HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CURRENT EU AGRO-FOOD POLICIES. PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENT STATE OF ROMANIAN AGRICULTURE AND WHY ITS BACKWARDNESS MIGHT BE A BLESSING IN DISGUISE

V. RADA[1], Adina HORABLAGA[1]
[1] University of Life Sciences "King Michael I" from Timisoara
Corresponding author: vlad.rada98@gmail.com

Abstract. *This paper serves two key purposes. Firstly, it offers a glimpse into research conducted for a dissertation thesis, focusing on short food supply chains, food security, socio-economic aspects of the Central European rural landscape, and agricultural public policies. Secondly, it establishes a bridge between this thesis and forthcoming, more extensive studies on these subjects. The analyses extracted from the dissertation underpin the proposed hypothesis that the EU's current development directions present a significant opportunity for Romania to narrow the gap between its agricultural system and those of developed European nations. The research consists of two core components: (i) a concise exploration of the historical evolution of European goods supply networks, demonstrating how short-distance trade relationships have been integral to the continent's economic fabric for centuries and offering insights into the current status quo, and (ii) a preliminary assessment of Romania's agricultural landscape by categorizing its counties based on the legal status and agricultural holdings' dimensions. The findings suggest that Bihor County is well-suited as a testbed for innovative strategies aimed at the effective implementation of current European development directions within the Central European and Romanian contexts. Literary and quantitative investigation methods have been used. Anyways, even if these studies might shed some light in a still-cloudy realm, they are far from being profound enough. The number of consulted documents must increase and the calculations need to take into consideration more parameters to get more definite results.*

Keywords*: short food supply chains, agro-food policies, historical contextualization, data analysis*

INTRODUCTION

This contribution builds upon a pre-existing study and seeks to launch a new one. It is rooted in the dissertation thesis titled "Support Infrastructure for Small Farmers in Ier River Valley - Strategic Masterplan", elaborated within the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Polytechnic University of Timișoara, by the student Vlad Rada, under the direct scientific coordination of uni. asst. Mihai Danciu and uni. asst. Ștefana Bădescu. At the time of writing, the aforementioned work is yet to be published on the digital repository of the institution. It analyses matters regarding short food supply chains, food security, socio-economic specificities of the Central European rural environment and public policies for the agricultural sector. All these are investigated through the lens of the relation and the intersection between agriculture and the countryside on the one hand, and architecture, urbanism, and territorial planning, on the other. The research questions from which the whole effort started, and which guided it throughout are as follows:

- How could the rural communities in a given European historical-geographical space (in that case, Ier River Valley) enhance their food security level?
- How could they become an integrated part of an alternative food network (ANF) where they would function complementary and simultaneously with each other and with their determinant urban centre?
- How should we manage the relation between such local food networks and the global food distribution system?

- What principles should stand at the basis of a local masterplan that seeks to answer the previous questions?
- Which stakeholders should take part in the designing process of such a masterplan?
- How should we design an architectural object that is part of such a masterplan?

Therefore, two main necessities emerged: (i) the need to know the idiosyncrasies of the local and regional context where the site was located, and (ii) the need to better understand the larger phenomena, the global economic interdependencies and the immutable functioning principles of the food supply chains. Because of that reason, the study had been split into two strings. The first one focused on the selected study area. It clarified the site's status within the local and regional context and showed why this specific territory is optimal for the implementation of innovative strategies and masterplans that could eventually be later applied in the whole larger European region the site belongs to. We called this string "specific research". The second string examined the global food supply chains by looking at their historical evolution. More attention was paid to the last 80 years, especially to the gradual changes in the European public policies towards a greener and fairer system, but also to some relevant case studies. We called this string "general research". Consequently, the research methodology was also dual. For the "specific research," we used circumstantial methods: descriptive methods (e.g. the morphological analysis of the planimetric configuration of some Central European villages based on observation and juxtaposition), quantitative methods (e.g. the selection, systematization, processing and interpretation of statistical data), qualitative methods (e.g. the interviewing of some small local farmers, of some representatives of the local authorities and the local action group -formed within the LEADER programme framework-, and the interaction with some consecrated third-party entrepreneurs in the field by participating in a national EIT Food Hub Romania workshop) and literary methods (e.g. the selection and systematization of complex information found in the speciality literature), while for the "general research" we relied on literary methods exclusively.

