

# THE FUTURE OF SPANISH SMALL FARMS: ORGANIC FARMING AND POLICY CHANGE

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## **Introduction**

Agriculture in any society is important because it provides one essential for survival: food. In Spain, agriculture accounts for 3.6 percent of the country's GDP, more than double the EU-15 average of 1.8 percent. ("Agriculture and Food..."; "The Common...", 2002, p. 2) It also employs 7.1 percent of Spain's labor force, one-and-one-half times the EU-15 average of 4.5 percent. ("Agricultural Labour...", p. 32; "The Common...", 2002, p. 2)

Spain's 1.2 million agricultural holdings produce a wide variety of products, a result of the favorable climate and landscape of the Mediterranean country. Spain contributes 12.1 percent of the entire EU agricultural production, mainly olive oil, citrus fruits, meats, and vegetables. ("Agricultural Areas...", p. 38)

Amidst the apparent liveliness of Spanish agriculture, small farms are struggling to survive. Yet small farms contribute greatly to rural

communities by providing jobs, and farmers spend money at local businesses and actively participate in local organizations. In the current agro-industrial environment, small farms have been a source of diverse, quality products produced from healthy land and animals.

Spain's small farms continue to disappear due in part to inconsistency and lack of coordination in Spanish governmental organizations in charge of agriculture. Declining rural population, diminished community life, fewer quality products, and lack of attention to the environment accompany the demise.

In this article I first discuss the importance of agriculture in Spain and the role of small farms in the agriculture industry. I examine Spain's role in the changing goals of the EU Common Agriculture Policy. I then identify the valuable aspects of small-scale agriculture and their effects on Spanish society. I offer the solution of organic agriculture as a method to preserve small farms, and analyze the obstacles

which Spain must overcome in order to expand the organic market to achieve this goal.

## Basic Facts on Agriculture in Spain

Agriculture uses 54 percent of the total land area of Spain, held in 1.2 million individual holdings, the second largest number of holdings of the EU-15. (“Agriculture in Europe...”; “Farm Structures (V),” p. 24) The country enjoys a varied climate and varied soil conditions due to its location in the northern Mediterranean region. This variety allows for diverse agricultural production methods and products. The major agricultural products are meats (34.6 percent of dollar value production), vegetables (18.1 percent), cereals (10.3 percent), olive oil (5.6 percent), and wine (3.1 percent). (“Evolución Macromagnitudes...”) Spain is second only to Italy in EU-15 fruit and vegetable production and is the world’s largest exporter of olive oil. (“The Olive Oil Sector...,” p. 5)

Small farms are a significant segment of Spanish agriculture. The average size of agricultural holdings is only 23.6 hectares<sup>1</sup>, and only 4 percent of all holdings are greater than 100 hectares. Eighty-five percent of agricultural labor is done by family members, an indicator of the pervasiveness of small farms. (“Farm Structures (V),” p. 26)

## The EU Common Agriculture Policy

Before discussing at greater length the role of small farms in Spain, it is important to understand the context of EU agriculture of which Spain is a part. The body of legislation overseeing all EU agriculture is known as the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP). This set of rules came into existence with the Treaty of Rome in 1957, a time of post-war uncertainty, declining agricultural production, and lack of food security for consumers. The CAP was a plan to stabilize markets, assure supplies, guarantee farmers a living income, and ensure sufficient production levels at reasonable consumer prices. (Ingham and Ingham, p. 112) In order to achieve these goals, combinations of

import tariffs, export subsidies, fixed market prices, and commodity regulation were used as sector support. Throughout the 1960s, ’70s, and ’80s, the CAP focused on increasing the size of farms, improving farm management, and introducing new technology in agriculture; as a result, the CAP was successful in increasing production levels.

During this same time, Spain was undergoing an economic transformation to an industrial society. Although Spain was not an EU member until 1986, its scale of agriculture was affected by the focus of the CAP on increasing farm size and the large migration of workers to the industrializing cities. By 1982, just over half of Spain’s agricultural land was held in farms of more than 200 hectares. (“Country Studies...”)

However, the great success of the initial CAP goals began to cause problems. By the 1980s, production levels under the CAP were high enough to cause permanent surpluses, which were exported, stored or disposed of — all costly options for the EU budget and responsible for distortions in foreign markets. (Ingham and Ingham, p. 112) Due to these problems, a series of reforms were enacted. The first set of reforms appeared in 1992 as the MacSharry Reforms, the second set as Agenda 2000, and the third set as Review 2003.

