SYNECDOCHE, FRAMPOL

Contextualizing EU development policies in the post-Socialist context of eastern Poland

MASTER THESIS
Emilia Brück
SYNECDOCHE, FRAMPOL
Contextualizing EU development policies in the Post-Socialist context of eastern Poland

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Cover Image: Collage by Author

„Follow the Money - Finance, Architecture and the City”
Studio Design as Politics

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JUNE, 2014
To my grandparents
Irena & Eugeniusz Fedorowicz
Elisabeth & Hans Bruck
The journey towards this thesis could not have been the educational experience it was without the people who supported and encouraged me in different periods of this work.

I would like to thank my mentors Wouter Vanstiphout, Luisa Calabrese and Leo van den Burgh for their guidance in finding the direction of both research and design. The diversity of insights I was able to gain through the many conversations greatly influenced my trajectory and enriched my way of thought.

My understanding of the EU’s policy system and resulting sensitivity towards it was particularly influenced by the many discussions I had with Edyta Wisniewska. I would like to thank her for the immense enthusiasm she has shared, her insistence on historic and socio-cultural understanding and encouragement to be critical.

I thank my mother for taking an important role in the process of this work, by traveling with me to Frampol, discovering the hidden beauty of the site and supporting me in conducting the many interviews with locals, both planned and spontaneous. Her historic sensitivity and endless curiosity towards socio-cultural relations has shaped the character of my work.

Finally, I would like thank all my family and many friends whose support and encouragement has helped me across the finish line of this work.
– By tracing EU money streams, flowing from Brussels into the provinces of eastern Poland, the project investigates the local effectiveness of Europe’s development policies, induced by their financial instruments. Frampol, a rural municipality and eponymous town planned by the Renaissance ideal, is studied as an example for the rural challenges particular to the Central and Eastern European countries which accessed the Union in 2004 and 2007. Within a mere two and half decades these rural regions have been subject to land reforms addressing post-communist de-collectivization, followed by consolidation efforts fighting the consequential rural crisis, as well as EU accession demands and market adaptations. The struggle for countries such as Poland has, thus, not only concerned the reestablishment of democratic standards, but more importantly the installment of policy structures specific to their cultural, economic and spatial history. The dissection of Frampol’s seemingly unprepossessing landscape reveals the collision of post-Socialist political intricacy, EU subsidized developments and hampered rural productivity of land, capital and labor.

The questions the project raises concern the extent to which current policy measures protect the rural landscapes shaped by traditional agriculture. In this regard, how can urban planning and design enhance feasible strategies for the preservation of diminishing rural traditionalism in spite of pressing global trends? Considering the degree to which our societies have fundamentally become urban (-dependent), the activation of regional particularities, carried out by the inhabitants themselves, is increasingly recognized as an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable process of development.

The project “Synecdoche, Frampol – Contextualizing EU development policies in the Post-Socialist context of eastern Poland” proposes a spatial development strategy which builds upon self-organized cooperation linked to supporting institutional networks and financial development aid. The trans-regional notion stresses the significance of a rural-urban synergy in order for both hinterland and cities to thrive.

In view of the particular pressure exerted on Central and Eastern European countries to comply with EU policies and development objectives, the contextualization of strategies is crucial for lasting societal progress.
Within the territorially growing European Union, Croatia as its youngest member joined the Union only in July 2013, regional disparity is pertinent. To ensure trans-regional stability and quality of life standards, the Union established its threefold policy framework (The Regional Development Policy, the Common Agricultural Policy and the Common Fishery Policy) encompassing a range of financial support instruments alleviating development and trans-regional diversification.

By tracing the flow of financial aid from Brussels into the Eastern Polish province of Lublin, the project reviews the main steps within the allocation process and touches upon some administrative conflicts by deconstructing the argumentation for infrastructural projects. The juxtaposition of European, national and provincial interests with local needs in the context of a rural town affected by European subsidies, highlights the problematic which I will address with the subsequent design approach.

