



Multifunctional

- the case of Norway

agriculture



LANDBRUKSDEPARTEMENTET

Ministry of Agriculture

Area distribution of Norway



Norway - composition of different land types.

Land type	% of total land area
Mountains	48
Productive forest	22
Unproductive forest	15
Bogs and wetland	6
Lakes, glaciers	5
Agricultural land	3
Urban land	1

Multifunctionality and the specificity of agriculture



Agricultural products are unique and most essential commodities in every society.
(Samfoto/Øystein Sørbye)



(Opplysningskontoret for kjøtt)

Agricultural products are unique and most essential commodities in every society. Beyond its primary role of producing food and fibre agriculture also contributes to the viability of rural areas, food security, the cultural heritage and environmental benefits such as the agricultural landscape, agro-biological diversity, land conservation and high standards of plant, animal and public health. These additional functions of the multifunctional agriculture are often referred to as non-trade concerns (NTCs) in the World Trade Organization (WTO). Most NTCs are unique to agriculture and have public goods characteristics that may justify government intervention. Moreover, most of these public goods cannot be disassociated from the agricultural production activity itself, as they are provided *jointly* with, and therefore depend on, ongoing agricultural production. Further, agricultural production is biological and site-specific. All these special and multifunctional characteristics of the agricultural sector need to be recognised and call for continued special treatment of the agricultural sector within the multilateral trading system.

The issue of jointness

Taking account of NTCs, including food security and the need to protect the environment, is an integral part of the Uruguay Round (UR) outcome and the mandate for continuing the reform process. During the UR Norway stressed the importance of NTCs as vital elements of the overall reform process. While different countries are giving different weights and priorities to individual NTCs in a multifunctional agriculture, their safeguarding is a legitimate key priority in both developing and developed countries.

Most of the public goods cannot be dissociated from the agricultural production activity in itself, as they are provided jointly with, and therefore depend on, ongoing agricultural production. (Samfoto/Jon Arne Sæter)

Three conclusions can be drawn with regard to NTCs, conclusions that have important implications for the continuation of the reform process.



First, NTCs are often unique or specific to agriculture. Most of the actual NTCs safeguarded by agriculture cannot be provided by other sectors. Of the various NTCs listed by WTO Members, the viability of rural areas is probably among the few in which sectors other than agriculture can play, and are playing, an important role. However, in remote regions of many developed countries or in the case of developing countries with predominantly agrarian economies, agriculture's contribution to rural employment and economic and social viability is fundamental.

Second, NTCs often have public goods characteristics. While private goods can be exchanged in a market, NTCs often have public goods characteristics for which, by definition, functioning markets are lacking. Furthermore, the scope for market creation seems to be limited. While market creation is possible in certain cases, government intervention may be justified in order to correct the underprovisioning of NTCs with public good characteristics and to internalise externalities.

Third, most NTCs can only be safeguarded jointly with agricultural production. Most NTCs cannot be disassociated from agricultural production. This joint production relationship is complex and may relate to certain types of input use, farming practices or technologies, to agricultural output, or to a combination of all these elements. For instance, as part of a country's policy to ensure long-term food security, a certain degree of domestic food production may, in addition to other factors such as stable access to world markets and stockholding, be judged as essential. Therefore, continued and sustained safeguarding of NTCs requires a viable domestic agricultural sector with agricultural production.

Furthermore, since agricultural production is biological and site-specific, it has many special features. All the special and multifunctional characteristics of the agricultural sector need to be recognised and call for special treatment within the multilateral trading system. This will benefit both developing and developed countries.



*Old national breed – Telemark cow.
(Jan Erik Kjær)*

Disparities between and within countries

Contrary to most private goods for which international markets exist, NTCs, in general, cannot be ensured through trade, but need to be provided by domestic agricultural production. To some extent food security represents an exception, as both domestic production and a predictable and stable trading system contribute to increased food security. The domestic safeguarding of NTCs varies substantially from country to country, as well as within countries, depending on national priorities (i.e. demand side variations) and the cost levels that each country's agricultural sector is facing (i.e. supply side variations).

One particular aspect that needs to be duly taken into account in the negotiations is the narrow product range that many countries rely on when addressing NTCs. The dependence on a relatively limited number of commodities could be related to specific supply side constraints, for instance climatic conditions. Dependence on specific commodities may also be related to the specific public goods that these commodities provide, for instance the contribution made by production of a specific commodity to land conservation (e.g. the importance of paddy fields in flood control and prevention of land slides and soil erosion).

