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Numbers and spatial distribution of payments granting decisions within the Common Agricultural Policy measures implemented in Poland over years 2002-2010

Abstract. The article offers an assessment of spatial differences in the structure of payment granting decisions under the EU Common Agricultural Policy. The analysis was conducted for individual EU assistance measures divided into two groups: 1) intensifying measures, intended to step up production and improve the competitiveness of agriculture and 2) extensifying measures, intended to improve the environment and to help rural areas to diversify into non-agricultural activities. It was demonstrated that payments of group 2 prevailed in numerical terms, which was largely a result of the high participation of agricultural holdings in the agri-environmental programme.

Key words: Common Agricultural Policy, payment granting decisions, agricultural holdings.

Introduction

Poland's membership in the European Union and the wide spectrum of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) instruments that this fact has made available to Polish agricultural holdings have opened up great opportunities of rural development and farm modernisation. This is an especially important issue because Poland displays wide spatial differences in its agriculture, mostly due to natural, historical and urbanisation-related factors [Bański 2007; Głębocki & Rudnicki 2008]. Those differences determine how the Community means are employed. An analysis seeking to establish this was conducted on the basis of decisions granting CAP payments absorbed over the years 2002-2010 by agricultural holdings participating in several operational programmes carried out in the pre-accession period (years 2002-2004, the Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development, SAPARD), the first financial period of Poland's EU membership (years 2004-2006, Rural Development Plan, RDP) and the Sectoral Operational Programme 'Restructuring and Modernisation of the Food Sector and Rural Development' (SOP_Agri for short), as well as in the currently implemented measures under the Rural Development Programme 2007-2013 (as of the end of 2010). The basis of the analysis was the proportion of a given type of payment in the total number of payments granted by the Agency for Restructuring and Modernisation of Agriculture (AR&MA), considered in two structural approaches:

- detailed, with reference to thirteen EU assistance measures
- synthetic (general), with reference to a proposed division of those measures into two groups, viz. (1) intensifying measures, intended to step up production and improve the competitiveness of agriculture, and (2) extensifying measures,

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intended to improve the environment and to help rural areas to diversify into non-agricultural activities (ignored in the analysis was the RDP measure of the area payment type, i.e. the support for agricultural activity in less-favoured areas, LFA).

In spatial terms, the analysis is made by region (voivodeship) as well as by powiat (district), or rather by AR&MA powiat office (314 in Poland). It should be kept in mind that in the Agency register, powiat-ranking towns are filed together with their respective non-urban powiats, and if there is no corresponding non-urban powiat, the territorial range is defined by geographical location. Characterisation of the organisational division of AR&MA into regional branches and powiat offices was done by Rudnicki [2009, pp. 6-8].

Number of decisions granting a payment from the EU funds: a detailed approach

In years 2002-2010, the agricultural holdings in Poland had access to four programmes and thirteen EU assistance measures, including two measures in years 2002-2004 (SAPARD) [cf. Przedakcesyjny... 2008], nine measures in years 2004-2006 (RDP and SOP_Agri) [cf. Plan... 2004; Sektorowy... 2004; Rudnicki 2010] and ten measures in years 2007-2010 (RDP) [cf. Program... 2007]. Over that period a total of 840.9 thousand decisions were made granting payments under several EU assistance measures for agriculture. They are discussed below.

Setting-up of young farmers

This measure was intended to improve the age structure of farm operators; the target group of the financial assistance were young farmers, up to 40 years of age, who started running an agricultural holding of their own. Over the study period, a total of 30.1 thousand such subsidies were granted, including 14.1 thousand in years 2004-2006 (50 thousand PLN per application under SOP_Agri) and 16.0 thousand in 2007-2010 (75 thousand PLN per application under RDP 2007-2013) which was 3.6% of the total number of payment granting decisions (cf. position A.1 in Table 1). This index varied by voivodeship from 1.4% in Subcarpathia to 4.8% in Wielkopolska (cf. Table 2), and by powiat from zero payments in Tatra powiat (Małopolska voivodeship) to 15% in Strzelin (Lower Silesia).