Since Poland’s accession to the EU in 2004, an estimated 2 million Polish citizens have left the country to seek employment within Western European member states. While the problematic of working migrants causing shrinkage is manifold, the project tries to identify development opportunities within the existing condition of Frampol, as a town and municipality.
The European funding structure, with a budget of almost 1 trillion Euros (ec.europa.eu, 2013), is subordinate to the EU development strategy “Europe 2020”. It is the Union’s collective ambition document specifying overarching growth directives for the 28 member states. As the basis for budget negotiations, each country draws up a partnership agreement, specifying the development ambitions of its national strategy. Money is allocated according to the compatibility between national strategies and the EU’s ambitions or between municipal funding applications and national operational programs. Thereby, a European policy language is generated, guiding but also misguiding applicants towards a European generic standard.
“In a changing world, we want the EU to become a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and the Member States deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion.”

Jose Manuel Barroso,
President of the European Commission
EUROPE 2020 STRATEGY
PROBLEM STATEMENT
The EU Predicament

– Commonly considered as “Polska B”, naming it a second class Poland, the five regions East of the Vistula river have been particularly strained by economic, social and urban restructuring following the collapse of the Socialist regime in 1989. Despite the transition from a centrally planned to a market economy, eastern Polish economic growth is crucially dependent on the restructuring of its fragmented farm land. The spatial division of land, which is cultivated by a vast amount of private farming units, thereby artificially lowering unemployment rates, hampers the efficiency and productivity of land, capital and labor.

The prevailing demographic and economic stagnation causes both urban and rural shrinkage, reinforced by out-migration. Particularly young and educated Poles continue to leave the region to find employment either in more prosperous urban centers such as Warsaw and Cracow and thereby enforce the “territorial segregation into growing and declining regions” (Ciesla, 2009) within Poland, or in other EU member states. Whoever remains faces a desperate socio-economic environment.

The investigated problem field has lead to a twofold conclusion:

1.) First, the agrarian regions of eastern Poland face the dilemma of a burdening Socialist legacy, in terms of policies and mentality, on the one hand, and increasing pressure to comply with EU market standards and regulations, on the other hand. The resulting Agricultural Crisis leaves the hinterland in a bureaucratic deadlock. Farmers are forcefully complying with global trends, by disregarding the long term consequences on their economic stability, the natural environment and the social prospects in rural regions.

2.) The second conclusion addresses the inefficiency of European subsidies, which has lead to an array of redundancies on the local scale. Particularly large scale infrastructural developments and food regulations have lead to the loss of contextual specificity in favor of generic landscapes, which lack the ability to trigger lasting development through spin-off effects. The suggested European Policy Crisis, thus, addresses the lack of contextualization of European policy measures, which suppress local diversity in produce and developments.
Fig. 3 & 4 - Agricultural Crisis of the CEEC, European Policy Crisis
Source: Author, 2014

“By spending all this money we increased local indebtedness, and the national deficit, but we did not spend the money in a way that could bring about future spin-off effect.”

Janusz Palikot

Food Surplus

Failed Infrastructure

€ 426 bln - 44% of total EU Budget

€ 347 bln - 37% of total EU Budget

€ 48 bln spent

“SYNECDOCHE, FRAMPOL”
“We applied for EU subsidies to build the heritage park, but they would only subsidize professional companies, rather than a local carpenter who uses local materials.”

Stanislaw Jachymek, Zagroda Guciow
MARCH, 2014
“My guests can pick their own fruit and vegetables, but serving them homemade dinner is illegal. I also can’t give them milk or honey because it isn’t certified.”
“My EU application for a lawn mower was denied, because it would have benefited not only our agrotouristic business, but also my family privately. According to national law, however, an agrotouristic farm can only be run on private (not commercial) property.”