World agriculture is facing a considerable diversity of production conditions, between and within countries and regions, due to natural conditions (e.g. climate, soils and topography), social and cultural conditions (e.g. agrarian structure) and institutional and economic conditions (e.g. infrastructure and labour costs). (Samfoto/ Stig Tronvold)

Demand side variations

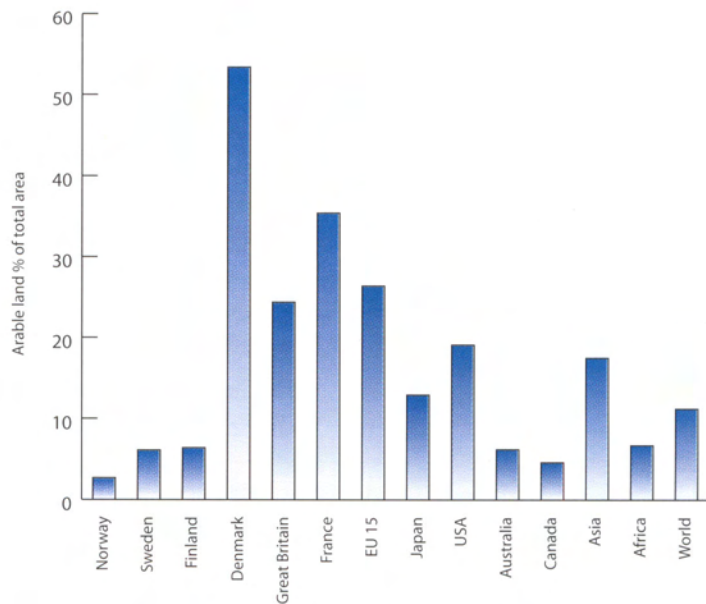
On the demand side, for a number of reasons related to for instance their cultural, economic, or historical backgrounds, countries are demanding different goods and services from their agriculture, thus



Climatic conditions in some countries.

Site	Length of growing season (days > 5°C)	Temperature sum (of days > 5°C)
East Norway, Ås	190	1327
North Norway, Tromsø	140	612
Huron, USA	210	2390
Nebraska, USA	232	2799
Paris, Frankrike	281	2140

Amount of arable land in different countries (1999).



Source Faostat 2002, Category 061 Arable land and permanent crops.

giving different weights and priorities to different NTCs in a multi-functional agriculture.

For instance, predominantly agrarian countries or countries with few alternative employment opportunities for their rural populations, tend to put more emphasis on agriculture as a rural employment generator than countries whose rural population can relatively easily find jobs in other sectors. Moreover, countries with low population densities tend to put more emphasis on decentralised settlement policies. Furthermore, in countries in which farming has been an economic activity since ancient times, agriculture makes important contributions to biodiversity and the cultural heritage. A third example is the issue of food security, which is approached differently in net food-importing versus net food-exporting countries. A fourth example is environmental and food safety issues, for which consumer sensitivity varies between countries.



Supply side variations

On the supply side, world agriculture is facing a considerable diversity of production conditions, between and within countries and regions, due to natural conditions (e.g. climate, soils and topography), social and cultural conditions (e.g. agrarian structure) and institutional and economic conditions (e.g. infrastructure and labour costs).

Many developing countries, due to for instance poor soils, difficult climatic conditions (e.g. low and erratic rainfall), small farms, poor infrastructure and limited access to new technologies are facing production costs above world average. These differences in production conditions help to determine the extent to which the various WTO Members are able to compete in world agricultural markets.

As a result of this considerable diversity of production conditions, agricultural production costs vary substantially within and between countries. In case of dairy production, current production costs are as much as six to seven times higher in Norway, compared with the most cost-efficient producers. The corresponding figure for wheat/barley is four to five times the most efficient producing country and indicates the same disparity between countries.

In agriculture, Norway faces unusually high production costs for a number of reasons. All the disadvantages stemming from a harsh climate, long distances, a difficult topography, a low population density and a small-scale structure, combined with a general high cost level, result in high costs and a very low degree of competitiveness at world market prices.

Structural adjustment of the agricultural sector has contributed and will continue to contribute to reductions in overall cost levels. However, in many countries like Norway the scope for such reductions is relatively limited. Firstly, in many countries the potential for structural adjustment in terms of large-scale production is restricted by natural conditions, partly because fields and farms are relatively scattered. Secondly, even with a shift to larger production units, overall costs would still be very high, suggesting that costs relating to labour and natural conditions are very important. In addition, extensive structural adjustment would have a considerable negative impact on important NTCs such as rural employment, agricultural landscapes and bio-diversity.

Production costs in dairy farming for some countries.

Country	Production costs NOK/kg milk	Herd size
Australia	1.34	150-250
Frankrike	2.83-3.54	30-75
New Zealand	1.20	225-482
Norge	5.51-8.06	13-29
USA	1.77-2.12	70-600

Source: International farm comparison network (1998) and Norwegian agricultural economics research institute (1999).