The ultimate ambition of this thesis was to formulate a territorial development plan for which the potential embedded by the small local farmers would be a core interest. It materialized as a strategic territorial masterplan composed of a network of built facilities. They got productive, commercial, agro-touristic, cultural and research purposes, and they were positioned in the territory respecting a certain functional and symbolic logic. Since this thesis was elaborated within the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning, the spatial planning aspects and the architectural and landscaping quality of the proposed facilities were crucial. We identified possible beneficiaries, users, investors, funding sources and building sites for each of these facilities. The whole thesis was a first attempt to formulate a general territorial intervention methodology that would contribute to the harmonious implementation of the new European development directions and the beneficial reprogramming of the Romanian and Central European countryside accordingly.

In this article, we will present some of the work and findings done for the thesis. Firstly, we will synthesize the historical analysis that helped us get a better understanding of the general structural characteristics of the food supply chains and the current state of European policies. Afterwards, we will make a preliminary assumption about the status of Bihor County within the Romanian rural landscape using statistical data. We will explain why some of the features of the agro-food sector in Bihor County might indicate that it is a proper region for testing innovative strategies. The fragments extracted and displayed here are considered relevant for the future research we intend to do. We have explained its main premises and hypothesis in the last part of the "Results and Discussions" section.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

For the historical analysis, we consulted a series of relevant works from the speciality literature, selected the information that interested us directly and pieced them together. For the statistical analysis, we used data provided by the General Agricultural Census 2022 (ANDREI & ET AL., 2022). We scrutinized the national statistics on the utilised agricultural area by county and tried to correlate them with the legal situation of the agricultural holdings. We presumed that agricultural holdings with legal personality (AHLP) are most often commercial exploitations. Typically, a small-scale farmer manages land ranging from 10 to 100 hectares in size (FEHER, GOȘA, RAICOV, HARANGUȘ, & CONDEA, 2017). Therefore, we used the relation between the number of AHLPs and the average surface area of such holdings to get an idea of the specific character of the agricultural sector in each county. A relatively small number of AHLPs might either indicate poor commercial activity (if correlated with a small average surface area) or the division of land in large parcels (if correlated with a large average surface area). The agriculture in the counties that fall in the first situation might be classified as subsistence, semi-subsistence or recreational. The ones in the second case, on the other hand, might show significantly industrialized practices, concentrated in the hands of only a few large enterprises. A relatively high number of AHLPs might either indicate modern, highly mechanized agricultural activity that tends to resemble the one in developed countries (if correlated with large average surface areas) or a good chance of the existence of some consolidated alternative food networks (if correlated with small average surface areas). To fall in the first category, a county must meet specific conditions. It must have agricultural lands generous enough to accommodate a notable number of fairly large and medium-sized commercial farmers. The counties in the last described situation could be adequate for the implementation of experimental and innovative territorial strategies in accordance with the most recent European developing directions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

We know that long-distance trade has existed since the early days of great civilizations. The multitude of colonies established by the Phoenicians throughout the Mediterranean is a testimony to this. However, in Europe, this type of exchange remained marginal for most of its history. Long-distance trade typically involved expensive, luxury products, which meant it predominantly benefited a thin, affluent stratum (CLARK, 2009). Recent studies tend to emphasize the importance of local and regional trade, particularly grain trade, which likely had a volume several hundred times larger than international trade (CLARK, 2009). This trade played a pivotal role in the growth of major urban centres and the rapid proliferation of market towns after the 8th century. Until the Modern Era, large, well-connected cities such as Venice, Amsterdam, and Barcelona were the exceptions rather than the norm. It is estimated that by the year 1500, more than 90% of the population in Northern and Western Europe lived in settlements with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants (CLARK, 2009). These settlements were closely linked to agricultural activities and the rural environment, often becoming virtually indistinguishable from it.