Dorota Kosik, Agritourism Siedlisko
MARCH, 2014
– In view of the abstract level of argumentation on which the allocation of European money is decided upon, my research question addresses the significance of contextually derived development strategies:

**How can the contextualization of European financial policies encourage new models of economic, social and spatial organization for a sustainable development of rural regions in the post-Socialist context?**

**SUBQUESTIONS**

- What are the regional and local benefits of EU subsidized projects?
- What are the trans-regional arguments leading to their implementation?
- To what extent do EU subsidized projects meet regional and local development challenges and objectives?
- How can EU subsidies encourage synergistic project development rather than disconnected investments from local realities?
- To what extent do EU policies enforce an artificial economic development rather than building on local economic tradition?
- What are the rural land reforms necessary to enhance the modernization of production, while preserving environmental qualities?
- Which social infrastructure is necessary to sustain the cultural identity of rural communities in eastern Poland?

**Aim & Objective**

The thesis research sheds light onto the short-sighted rationale behind the European Union’s money flow from Brussels (or every single European taxpayer) into the eastern Polish regions, manifested in projects such as the highway bypass in Frampol. The aim of the graduation project is, thus, to propose an integrated governance model allowing for sustainable rural development in the municipality of Frampol. By linking the European Union’s financial support program to regional and local development objectives, the plan is to encourage the local population in establishing new ways of economic, spatial and social organization in rural regions. The design proposals link collective, spatial and individual identity through the definition of a new rural character, a vision for 2030.

**Motivation**

In light of the controversial debate on inter-European migration, unleashed earlier in 2014 by the British policy change granting Bulgarians and Romanians the same work rights as EU citizens, the investigation of the eastern Polish condition is highly topical. The motivation for this thesis stems from both a personal fascination with Poland and its repetitive history of forced civilian migration, and the fact that little has been written on the pitfalls of the European Union’s financial instruments, which selectively enhance regional development. Considering Poland’s almost 200 year long occupation, one needs to acknowledge that much progress has taken place in the past two decades of political transition. However, the progress hampering mentality of hopelessness and resignation prevails, particularly in the eastern Polish regions. The increasing regional disparity, economically and demographically, between eastern and western Polish provinces adds to the lack of awareness regarding the spatial and socio-economic potential amongst rural people. Therefore, in order to foster a lasting development which is to exceed the EU funding periods, impulses need to be set amongst the local people themselves.
Throughout the past decade, the European Union’s spending behavior, based on arguments of trans-regional profitability, has repeatedly lead to vast investment projects through which billions of Euros trickled off into deserted land, superfluous infrastructures and essentially into wallets of unknown individuals.

In view of eastern Poland’s condition of socio-economic desperation, a sustainable utilization of such EU subsidies to counteract regional disparity might seem self-evident. Political incentives, bureaucratic redundancies and reactionary social hierarchies prevailing in Poland, however, hinder the necessary vision ensuring sustainable societal, economic and spatial progress. European money, correspondingly, subsidizes essential infrastructure, but fails to set local impulses.

The contextualization of European policies, thus, requires an integrated development strategy, which stems from the engagement of the local population, while tying spatial visions to policy dependent financial aid.

The fall of the Communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries has entailed a period of social, economic and spatial transformation, overthrowing Marxist principles of collectivism. The turn towards an entrepreneurial oriented market economy has lead a vast agricultural labor force into uncertainty due to restitution of land and disruption of trade contracts with the Soviet Union (Davi, 1996; Van Dijck, 2002; Thomas, 2006).

For the European Union the accession of ten CEEC in 2004, implied an increase of farmland by 50%, the doubling of the agricultural labor force and a growth of 100 million consumers. The Union’s mission of tackling regional disparity, thus, faces the paradox that it needs to ensure quality of life standards and employment, while restraining the surplus of agricultural produce in total within all member states.