Norwegian agriculture



(C.A. Smedshaug)

Norway is the northernmost country in Europe. Its mainland extends from 58° to 71° North, a total distance of about 1 750 km, greater than the distance between Oslo and Rome. The country's population density is 14 people/km², the second lowest in Europe (only Iceland has a lower density).

The main productions are dairy and meat products, eggs, cereals and temperate fruits and vegetables. About three quarters of farm income is derived from livestock production and one quarter from crop production. The production is almost entirely destined for the national market and plays an important role in ensuring national food security, sustaining the viability of rural areas and safeguarding certain environmental qualities.

Arable land is scattered all over the country and represents only a fraction of the total area in Norway, which mainly is mountainous area. Norway has about 0.2 ha arable land pr. inhabitant. The average farm size is around 16 ha arable land, while the average field size is only 1.5 ha. Only 1/3 of arable land is suitable for cereal production. Generally, this land is located in the lowland of the South Eastern Norway, generally closer to urban areas. Due to, inter alia, unfavourable climatic conditions, the remaining 2/3 of arable land is only suitable for fodder production (basically grass) for the purpose of bovine and sheep meat and dairy production (goat and cow). This land is generally located in the fjord and mountain areas and in Northern parts of the country. Through a set of policies lowland farmers have been encouraged to stay out of dairy production and concentrate on cereal production, thus allowing the remaining farmers of the fjords, mountains and of Northern Norway to cover a substantial part of the national dairy and meat market.

Norwegian agriculture, key figures for 2001 if nothing else is stated.

Number of active farm units	64 600
Man-years in primary agriculture	72 600
Contribution to employment	3.9 %
Contribution to gross domestic product	0.9 %
Value of produce from farmer*	17.5 bill NOK
Value of produce from agro-food industry** (1999)	72.3 bill NOK
Man-years in processing industry ** (1999)	34 592
Self-sufficiency on calorie basis (2000)	49 %
Value of agricultural export	3.5 bill NOK
Value of agricultural import	11.5 bill NOK

* Excluding all budget support

** Without tobacco, beverages, and alcoholic items

Average national sizes of production units of cow and sheep herds, pig and hen flocks (2001).

Production	Average unit size
Milk	15 cows
Sheep meat	54 sheep
Pigs for breeding	34 pigs
Pigs for slaughtering*	480 pigs
Eggs	2 323 hens**

* Yearly delivery, units delivering below 100 pigs excluded.

** Units below 100 hens excluded.

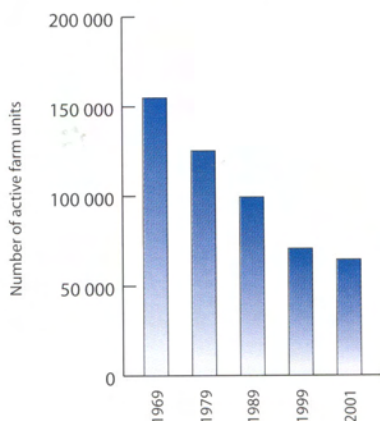
The arctic and sub-arctic conditions in Norway are characterised by harsh climate, low temperatures and a short growing season, which varies between 100 and 190 days, largely dependent on latitude and distance from the sea. The indoor period for livestock varies from around 200 to 260 days a year. All the disadvantages stemming from a harsh climate, long distances, a difficult topography, a low population density and a small-scale structure result in high costs and a low degree of competitiveness to world market prices.

Volumes and value of commodities produced in Norway representing nearly 90 % of the value of produce from farmer and % of national consumption.

Product	Volume (in tonnes)	% of National consumption (1999)	Share of total farm income from the different productions (2000) %*
Milk	1 559 mill liters	99	32.4
Beef meat	90	97 % (total meat)	32.1 (total meat)
Sheep/lamb meat	23		
Pig meat	102		
Chicken meat	43		
Eggs	47	98 %	2.4
Cereals	1 351		12
Cereals for food	124 (1999)	36 %	
Potatoes	380	83 %	2.1
Vegetables	161	58 %	7.5 (including fruit and berries)
Fruit and berries	71	18 %	
Sugar and honey	1.25	3 %	
Fat and oils		20 %	

* Based on value of produce from farmer + support for produced quantity.

Number of active farm units



The goals of Norwegian agriculture

To meet society's needs, agriculture shall:

- produce safe and healthy food of high quality in the light of consumer preferences
- produce other goods and services in accordance with the sectors overall resources
- produce public goods as viable rural communities, a broad range of environmental and cultural benefits, and long term food security.

Specific non-trade concerns

Food security

All countries have to ensure food security for their people, through domestic production, stockholding and imports.