Like nowhere else in the world, this dispersed, predominantly non-urban space provided the fuel for the continent's development throughout this period. The dependency ratio began to reverse in the 18th century, a process led by the major Western European cities. The assertion made by Adam Smith in 1776 in his seminal work, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," convincingly reflects the transitional nature of that period: "Every town draws its whole subsistence, and all the materials of its industry, from the country. It pays for these chiefly in two ways: first, by sending back to the country a part of those materials wrought up and manufactured; [...] secondly, by sending to it part both of the rude and manufactured

produce, either of other countries, or of distant parts of the same country, imported into town" (SMITH, 2007). However, despite the increasing accessibility and expansion of global markets in the latter half of the 19th century, facilitated by modern transportation and refrigeration methods, supply routes for goods circulated in international trade were primarily limited to capital cities. Provincial cities in Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe remained reliant on local agricultural trade routes well into the 20th century (CLARK, 2009).

Following a turbulent first half of the century marked by two world wars and their repercussions, global efforts were made towards market unification, openness, interconnectivity, and centralization. Modern manifestations of globalization began to take shape, with increasingly common consumer goods entering international trade, major brands expanding globally, and a trend towards homogenization of tastes and synchronization of social phenomena in several countries with similar levels of development. Large state associations, organizations with global missions and objectives, were established. The United Nations, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (now the World Trade Organization), the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now the World Bank) were all established immediately after or just before the end of the Second World War. These entities continue to be significant decision-making bodies capable of fundamentally influencing the course of the world, including agriculture.

Simultaneously, the baby boomers' generation began to show a growing interest in pre-industrial agricultural practices. This interest paved the way for later notable developments such as heritage food preservation, culinary tourism, neo-agrarianism, and boutique hipster entrepreneurship (BELASCO, 2014). In the post-Fordist social paradigm, the history of a product holds commercial value. Increasing emphasis is placed on the French concept of *"terroir"*, which refers to the intrinsic qualities of a product being from a specific geographic space, obtained through particular methods, and the work of specific communities. In the 1990s, the first studies related to the existence, functioning, and importance of short food supply chains emerged (RENTING, MARSDEN, & BANKS, 2003).

Nevertheless, at the turn of the century, global institutions were advocating a policy of progressive opening and liberalization (of a neo-liberal, laissez-faire type), strongly attached to their universalist aspirations. The process of global hyper-liberalization initiated by the Marrakesh Agreement was continued, expanded, and accelerated by the Doha Round. Despite being the longest and most demanding negotiation round in the history of the WTO, it was inconclusive and forcibly ended in 2018. The future of global agricultural trade was the most crucial issue under discussion. Developed countries advocated for a massive reduction in global agricultural subsidies, both for exports and domestic production, as they argued that they hindered international trade and could easily be compensated for by full opening of the markets (URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT, 1994). In reality, the vast disparities between industrialized and poor countries led to dumping effects and created significant dependence of the latter on the former. This resulted in the formation of a polarized and vulnerable global agro-industrial sector (MITTAL, 2009). This is why the negotiations lasted for so long and were highly controversial throughout these years. Not coincidentally, the Financial Times headline in 2015: "The Doha round finally dies a merciful death" (FINANCIAL TIMES, 2015). In the meantime, in 2002, the World Bank initiated efforts to produce a global report that would have a significant influence later - the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science, and Technology for Development (IAASTD).

The global food crisis of 2007-2008, characterized by historic price increases, marked a significant turning point in global agricultural trade trends. The subsequent United Nations report, "The 2008 food price crisis: Rethinking food security policies," published in the official

G-24 publication in June 2009, reflects the changing attitudes and increasing caution and scepticism towards full liberalization. In the EU, central institutions and national governments began to question the directions they had been following and conducted a general evaluation of food distribution chains to make them more efficient, as indicated in 2018, in the "Food Prices in Europe" communication (COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, 2008). A very important step announced in this communication is the final approval of the first Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EU, to be launched in 2013. This policy aimed to align the national legislation of EU countries towards more sustainable agriculture, a more even distribution of economic support, limiting funds for major players and increasing them for smaller ones, as well as supporting young farmers. The signing of the Paris Agreement in 2015 is another defining moment for current global directions. This treaty addresses climate change as a threat that requires global rallying and sets goals related to reducing carbon emissions. These will determine the concrete objectives that the European Union will set in 2019 with the launch of the Green Deal. All the current European policies regarding agriculture and food production fall under the effects of these acts and will lie at the foundation of our new endeavour. More about the policies in discussion and about how they will contribute to future work is explained in the last part of this section.

