further research in the field of rural development policy and rural studies is the overall terminological concept and contextual definition of the tools used. In the programming period 2014–20, EU rural development

policy is not a 'development' policy and it does not affect all 'rural areas' in their spatial concept. The emphasis is placed on sectoral agricultural tools. Therefore, any assessment of the relation of agricultural 'rural' tools with respect to territorial cohesion objectives does not make sense. The context of neo-productivism within EU rural development policy, as previously discussed, demonstrates that it is a certain movement in an enclosed spiral, which is used to search for reasons to extend the period of further subsidies in agriculture.

In the context of the integrated territorial development, it will be necessary to define and clarify approaches of evaluation. The transfer of structural tools from rural development policy to Cohesion Policy in the programming period 2014–20 raises the need for the evaluation of territorial impacts of other sectoral policies on rural areas. There can be an assumption that this could be a more efficient form of support for rural development. The impacts of sectoral operational programmes/policies would be evaluated with respect to a division of urban and rural areas (see also Crescenzi, Filippis, & Pierangeli, 2015). For this, it would be necessary to ensure adequate availability of data (local and regional) and to change the current low level of data sharing within public administration. However, the programming period 2014–20 is not set up and ready in this way.

Therefore, we can suggest some future policy implications for the next programming period 2021–27. Development of rural areas is (and probably will be) significantly channelled through interventions and traditional tools of European Structural and Investment (ESI) funds – European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF), Cohesion Fund – more than through rural development policy (European Parliament and Council, 2013). This trend is likely to continue and, therefore, it will be necessary to emphasize the regional dimension of traditional sectoral operational programmes that have significant regional impacts. For this reason, it will be necessary to monitor regional, territorial and socio-economic impacts of sectoral operational programmes of ESI funds in 2014–20. Hence, we can ask whether it will be necessary to evaluate an integrated territorial development approach in the EU's neo-productivist rural development policy. In the long-term, there will be efforts to rationalize public expenditure programmes, to limit funding for the CAP as a whole, and to look for methods of comprehensive support for complex territorial development and increasing competitiveness of EU member states.

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NOTE

1. The regulation of the European Parliament and Council No. 1305/2013 for the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development clarifies the specific goals and priorities for 2014–20 (European Parliament and Council, 2013). However, issues that are closely related to the Europe 2020 strategy, i.e., climate change, risk management in agriculture, low-carbon economy, social inclusion and poverty reduction, are newly emphasized. Of the six priorities, only the last is directly linked to the structural concept of rural development. All other priorities are closely linked to the support for agriculture and forestry. In the programming period 2014–20, rural development has again become an agricultural domain.

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