Several background elements contribute to such a conclusion. **First**, market mechanisms alone may not be sufficient to ensure food security. Food security therefore has the characteristics of a public good, the provision of which may require government intervention.

Second, the WTO agricultural reform process must be consistent with other relevant multilateral commitments such as those relating to the right to food. Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognises the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, emphasises the responsibil-

Norwegian agriculture is almost exclusively supplying the domestic market. Agricultural imports cover around 50% of domestic agricultural consumption measured on a calorie basis, among the highest import share of the OECD countries.

(Samfoto/Birger Areklett)





*It is a national objective to maintain domestic production and, within existing multilateral trade commitments, cover the national demand for those products that naturally grow in Norway. Partly due to unfavourable climatic conditions, 2/3 of arable land is only suitable for fodder production (basically grass) for the purpose of bovine and sheep meat as well as dairy production (goat and cow).
(Samfoto/Pål Hermansen)*

ity of the state in this respect and underlines the necessity of *"taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need."*

Third, we need to recognise that agriculture is a complex and long-term activity, which only slowly responds to changes in demand. This has important implications for our national food security strategies. One, since agriculture is a biological production characterised by seasonality and constrained by climatic conditions and the limits that exist for reproductive growth, the establishment and expansion of such production is complex and would often take several years. Two, agriculture is site-specific and requires locally adapted know-how and competence relating to for instance microclimates, soils, pests and diseases. If agricultural production is abandoned in a specific region, such site-specific competence is likely to get lost. Three, agricultural production often relies on heavy infrastructure and investments related to for instance land reclamation, terraces, roads, drainage and irrigation systems, buildings, etc. Establishing or restoring agricultural production may therefore be very costly and time-consuming. Four, agricultural production is often relatively small-scale and dispersed,



subject to complex property systems and agrarian structures. Numerous holdings and abundant linkages with upstream and downstream activities clearly add to agriculture's overall complexity.

Our **fourth** background element relates to current and potential future threats to food security. Concerning access, the individual's access to food may depend on a host of factors such as access to production resources and markets, as well as institutional aspects. In our view, increased access to food may often lie in a combination of policies that both stimulate local food production and enable households to undertake other income-generating activities that will enable them to buy food at the market. In general, policies that increase the allocative efficiency of the economy may be fundamental to boost incomes and welfare and reduce food insecurity. Increased market access, accompanied by appropriate domestic policies, may further stimulate economic growth and enhance people's entitlement to food.

At the national level, lack of foreign exchange may seriously reduce the import capacity of a net-food-importing developing country, of which many spend substantial parts of their foreign exchange on food imports. The problems of limited foreign exchange reserves are further exacerbated in times of temporary price spikes, such as in 1995/96.

Potential threats to food availability could be of a political nature, for instance wars, embargoes, etc, or of economic nature, for instance relating to substantial changes in global demand, for example as a result of significant changes in consumer habits. Availability could also be affected by ecologically related crises, for instance relating to extensive radioactive fallout, bio-invasions, outbreak of various plant or animal diseases, global water shortage or climate change. It is important for governments to bear in mind that crisis scenarios are continuously changing and may be difficult to predict.