Now, we will present the preliminary statistical analysis that provides us with some clues about the structural characteristics of the agricultural systems of Romanian counties. The specific situation of Bihor County will be our main focus since we believe it can be a proper testing field for the implementation of the latest European policies in this kind of context.

That is because statistical data regarding agricultural production in Bihor presents a rather unique situation. According to the recently published General Agricultural Census for the year 2020 (ANDREI & ET AL., 2022), Bihor has a high number of agricultural holdings, even when compared to counties with larger arable land areas such as Timiș or Teleorman. However, there are also a few counties with more holdings than Bihor, despite having more rugged or forested terrain, such as Maramureș and Suceava.

A possible explanation comes out when we examine the distribution of these holdings based on their legal status. Bihor stands out as the county with the highest number of agricultural holdings with legal personality, which implies they might be exploited commercially. In contrast, counties with larger arable land areas tend to have fewer holdings with legal personality, suggesting a greater concentration of agricultural production in the hands of a few large landowners. This hypothesis is supported when we consider the average land area of holdings with legal personality in these counties: Dolj - 271.67 ha, Teleorman - 366.63 ha, Brăila - 414.2 ha, in contrast to only 119.29 ha per agricultural holding with legal personality in Bihor. Such land areas are less likely to be managed by small and medium-sized operators.

Conversely, the situation in Maramureș and Suceava is the opposite. A large number of agricultural holdings on a relatively limited arable land area results in a small average land area per holding. The low number of holdings with legal personality indicates that most agricultural activities in these counties are non-commercial, possibly for subsistence or recreational purposes. In almost all cases, agricultural operators without legal personality are small-scale. This situation is recurrent in many other counties and signifies a considerable fragmentation of non-commercially exploited agricultural land.

We applied the methodology explained in the previous section as a preliminary assessment method that would hopefully shed light on the intricate situation of Romanian agriculture. This method helped us classify the state of agriculture in every county into four main categories. The outcomes of the analysis are graphically illustrated in a point chart, where each point represents the current situation of every county, defined by two chosen dimensions: (i) the average surface

area of AHLPs that utilized agricultural land and (ii) the number of AHLPs. The chart is divided into four quadrants, each representing one category.

