The impact of geographical indication on the revitalisation of a regional economy: a case study of ‘Boseong’ green tea

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Geographical indications are legal signs which identify a good as originating in a specific country or region, where the reputation of the product is attributable to its geographical roots. South Korea has operated with a geographical indication system since 1999. This research analyses the regional impacts of geographical indications using the case study of ‘Boseong’ green tea. The results show that geographical indication has enhanced the image of the product, leading to increased production and the stimulation of tea-related industries. We argue that geographical indication can be used as an effective policy to cope with trade liberalisation.

Key words: geographical indication, Boseong, green tea, case study, trade liberalisation

Introduction

Many of the newly industrialising countries have relatively inefficient agricultural sectors that are shielded by steep import tariffs. These tariffs are scheduled to disappear under a sequence of incremental cuts over the next few years, as mandated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and by various bilateral and plurilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). Although free trade in agricultural goods ought to improve global economic welfare, at least from the perspective of classical trade theory, producers operating in protected markets have good reason to oppose the elimination of import tariffs. In some cases, however, certain strategic steps can be taken to minimise or even neutralise the impact of trade liberalisation. In this paper, we argue that place marketing via ‘geographical indication’ offers one possibility worth considering. Specifically, agricultural sub-sectors that are import-threatened under tariff elimination might be able to reposition themselves as producers of speciality outputs. We illustrate this point with a case study of green tea production in South Korea.

A place-related name often provides meaningful information about the quality or characteristics of a good (WIPO 2006; www.geographicindications.com 2007). Notable examples include Bordeaux wine, Scotch whisky, Havana cigars and Darjeeling tea (Srivastava 2006; Suratno 2004). A geographical indication refers to the name of a country, region or locality that serves to designate a product originating therein (Botha 2004). The quality and characteristics of the product are exclusively or essentially derived from the geographical environment, including natural and human factors (Höpperger 2000; Escudero 2001). A geographical indication is regarded as an important symbol of intellectual property because it is based on the fact that the quality or characteristics of a good, particularly an agricultural product, is closely related to the geographical attributes of the production location. Such attributes include climate,
soil and unique methods of cultivation or production (Josling 2005).

The WTO introduced ‘binding’ legal protections for geographical indications in 1995 (Watal 2001). Under the WTO system, South Korea introduced its geographical indication concept through the Agricultural Product Quality Control Act of 1999. As of 31 December 2005, 13 items have been registered as geographical indication products, including ‘Boseong’ green tea. The latter was the first product officially registered as a geographical indication in South Korea, and is arguably a remarkable success story.

A geographical indication can have a significant impact on a region’s economic performance and cultural heritage because it protects the identity of indigenous products (Girardeau 2000; Niekerk 2000; ORIGIN 2006; Stern 2000; Vital 2000). Despite the rising importance of geographical indication for regional development, recent empirical research has largely focused on legal or procedural aspects of the product certification process (e.g. Josling 2005; Rangnekar 2004; Suratno 2004). Little research exists on the impact of geographical indications on the revitalisation or stimulation of regional economies, which is rather surprising in light of the importance of this topic. This research attempts to address the impacts and implications of geographical indications utilising the case of ‘Boseong’ green tea – a product that may soon become a world leader in terms of quality and reputation. The next section provides a theoretical background to geographical indications. Next, we provide a discussion of Korea’s geographical indication system and its impact on the regional economy of the Boseong area. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the policy implications of the findings. Data for the study come from personal interviews with 18 tea producers in the Boseong agricultural region. These 18 producers represent the total regional population, and all 18 are currently protected by major import tariffs.

Theoretical background

The WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) stipulates the definition of geographical indications as follows:

Geographical indications are indications which identify a good as originating in the territory of a country, or a region or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin. (WTO/TRIPs Article 22.1)

A geographical indication is distinguished from other indications such as trademarks or quality certification in that geographical indication requires the condition that the quality or characteristic of the product should basically flow from the attributes of the geographical environment where the product originated (Beresford 2000; Harte-Bavendamm 2000).