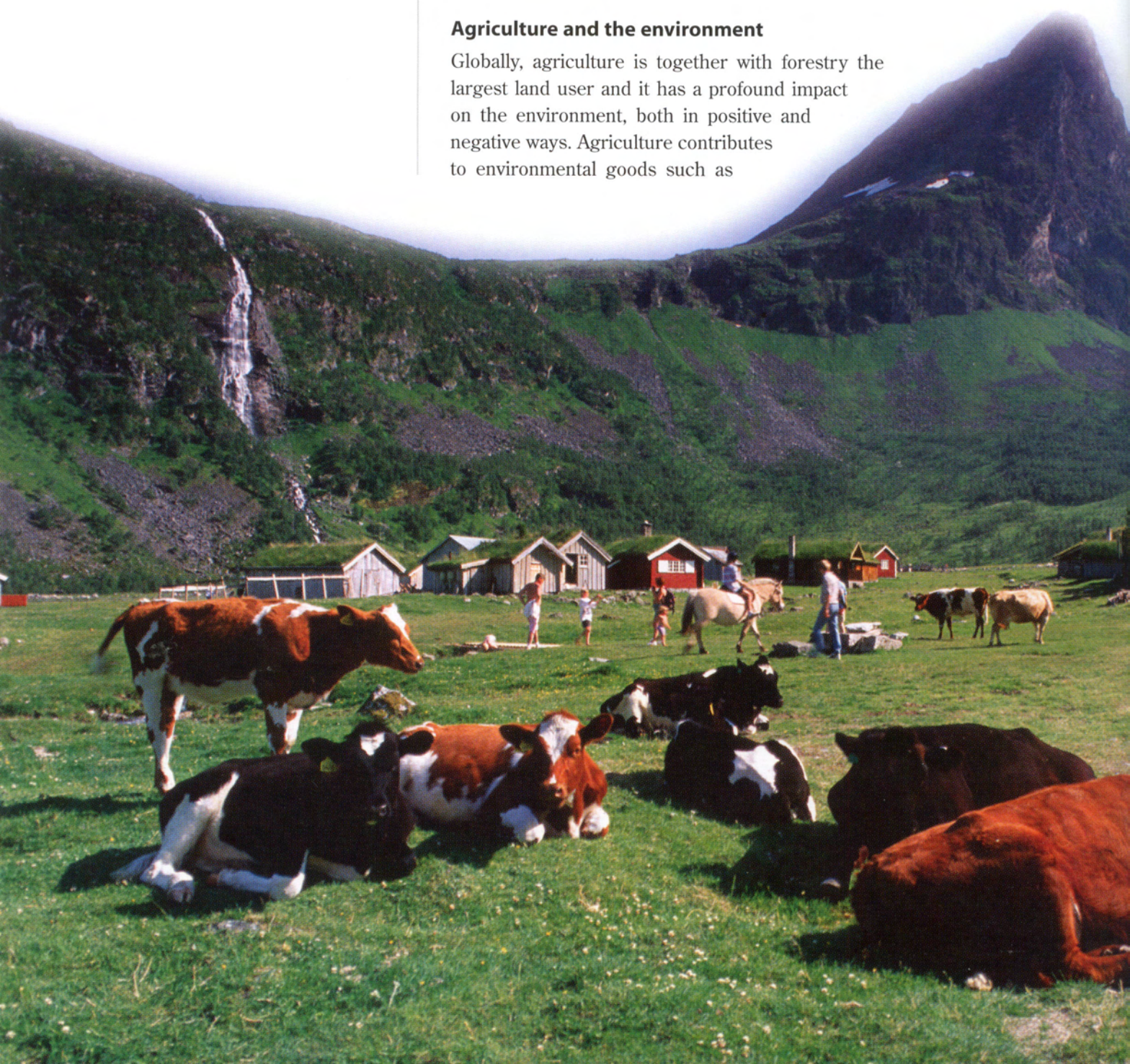
We believe these background elements tell us to take precautions. Given the long-term nature of agricultural production and faced with a complex and multifaceted set of threats that may affect current and long-term food security, it seems that risk diversification through a combination of domestic production, imports and stockholding may be the most appropriate solution. Each of these elements has their role to play. Trade has several important positive effects on food security, such as reducing supply variability for individual countries, making more efficient use of world resources, fostering economic growth, allowing for cheaper domestic consumer food prices and increasing consumer choice. For developing countries, increased market access can lead to increased economic welfare, and may thus reduce poverty, food insecurity and hunger. A predictable and stable trading system is therefore a central element in global and national food security.

National stockholding of food and essential inputs is another important element. However, as a difficult supply situation may persist,

national food stocking can only partly compensate for the risks associated with excessive reliance on imports. In order to reduce the risks that are often associated with an excessive reliance on world markets, many countries with a low self-sufficiency in agricultural products judge as essential a certain degree of domestic agricultural food production in combination with imports and stockholding. Domestic production has been, and will continue to be, a central element in national food security policies, both from an access and availability point of view. From a global perspective, a decentralised production pattern is probably the best response to a complex set of possible threat and crisis scenarios, and combined with a well-functioning world market, such a production structure would allow food-importing countries to make up for shortfalls in domestic production through supplies from a range of sources.

Agriculture and the environment

Globally, agriculture is together with forestry the largest land user and it has a profound impact on the environment, both in positive and negative ways. Agriculture contributes to environmental goods such as



biological diversity, cultural landscapes and cultural heritage. On the negative side, agricultural activity commonly causes water and air pollution, soil erosion, salinisation, excessive water withdrawal and loss of biological diversity.

Environmental goods provided by domestic agriculture

A number of examples may be provided to illustrate how domestic agriculture, in developing as well as developed countries, contributes to the safeguarding of environmental concerns.

Thousands of years of farming have formed the landscape. Such agricultural landscapes, beyond their recreational, aesthetic and historical qualities provide at present a range of habitats and are home for a considerable number of wild species at all taxonomic levels. Preserving bio-diversity therefore depends on the maintenance of these landscapes. In several cases even specific farm methods may need to be continued.

Agriculture also contributes to land conservation. For instance, in certain monsoon climates, paddy fields play an important role in retaining water. As a result of this water buffering capacity, paddy fields contribute to flood control and to the prevention of soil erosion and landslides.