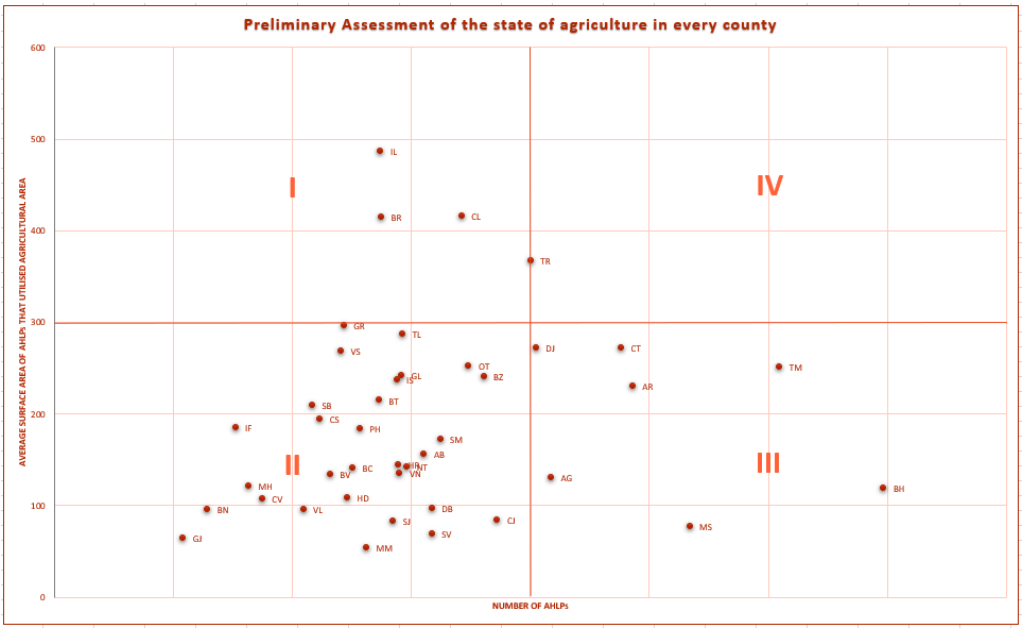

Figure 1: Preliminary Assessment of the state of agriculture in every county - data source: (ANDREI & ET AL., 2022)

The first category is practically non-existent since no points are positioned there. This is easily explainable because, for a point to fall into that category, it would mean that the corresponding county has both large land parcels and numerous large agricultural companies employing intensive exploitation methods. Such a scenario might be common in developed countries, but Romania's agricultural sector is comparatively sluggish. For this reason, no county falls into that category. Teleorman, Dolj, Constanța, and Timiș come closest to this condition. However, since none of them reaches the first quadrant, we won't consider it. Therefore, the number of categories is reduced to three. These categories are as follows:

I. Counties with few large-scale commercial farmers (corresponding to the first quadrant): These are the counties where a significant portion of agricultural land is concentrated in the hands of a few large commercial operators. Typically, they possess substantial capital and industrial methods of exploitation, coexisting with subsistence agriculture, particularly in the Romanian Plain and Dobrogea Plateau.

II. Counties with few small-scale commercial farmers (corresponding to the second quadrant): Most counties fall into this category, following the model observed in Maramureș and Suceava. This means that a significant portion of agricultural holdings in Romania do not generate profit but either strictly meet the owner's food needs, fall below the owner's food needs, or result in food waste. The deduction is supported by other statistical sources, emphasizing that Romania has the highest percentage of the population engaged in agricultural activities in the European Union (THE WORLD BANK, 2023). However, the country exhibits low productivity and

added value. All these characteristics describe an agricultural landscape of subsistence extending across these counties.

III. Counties with many small-scale commercial farmers (corresponding to the third quadrant): These are the counties where we will find the highest number of agricultural entrepreneurs with local production and distribution chains. Bihor County falls into this category, and the only county that seems to have a somewhat similar situation is Mureș, although this tendency might not be as pronounced. Our reasoning seems to be supported by the "Client Solutions Group", a data provider that claims to source data directly from the National Trade Register Office. According to their website (CLIENT SOLUTION GROUP, 2023), Bihor boasts no less than 1493 functional firms in the agricultural sector. This ranks it among the top five counties with the highest number of such firms in the country. Although the validity of the source cannot be completely ensured, it encourages us to believe that our reasoning is correct. The status of a commercial producer does not necessarily equate to advanced means of production and sophisticated logistical mechanisms, especially for small-scale producers. However, we can imagine that they exhibit a higher degree of organization in their agricultural activities compared to subsistence agriculture.

This categorization places Bihor in a distinctive position. Small-scale producers exhibit differing dynamics, interests, and sensibilities compared to large landholders. They tend to be more adaptable and establish personal relationships with consumers more easily by circumventing intermediaries in the distribution chain. Additionally, they maintain an intimate connection with the land, people, tools, and technologies employed in their operations. However, they encounter challenges when competing with large producers who possess advanced equipment, production lines, and substantial negotiation power. One of the advantages that aids their survival in the market is the superior quality of their products, achieved through artisanal processing techniques that are difficult, if not impossible, to replicate on an industrial scale. Simultaneously, due to their limited output, they are vulnerable when negotiating with major retail chains that require distribution contracts. Therefore, the existence of numerous small-scale commercial farmers in Bihor may signify the presence of a well-established domestic distribution system. Given these distinctive features, Bihor harbours the potential to emerge as an alternative agricultural region, comprising a network of small and medium-sized local producers focusing on high-value-added products, small land holdings (in relative terms, as opposed to the vast expanses in the Bărăgan Plain), and the continuous preservation, reinforcement, updating, and cultivation of local identity.