Structural pensions

The measure, addressed to farmers of pre-retirement age (from 55 years old to the retirement threshold), was intended to accelerate the process of generational exchange among farm operators and to improve the farm-size structure. Over years 2004-2010 there were 67.7 thousand applications (the bulk, i.e. 54 thousand, under the RDP 2004-2006; cf. position A.2 in Table 1), which accounted for 8% of the total number of payments. This index varied between 4% in Lubuska Land and 13% in Silesia (cf. Table 2). By powiat, the variation ranged from 1.5% in Bieszczady powiat (Subcarpathia) to 34.1% in Strzelin (Lower Silesia).

Table 1. Decisions granting payments under individual measures of the EU assistance programmes for Polish agriculture and their share in the total number of payments in 2002-2010

Code	EU assistance measures	Number of decisions in years, thousand				% of all decisions
		2002-2004	2004-2006	2007-2010	total	
Intensifying measures intended to step up production and to improve competitiveness of agriculture (group I)						
I.1.	Setting-up of young farmers	-	14.1	16.0	30.1	3.6
I.2.	Structural pensions	-	54.0	13.7	67.7	8.0
I.3.	Investment in agricultural holdings and modernisation of agricultural holdings	12.9	24.1	29.1	66.1	7.9
I.4.	Use of advisory services by farmers and forest holders	-	-	10.9	10.9	1.3
I.5.	Adding value to primary agricultural and forestry products	-	-	0.9	0.9	0.1
I.6.	Restoring agricultural production potential damaged by natural disasters	-	-	2.2	2.2	0.3
I.7.	Support for semi-subsistence farms undergoing restructuring	-	157.7	-	157.7	18.7
	Total of group I measures	12.9	249.9	72.8	335.6	39.9
Extensifying measures intended to improve the natural environment and help rural areas to diversify into non-agricultural activities (group E)						
E.1.	Agri-environmental payments	-	308.7	97.2	405.9	48.3
E.2.	Afforestation of agricultural land	-	9.0	6.3	15.3	1.8
E.3.	Adaptation of agricultural holdings to EU standards	-	69.7	-	69.7	8.3
E.4.	Development and improvement of farming related physical infrastructure	-	3.4	-	3.4	0.4
E.5.	Diversification into non-agricultural activities	1.5	4.0	3.1	8.6	1.0
E.6.	Creation and development of micro-enterprises	-	-	2.4	2.4	0.3
	Total of group E measures	1.5	394.9	108.9	505.3	60.1
	Total measures of groups I and E	14.4	644.8	181.7	840.9	100.0

Source: own compilation on the basis of data from the AR&MA System of Managerial Information.

Investment in agricultural holdings and modernisation of agricultural holdings

The measure, implemented over years 2002-2004 (Investment in agricultural holdings under SAPARD, 12.9 thousand payments), 2004-2006 (Investment in agricultural holdings under SOP_Agri, 24.1 thousand payments) and 2007-2010 (Modernisation of agricultural holdings under RDP 2007-2013, 29.1 thousand payments; cf. position I.3 in Table 1), was intended to support projects of farm modernisation (e.g. the construction or renovation of buildings and the purchase of machines and equipment). A total of 66.1 thousand applications was granted, or 7.9% of the national number of payments. By voivodeship, the figure ranged from 3% in Subcarpathia to 10.7% in Mazovia (cf. Table 2), and by powiat, from 1% in Bieszczady and Lesko powiats (Subcarpathia) to 30.2% in Rawa (Łódź) and as

much as 43.7% in Grójec powiat (Mazovia).

Use of advisory services by farmers and forest holders

This measure involved:

- enforcing the principle of cross-compliance, i.e. helping farmers to link the payments received with respect for compulsory standards in the areas of the environment, public, animal and plant health and animal welfare
- boosting the profitability and competitiveness of agricultural and forest holdings
- support for restructuring, development and innovation in agricultural and forest holdings
- environmental protection
- improving safety at work.

