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## **CHANGES IN THE AGRICULTURAL LAND MARKET IN POLAND AFTER 2004**

Key words: agricultural property, market, prices, market turnover, non-market turnover

**ABSTRACT.** The purpose of the article is an attempt to answer the question about the impact of covering agricultural holdings by the CAP instruments as well as the legal and institutional control of agricultural property turnover on the agricultural land market in Poland after 2004. The analysis covers non-market turnover, sale of agricultural land in private trading and from the State Treasury Stock and prices of agricultural land. The source literature, legal regulations and figures from the database of the Ministry of Justice, publications issued by the Statistics Poland, market analyses of the Institute of Agricultural and Food Economics – National Research Institute in Warsaw and the report on the activities of the National Support Centre for Agriculture 2020 were used in the study as the source material. The method of horizontal and vertical comparative analysis was applied to develop the collected material, assessing the given phenomenon in the years and by voivodships. The agricultural land market, both in terms of the number and value of transactions and prices, showed a strong upward trend. These processes, apart from the macroeconomic situation, were influenced by Poland's accession to the EU and the financial benefits resulting from participation in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Legal regulations referring to the agricultural land market were also an important component. This market is characterized by regional diversification.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Agricultural land constitutes a specific production factor in agriculture. It also plays the role of a multifunctional good, as it is a natural resource and a basis for economic activity. It is also the primary component of the rural cultural landscape, increasing its tourist value [Marks-Bielska 2010, Wilkin 2014]. A characteristic feature of the land is its immobility, durability and the fact that it cannot be enlarged in any way. By immovable property it is understood that land is not transferable. The effect of this feature is the local nature of

the land market. In turn, durability over time, resistance to all activities means that it does not lose its production predispositions if used properly. The factor which has a particular impact on shaping the market is its limited resource [Marks-Bielska 2010, Szymańska 2019]. These characteristics influence, to a large extent, both land turnover and its prices constituting their limitations. A specific feature of this resource is also the inelasticity of a short-run aggregate supply [Marks-Bielska, Bieniek 2018]. The consequence of this phenomenon is the strong correlation of land prices and the demand on the local market [Jakubowska 2013, Szymańska 2019].

The basic function of agricultural land is the production of food as well as ensuring food security of the population and, for this reason, the state tries to legally limit its shifting to non-agricultural development and control the way it is used through the enforcement of legal regulations on the agricultural land market limiting its turnover, which affects the prices of agricultural land and the scale of leases and their rent [Laskowska 2014, Kurowska et al. 2020]. The factors determining the demand on the land market include the economic environment of this market, resulting primarily from Poland's accession to the European Union structures. The introduction of such CAP instruments as direct farming subsidies, as well as preferential loans granted for the purchase of agricultural land from public funds had, on the one hand, a strong impact on the demand dynamics and, on the other, influenced the limited supply of agricultural land. Other demand incentives are as follows: the possibility of obtaining income from leases, perceiving them as capital investments in anticipation of price increases, as well as benefits resulting from the existing tax system and the Agricultural Social Insurance Fund [Sikorska et al. 2009, Marks-Bielska 2010, Sikorska 2010, Jakubowska 2013, Laskowska 2014].

As indicated by Renata Marks-Bielska and Arkadiusz Bieniek [2018, p. 239], the factors determining the agricultural land turnover in Poland can be divided into:

- economic (price, demand and supply of land intended for agricultural production and also the land which can be legally used for non-agricultural purposes, the profitability of agricultural production, the existence of two land market segments: private and land from the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury),
- environmental (valuation and agro-technical category of soils, landform features, location in a naturally attractive place, location in the areas under legal protection, current state of development).

The agricultural land turnover may contribute to the improvement of correlations between land and other production factors in an agricultural holding and increase the efficiency of their use, it also counteracts the decline in land productivity and ensures the continuity of family farms functioning through transferring them to their successors [Marks-Bielska, Bieniek 2018]. Since 1990, the agricultural land market in Poland has consisted of the private market, also known as the neighbourly market, and the non-market

turnover. The third segment is the market where land is traded from the State Treasury stock. Three forms of disposal are distinguished in the agricultural land trading: the transfer of property through sale and purchase contracts, free transfer of property (donations, inheritance, annuity contracts) and lease, which results only in a change of the property user with the right to collect usufructs [Gołębiowska, Stefańczyk 2016, Marks- Bielska 2016, Marciniak 2017, Pyrgies 2018].

The privatization of Polish economy, including the state-owned agriculture, and the establishment of the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury on its basis, as well as the total liberalization of agricultural property turnover after 1990 exerted impact on the condition of agricultural holdings and the agricultural land market. 2004 was a breakthrough year for Polish agriculture. Integration with the EU structures and covering farms with the CAP rules caused farmers' expectations regarding financial benefits resulting from support instruments directly related to the ownership of agricultural land. Another important aspect influencing the agricultural land market was the establishment of legal regulations allowing the control of agricultural property turnover and setting up an institution responsible for managing the land included in the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury. Therefore, it is worth posing a question about its impact on the agricultural land market.