From a theoretical perspective, geographical indications can best be understood in terms of the economics of information. Agricultural products, which are the most suitable for geographical indications, are termed ‘experience goods’ because their quality cannot be judged before using them. In the case of experience goods, asymmetric information exists between buyers and sellers, which causes the problem of ‘adverse selection’ where low-quality products drive high-quality products out of the market (Akerlof 1970). This represents a common type of market failure, which often requires government intervention of some sort. A reasonable government action in this case is to provide a more accurate information on the attributes of the product, so that consumers can make better purchasing decisions. In this regard, a geographical indication can function as an important method of market signalling to assure the quality of the product, and thus reduce the degree of asymmetric information between traders (Josling et al. 2004; Rangnekar 2004).

Geographical indications are increasingly viewed as helpful tools for achieving product differentiation, and can increase economic efficiency because such measures provide producers with incentives to deliver appropriate supply to the market (Nelson 1970; Josling 2005; Klein and Leffler 1981; Moschini 2004). In addition, as geographical indications grant regional communities exclusive rights to their indigenous products, these measures can also provide effective methods for the preservation of regional cultural heritage. The development of regional cultural industries through geographical indications not only spurs additional production, income and employment, but also enhances the identity and image of the region in question. In this sense, a geographical indication reflects post-Fordism in a spatial dimension because, in the era of post-Fordism where mass marketing is giving way to more targeted marketing, the source of competitiveness is a region’s own specialty and distinctiveness.

It was from the seventeenth century among European countries that the idea of geographical indication first emerged. The European countries, which already possessed many internationally competitive regional
indigenous products with long histories and traditions, wanted to have a mechanism that could protect the geographical indications of their products (ORIGIN 2005). According to Lillywhite et al. (2005), the first international convention regarding geographical indication was the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883), which was followed by the Madrid Agreement for the Repression of False or Deceptive Indications of Source on Goods (1891) and the Lisbon Agreement for the Protection of Appellations of Origin and their International Registration (1958).

The WTO/TRIPs of 1995 was the first Agreement on geographical indications with ‘binding’ effect, in that unilateral retaliation is now permitted in cases where the 1995 Agreement is violated (Mascus 2000). Because the Conventions for geographical indications prior to the WTO were based on the Parties’ voluntary participation, it was not possible to legally enforce these Conventions on non-participating members. In contrast, the WTO/TRIPs have a binding legal effect on all 149 WTO member countries (Baeumer 1999; Babcock and Clemens 2004; Blakeney 2001; Geuze 1999; Wasescha 2000). The WTO/TRIPs took effect for some 30 developed countries from 1996 and for some 70 developing and transitional economies from 2000. Korea, which was one of the original members of the WTO, was required to harmonise its domestic laws on intellectual property rights including geographical indication with the WTO/TRIPs by 2000. Accordingly, Korea enacted its Agricultural Product Quality Control Act in 1999 to implement the Articles on geographical indications stipulated by the WTO/TRIPs.

South Korea’s geographical indication system

As mentioned above, the legal foundation of Korea’s geographical indication system revolves around the Agricultural Product Quality Control Act of 1999. The main purpose of this Act was to enhance the quality of regionally specialised items to raise regional income levels. Another purpose was to provide consumers with accurate information regarding product quality. As of December 2005, 13 products including ‘Boseong’ green tea were officially registered as geographical indication products. The National Agricultural Products Quality Management Service under the Ministry of Agriculture is in charge of the administration of geographical indications.

Eligibility for geographical indication requires a unified coalition of producers and processors within a tightly specified region. The producers and processors should be organised as a legal person. There are three critical criteria in judging whether to grant a geographical indication. First, the quality of the product must be well known. Applicants must submit documentary evidence to verify the fame of the product. These materials might include historical data found in old documents or testimonials, newspaper articles or award-winning records. Second, the product of the region must be differentiated from like-products from other regions. Product differentiation needs objective data (e.g. data on the components of the product). Third, the quality, reputation or other characteristics of the product must originate from the particular geographical and human factors of the region. In other words, the product should be significantly affected by regional geographical factors such as climate, soil, terrain or human factors such as unique production methods.

The regional division for the geographical indication does not necessarily coincide with the administrative one because, even within the same administrative district, the area adjacent to the sea and the area below the mountain can be different in terms of geographical attributes. Therefore, applicants themselves are required to define the geographical indication region.