The measure was implemented only under RDP 2007-2013 and over years 2007-2010. It resulted in 10.9 thousand payments or 1.3% of the total (cf. position I.4 in Table 1). The proportion varied by voivodeship from 0.1% in Lubuska Land to 4.0% in Warmia-Mazuria (cf. Table 2), and by powiat, from the absence of this measure in 23 units, most of them in Małopolska (6 powiats) and Mazovia (8 powiats), to more than 10% in the powiats of Rybnik 10.3% (Silesia), Prudnik 10.5% (Opole) and Łobez 14.7% (West Pomerania).

Adding value to primary agricultural and forestry products

The measure was intended to boost the competitiveness of enterprises (including agricultural holdings) by improving processing and marketing of agricultural and forestry products. It was distinguished under RDP 2007-2013, and in Poland 0.9 thousand payments were granted in this field over years 2007-2010 to a mere 0.1% of agricultural holdings (cf. position I.5 in Table 1). The index ranged from under 0.1% in the voivodeships of eastern Poland, i.e. Lublin, Subcarpathia, Podlasie, Świętokrzyska Land and Warmia-Mazuria to 0.5 in Silesia (cf. Table 2). By powiat, the variability ranged from zero in 66 units representing all the voivodeships except Silesia (the leaders being Lower Silesia with 14 powiats, Subcarpathia with 10, and Warmia-Mazuria with 8) to 2.0% in Będzin and 2.7% in Wodzisław (both powiats in Silesia).

Restoring agricultural production potential damaged by natural disasters and introducing appropriate prevention actions

The measure was a form of financial support for farms that had lost their production potential as a result of a natural disaster. This measure was distinguished under RDP 2007-2013, and in Poland 2.2 thousand payments were granted in this field over years 2007-2010 or 0.3% of the total number of payments. By voivodeship, the proportion ranged from zero in Warmia-Mazuria to 0.9% in Świętokrzyska Land, and by powiat from zero in 209 units (in all the voivodeships) to 6.3% in Kędzierzyn-Koźle (Opole voivodeship), 7.8% in Tarnobrzeg (Subcarpathia) and 12.2% in Opole powiat (Lublin voivodeship; cf. position I.6 in Tables 1 and 2).

Support for semi-subsistence farms undergoing restructuring

The measure ensured financial assistance necessary to help preserve the financial liquidity of farms with a small production scale, up to 4 ESU. This measure was only established under RDP 2004-2006; 157.7 thousand payments were granted under it, which

accounted for 18.7% of the total number of applications (cf. position I.7 in Table 1). By voivodeship, this index varied between 5.7% in West Pomerania and about 30% in Małopolska and Świętokrzyska Land (cf. Table 2) and by powiat between 1.8% in Złotów (Wielkopolska) and 54.2% in Opoczno (Łódź).

Agri-environmental payments

The measure was intended to encourage farmers to introduce or continue agricultural production methods compatible with protection and improvement of the natural environment. This measure was implemented under RDP 2004-2006 as ‘Support for agri-environmental ventures and improvement of animal welfare’ (308.7 thousand payments granted in the form of seven packages embracing the entire country or selected priority zones) and under RDP 2007-13 as ‘The agri-environmental programme’ (by 2010, 97.2 thousand payments granted in the form of nine packages embracing the entire country). In all, over years 2004-2010 there were 405.9 thousand agri-environmental payments (one holding could apply for assistance under up to 3 packages) which accounted for 48.3% of the total number of payments, from under 40% in Łódź (36.9%) and Mazovia (35.2%), to more than 70% in Lubuska Land (74.5%) and West Pomerania (71%; cf. position E.1 in Tables 1 and 3). By powiat, this index of agricultural holdings participation in the agri-environmental programme ranged from under 15% in Strzelin (11.5%, Lower Silesia), Grójec (13.7%, Mazovia) and Łowicz poviats (14.9%, Łódź) to nearly 90% in Bieszczady powiat (87.8%, Subcarpathia).