## SOURCE MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the article is an attempt to answer the question about the impact of covering agricultural holdings by the CAP instruments as well as the legal and institutional control of agricultural property turnover on the agricultural land market in Poland after 2004. The analysis covers non-market turnover, sale of agricultural land in private trading and from the State Treasury Stock and prices of agricultural land. Due to the size limitations of the article, the lease of land was not included. The figures refer to the years 2004-2020. Adopting this research period results from the assumption that the inclusion of Polish agriculture in the financial framework of the Common Agricultural Policy had a significant impact on the agricultural land market. In the case of analysing land sale from the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury (APSST) prices, the time range was extended and covered the years 1992-2020 due to the key processes related to developing agricultural property of the APSST initiated in the 1990s. The lease of land was not discussed in the study due to volume limitations of the article.

The source literature, legal regulations and figures from the database of the Ministry of Justice [MS 1991-2020], publications issued by the Statistics Poland [GUS 2005-2021], market analyses of the Institute of Agricultural and Food Economics – National Research Institute in Warsaw and the report on the activities of the National Support Centre for

Agriculture (NSCA) 2020 were used in the study as the source material. The method of horizontal and vertical comparative analysis was used to develop the collected material, assessing the given phenomenon in the years and by voivodships and the analysis of legal acts.

## AGRICULTURAL LAND MARKET IN THE LIGHT OF LEGAL REGULATIONS

In the legal sense, agricultural land is defined as agricultural property (pursuant to Art. 46 of the Civil Code). After 1990, pursuant to the amendment to the Civil Code, a complete liberalization of agricultural property took place in Poland (the Act of July 28, 1990 amending the Act – Civil Code [Journal of Laws, item 321]. As Zygmunt Truskiewicz [2017] writes: “This amendment basically lifted the restrictions regarding the purchase of property based on contracts. Since its enforcement, any entity is allowed to purchase agricultural property”. The process of Poland’s integration with the EU structures changed this situation. In 2003, the Act on shaping the agricultural system (the Act of April 11, 2003 [Journal of Laws of 2016, item 2052, as amended]) was implemented, introducing restrictions on the possibility of acquiring agricultural land through qualification and area requirements, as well as the need to reside for a certain period of time in the municipality [Jurcewicz 2017, A. Wojcieszak, M. Wojcieszak 2017]. Pursuant to the amendment to this Act from 2010, the pre-emption right and the right to purchase agricultural property held by the Agricultural Property Agency (APA) was limited to agricultural property with an area of at least 5 ha (the Act of May 6, 2010, on the amendment to the Act on shaping the agricultural system [Journal of Laws, item 725]). The Act of April 14, 2016 on the suspension of sale of agricultural property from the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury (APSST) [Journal of Laws of 2016, item 585] had a positive impact on the agricultural land market. It introduced changes to the trade in agricultural land belonging to the APSST, which is currently managed by the NSCA (formerly Agricultural Property Agency) and agricultural land owned by the local government units. Pursuant to this legal regulation, in the period of 5 years since its enforcement, the sale of agricultural land or its parts included in the Property Stock of the State Treasury, with the exception of agricultural property up to 2 ha or agricultural property intended for public, investment purposes, was suspended. The lease has become the basic form of managing agricultural land belonging to the APSST [Marks-Bielska 2016, Prokurat 2017].

## NON-MARKET TURNOVER

The scale of private trade in agricultural land is poorly documented. This applies to sale, leases and non-market turnover [Pyrgies 2018]. Non-market land turnover has been and still is the dominant form of transferring farms in Poland. The majority of agricultural properties are acquired by families through donations, inheritance, family divisions and annuity contracts. Until 2005, over 90% of individual farms were transferred on the basis of inheritance, which is justified by the family nature of Polish agriculture, dominated by individual farms. In the years 2006-2020, there was a tendency for gradual reduction in the number of non-market contracts comparing to the total number of concluded notarial deeds relating to the ownership change of agricultural land. In 2003 alone a significant increase in the number of donation contracts was recorded [Sikorska 2010, 2013, 2018]. The reason for this situation was the fear of restrictions on the free transfer of land caused by the introduction of the Act on shaping the agricultural system of 2003. Another form of agricultural land selling is the transfer of land in return for the payment of benefits from the Agricultural Social Insurance Funds. Over the next years, the number of such transfers dropped significantly from 57.5 thousand in 2004 to 1.19 thousand in 2020. The reason for such changes were certainly the dynamically rising land prices and the growing benefits of having agricultural land resulting from the possibility of using direct subsidies within the framework of CAP. In the years 2004-2020, the total number of contracts on non-market transfer of ownership declined by 31%, from 84 thousand to 58 thousand contracts [MS 1991-2020]. Agricultural land has become the subject of market turnover to a greater extent than before.