These are only two of the topics that have been examined within the "Support Infrastructure for Small Farmers in Ier River Valley - Strategic Masterplan" dissertation thesis. For sure, they need further and deeper investigation, but, along with other subjects approached in the thesis, they might constitute valid research themes. In that way, the efforts done for that project could serve as the preliminary study for more ample research. There are two main premises from which a new endeavour will start. The first is the assertion that the Romanian agro sector is underperforming, deficient and anachronistic compared to other European countries. Romania is one of the European countries with the most prominent agricultural character. Multiple statistical data confirm this reality. In 2022, agriculture, fishing and forestry share of the national GDP was more than twice the European Union's average (THE WORLD BANK, 2023). In 2017, 33.49% of the agricultural holdings in the EU and 7.47% of its agricultural area were in Romania (FEHER, GOȘA, RAICOV, HARANGUȘ, & CONDEA, 2017). Around 20% of the employed population work in agricultural activities, with only Moldova and Albania registering higher percentages (THE WORLD BANK, 2023). Agricultural value added per worker in 2019 was

the second smallest in Europe, after Ukraine (ROSER, 2023). 97.5% of the farms in Romania have holdings smaller than 10 ha, meaning they most probably are subsistence and semi-subsistence exploitations (FEHER, GOȘA, RAICOV, HARANGUȘ, & CONDEA, 2017). These holdings comprise 45.4% of the utilized agricultural area (FEHER, GOȘA, RAICOV, HARANGUȘ, & CONDEA, 2017). All this data describes a fragmented, non-commercial and maybe underused agricultural landscape, where most farmers practice agriculture for their own consumption solely.

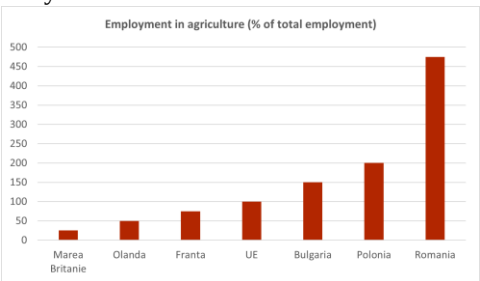

Figure 3: Employment in agriculture (% of total employment), 2021, normalized - data source: (THE WORLD BANK, 2023)

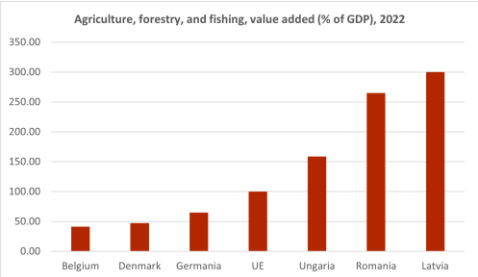

Figure 2: Agriculture, forestry and fishing, value added (% of GDP), 2022, normalized – data source: (THE WORLD BANK, 2023)

The second premise is the current political and legislative context in Europe. During the last 15 years, the EU has shown growing commitment to more and more courageous desiderata regarding the transition to a greener economy. Indeed, the reforms in the agro-food systems were constantly among the first issues on the public agenda. The COVID-19 pandemic has greatly accelerated some processes and empowered political leaders to commit to increasingly ambitious changes. On that account, today, we have a solid set of legislative and operational instruments that leave little room for doubt regarding the future desired for the agro-food sector. One of these instruments is the food strategy of the EU, namely the "Farm to Fork" strategy. It was announced within the European Green Deal and launched a few months after it. It must set the scene for building more sustainable food systems across the Union. Consequently, the new Common Agricultural Policy (CAP 2023-27), launched at the beginning of the current year, provides a list of measures to be implemented during the next 5 years, towards a greener and fairer agriculture (DG FOR AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, 2023). The "Farm to Fork" strategy would contribute to the creation of a circular economy by minimizing the impact of the processing and distribution phases in the food supply chains. With this strategy, the EU also intends to be a global moving force that would raise the safety and sustainability standards in the food industries and help small-scale farmers achieve these standards and more easily penetrate the market: "*The EU will strive to promote international standards in the relevant international bodies and encourage the production of agri-food products complying with high safety and sustainability standards, and will support small-scale farmers in meeting these standards and in accessing markets*." (EUROPEAN UNION, 2020). All these decisions predict a betterment of the small farmers' condition and an increase in the number, scope and importance of the short food supply chains.