Afforestation of agricultural land and afforestation of non-agricultural land

The measure was intended to help extending forest resources on land used by agricultural holdings. It was implemented under RDP 2004-2006 (Afforestation of agricultural land of low farming use; 9 thousand payments granted) and RDP 2007-2013 (when the measure was extended to the afforestation of land other than agricultural; 6.3 thousand payments granted over years 2007-2010; cf. position E.2 in Table 1). In all, there were 15.3 thousand payments, or 1.8% of the total number (cf. Table 3). By voivodeship, the index varied from 0.9% in Małopolska to 4.6% in Subcarpathia and 4.8% in Warmia-Mazuria and by powiat, from lack of afforestation in Dzierżoniów (Lower Silesia), Racibórz (Silesia) and Tatra poviats (Małopolska) to 9-10% in Bartoszyce, Elbląg and Olecko (Warmia-Mazuria) as well as in West Warsaw (Mazovia) and 11% in Strzyżów poviats (Subcarpathia).

Adaptation of agricultural holdings to EU standards

The aim was to adjust farms to Community standards in such fields as environmental protection, hygiene, animal welfare, and food safety. This measure was only implemented under RDP 2004-2006, when 69.7 thousand of payments were granted, which amounted to 8.3% of the total number of payments under the Community programmes in Polish agriculture over years 2002-2010 (cf. position E.3 in Table 1). By voivodeship, this index equalled from under 2% in Małopolska (1.9%) and Subcarpathia (1.4%) to 20.8% in Kujavia-Pomerania (cf. Table 3). By powiat, it varied from zero payments in Będzin (Silesia), Łańcut (Subcarpathia) and Tatra (Małopolska) to over 30%: 30.5% in Przasnysz, 32.4% in Ciechanów (Mazovia), 31.3% in Rypin, and 33.6% in Chełm poviats (Kujavia-Pomerania).

Table 2. Numbers and spatial distribution of decisions granting payments under the EU assistance programmes for agriculture in 2002-2010, group of intensifying measures

Voivodeship	Number of		% of all decisions						
	both type decisions	all type I decisions	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6	I.7
Lower Silesia	26431	37.6	4.3	13.5	7.4	0.8	0.1	0.1	11.4
Kujavia-Pomerania	60438	35.3	4.2	8.8	9.4	2.5	0.1	0.1	10.2
Lublin	113364	41.0	3.0	6.2	6.2	0.2	0.1	0.6	24.6
Lubuska Land	17291	19.3	2.6	4.0	5.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	6.5
Łódź	67675	52.0	4.1	10.3	7.5	0.5	0.1	0.0	29.3
Małopolska	47356	46.6	1.9	6.6	6.5	0.8	0.1	0.5	30.3
Mazovia	112529	49.2	4.7	10.3	10.7	0.8	0.1	0.2	22.4
Opole	19344	36.0	4.1	10.3	8.8	3.4	0.1	0.6	8.7
Subcarpathia	47066	35.4	1.4	7.3	3.0	1.6	0.1	0.4	21.8
Podlasie	56130	39.3	4.6	9.4	9.9	1.7	0.1	0.0	13.7
Pomerania	41338	24.5	2.9	4.8	6.5	1.3	0.1	0.0	8.9
Silesia	15198	45.9	4.2	12.9	8.7	1.7	0.5	0.2	17.6
Świętokrzyska Land	66582	47.0	2.0	6.4	6.8	0.4	0.1	0.9	30.4
Warmia-Mazuria	33566	31.4	4.2	7.3	8.2	4.0	0.1	0.0	7.5
Wielkopolska	86356	35.0	4.8	7.3	10.1	1.5	0.2	0.0	11.2
West Pomerania	30252	23.3	2.7	5.6	5.4	3.8	0.1	0.0	5.7
Poland total	840916	39.9	3.6	8.0	7.9	1.3	0.1	0.3	18.7

* symbols of measures as in Table 1

Source: as in Table 1.

Development and improvement of farming related physical infrastructure

The measure was intended to improve equipment of farms with the modern physical infrastructure, especially the kind important from an environmental point of view, e.g. water-and-sewage facilities. This measure was distinguished under RDP 2004-2006, when 3.4 thousand payments were granted, or 0.4% of the total (cf. position E.4 in Table 1). The index varied by voivodeship from 0.1% in Lower Silesia to 0.9% in Opole (cf. Table 3) and by powiat, from zero in 42 units (the largest number in Lower Silesia, 8 powiats) to more than 2% in Zambrów (2.4%, Podlasie) and Mikołów (2.8%, Silesia).