## SALE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

After 2004, a strong dynamics of changes has been observed in the agricultural land market. In the years 2004-2020, the number of purchase/sale transactions of agricultural property ranged from 61 thousand (2019) to approx. 93 thousand (2015) (Figure 1). The highest increase, comparing to 2004, was recorded in 2007 (by 7.2%) and 2015 (by 4%). In turn, a particularly large drop was observed in 2016 (by 21%) as well as 2017 and 2018 (by 25% and 35%, respectively). The lower number in the purchase and sale contracts of agricultural land was, at that time, significantly influenced by the Act implemented in April 2016 limiting and introducing additional requirements with regard to purchase and sale transactions [Journal of Laws of 2016, item 585]. The consequences of this law enactment were most visible in the north and west of the country. For years, in these regions of Poland, the situation of the agricultural property market was influenced by the privatization processes of land from the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury [Sikorska 2018].

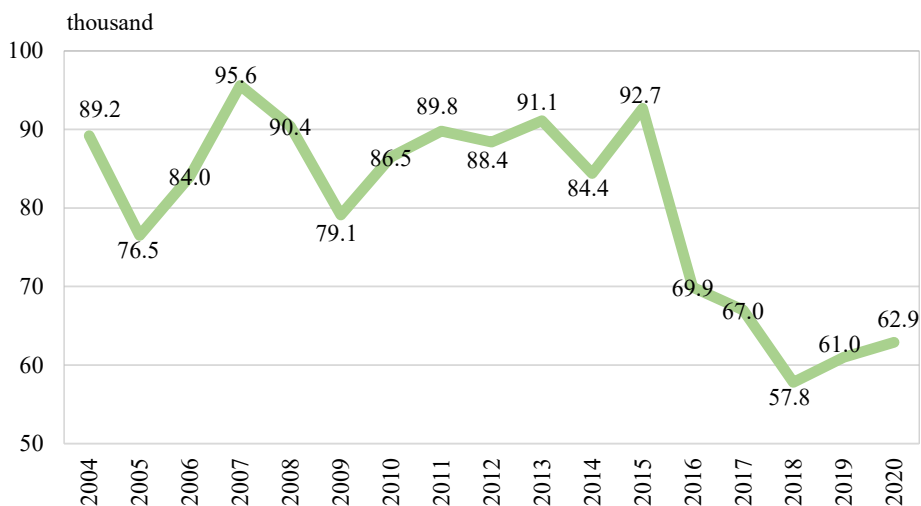


Figure 1. Number of purchase/sale transactions of agricultural land in 2004-2020

Source: own compilation based on the data from the Ministry of Justice [MS 2004-2020]

In the period from 2004 to 2015, the number of such transactions on the private market presented a relatively smaller share than in the years to follow and ranged from 79% to 85% of the total number of market transactions. In the next years, private market definitely dominated the agricultural land market (92-95%), which was, among others, the effect of the amendment to the Act on shaping the agricultural system of 2016 (Figure 2).

Agricultural land market in a country has been and is dependent on the supply. Before 2004, the owners of agricultural land were reluctant to sell land, primarily because of the difficulties in finding a job outside the agriculture sector, and also as a result of choosing to stay in the social insurance system, very beneficial for the farming families. An important factor which reduced the process of land selling by farmers was the information about Poland's accession to the EU which, in turn, was related to the introduction of direct farming subsidies. In addition to supply, the demand also had impact on the land market. The inhabitants of rural areas were experiencing poor economic situation and despite low prices of agricultural land at that time, few of them could afford to invest in land purchase. This land market was characterised by regional diversification of land supply caused by the uneven distribution of land from the State Treasury Stock, the potential source of land purchase or lease by farmers. This is also indicated by Agnieszka Jakubowska [2013] who stated that the coefficients of variation of the turnover scale in regional markets ranged from 41% to 72%. In the years 2012-2020, the largest number of purchase and sale transactions was concluded in the following voivodships: Pomorskie, Wielkopolskie,