Scientific literature largely emphasises the significance of land reform efforts, restructuring the Socialist legacy of spatial and economic administration, in the quest for economic growth in the regions. Rural development strategies in post-Socialist regions, thus, need to follow a threefold endeavor: a context-sensitive consolidation of land fragmentation, the conservation of environmental quality and the provision of alternative employment sectors for rural dwellers.
Methodology

The research and design methodology unfolds along a series of scales from the continental scale of Europe to the smallest scale of the individual farmer set in the rural town of Frampol. The research of financial streams from Brussels into eastern Poland followed a linear investigation of subsidy allocation and project implementation. The decision to use Frampol as an exemplary recipient of EU aid, opened up a series of issues regarding the town’s economic, social, cultural and historic background, shaping its existing spatial condition. The spatial investigations and design proposals revolve around the vast fragmentation of the landscape, EU subsidized infrastructure and the Renaissance ideal city layout of the town. The field research, encompassing a number of interviews with local clerks, farmers, entrepreneurs, as well as the mayor, enhanced an understanding of the political and sociohistorical reasons behind the hampered rural development.

The theoretical research was significantly informed by a study of land reforms in the Central and Eastern European countries throughout the Socialist era, the transition period and the adaptation period since their accession to the European Union in 2004 and 2007 (see Appendix 3). The evolution has not only left its traces in the fragmentation of agricultural land, but finds its echo in the resignative mentality of people and an intricate array of policies. Further theoretical studies included integrated governance models, the concept of co-creation and rural self-organization in shrinking regions. The analytical research unfolded through the documentation of the financial flows of EU subsidies into the regions, their spatial implications, as well as regional disparities within the Union and the Polish provinces. Mapping encompassed the existing condition of Frampol, its land fragmentation and the urban layout of the Renaissance town.
**Effectiveness of EU development policies & financial instruments to selectively counteract regional disparity within the territorially growing Union**

**How can the contextualization of European financial policies encourage new models of economic, social and spatial organization for a sustainable development of rural regions in the post-Socialist context?**

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**Context**

**Location**
Eastern Poland

**Topic**
Effectiveness of EU development policies & financial instruments to selectively counteract regional disparity within the territorially growing Union

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**Problem Field**
- Regional Disparity within the EU
- Financial Flow & Spatial Implications
- Agrarian Traditions in the post-Socialist context

**Problem Statement**
- Context bypassing investments
- Lack of integrated development strategy
- Fragmentation of land & ownership
- Short-sighted subsidies for agriculture

**Research Question**
How can the contextualization of European financial policies encourage new models of economic, social and spatial organization for a sustainable development of rural regions in the post-Socialist context?

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**Analytical Framework**

**Theoretical Framework**

**Definition of Subject**

**Mapping of Intervention Scale**
- Environmental Condition
- Land Fragmentation
- Infrastructural Connectivity
- Renaissance urban plan

**Planning Approaches and Instruments**
- Rural Land Reform
- Consolidation efforts in the post-Socialist context

**Theory Review**
- Integrated governance
- Rural self-organization

**Design Approaches**
- Landscape preservation
- Rural infrastructure
- Farming diversification
- Production cycles

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**Concept**
Integrated Rural Governance

**Vision**
Regional production cycle

**Design Components**
- Community-led Land Reform
- Infrastructural Development
- A New Center for Frampol

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Fig. 6 - Methodology
Source: Author, 2014
EXCURSUS 1
EU Money Flows
Regional disparity, inevitable within a territorially growing European Union, entails the challenge of economic integration for accessing countries. The European Commission has, thus, established the Cohesion framework as an investment policy to alleviate the problems of development and trans-regional diversification. Less developed regions, determined by the annual GDP per capita, are subject to special investment aids towards permanent development processes, social activity and entrepreneurship, as well as an improved quality of life.

**Poland's Allocation in 2007**

In view of national and regional development plans, Poland's financial aid through the European Union crucially defines its financial opportunities and goals. While the European Union has awarded Poland with 101.5 billion Euros of funds in the period between 2007 and 2013, the newly approved budget until 2020 is set at 105.8 billion Euros. Poland will thereby be the biggest beneficiary of EU funds among the European member states. The budget constitutes financial aid from the Cohesion policy framework, tackling environmental and infrastructural development, the European Regional Development Fund, as well as the European Social Fund, enhancing economic and social cohesion.