Diversification into non-agricultural activities

The measure offered financial support for investment projects intended to launch an additional economic activity on farms (e.g. agritourism, services for agriculture and small-scale processing of agricultural produce). It was implemented over years 2002-2004 (the scheme 'Creation of additional income sources in agricultural holdings' under SAPARD, 1.5 thousand payments), in 2004-2006 (the measure 'Diversification of agricultural and agriculture-related activity to ensure a diversity of ventures or alternative sources of income' under SOP_Agri, 4 thousand payments) and in 2007-2010 (the measure

'Diversification into non-agricultural activities' under RDP 2007-2013, 3.1 thousand payments). In sum, 8.6 thousand applications were granted, or 1% of all payments: from 0.6% in West Pomerania to 2.4% in Silesia (cf. position E.5 in Tables 1 and 3). By poviat, this index ranged from zero in Bieruń-Łędzin (Silesia) to over 5% in Tatra (6.2%, Małopolska) and Mikołów 7.0% (Silesia), and even exceeded 10% in Żywiec poviat (12.6%, Silesia).

Table 3. Numbers and spatial distribution of decisions granting payments under the EU assistance programmes for agriculture in 2002-2010, group of extensifying measures

Voivodeship	Number of		% of all decisions					
	both type decisions	all type E decisions	E.1	E.2	E.3	E.4	E.5	E.6
Lower Silesia	26431	62.4	56.7	2.2	2.3	0.1	0.9	0.2
Kujavia-Pomerania	60438	64.7	41.4	1.3	20.8	0.3	0.8	0.1
Lublin	113364	59.0	53.2	1.2	2.7	0.6	1.2	0.2
Lubuska Land	17291	80.7	74.5	1.9	3.1	0.2	0.8	0.2
Łódź	67675	48.0	36.9	1.6	8.2	0.4	0.7	0.1
Małopolska	47356	53.4	48.0	0.9	1.9	0.4	1.7	0.5
Mazovia	112529	50.8	35.2	2.1	11.9	0.4	0.9	0.2
Opole	19344	64.0	57.6	1.0	3.0	0.9	1.2	0.3
Subcarpathia	47066	64.6	56.3	4.6	1.4	0.2	1.5	0.6
Podlasie	56130	60.7	46.3	1.8	10.4	0.7	1.1	0.3
Pomerania	41338	75.5	62.1	1.5	10.6	0.3	0.8	0.3
Silesia	15198	54.1	43.8	1.8	4.2	0.5	2.4	1.5
Świętokrzyska Land	66582	53.0	47.7	1.9	2.0	0.4	0.9	0.2
Warmia-Mazuria	33566	68.6	50.0	4.8	12.3	0.2	1.1	0.2
Wielkopolska	86356	65.0	45.6	1.0	16.8	0.3	0.9	0.5
West Pomerania	30252	76.7	71.0	1.1	3.7	0.2	0.6	0.2
Poland total	840916	60.1	48.3	1.8	8.3	0.4	1.0	0.3

* symbols of measures as in Table 1

Source: as in Table 1.

Creation and development of micro-enterprises

This measure was created in order to support investment intended to boost the competitiveness of rural areas, promote entrepreneurship, develop the labour market and, in consequence, to increase rural employment. It was introduced as part of RDP 2007-2013 and over years 2007-2010 there were 2.4 thousand payments under this heading. They amounted to 0.3% of the total number of all Community payments, from less than 0.1% in Kujavia-Pomerania and Łódź to 1.5% in Silesia voivodeship (cf. position E.6 in Tables 1 and 3). By poviat, this index ranged from zero payments in 14 units (the biggest number in Lower Silesia, 5 poviats) to more than 3% in Wodzisław (3.1%), Bielsko Biała (3.2%) and Racibórz poviats (3.8%) and even 5.6% in Żywiec poviat (all in Silesia).

An analysis of the individual EU assistance measures shares in the total number of

payments revealed wide differences, both spatial (by region and powiat) and in terms of the scale of impact on Polish agriculture (from 0.1% of payments granted under 'Adding value to agricultural and forestry products' to 48.7% of those under the 'Agri-environmental programme').