Furthermore, traditional agriculture contributes to our material and immaterial cultural heritage. Today, material traces of agricultural activity, for instance in terms of farm buildings and landscapes, represent valuable cultural monuments and landscapes, which are irreplaceable sources to knowledge and experience related to the history of human beings since ancient times. The immaterial heritage includes traditional knowledge relating to farming practices and relevant on-farm activities as regards resources and resource use, farming techniques and sustainability issues. As agricultural production, the farm knowledge is site-specific and particularly diverse.

Altogether, the cultural heritage provides stability, historical continuity, identity and the sense of belonging, both at the local, regional and national level. In addition, preserving cultural diversity in the field of agriculture may as an important data base for competence and knowledge enable us to meet future challenges in the fields of conservation and sustainable management of natural resources.

The examples above confirm that the provisioning of agriculture-related environmental goods depends to a large extent on *domestic* agriculture. This conclusion has an important bearing on the WTO agricultural reform process. Each country should therefore, according to mutually agreed rules, be allowed to secure a certain degree of domestic production, and the reform of the multilateral trading system in agriculture should allow for the future coexistence of various forms of agriculture, across countries and regions.

Mountain farming is an ancient way of using our resources in Norway. Written laws already in the 11th century regulate the procedures relating to this activity. Even today several thousand farmers conduct mountain farming during the summer. (Samfoto/Per Eide)





Red-listed flower mountain tobacco, (Arnica Montana) in a landscape dependent on animal grazing. Approximately one fifth of the species on the Norwegian red list (endangered species) depend on agricultural landscapes. Several wild plant species are favoured by the pasturing of certain domestic animal species. (Rune Sævre)

Negative environmental effects of agriculture

Agricultural production also entails a number of serious negative environmental effects. Negative environmental effects are to a greater or lesser extent related to agricultural activity in all countries. The extent of the environmental problems relating to the agricultural sector varies according to natural conditions, including recipient capacity, farming methods and national legislation and policy measures. Empirical evidence submitted to the WTO Committee on Trade and Environment in 1999 does not indicate, as sometimes suggested, that there is a clear relationship between environmental degradation and the level of support in different countries.

The importance of viable rural communities

Ensuring the economic and social viability of rural areas constitutes an important policy objective in most countries. In many developing countries, in particular those with predominantly agrarian economies, a substantial proportion of the population lives in rural areas. In such cases, although structural adjustment, as a precondition for economic growth, is likely to gradually reduce the reliance on agriculture, securing the livelihood of rural people is nevertheless crucial for the overall social, environmental, territorial and economic development of the country.

In many developed countries, although the share of the rural population and the rural economy in total population and economy are often far less sizeable compared to many developing countries, promoting the viability of rural areas is nonetheless considered a very important policy objective. Viable rural areas are often necessary to ensure a balanced territorial development. The maintenance of rural areas may also be considered as important in preserving the cultural heritage of a country. With only 14 inhabitants/km², Norway has the second-lowest population density in Europe. Transport distances are also very long, compared to most European countries. Consequently, the maintenance of viable rural communities is very challenging and is considered a key policy objective.

Agriculture's contribution to rural viability

In most developing countries and in remote regions of many developed countries agriculture's contribution to rural development and economic and social viability is significant. In Norway, for instance, although agriculture only contributes to around 4% of total employment at the national level, it is the main employer in many rural municipalities. Agricultural employment is gradually decreasing, and substantial efforts have been made to diversify the rural economy and generate alternative employment opportunities in the rural areas. Nevertheless, in Norway, agriculture continues to play a significant role in rural areas. On average, agriculture contributes to 16% of total employment in those communities that are classified as rural (39% of the total municipalities with 54% of the national land area). Moreover, these average figures often understate the real importance of agricul-