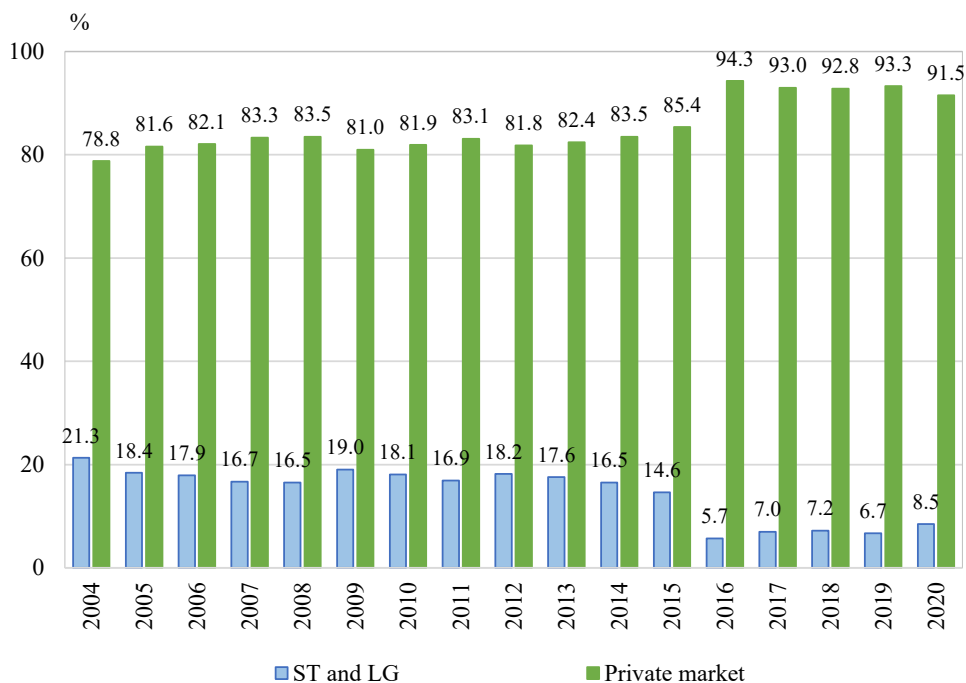


Figure 2. Share of the private market, the State Treasury and local government units in the purchase/sale of agricultural land in 2004-2020

Source: own compilation based on the data from the Ministry of Justice [MS 2004-2020]

Małopolskie and Mazowieckie. In particular, the Wielkopolskie Voivodship is characterized by a large supply-demand imbalance. This region features a very large number of high-production agricultural holdings which strive to increase their market position also through increasing the acreage and production scale [Sikorska 2013]. The insufficient supply of land results in the highest agricultural land prices in this voivodship comparing the entire country. The least transactions of this type were recorded in the following voivodships: Lubuskie, Świętokrzyskie, Podlaskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie [MS 1991-2020] where land prices are relatively lower (Notarial deeds in the years 1991-2020. Database of the Ministry of Justice).

The value of agricultural land purchase/sale transactions in the years 2004-2020 increased many times from PLN 2.24 million to approx. PLN 16 million. The strong dynamics of growth in the value of transactions was mainly caused by higher prices of agricultural land. After integration with the EU, the interest in land as the basis for obtaining financial benefits within the framework of CAP increased and, with limited supply, brought about higher prices (Figure 3).

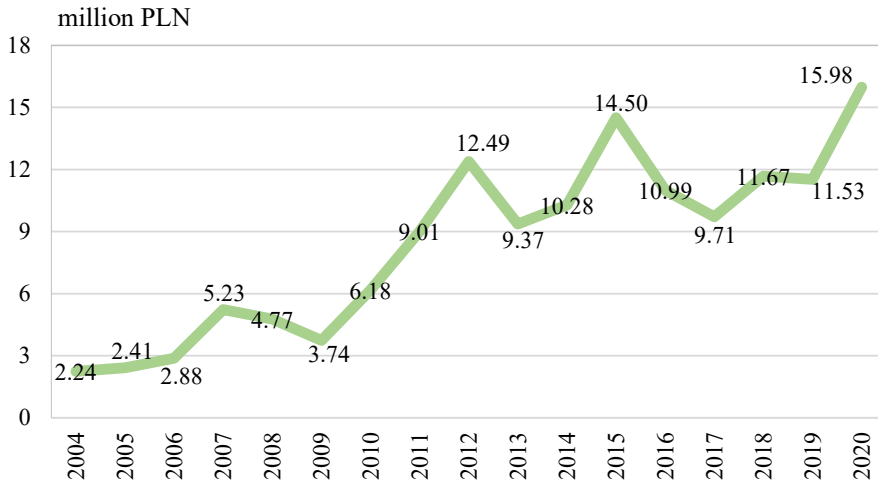


Figure 3. Value of agricultural land purchase/sale transactions in 2004-2020

Source: own compilation based on the Statistics Poland data [GUS 2005-2021]

Similarly as in the case of the number of these transactions, in consequence of the statutory restrictions from 2016 referring to suspending the sale of agricultural land from the Property Stock of the State Treasury, a clear decline in the value of transactions was observed in 2016-2017.

The average registered area of agricultural property in the purchase/sale transactions covering the areas outside cities ranged, in 2009-2020, from 0.83 ha (2020) up to 3.0 ha (2012) and was regionally diversified, i.e. the largest in the Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodship (3.94 ha in 2010, and 2.31 in 2017), and the smallest in the voivodships: Małopolskie and Śląskie (approx. 0.3 ha) (Figure 4).

In the opinion of farmers, presented in the conducted survey [MRiRW 2020], the willingness to acquire agricultural land results primarily from the intention to enlarge the already owned farm (37% responses), land is perceived as a good capital investment (36% responses) and the related possibility of obtaining direct subsidies (33% responses). According to farmers, the greatest difficulties in purchasing land on the private market result from: the desire to keep the land in the family (28.5% indications), higher profitability of lease than sale (26.5% indications), willingness to maintain direct farming subsidies (26% indications) as well as too low prices and expectations for future price increase (13% responses) [MRiRW 2020].