Prior to the reforms, farmers had received aid based on their production level; the more production, the more aid. All three sets of reforms reduced the amount of production-based aid to farmers, basing the amount of aid instead on the number of hectares. By this criterion, the fixed amount of money farmers receive is determined by the amount of land they cultivate. The intended effect is to limit excess production and surpluses. Additionally, the three reforms reflected recognition of the adverse impact that large farms have on rural areas, the environment, product quality, and production techniques. Previous CAP strategies had encouraged large, intensive farming without regard to rural community decline and environmental degradation. Each set of reforms was therefore an attempt to fix those problems by providing more incentives that would encourage rural development, environmentally friendly production methods, and high qual-

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<sup>1</sup>One hectare is 2.47 acres.

ity products. (“The Common...,” 2004, p. 2)

As of 2004, the CAP was the single largest expense in the EU budget, at 45 percent (€43 billion) of the total budget. (“EU Agriculture Budget”) Of this, Spain receives the second largest amount of aid in the EU-15, behind France. (“EU Financial...,” p. 94) The CAP spending occurs in two main categories: direct aid to farmers based on number of hectares, and non-direct aid to member-states at the federal level for a variety of programs. The CAP aid to Spain is paid mostly (81 percent) in the form of direct aid to producers. (“EU Financial...,” p. 92) Under Review 2003, farmers receive direct aid payments only if they meet specific standards on environment, food safety, and animal welfare. For the non-direct aid payments, member-states can choose to opt in for aid from a list of programs aimed to help their agricultural areas. The list includes environment, processing and marketing, human resources, animal welfare, less favored areas, rural adaptation, food quality, and meeting standards. (“The Common...,” 2004, pp. 8–9)

### Importance of Small Farms to Spain

A small farm can be defined in a number of ways. Most sources define it either monetarily on the basis of gross sales or in terms of production, as in land area or head of livestock. No distinction for methods of production or type of produce is made in the definition. In this article, a small farm will be considered as one that has a small physical “footprint” (approximately 80 hectares or less), a small financial “footprint” (approximately €200,000 or less), where the owner/operator provides approximately half of the labor, and farm income is at least 50 percent of the total family income.<sup>2</sup> Most small farms conforming to these criteria have an owner who is active in everyday operations, who hires a very small number of employees (if any at all), and who considers the farm his livelihood.

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<sup>2</sup>These limits are not to be regarded as hard-and-fast criteria for a farm to be considered a “small farm,” but rather enable the reader to have a general sense of what constitutes an average small farm. Each type of agriculture requires different amounts of resources, which makes defining boundary values of such resources somewhat arbitrary.

Many stakeholders throughout the world have begun to realize that small farms are important members of the agriculture industry and society as a whole. A small farm takes into account aspects of production often overlooked by large agro-industrial operations. The small farmer considers the farm his way of living, not solely a source of business income, and he respects the animals, land, community, and environment which are the future of his livelihood. These aspects of farming are difficult to quantify, but a study by the University of Essex in the United Kingdom suggested that in 1996 the hidden cost of agriculture to society was £208 (€260) per hectare. This figure was based on environmental and health costs from problems more prevalent in large farms, such as contaminated drinking water from pesticides, emissions of gasses, and Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (Mad Cow Disease). (Pretty et al., p. 113)

Unlike the United States and United Kingdom which both support many organizations focused on the preservation of small farms, Spain has very few such organizations and very limited information regarding small farms. But the research on the benefits of small agriculture in the United States and other European countries has been widely accepted and may also be applied to Spain. I briefly discuss these benefits below.

1. *A Healthy Environment.* Small farmers act as stewards of the environment and protectors of natural resources as a result of their extensive management-based operation.<sup>3</sup> (“A Time to Act,” p. 13) They tend to utilize and reuse resources instead of spending capital to consume non-renewable resources. As part of attentive land management, small farms have nearly doubled the amount of land under such soil improvement mechanisms as green manures, compared to large farms. (“Local Control...,” p. 3)
2. *Strong Rural Communities.* Reports have shown that the owners of small

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<sup>3</sup>The term “extensive management-based operation” implies the opposite of an “intensive capital-based operation,” where the former relates primarily to small-scale agriculture and the latter to large-scale agriculture.

farms contribute heavily to the local rural area community and economy. A 1993 study in Minnesota by Chism and Levins found that local expenditures by small producers were twice as large as that of large producers. ("The Effects of ...") A 1997 study in Iowa found that small producers purchased 49.1 percent of their supplies within 10 miles of their farms; for large producers, on the other hand, the figure was only 27.6 percent. ("The Effects of ...") Since small farmers are rarely absent from their operations as the farm is their home, they also contribute to churches, organizations and schools in the local area.