The new research work we intend to initiate will build on these two realities. Even though the current situation of Romanian agriculture is problematic and the statistics reveal backwardness, while, on the contrary, the described European policies imply innovation and forwardness, we believe that they might be not only compatible but even complementary. Romania has a large number of small-scale farmers, be they subsistence, semi-subsistence or

small commercial producers. According to the policies described above, the future developments of the agro-food sector in the EU will tend to focus more on the needs and potential of the small businesses engaged in local food supply chains. That is the type of business that these small-scale farmers can most easily evolve into. Undeniably, notable incentives, knowledge and assistance must be offered to enable such changes. But, all the same, we suggest that, if managed wisely, the current developing directions assumed by the EU could be a great opportunity for Romania to reduce the gap. This will be the main hypothesis of the proposed research. If it turns out true, we will try to push the effort further by formulating ideas on how these policies could be harmoniously, efficiently and sensitively implemented.

CONCLUSIONS

In the end, we must reaffirm the fact that this article is not a stand-alone contribution but rather a part of a more ambitious enterprise. It serves as a connector between the "Support Infrastructure for Small Farmers in the Ier River Valley - Strategic Masterplan" dissertation thesis and the further, more advanced research we will conduct. The analyses presented here have the prerequisite role of justifying the subject choice and the hypothesis. Now, we will summarize the main points and outcomes of these studies.

Short-distance trade networks have long been the backbone of the European economy, with direct contact between consumers, producers, agricultural elements, and processing methods being a core feature of its milieu. The current global status quo, in which the whole world is highly dependent on a long-distance supply chain, is still a relatively new paradigm. After decades of blind optimism toward general market liberalization and the neglect of local production, there are signs that important decision-makers are becoming more temperate, restrained, and cautious. The number of consulted documents must increase to get a clearer image of the course of the events that brought us to the present point.

The EU is one of the forerunners among multistate bodies showing commitment and determination in adopting structural changes. The policies elaborated and approved during the last 15 years, since the 2007-2008 food crisis, must be profoundly analysed and acknowledged because they are mandatory fundamental determinants for any possible development strategy we might try to design.

Among the counties in Romania, Bihor stands out with the highest number of AHLPs. When we consider this along with the average size of the AHLPs using agricultural land, it becomes apparent that Bihor has well-established Agricultural Food Networks (AFNs). This unique feature in Bihor's agricultural landscape could be a significant advantage for effectively implementing the current European development strategies. For this reason, we believe that Bihor County is an ideal region for experimenting with innovative approaches. We called it a "preliminary" assessment because there is a need for deepened investigations. These calculations do not take into consideration all the possible local producers since some forms of commercial activity do not require holdings with legal personality. Also, the parameters taken into consideration are not enough to make definitive affirmations. The study might be just a glimpse of light in a still-cloudy realm.

Lastly, let's revisit the hypothesis of our future endeavours. A wealth of data highlights the deficiencies and outdated nature of Romania's agricultural system when compared to more developed European nations. Nevertheless, the EU's current objectives are geared towards strengthening the enduring, age-old relationships that have shaped the continent's economic landscape for centuries. This suggests that Romania's agriculture may not need to merely catch up with highly industrialized nations. Instead, it should explore innovative approaches to adapt

to the ongoing changes and propel itself directly into the next phase of development. This way the present backwardness of Romania's agriculture might turn out to be a blessing in disguise.

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