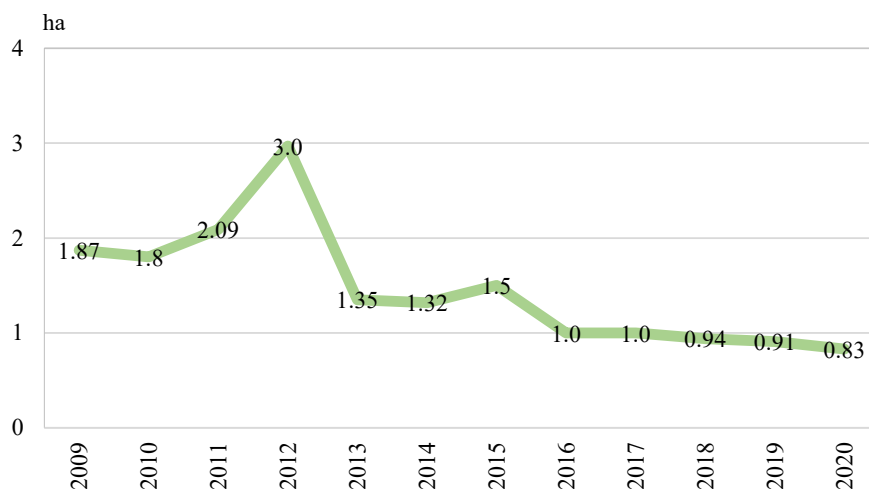


Figure 4. Average registration area of purchase/sale transactions of agricultural land outside the city limits in 2009-2020 (no data for the years 2004-2008)

Source: own compilation based on the Statistics Poland data [GUS 2005-2021]

### SALE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND FROM THE PROPERTY STOCK OF THE STATE TREASURY

In the years 1992-2020, 4,751 million ha were transferred to the State Treasury Stock, through successively: the Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury, the Agricultural Property Agency and the National Support Centre for Agriculture. This land was taken over from the State Land Fund as well as state-owned enterprises and agricultural holdings [Prutis, Michałowski 2017]. The majority of the land was taken over in the following voivodships: Warmińsko-Mazurskie (17.5%), Zachodniopomorskie (17.3%), Dolnośląskie and Wielopolskie (approx. 10% each). The smallest acreages were recorded in the following voivodships: Małopolskie (0.83%), Świętokrzyskie (1.06%) as well as Łódzkie and Śląskie (approx. 1.8%) (Figure 5). In the years 1992-2004 the Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury (APAST) was selling, an average, over 100 thousand ha per year. In the first years of operation, the low level of sale was caused by the formal and legal insufficient preparation of the taken over land. In the early 1990s, the majority of farmers obtained agricultural property through leases because it was cheaper than land purchase. The situation changed in 1996, when the highest number of land sold from the Property Stock (193 thousand ha) was recorded. The reason for such a huge interest on

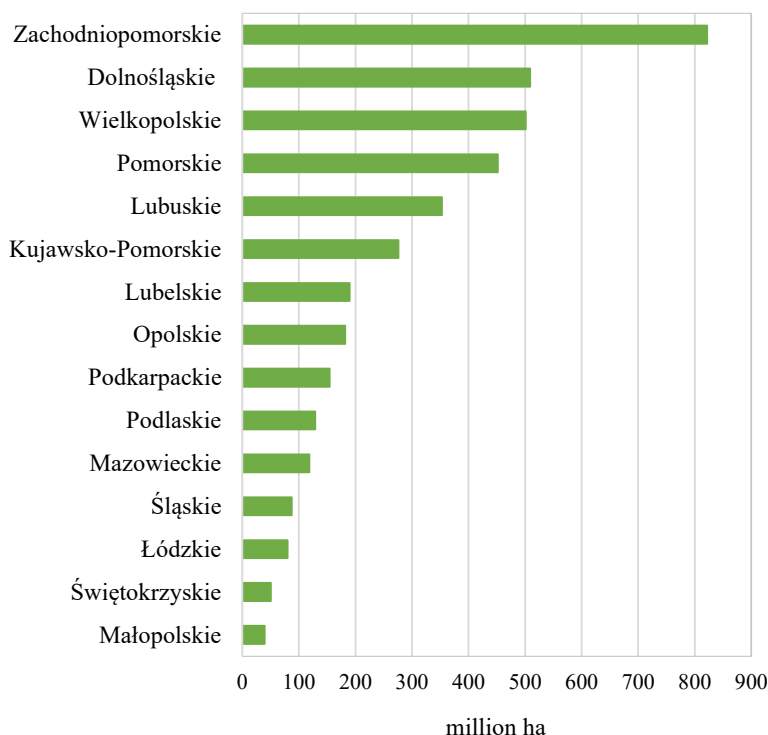


Figure 5. State Treasury land taken over to the Property Stock in 1992-2020 by voivodships  
Source: [KOWR 2020]

the part of farmers was the exemption from agricultural tax on the purchased property for the period of 5 years, regardless of their area. A year later, this area was limited to 100 ha. A clear drop in sale was recorded in 2003, when the provisions of the Act on shaping the agricultural system came into force.