3. *Animal Welfare.* Owners of small farms typically attend closely to each animal so as to be aware of potential problems. While all farmers value their capital, small farmers tend to value the animals also as an essential part of their lifestyle. Aspects of living space, natural nutrition, and comfort for the animal are also important to the small farmer.
4. *Product Quality.* The quality of agricultural products is determined by such factors as taste, color, flavor, freshness, and nutrition. These are a function of good soil, seed variety, time of picking, animal welfare, and myriad other factors. Small farmers excel at product quality because of their care of the soil and nutrients, attention to the animals, and method of sales. While large farms tend to harvest crops early and artificially ripen produce during transport to market, small farmers are much closer to market and do not sacrifice quality for transportation time. (Planck, p. 7)
5. *Family and Values.* A small farm has a significant positive impact on the owner's family and its values. While this impact is nearly impossible to quantify, it is widely accepted that a small family farm instills values of hard work, dedication, and responsibility in children, and provides an

atmosphere of close ties among family members. ("A Time to Act," p. 8)

6. *Economies of Scale.* Economists have long considered small farms as operations subject to economies of scale,<sup>4</sup> indicating that small farms should fail when large farms develop. However, there are many recent studies showing that small farms may actually operate under diseconomies of scale, meaning they might operate *more* efficiently than large farms. The Institute for Food and Developmental Policy claims that output per acre on small, carefully managed farms can be up to 1,000 percent higher than on large farms. ("Local Control...," p. 1) It should be noted that this statistic is strongly at odds with the usual economy-of-scale arguments.<sup>5</sup>

## The Decline of Small Farms in Spain

Small farms have been on the decline in Spain in holding size, employment levels, and profitability over the past 40 years. This has been due in large part to rapid industrialization after Franco's regime. Farmers were unable to make a living as a result of modernization struggles, such as limited access to technology, inability to retain hired labor, and difficulty in market distribution. Since 1960, there has been a significant migration into cities, especially from small towns in rural areas. In towns with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, population has decreased 47.1 percent. ("Demografía y Población...," p. 48) This migration coincided with a 40.5 percent decrease in the number of

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<sup>4</sup>Economies of scale refer to a situation where efficiency in production is increased as the number of goods being produced increases. A decrease in average cost usually accompanies the size increase. Diseconomies of scale occur when an increase in size produces a decrease in efficiency and an increase in cost.

<sup>5</sup>The argument regarding economies of scale arises from a disagreement on what variables are measured when determining costs and efficiency. Most diseconomies of scale data regard so-called "hidden costs" of environmental damage, rural decline, and food quality as costs seen less in small farms. For further reading on this matter, a good start is Peter M. Rosset's "The Multiple Functions and Benefits of Small Farm Agriculture."

total agricultural holdings over the same period. ("Farm Structures (V)," p. 25)

The decline in farms has continued as Spain has entered a new phase of economic development. Between 1989 and 1999, there was a decrease of 21.7 percent in overall holdings. ("Farm Structures (V)," p. 25) However, land area under agricultural use has decreased only 1.7 percent in the same time period. This discrepancy is explained mostly by the 25 percent increase in the average holding size of the typical farmer, from 18.8 hectares to 23.6 hectares. ("Farm Structures (V)," p. 26)

Agricultural employment levels have also declined, due in part to technological advances and in part to the disappearance of farming operations. In 1970, 29.5 percent of Spain's labor force was employed in agricultural occupations, but by 2000 the figure was only 7.1 percent. ("Agricultural Labour...," p. 32)

One major reason for the disappearance of small farms is their low profitability. In Spain, 35.4 percent of all holdings produce a gross margin<sup>6</sup> of less than €2400 annually. ("Farm Structures (V)," p. 27) An additional 43.6 percent operate with a gross margin between €2,400 and €14,400 annually. ("Farm Structures (V)," p. 27) Spain's farms are less profitable than other EU-15 member-states, with the average Spanish gross margin being two-thirds less than the EU-15 average. ("Special Reports," p. 73) It is apparent that without help to maintain small farms, many will perish due to losses or will be abandoned when the farmer retires or dies.