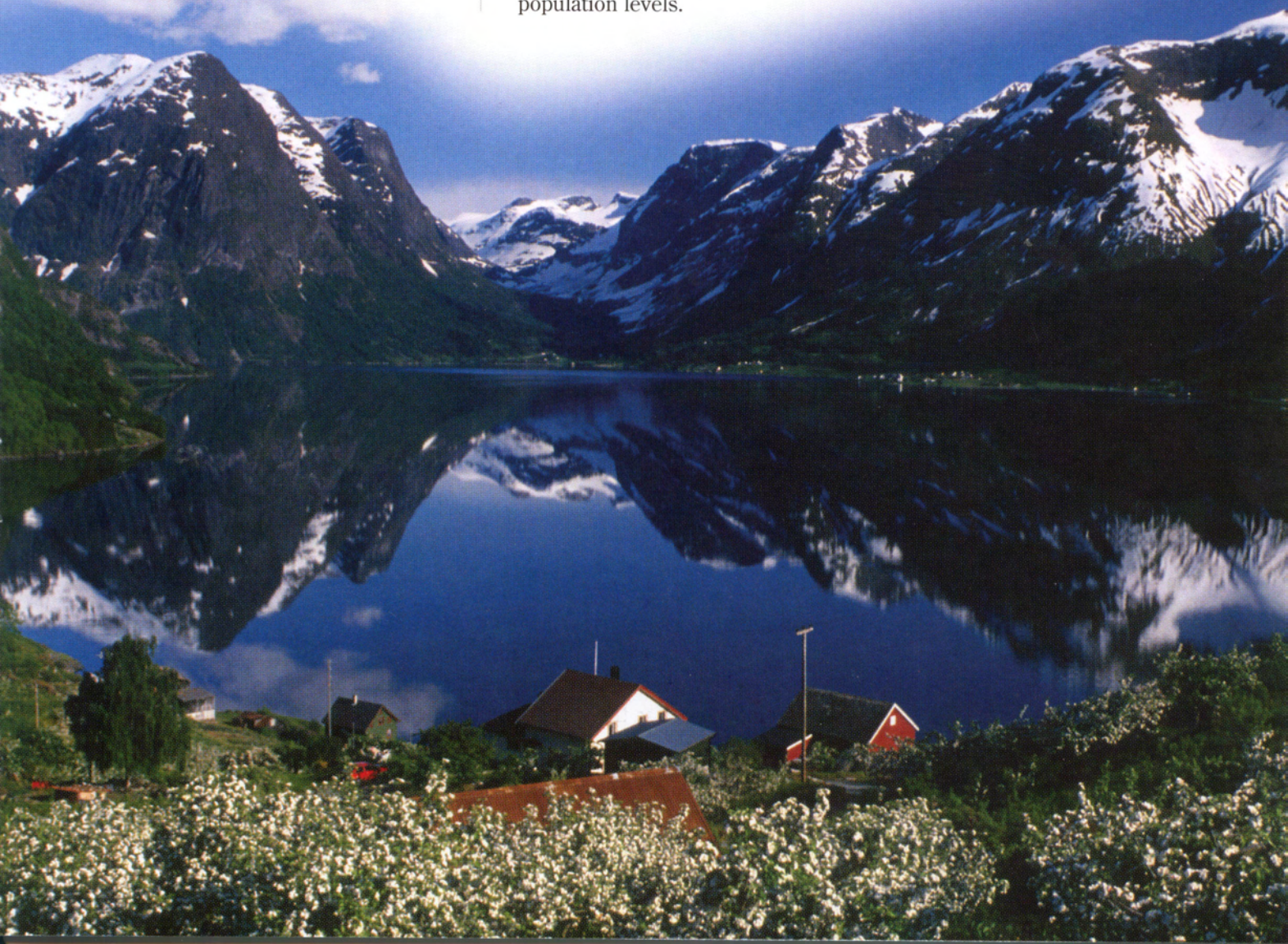
ture in ensuring rural employment and the viability of rural areas, for at least four reasons.

First, average figures at aggregated levels disguise the fact that many remote rural communities within a municipality are heavily dependent on agriculture. Many of these communities are faced with few alternative employment opportunities. In addition, many of these communities are situated beyond a reasonable commuting distance to neighbouring areas where alternative employment opportunities may be offered.

Second, as a result of abundant upstream and downstream linkages, agriculture contributes to substantial employment in other sectors. In addition, the agricultural population, as consumers, demands a number of goods and services, which has a positive employment effect at the community level.

Third, so-called threshold effects should be considered when analysing the consequences of changes in agricultural employment. A critical mass is needed in every community to sustain various public and private services such as the school, post-office, shop, petrol station etc. This is of particular relevance to Norway, where several rural communities have critically low population levels.

Around two-thirds of the agricultural production is located in remote rural areas and agriculture contributes to 16 % of the employment in the rural municipalities (39 % of the total municipalities with 54 % of the total land area). (Samfoto/ Helge Sunde)





This farm at 70° 40" North is the world's northernmost dairy farm. Due to the Gulf stream it is possible to conduct agriculture further north in Norway than in any other country. (Birger Skreddernes)

Fourth, agricultural production relies on harvesting of natural resources and is a localised and site-dependent activity. In a long-term rural development perspective, this physical dependence and lack of mobility turn agriculture into a relatively stable source of employment.