Number of decisions granting payments from the EU funds: a synthetic approach

To give a synthetic assessment of the Common Agricultural Policy, the Community payments granted under individual measures were divided into two groups.

- Intensifying measures (group "I"), intended to step up production and improve the competitiveness of agriculture, viz.: I.1. Setting-up of young farmers, I.2. Structural pensions, I.3. Investment in agricultural holdings and modernisation of agricultural holdings, IA.4. Use of advisory services by farmers and forest holders, I.5. Adding value to primary agricultural and forestry products, I.6. Restoring agricultural production potential damaged by natural disasters and introducing appropriate prevention actions and I.7. Support for semi-subsistence farms undergoing restructuring.
- Extensifying measures (group "E"), intended to improve the natural environment and to help rural areas to diversify into non-agricultural activities, viz.: E.1. Agri-environmental payments, E.2. Afforestation of agricultural land and afforestation of non-agricultural land, E.3. Adaptation of agricultural holdings to EU standards, E.4. Development and improvement of farming related physical infrastructure, E.5. Diversification into non-agricultural activities, and E.6. Creation and development of micro-enterprises (the description of the groups and measures as in Tables 1, 2 and 3).

This line of analysis showed that embracing Polish farms by the EU Common Agricultural Policy in 2002-2010 should not be identified with a development of Polish agriculture in terms of production; rather, it contributed primarily to an extensification of production and to an increase in non-agricultural economic activity. This is demonstrated by the fact that in that period the applications for payments supporting investments intended to boost the competitiveness of agriculture were in a minority, at 39.9%. The greatest proportion was submitted under the headings of 'Structural pensions' (8%), 'Investments in agricultural holdings' (7.9%) and 'Support for semi-subsistence farms' (18.7%; cf. position "I" in Table 1). Such applications were in a majority only in Łódź voivodeship (52%) and at a minimum in Lubuska Land (19.3%; cf. Table 2). Calculating by powiat, they were in a majority in 74 units, including 28 in which the proportion exceeded 60% (the leaders being Rawa powiat in Łódź voivodeship were in a majority with 80.9%, Grójec in Mazovia with 83.3% and Strzelin in Lower Silesia with 83.5%). Poviats with a predominance of payments intended for the development of agriculture were the most numerous in central and south-eastern Poland, in the voivodeships of Lublin (7 poviats), Łódź (11), Małopolska (9), Mazovia (16), Subcarpathia (7), Silesia (6) and Świętokrzyska Land (5). Those are often poviats with very small farms, which is limiting the efficiency of allocation of the Community means. What shows the Polish agriculture to undergo a process of extensification is the occurrence of voivodeships distinguished, on the

one hand, by their highly productive agriculture, and on the other, by a small number of poviats where applications for payments seeking to improve the intensity of agricultural production would predominate, viz. Kujavia-Pomerania (Aleksandrów powiat), Podlasie (Wysokie Mazowieckie), Pomerania (Malbork) and Wielkopolska (Kalisz, Pleszew and Turek poviats; cf. Fig.1).