### **Preserving Small Farms in Spain via Organic Farming**

One path Spain might take to preserve its small farms is to facilitate their conversion into organic operations. Organic agriculture is an ecological-management approach to food production which excludes the use of artificial inputs such as fertilizer, herbicides and pesticides. This is done as an attempt to preserve the

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<sup>6</sup>Gross margin is the difference between the monetary value of gross production and the value of certain direct costs inherent in this production. ("Farm Structures (V)," p. 28)

environment, maintain and improve soil fertility, and produce food with natural elements. Organic farming creates a sustainable agro-ecosystem, much like the way small farms already operate.

Conversion to organic agriculture is a realistic option as the demand for organic food has been growing throughout Europe over the past 30 years, including a significant recent growth in Spain. In 1997, Spain's organic produce sales were approximately €38 million; by 2003 they were approximately €125 million. (Joensen, p. 52) Recognizing the substantial expansion of the organic sector, the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Fish, and Forestry developed a Plan Estratégico para la Producción Ecológica, or Strategic Plan for Organic Agriculture, in January 2004 for the period 2004–06. The plan addressed many of the major issues in making widespread organic farming a reality in Spain, such as expanding production, educating consumers, and coordinating the mechanisms of control. It addressed these issues with broad actions, such as encouraging the "interchange of information between authorities and control organizations"<sup>7</sup>, but does not indicate who will be carrying out the actions or how they will be accomplished. The plan is an admirable start for reorganizing and expanding the organic agriculture industry, but the goals certainly have not yet been achieved. Much remains to be done in order to overcome obstacles preventing success of market expansion.

### **Current Status of Spanish Organic Farming**

*Agricultura ecológica*, or organic agriculture, was first seen in Spain in the 1970s when a guaranteed foreign market propelled its beginning in the rice industry. (Picazos and Parra, p. 264) Despite the early start and the favorable climate and varied ecosystems encouraging organic success, until recently growth has been slower than in other EU countries.

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<sup>7</sup>Translated from the Spanish by the author from the Plan Estratégico para la Producción Ecológica.

Between 1991 and 2002, the area under organic production grew from 4,235 hectares to 665,055 hectares. The number of producers increased from 346 to 16,521, and the number of processors grew from 50 to 1,204. (“Organic Farming (XVI),” p. 75) The commercial production value for 2003 was estimated at €235.65 million. (“Estadísticas 2003...,” p. 4) Spain has the fourth largest total acreage of land under organic production in the EU, but this represents only a small portion of its total agricultural land, about 1.7 percent, eleventh among the EU-15. (Weseen, p. 7) The average size of an organic landholding in Spain is 39 hectares, which is significantly larger than the national average landholding size of 23.6 hectares. (“Farm Structures (V),” p. 26) This indicates that the smallest farms in Spain have not been the present focus for conversion to organic production, although they should be. While organic production is feasible on large farms, it is most easily and efficiently done in small, management-based operations. The conversion from small farms to organic operations is a less difficult transition than from larger farms due to the similarity between small farms and organic farms in the priority given to maintaining the environment, land, and animals.

The Spanish currently produce more organic products than they consume, though this is slowly changing. While consumer demand is increasing and consumer behavior indicates that the market is shifting in support of organic agriculture, Spain appears to face four main obstacles to the success of the market’s expansion.

- Inconsistency in governmental policies and coordination of authority
- Insufficient consumer and producer awareness and education
- Lack of consistent support for training and conversion
- Price premium at market

I discuss each of these obstacles in the sections below.