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**Fig. 7** - In 2007, Poland was the largest beneficiary of the Cohesion policy. Every 5th Euro went to Poland.

**Fig. 8** - 2007 financial aid for EU member states

Poland doesn't have the highest per capita funding, but is the largest new member state in territory and population.

*Source: Author, 2014*
Operational Program for the Development of Eastern Poland

Under the Luxembourg presidency in 2005, the European Commission issued a special Operational Program for the development of the Union’s most deprived regions measured by GDP per capita. At the time of the just expanded EU-25, the five eastern Polish provinces of Warminsko-Mazurskie, Lubelskie, Podlaskie, Swietokrzyskie and Podkarpackie were recognized to be the most disadvantaged amongst the EU member states. Subsequently, the Operational Program for the Development of eastern Poland was established. Six priority axes define the investment strategy to counteract regional disparity, significant for the social and economic development of Poland, as well as the cohesion of the European Union at large.

In the first policy period 2007-2013, these provinces, which jointly account for 31.7% of Poland’s area and 21.34% of the Polish population, were granted financial aid of € 2.3 bln, of which € 992 million were allocated by the European Union and € 1.3 bln from additional funds provided by the Polish government. As part of the National Strategic Development Framework, the OP-DEP was based on the collaboration between the National Cohesion Strategy for the development of eastern Poland, the Ministry of Regional Development and the European Regional Development Fund. Due to its borders with important trade partners such as the Baltic countries, the Ukraine and Belarus, the eastern province’s territorial development are of particular interest to the greater European Union.
Fig. 10 - The five most deprived regions in Poland
Source: Author, 2014

Fig. 11 - Geographical position at the EU border, causes the EU interest in territorial development due to transborder trade potentials
Source: Author, 2014
Commonly considered as “Polska B” (the name suggests a second class Poland), the regions east of the Wistula river have been particularly strained by economic, social and urban restructuring following the collapse of the Socialist regime in 1989. The subsequent process of demographic and economic stagnation, adds to Poland’s challenge of increasing “territorial segregation into growing and declining regions” (Ciesla, 2009). While many, particularly young and educated Poles, continue to leave the provinces for more viable environments in Warsaw, Krakow or abroad, those who remain face a desperate climate.

Owing to Poland’s history of partition and successive occupation, and corresponding discrepancy in development, eastern Poland is particularly marked by weak infrastructural networks and traditional agricultural production. While the former is essential to economic cross-fertilization on both a national and international scale, the latter constrains economic growth and prospects for the rural population. Financial flows from the European Regional Development Fund and the Cohesion fund into eastern Poland, hence, aim to strengthening the connectivity of urban centers and economic growth through transit and trans-border trade. The Rural Development Program, on the other hand, invests in the improvement of economic competitiveness, as well as the quality of life in rural areas.

“Those who stay face a desperate environment.”
Jaga and Waldemar Hryniszyn, Przemyśl
JUNE, 2013
Fig. 12 - REGIONAL DISPARITY

Fig. 13 - OUTMIGRATION
Demographic shrinkage since the 1980s due to reduced birthrate. Since the accession in 2004, an est. 2 million Poles have left the country.

Fig. 14 - SHARE OF AGRICULTURE IN ECONOMY
32% of the country’s agricultural land is located in the five Eastern Polish provinces.

Fig. 15 - SHRINKAGE VS: GDP CONTRIBUTION

Fig. 16 - UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

Source: All: Author, 2014
From Brussels to Poland

In the policy period between 2007 and 2013, Poland was allocated nearly EUR 68 billion from the structural and cohesion funds (SCF), of which EUR 2.3 billion were granted as part of the special Operational Program for the development of eastern Poland (OP DEP). Additionally, Poland benefitted from the Agricultural and Fishery funds. The total amount of European money flowing from Brussels into Poland constituted EUR 95.6 bln in 2007.