Case study of Boseong green tea

There are 18 producers of green tea products operating under geographical indication in Boseong. One of the authors interviewed all 18 of these producers to examine the impact of geographical indication. In addition, officials in the local government who have played important roles in introducing and implementing the geographical indication of Boseong green tea were also interviewed. Boseong County is located in the southern coastal area of the Korean peninsula (Figure 1). Its territorial size is 663 km² and its population was 54 288 in 2004. In terms of industrial structure, primary, secondary and tertiary industries account for 64.2, 6.9 and 28.9 per cent of total 2004 employment, respectively. The county is surrounded by mountains and hills with fertile soil. The climate of Boseong is generally warm and rainy, with an average annual temperature of 12.6°C (0.5°C in January and 27.8°C in August) and average annual precipitation of 1647 mm. These are near-perfect conditions for the cultivation of green tea.
The history of green tea in Boseong spans almost 1600 years. The high quality of Boseong green tea is based on localised conditions in terms of climate, soil and terrain. Boseong green tea has its own distinctive smell and taste. Today, Boseong is responsible for 29.3 per cent of the total green tea acreage in Korea, and accounts for 46.4 per cent (1131 tonnes) of total green tea production. As a result, Boseong has become the biggest tea-producing location in Korea. Large-scale tea patches were first formed in Boseong in the 1930s. By the 1970s, numerous terraced farms as large as 100 hectares could be found alongside the mountains. But the 1980s and early 1990s witnessed falling tea demand, resulting in reduced production, the idling of tea patches and changing patterns of agricultural land use. Under these circumstances, the move toward liberalisation of agricultural markets through the WTO and FTAs in the 1990s served as an important momentum for Boseong to seek new ideas and measures to increase its competitiveness in agriculture and to revitalise the regional economy. An official in the local government of Boseong who played a key role in the introduction of geographical indication recollects the circumstances of that time as follows:

The most direct motive for considering the geographical indication for our green tea was to meet the trade liberalization trend in the 1990s. In 1999 the local government was taking efforts to prepare measures to cope with trade liberalization in agriculture through the WTO and FTAs, when we heard the news that the central government of the Ministry of Agriculture would launch a geographical indication system through the Agricultural Product Quality Control Act. We thought that if the quality of our green tea could be officially acknowledged by the geographical indication, it would serve as an important foundation to compete with cheap imported teas. In this sense, closely cooperating with the Ministry of Agriculture and National Agricultural Products Quality Management Service which are in charge of the geographical indication system, we could finally succeed in registering our green tea as the first geographical indication product in Korea in January 2002.

The local government decided to position its green tea industry as an engine of regional development, and drew up a comprehensive innovation plan based on initiatives to boost product quality. A systematic network was organised among related agencies including the local government, universities, research institutes, the Korea Intellectual Property Foundation and the Association of Boseong green tea producers. More specifically, the local government set up a project team to support the green tea businesses via the Regional Innovation System promotion project established by the Ministry of Industry. The project team was in charge of administrative and financial support and innovation planning for the green tea industry. Local universities and research institutes made efforts to develop new methods of scientific production, organic farming and the creation of higher value-added products. In addition, newspapers and TV advertised the beneficial medical effects of ‘Boseong’ green tea. As a result, the green tea industry of Boseong has grown into an integrated industry including cultivation, processing and tourism.

Economic impact of geographical indication on Boseong County

To examine the impact of the geographical indication on the revitalisation of the regional economy, all of the 18 producers who have the exclusive right to use the geographical indication and important officials in the local government were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in February 2006. Table 1 shows the names and farm sizes of the 18 producers.
The main issues that were addressed in the interviews included: (i) the impact of the geographical indication on production and sales; (ii) the effectiveness of geographical indication in light of rising import competition through trade liberalisation; (iii) the impact of geographical indication on tourism and the preservation of regional cultural heritage; (iv) the specific process in implementing the geographical indication; and (v) the interaction among producers for quality control.