After 2004, following Poland's accession to the EU structures and after the implementation of direct farming subsidies and other forms of financial support, an increased interest in purchasing land from the APSST was observed again, which stimulated the demand. However, on April 30, 2016, when the law on the sale suspension of the property from the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury [Journal of Laws of 2016, item 585] became effective and, as mentioned earlier, the lease of land became the basic form of the state-owned land management. By the end of 2020, 2,619 thousand ha of land were sold from the APSST, i.e. 55% of the total taken over land. Almost 1.9 million ha were sold from the area groups above 20 ha (71.3%). Most of them, i.e. approx. 26% each, represented the acreages in the area groups ranging from 20 to 50 ha and 100 to 500 ha.

Table 1. The number of contracts concluded for the sale of land from the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury and the area of land sold by area groups from 1992 to 2020

Area group [ha]	Number of contracts		Area		Average area per contract [ha]
	pc.	%	ha	%	
Up to 2 ha	197,128	62.1	134,128	5.1	0.68
2.01-4.99	46,381	14.6	147,039	5.6	3.17
5.00-9.99	25,615	8.2	181,903	6.9	7.10
10.00-19.99	20,447	6.4	289,697	11.1	14.17
20.00-40.99	21,223	6.7	693,870	26.5	32.69
50.00-99.99	3,121	1.0	221,347	8.5	70.92
100.00-499.99	3,022	0.9	702,941	26.8	232.61
500.00-999.99	295	0.1	187,484	7.2	635.54
More than 1,000.00	37	0.01	60,693	2.3	1,640.35
Total	317,607	100.0	2,619,048	100.0	8.25

Source: based on [KOWR 2020]

The least amount of agricultural land was sold from the area group above 1,000 ha (2.3%). At that time, 317.6 thousand land sale contracts were concluded. Most contracts concerned small acreages, from the group up to 2 ha (62.1%) and from 2 ha up to 5 ha (14.6%), whereas the least from the area group above 1,000 ha (0.01%) and from 500 up to 1,000 ha (0.1%). The contracts referring to the area of more than 20 ha accounted for only 8.2% of all transactions (Table 1).

The average area of the sold land ranged from 0.68 ha to 1,640 ha, on average 8.25 ha per contract, which resulted from a large number of contracts referring to smaller area groups. Most of the land from the APSST was purchased by farmers from the Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Zachodniopomorskie and Dolnośląskie voivodships, where the taken over acreage was the largest. Definitely the smallest amount of land from this stock was purchased by farmers from the following voivodships: Małopolskie, Mazowieckie, Świętokrzyskie, Śląskie and Łódzkie. The buyers of property from the APSST represented both natural and legal persons. In the years 1992-2020, legal persons accounted for only about 3% of the total number of concluded contracts and 19% of the sold land buyers, mainly in larger area groups.

## AGRICULTURAL LAND PRICES

The crucial element of the agricultural land market turnover is its price. “The price of land in the developed market economy plays a very important role, as it is a profitability element of investing in agriculture. It is the basis for financing all activities in an agricultural holding by the foreign funding sources” [Marks-Bielska, Bieniek 2018, p. 226]. The source literature, both domestic and foreign, divides the factors influencing the price of agricultural land into three main groups: agricultural, non-agricultural, and those constituting a mixture of the two previously mentioned. The existing research shows that the most important price-setting factors are: soil conditions, climate conditions and the levels of the lease rent determined, on the one hand, by the quality of soil and, on the other, by the prosperity in agriculture and the entire economy [Szymańska 2002, quoted in: Chicoine 1981, Clonts 1970, Cloyer 1978, Folland, Hough 1991, Szymańska, Wielicki 2005]. There are also many non-agricultural factors, the most important of which are the location and the development level of the surrounding agricultural infrastructure. Other studies indicate that prices are determined by the productive potential of land and the fact that the land itself is a certain asset [Szymańska 2002 after: Klare Peters 1980, Capozza 1989]. The level of land prices depends, to a large extent, on the income it generates, also resulting from the received direct farming subsidies.

According to Jacek Masiak [2013], the supply-demand relationships influencing the price of agricultural land are subject to long-term trends related to the development of the national economy. These trends, in connection with the relatively constant supply of land, lead to an increase in agricultural land prices. The author analysed land prices in the conditions of the changing economic situation in the years 1992-2011. The comparison of land prices and the inflation rate at that time allowed concluding that the good economic situation affected the size of agricultural land turnover, and the development of the private land market was related to the macroeconomic situation [Masiak 2009]. The prices of land were subject to stronger fluctuations than the prices of consumer goods measured by the general index. When studying the variability of agricultural land prices, Jacek Masiak, like other researchers, emphasizes the impact of the CAP and the domestic sectoral policy on this phenomenon [Masiak 2013, Szymańska 2013, Marks-Bielska, Bieniek 2018, Sikorska et al. 2017]. These prices, primarily in the 1990s, were influenced by: liquidation of the state sector in agriculture and the decline of rural cooperatives [Woś 2000, Urban 2006].