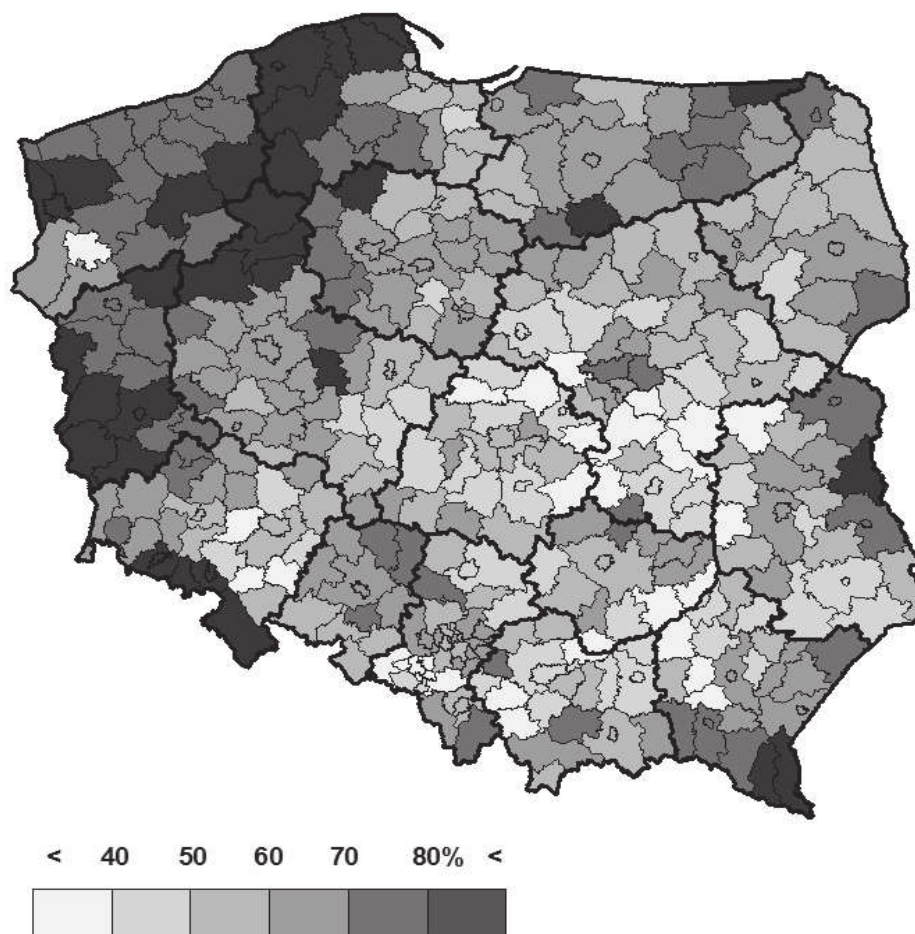


Fig. 1. Payments intended to improve the environment and to help rural areas to diversify into non-agricultural activities in the total number of payments granted to agricultural holdings under the EU Common Agricultural Policy over the years 2002-2010

Source: own compilation on the basis of data from the AR&MA System of Managerial Information.

The spatial pattern of areas with a predominance of Community payments intended for improvement of the natural environment and for non-agricultural development of rural areas was different. This was largely due to payments for participation of agricultural holdings in the agri-environmental programme (a national average of 48.3%, cf. position

"E" in Table 1). This was a situation found in all the regions except Łódź, primarily in the voivodeships of north-western Poland: Lubuska Land (74.5%) and West Pomerania (71%; cf. Table 3), and by powiat, in 240 units. Among the latter, there were 31 where the proportion exceeded 80%: in Lower Silesia (4 poviats), Kujavia-Pomerania (1 powiat), Lublin (1 powiat), Lubuska Land (6 poviats), Subcarpathia (2 poviats, including Bieszczady with a record of 90.6%), Pomerania (6 poviats), Warmia-Mazuria (2 poviats), Wielkopolska (5 poviats), and West Pomerania (4 poviats; cf. Fig. 1). As a rule, those are areas valuable in natural terms, with natural conditions unfavourable for agriculture but attractive in tourist terms, and clearly in the auspicious process of departure from intensive forms of farming.

Summing up

The analysis demonstrated that payments absorbed over the years 2002-2010 under the CAP programmes were a significant factor of development of rural areas and the modernisation of Polish agriculture because of their big scale (841 thousand allocations) and a great variety of forms (a total of 13 measures). In the distribution of those payments, the most important could be observed to be applications under the agri-environmental programme (48% of the total number of payments granted). Owing to this fact there was a numerical predominance of payments for the improvement of environment and for the non-agricultural development of rural areas (60% on average in the country). This situation is indicating a process of departure from intensive forms of production in Polish agriculture and was observed in as many as 15 voivodeships (all except Łódź) and 240 poviats (76% of AR&MA powiat offices), mainly in areas with less favourable natural conditions. Payments intended to step up production and to improve the competitiveness of agriculture predominated in only 74 poviats, primarily in the central and southern Poland, often in areas where farms are very small, which limited the efficiency of the EU means thus expended.

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