Quality improvement
The most prominent effect of geographical indication pertains to quality control and quality improvement. All of the 18 producers responded that the most salient aspect of the geographical indication concerns quality management. One producer noted that:

Since the introduction of the geographical indication system, the image of Boseong green tea has been greatly enhanced. While the image of Boseong tea was vague in the past, the geographical indication made the image more evident because the geographical indication means that the quality of the product has been officially acknowledged. We are very proud of the fact that Boseong green tea is the first product to have been officially registered as a geographical indication in Korea. In this era of trade liberalization, quantity or price is no longer effective to cope with cheap imported agricultural products from countries such as China, for example. Now is the time to compete with quality.

Also, an official in the local government stated that:

The thing that we put the most emphasis [on] with regard to the geographical indication is quality control so that Boseong green tea can be continuously acknowledged as a reliable brand. To make Boseong green tea an internationally famous brand like French Cognac for example, we think the most important thing is to continuously strengthen quality management. Geographical indication should fail unless appropriate quality control is guaranteed. Therefore we are making efforts to enhance the quality and to keep the quality standardized.

For quality control, persons concerned with the geographical indication including green tea producers, local officials and experts in research institutes regularly have ‘quality evaluation meetings’. One producer explained that:

We randomly pick up Boseong green teas with geographical indication in the markets and bring them to the evaluation meeting place. The persons concerned evaluate them through senses such as taste, color, and smell. In addition, we compare our products with like-products from other regions. In this process we give advice for inferior products to enhance the quality and keep the quality standardized. Because the local producers share the same experience and meet often, it is easy to communicate with each other to reach a common understanding. Because even one or two products which fall behind the quality requirement can damage the whole image of Boseong green tea, this quality evaluation meeting functions as a kind of peer pressure and plays an important role for quality control.

Because one of the conditions for registration of geographical indication is that the producers should be organised as the same legal person, the producers tend to be tied to a common fate. This contributes to information sharing, education and training in a cooperative manner to strengthen learning effects regarding quality improvement. The learning effect based on information sharing among producers organised under the same legal person makes the Boseong green tea industry highly unified. As Scott (1995) and Storper (1997) suggest, close interaction among producers within the same geographical indication region promotes the exchange of information and resources, leading to improved quality control measures.
of tacit knowledge among producers. Information sharing at the regional level introduces positive externalities, and provides producers with an important foundation for innovation (Krugman 2000).

As a result of these quality control and management initiatives, the superiority of Boseong green tea has been continuously recognised among consumers. According to a national survey of Korean consumers, which was conducted after the implementation of the geographical indication, 87 per cent of the respondents replied that they thought much of the origin when they bought green tea. Moreover, an overwhelming majority (93%) related Boseong to the most important origin of green tea, whereas 85 per cent recognised that the quality of Boseong green tea is typically excellent. The survey results confirmed that there exists a high recognition of the quality of Boseong green tea among Korean consumers since the introduction of the geographical indication.

**Product marketing**

The interview results also revealed that geographical indication has had a positive impact on prices and production levels, largely as a result of improved marketing. Since the geographical indication, the market price of Boseong green tea has increased by 90 per cent as a result of its enhanced image and brand value. In contrast, market prices for non-Boseong tea produced elsewhere in Korea have not changed to any significant degree since the 1990s.

Since the geographical indication, the green tea patches in Boseong have expanded from 325.7 hectares in 1997 to 885.4 hectares in 2005 (Table 2). Production has also increased from 505 tonnes in 1997 to 1246 tonnes in 2005. The number of green tea households has increased from 174 in 2001 to 982 in 2005 (Table 3). The number of green tea manufacturers in Boseong has also increased from 16 in 2001 to 41 in 2005.

Since the adoption of geographical indication in 1999, tea production in the Boseong region has increased by over 110 per cent, while the acreage under cultivation has increased by 117 per cent (Table 2). One producer noted that:

> Since the geographical indication, the consumers’ recognition and price of Boseong green tea has increased, which in turn has contributed to the increase of production. On average the production grows by 20–30% every year. Taking into account the fact that a lot of additional tea trees were planted recently, more accelerated production can be expected in 3–4 years when the trees can produce teas.