### **Organic Agriculture Policies and Authority**

Existing government organizations and policies appear to be the first stumbling block in expanding the organic market. Like other EU

member-states, in 1993 Spain adopted EU 2092/91, the regulation containing rules about production, processing, marketing and trading of organic goods. It also adopted EU 2092/92, which included additional specifics on regulation and certification of organic production on the member-state level. These two laws replaced Spain’s own set of laws on organic agriculture which were established in 1989. With this adoption, the original 1989 national authority for the organic sector, the Comisión Reguladora de la Agricultura Ecológica (CRAE), became a national advisory board, and all regulatory power was split into 17 autonomous regional organizations. Despite the apparent straightforwardness of adopting the EU regulations, it appears that the Spanish government has not fully agreed on the guidelines established in EU 2092/91 and 2092/92. Spain passed a law erasing the restricted use of the words *biológico* and *orgánico*, the uses of which were protected under EU 2092/91. (Joensen, p. 10)

Currently, organic agriculture is regulated via the 17 autonomous regional organizations. Each has its own set of policies to supplement the EU regulation framework. The regional organizations ensure that production and processing follow organic methods, and they certify producers, inspect sites, aid in training of farmers, and support product distribution, among other things. They also meet periodically with the federal CRAE advisory board for coordination of ideas. (Picazos and Parra, p. 269)

This diffused authority of the government into the autonomous regions causes each region to provide differing levels of support for organic agriculture. For example, the region of Extremadura has implemented a training program for farmers to learn the basics of organic production; Andalucía and Castilla La-Mancha have drafted regional action plans; and Andalucía has organized local organic fairs in Córdoba and Sevilla. Some autonomous regions did not offer any support until 1997, while others offered aid in 1994 for things such as organic certification and conversion. In Galicia, which is known for its small holdings, the regional organization offers no support to its farmers for organic conversion, even though its small farms are potentially some of the easiest

to convert. (Picazos and Parra, p. 269) Statistics on certification and aid further indicate that farmers in different autonomous regions are receiving uneven levels of support from their respective regional governments. This hinders the widespread expansion of organic agriculture.

### **Consumer and Producer Awareness and Education**

Though the trend in consumer demand is shifting toward organic products in Spain, its growth has been somewhat slow compared to that of other European countries. Between 1998 and 2000, the United Kingdom's organic land area increased by 144 percent, Italy's increased by 80 percent, and Belgium's by 76 percent; in Spain organic land area increased by only 37 percent. (Duchateau, p. 2) This is likely due to a lack of awareness and education on the part of both producers and consumers. Numerous consumer awareness studies indicate that consumers in Spain remain largely unaware of organic products. Only 43 percent of Spanish consumers surveyed even knew that organic products exist, and only 4 percent knew the meaning of the organic label. (Joensen, pp. 15, 34)

Labeling problems have contributed to consumer confusion. An organic label verifies that the product was produced according to organic methods, and states the place of origin and the certifying body. An example of an organic label from the region of Murcia is shown below.

At present, each autonomous region has a slightly different label, all private organizations have different labels, and any imported goods

have yet other labels. Additionally, products may also have the EU label. This range of labels is confusing for both producers and consumers, who may not understand what the labels signify and what the differences are between products with different labels. (Joensen, p. 14)

For producers, awareness of and education about organic production means learning, for example, how to convert their operations, how to sell organic products, how to become certified, and what inspections involve. The education offered by the regional authorities is usually insufficient, so private organizations provide the bulk of producer education. Asociación de Vida Sana, or Healthy Life Association, which began in 1974, is the largest provider of consumer and producer education. (Picazos and Parra, p. 270) It is recognized by the Spanish government but given no financial support. Other organizations for education and training exist, such as Sociedad Española de Agricultura Ecológica (SEAE) and Asociación de Agricultura Biodinámica de España, but all are limited by lack of support and resources.

### **Lack of Aid for Training and Conversion**

The third major obstacle to the expansion of organic farming is the limited funds for farmers to help achieve the transition to organic farming. While the transition may seem easy, farmers must first understand how they will benefit from making the commitment. Initially, farmers may be reluctant to change to organic farming as there will likely be a decrease in product yields when switching away from the use of pesticides and herbicides; also more labor will likely be required. Financial help is neces-

**Figure 1**  
**Label for an Organic Food Product Certified in the Region of Murcia.**



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

sary to alleviate the burden of these conversion costs. Once conversion is achieved, the farmer has the opportunity for better market access and greater profit.