When analysing the prices of agricultural land in the years 1992-2020, a strong upward trend is noticeable (Figure 6). During that time, land prices on the private market increased 40 times and in the land transactions of the APSST – 35 times. The strong dynamics of price increase refers to the period after 2004, following the integration with the EU, when farmers, having noticed the possibility of increasing their income through direct subsidies, were reluctant to get rid of land, while others, in turn, having perceived the benefits of

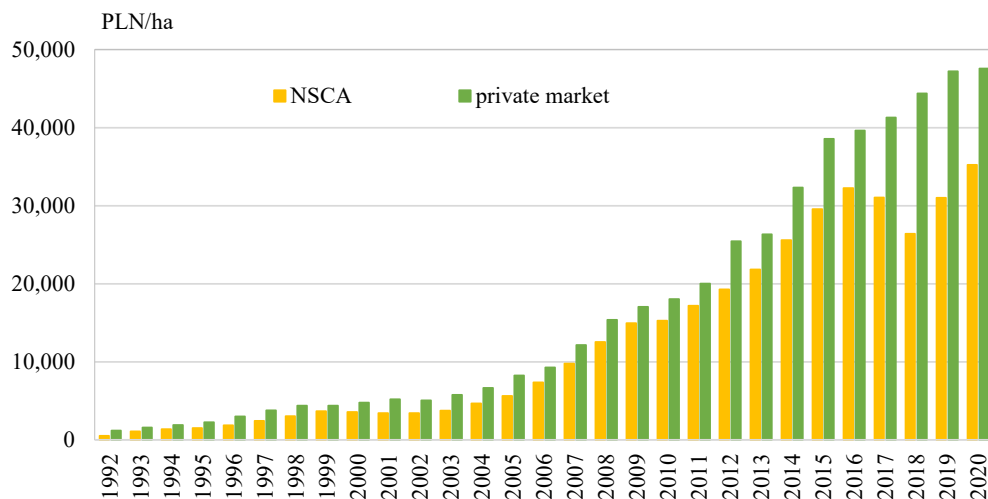


Figure 6. Agricultural land prices in 1992-2020

Source: [KOWR 2020, p. 28]

owning it, stimulated the demand. Bazyli Czyżewski [2013] points to the rationality of the growing long-term trend in land prices resulting from its usefulness, rarity and the absence of substitutes. A characteristic feature of the land market is a significant difference in prices achieved on the private market and through the NSCA (APA) [Sikorska 2013, Marks-Bielska, Bieniek 2018, Marks-Bielska 2017]. The average prices of arable land in private trade were 40-50% higher, in the years 1992-2005, comparing to the prices of agricultural land obtained by the APA. Since 2006, this difference has declined and remains at the level of 20-30%. When analysing the above data, it should be highlighted that the average price of agricultural land obtained by the APA (later NSCA) included the prices of arable land, grassland, pastures and wasteland. However, it provides average prices separately for arable land and grassland.

In 2020, the average price of arable land on the private market amounted to PLN 47,589/ha [KOWR 2020]. Polish agriculture is highly regionally diversified, which applies to both natural and economic determinants. Agricultural land prices and their variability over the years also show a similar spatial diversification (Figure 7).

In 2004, the differences in prices between voivodships were not yet so visible. In the years to follow, the regional diversification in agricultural land prices was clearly increasing. The highest values were recorded in the following voivodships: Wielkopolskie, Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Opolskie, Mazowieckie and Dolnośląskie. The cheapest land is available in: Lubuskie, Lubelskie and Podkarpackie voivodships.