Significantly, the impact of geographical indication has been more pronounced for larger producers than for smaller ones. This is because larger farms tend to be more sensitive to market circumstances, as well as to the brand power based on geographical indication. Larger producers therefore have more incentives to join the geographical indication. While smaller producers also confirmed that the impact of geographical indication has been positive, most of the latter noted that maintaining stable relationships with buyers is more important.

**Trade policy**

According to the interview results, geographical indication is expected to function as an effective measure to cope with trade liberalisation. Korea’s current import tariff on green tea amounts to 514 per cent, and these high tariffs have been in place for several decades. Currently, the price of green tea in Korea is fully four times higher than the competitive international price. If the import tariff is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size (ha)</th>
<th>Production (ton)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>325.7</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>346.9</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>406.8</td>
<td>590</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>439.8</td>
<td>642</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>691</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>960</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>551.3</td>
<td>966</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>646.3</td>
<td>1131</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>885.4</td>
<td>1246</td>
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**Table 2 Changes of cultivating land size and production of green tea in Boseong**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boseong</th>
<th>Korea</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>4968</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>885.3</td>
<td>3314.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>3481.2</td>
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</tbody>
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**Table 3 Comparison with the national statistics (2005)**

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Boseong</th>
<th>Korea</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of green-tea households</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>4968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivating land size (ha)</td>
<td>885.3</td>
<td>3314.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production (ton)</td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>3481.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Local government
reduced in accordance with WTO directives, then domestic green tea producers may have difficulty competing with cheaper imports. In fact, according to the interview results, most producers feel seriously threatened by the trend toward trade liberalisation. However, they admitted that in this globalisation era the trend of trade liberalisation is inevitable. In particular, they answered that the geographical indication can be a good policy to cope with trade liberalisation. One producer mentioned that:

We cannot block open market policy that comes with the WTO or FTAs. However, if the geographical indication brings about quality improvement and enhances consumers’ recognition of our products, I think trade liberalization may come as an opportunity rather than a threat.

These results suggest that quality improvement via geographical indication can be a critical element in coping with trade liberalisation. If consumers’ recognition of domestic agricultural products increases to the extent that they perceive such products as luxury brands, then domestic products may be able to compete with cheaper imports via product differentiation (Lillywhite et al. 2005).

Place marketing and tourism
Geographical indication has also had a positive impact on place marketing and tourism. Since the geographical indication, the general public’s awareness of the Boseong region has increased significantly. The producers and local officials responded that since geographical indication, tourist numbers visiting Boseong have increased substantially because of the enhanced image of the place (see Figure 2). Since 1999, there has been close to a 300 per cent increase in the number of tourists visiting the Boseong area.

The expansion of green tea patches since the geographical indication has made Boseong an increasingly popular tourist destination for Koreans. The terraced patches covered with green tea leaves have frequently appeared as a background in many movies, TV dramas and commercials. According to a survey by the Korea Tourism Organization in 2004, Boseong was chosen as the most favourable visiting place among Koreans. This implies that geographical indication plays an important role not only for product marketing but also for place marketing. In other words, the geographical indication contributes to enhancing the place image as well as the product image. Taking advantage of the enhanced place image, the local government has developed many green tea-related tourism initiatives such as the green tea festival, the green tea resort town and train tours to Boseong green tea patches. As a result, the number of tourists visiting Boseong has sharply increased to 5.5 million in 2004. An official in the local government mentioned that:

Since the geographical indication, the general public’s recognition of Boseong has become higher and better. The equation that ‘Boseong is green tea and green tea is Boseong’ has been rooted in the minds of the general public. With the current well-being trend, the tourists to Boseong have been greatly growing. We are trying for the general public to relate Boseong to the word of rest or relaxation.