Though limited funding may seem an ever-present problem, here it is more likely due to Spain not utilizing the non-direct aid options offered by the CAP, which were explained previously. In 2001, organic producers received a fixed payment per year, amounting to an average of €350, which is lower than that allocated to most other EU member-state farmers. (González) Other EU member-states are more vigilant in securing aid through the non-direct options in the CAP. Though the amount of aid per farmer is difficult to compare across countries, in France, for example, farms can receive up to €75,770 over five years. (Reynaud)

This failure to secure non-direct CAP aid, leading to smaller payments to organic farmers, is likely due to the 17 Spanish autonomous regional organizations with authority on organic matters not having an effective link to the CAP resources. The federal government links Spain to the CAP; but due to the diffused Spanish organic authority, communication regarding funding needs between the regional organizations and the federal government seems to be lacking. Coordinating the goals of the reformed CAP to Spain's national objectives should be a first step, and then coordinating those with regional objectives would help in securing funding via the CAP for organic farming programs. The Extensification Program and the Agri-Environment Program are two options offered by the CAP for member-states to receive aid for organic farming. (Weseen, p. 13) Other forms of non-direct aid that would be helpful in expanding the organic sector are for processing development and producer certification, both offered via CAP opt-in programs explained previously. Once Spain secures more funding, better coordination and communication between the federal government and the regional organizations will permit effective distribution of aid to farmers.

### **The Price Premium at Market**

The last obstacle to expanding the Spanish organic market is the exorbitant price premi-

um on organic food products sold to consumers. Sales of organic products in Spain are approximately 0.2 percent of total food sales, a fraction compared to Germany where sales are 2 percent of total food sales. (Joensen, p. 11)

Prices for organic products in Spain range from 10 to 200 percent higher than for non-organic products, depending on the sales outlet and product type. (Joensen, p. 12) This is the result of two major factors: limited organic processing capability and the types of outlets for organic product sales, which I explain below.

Organic processing capabilities are necessary to resolve an imbalance between the production level and amount of sales of organic goods in Spain. Approximately 80 percent of organic production in Spain is intended for export, mainly to Germany, and 50 percent of organic produce sold is imported. (Joensen, pp. 11, 44) The missing link between production and sales is processing capability. As of 2004, the majority of organic processing facilities were only for pre-processing before export, not for final processing for sale to consumers. (Picazos and Parra, p. 268) Developing conventional processing capabilities for the domestic market of organic goods can ensure a lower price for sale by eliminating a costly middle step.

The other factor contributing to the price premium is the type of outlet for organic product sales. The only major outlets are large health food shops, which hold 85 percent of the organic market share. (Joensen, p. 17) This limits the consumer base to only those who shop in health food stores. The remaining 15 percent of the market share results from sales directly from producer to consumer (5 percent) and from supermarkets and hypermarkets<sup>8</sup> (10 percent). The small number of organic products that supermarkets carry is a response to consumer demand, and items are only carried when they have a very rapid turnover. Spaniards buy nearly half of their fresh food from frequent stops at traditional small shops, but this preference is declining in favor of supermarkets that hold the most potential for growth. Of total grocery retail sales in 2001, 42.2 percent

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<sup>8</sup>A hypermarket is a large retail facility which combines a supermarket and a department store under one roof.

were at supermarkets. (Deschamps and Weisenburger) If the sale of organic goods can expand into the fast-growing supermarkets, more consumers will be likely to purchase them due to visibility, availability, and convenience. Greater sales will in turn lead to lower long-run market prices.

One opportunity for the autonomous regional governments to become involved in improving market access for both farmers and consumers is to set up a farmers' market system. The market set up in London is an excellent example. It is accepted as a "traditional" market when located among local shops, because it operates regularly and frequently, and carries most products that consumers would usually buy at a supermarket. The London Farmers' Market (LFM) operates as a private organization with ten weekly markets and offers products from more than 100 producers all within 100 miles of the city. (Planck, p. 6) The LFM sets up locations and publicizes the markets, consumers attend for the quality and value of the produce, and producers pay the LFM a portion of their sales. A farmers' market system is a step toward expanding the organic

market that autonomous regions could easily help accomplish. When Spain can set up a sufficient domestic market and guarantee outlets for organic products, it will have an easier time converting small farms to organic production.

## Conclusion

Spain has great potential for expansion of its organic market, a market which can offer an opportunity to struggling small farmers and help meet consumer demand for healthy food products. For this potential to become reality, Spain must coordinate government policies with autonomous regional organizations to become more unified in focus and concentrate on the reformed CAP goals to secure more funding and support. It must also develop consumer awareness of the benefits of small-scale agriculture and organic products, provide for small farm conversion to organic production, and take steps to reduce the market price premium. By achieving these measures, Spain can take a big step toward preserving successful rural communities, maintaining a healthy environment, and ensuring quality foods.

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