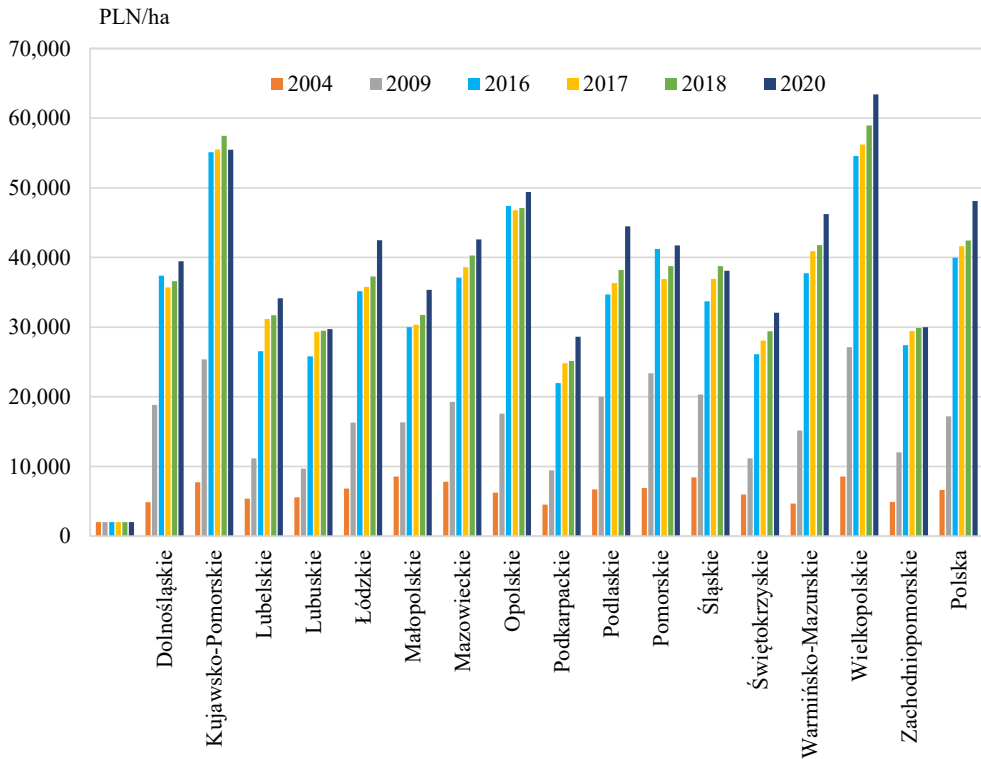


Figure 7. Private agricultural land prices in 2004-2020 by voivodships

Source: based on the data provided by the Agency for Restructuring and Modernization of Agriculture and the Statistics Poland

## CONCLUSIONS

When assessing the situation in the agricultural land market in Poland after 2004, it can be concluded that Poland's accession to the European Union significantly determined this market. The reason for the occurring changes was certainly the growing benefits of having agricultural land resulting from the possibility of using financial support instruments under the CAP. The number of buy/sell transactions and their value at that time increased significantly, and the share of private market in these transactions went up from 79% to over 90%. Agricultural land prices presented a strong upward trend. The intense dynamics of price growth after 2004 proves that farmers, having noticed the possibility of increasing their income through direct payments, were reluctant to get rid of land, whereas others,

having perceived the benefits of owning it, stimulated the demand. The liberal rules in force on this market prior to integration with the EU were strongly limited by the Act on Shaping the Agricultural System of 2003, introducing restrictions on the possibility of acquiring agricultural land through qualification and area requirements, as well as the need to reside for a specified period in the municipality, which contributed to lower demand. In 2003, when the provisions of this Act came into force, a clear decline in the sale of land from the APSST was recorded. The 2016 Act ordering the suspension of agricultural land sale from the APSST also exerted impact on the agricultural land market. Lease has become the basic form of managing agricultural land in the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury. In the years 2004-2020, the overall number of non-market transfer of ownership agreements decreased significantly. Agricultural land became the subject of market turnover to a greater extent than before. Regional diversification of the situation on the agricultural land market reflects the natural and economic conditions of agricultural production in individual voivodships. The crucial role in the agricultural land market was played by the institution: Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury, later the Agricultural Property Agency, and currently the National Support Centre for Agriculture. The State Treasury entrusted this institution with exercising the property right in relation to the property transferred to the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury, and the provisions regulated by law on the principles of the State Treasury land development had a significant impact on the supply of this land and its prices.

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## ZMIANY NA RYNKU ZIEMI ROLNICZEJ W POLSCE PO 2004 ROKU

Słowa kluczowe: nieruchomości rolne, rynek, ceny, obrót rynkowy, obrót nierynkowy

## ABSTRAKT

Celem artykułu jest próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, jaki wpływ miało objęcie gospodarstw rolnych instrumentami WPR, a także prawna i instytucjonalna kontrola obrotu nieruchomościami rolnymi na rynek ziemi rolniczej w Polsce po roku 2004. Analizą objęto obrót nierynkowy, sprzedaż ziemi rolniczej w obrocie prywatnymi i z Zasobu Własności Rolnej Skarbu Państwa (ZWRSP) oraz ceny gruntów rolnych. Jako źródło materiałów wykorzystano literaturę przedmiotu, regulacje prawne oraz dane liczbowe pochodzące z bazy danych Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości, publikacje GUS, analizy rynkowe Instytutu Ekonomiki Rolnictwa i Gospodarki Żywnościowej (IERiGŻ-PIB), a także sprawozdanie z działalności Krajowego Ośrodka Wsparcia Rolnictwa (KOWR) z 2020 roku. Do opracowania zebranego materiału wykorzystano metodę analizy porównawczej horyzontalnej i wertykalnej, oceniając dane zjawisko w latach i według województw. Rynek ziemi rolniczej, zarówno pod względem liczby i wartości transakcji, jak i cen wykazywał silną tendencję wzrostową. Wpływ na te procesy, obok sytuacji makroekonomicznej, miało przystąpienie Polski do Unii Europejskiej i korzyści finansowe wynikające z uczestnictwa we Wspólnej Polityce Rolnej (WPR). Ważnym elementem były także regulacje prawne związane z rynkiem gruntów rolnych. Rynek ten charakteryzowało regionalne zróżnicowanie.

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