Today, many local governments are vigorously attempting to jump-start their regional economies through place marketing. The basic and essential foundation for place marketing revolves around territorially embedded assets. Because geographical indication officially assures and advertises regional assets, it can be an efficient method for place marketing. Kearns and Philo (1993) indicate that the image of the place is very important for place marketing and geographical indication has a critical impact on the image of the place as well as the image of the product. Moreover, because geographical indication often uses already well-known place names, marketing costs at the early stage are often not very high. An official in the local government explains that:

With the current well-being trend, our county is utilizing the geographical indication as an effective
method to relate product image to place image. Since the geographical indication, both the product image and the place image have been enhanced, which contributes to the increase of tourists visiting Boseong. The local government is promoting various green tea-related programs to amplify the synergy effect. For example, we are trying to make the tourists drink green teas at local cafes and eat green-tea processed foods at local restaurants and buy tea sets at local stores. We expect that the geographical indication will play a great role in developing the regional economy.

Overall, geographical indication has had positive impacts on primary (cultivation), secondary (processing) and tertiary (tourism) industries in Boseong. In addition, backward and forward linkages related to the green tea industry have created positive ripple effects across the regional economy (Table 4). The green tea industry of Boseong has developed into what includes various value-added dimensions not only of tea cultivation but also processed foods and green tea-related tourism. Since the geographical indication, the regional income related to green tea industry has risen to more than 40 per cent of the total regional income in Boseong.

In sum, the geographical indication of Boseong green tea is widely regarded as a success model for rural areas that might otherwise have been in a difficult position in this era of trade liberalisation in an industry-oriented country like Korea. Having said this, two important caveats warrant brief mention. First, we were not in a position to statistically verify a direct causal link between regional income growth and the development of the green tea industry under geographical indication. Nevertheless, the remarkable growth of the Boseong region since the introduction of geographical indication is surely more than a coincidence. Our second caveat is that import tariffs on foreign green tea have yet to be eliminated. We will need to wait several years to see how Boseong producers fare under free trade.

Despite these caveats, we are optimistic about the prospects facing Boseong producers. Recall that Boseong prices almost doubled between 2002 and 2006, whereas prices for domestic tea grown elsewhere in Korea hardly changed at all. In short, demand has expanded rapidly for the highest quality tea – not the cheap stuff. Even so, Korean consumers will soon see a 500 per cent drop in the price of imported tea. Can Boseong compete with this? As tea drinkers, we believe that Boseong has nothing to worry about. Prices are rising (demand-driven), consumption is increasing and new trees are being added to the supply-base as we write. Outside the Boseong region, however, indigenous producers of cheaper products may not be able to survive the looming tariff cuts because they do not enjoy the same reputation for product quality as their Boseong counterparts.

### Summary and conclusion

Consumer preferences continue to shift from quantity to quality, especially with respect to agricultural products. Consumers are becoming more interested in the history and cultural aspects surrounding the products they buy. In the post-Fordism era, the uniqueness of a region can be a key source of competitive advantage. Geographical indication leads to higher value-added products through product differentiation based on guaranteed quality; it protects consumers because it provides officially certified information regarding product attributes; and it enhances and preserves the identity and cultural heritage of the region (Nyaga 2004; Addor and Grazioli 2002).

The international certification of Boseong green tea under geographic indication has quickly assisted the regional economy. In the space of only six years, production has doubled, tourist numbers have tripled and prices have increased by more than 90 per cent. But legal certification alone does not fully explain this growth. Instead, growth has been powered by concerted efforts among producers and a variety of public agencies, all of whom have acted collectively to improve and sustain local product quality. At this stage in the development of Boseong’s tea industry, however, most producers are small or medium-sized. Significant export sales have yet to emerge, and farmers remain protected.

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Table 4  **Green tea-related income in Boseong (2004)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount (million dollars)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Green tea leaves</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processed foods</td>
<td>334.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>128.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green-tea pork</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backward and forward linkage effects</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>512.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Local government
by high import tariffs. But the next phase of development ought to be interesting, if only because the region is laying the groundwork for future export marketing. Despite the imminent threat of import competition, South Korea may yet turn out to be a net exporter of green tea. Lest one get the impression that South Korea is an outlier in this regard, we should note that other newly industrialising nations have been experimenting with similar tactics. Notable examples include Thailand (Jasmine rice), South Africa (Rooibos tea) and Chile (Pisco liquor). We do not know how these place-based marketing games will play out over the next few years. It will, however, be interesting to monitor the extent of success versus failure under different types of geographical indication strategies for different nations, regions and products. The authors plan to watch closely as the various games unfold.

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