The future

Every country should be granted flexibility in national policy design to foster domestic agricultural production necessary to address domestic NTCs, based on each country's production conditions and potentials, policy objectives and historical and cultural background. Domestic production of key agricultural products is of vital importance to Norway as a means of safeguarding domestic NTCs. As a result of differences in production conditions between and within countries and in order to be able to sustain domestic production required to properly address NTCs, countries with a comparative disadvantage need to be allowed to have recourse to a policy measure combination that includes, to a large extent, the use of production-related policy measures. On the other hand, export competition measures should not be deemed part of a long-term strategy to address NTCs. Provided that NTCs are safeguarded, such measures could be subject to stricter disciplines.

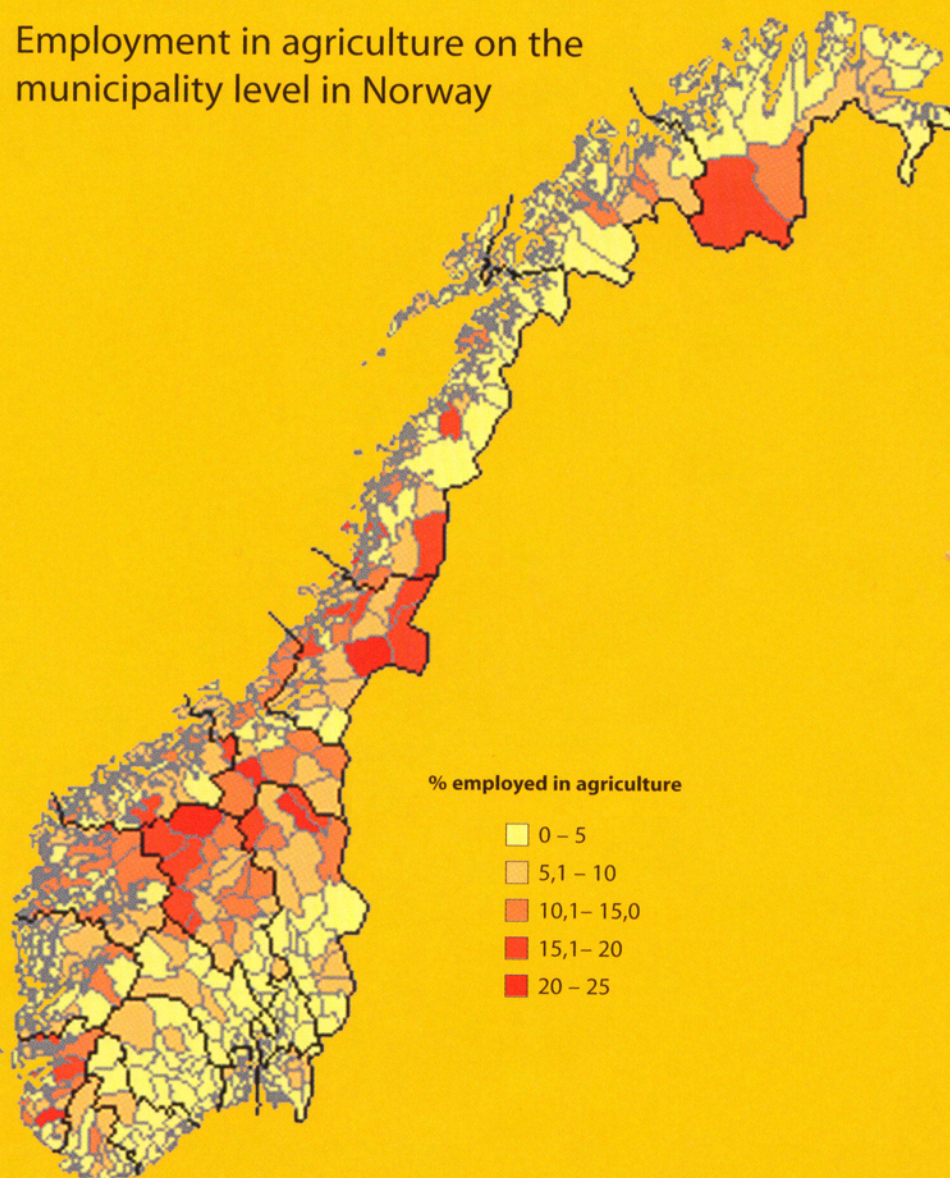
For further information on multifunctionality, Norwegian agriculture and international issues, see www.mf.dep.no

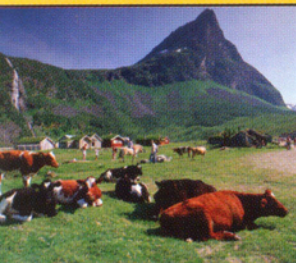
Norway has more medieval timber houses than any other country in the world. The majority of our 233 profane medieval timber houses are located on the farms where they were originally built and they are still in use. (Riksantikvaren/Jiri Havran)





Employment in agriculture on the municipality level in Norway





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