**REGIONAL & URBAN POLICY**

**Goals**
- Capitalise on the strengths of each territory
- Manage concentration
- Connect territories
- Develop cooperation
- Foster rural-urban linkage

**Funds**
- European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)
- European Social Fund
- Cohesion Fund

**COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY**

**Goals**
- Viable food production
- Sustainable management of natural resources
- Balanced development of rural areas throughout the EU

**Funds**
- European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF)
- European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)

**COMMON FISHERIES POLICY**

**Goals**
- Adjustment of the fleet
- Aquaculture, processing and marketing inland fishing
- Measures of common interest (product traceability)

**Funds**
- European Fisheries Fund (EFF)
€ 347 bln - 37% of total EU Budget

€ 201 bln European Regional Development Fund
€ 76 bln Cohesion Fund
€ 70 bln European Social Fund
€ 4.3 bln Fishery Fund
€ 76 bln European Regional Development Fund
€ 330 bln European Agricultural Guarantee Fund
€ 90 bln European Agricultural Guarantee Fund
€ 0.5 bln OP Technical Assistance
12.4%
€ 0.7 bln OP Europ. Territorial Cooperation
1.1%
€ 1.3 bln Performance Reserve
€ 8.3 bln OP Innovative Economy
12.4%
€ 9.7 bln OP Human Capital
14.6%
€ 16.6 bln OP Innovative Economy
24.9%
€ 27.9 bln OP Infrastructure & Environment
41.9%
€ 1.3 bln OP Human Capital
14.6%
€ 0.4 bln National means
€ 0.7 bln OP Technical Assistance
12.4%
€ 0.7 bln OP Development of Eastern Poland
3.4%

Poland’s allocation
€ 65.0 bln

Projects
€ 27.2 bln

Source: Author, 2014
1. Modern Economy
2. Infrastructure for an information society
3. Voivodship growth centers
4. Transport Infrastructure
5. Development of Tourist potential

ERDF means assigned proportionally

€ 2.7 bln

Fig. 18 - Financial Distribution per project axis of the OP-DEP
Source: Author, 2014
February, 2013

122
signed projects

€ 2.7 bln

ERDF means
assigned proportionally

I. Modern Economy
II. Infrastructure for an information society
III. Voivodship growth centers
IV. Transport Infrastructure
V. Development of Tourist potential

Lubelskie
Podkarpackie
Podlaskie
Świętokrzyskie
Warminsko-Mazurskie

€ 557.5 million
€ 251.5 million
€ 413.4 million
€ 667.5 million
€ 63.0 million

SYNECDOCHE, FRAMPOL

BENEFICIARIES

GOVERNMENTAL
- Territorial self-government units
- Unions & associations of territorial self-government units
- Government administration bodies, statistical offices & development planning offices

INSTITUTIONAL
- Universities, Research establishments
- General directorate of National Roads and Motorways

PRIVATE
- Entrepreneurs & NGOs
- Business & innovation environment institutions (agencies/foundations)
Within the policy period of 2007 until 2013, 122 project were signed off as subsidized by the Operational Program for the Development of eastern Poland. While 111 were competitively chosen, eleven key investments were defined as essential to the achievement of the OP-DEP objectives. Amongst these was for example the establishment of a broadband internet network in all five provinces of eastern Poland.

With 33 subsidized projects, the province of Lublin has benefited the most out of the five regions. The projects focus on educational and research facilities, spaces for trade fairs and exhibition centers, as well as large scale road constructions and public transport developments.
I. Modern Economy

II. Infrastructure for an information society

III. Voivodship growth centers

IV. Transport Infrastructure

V. Development of Tourist potential

OP DEP signed projects
February 2013

Innovation Center, University of Life Sciences Lublin
- total cost: € 22.25 mill
- EU co-financing: € 14.86 mill
- auditorium
- lecture halls
- 25 laboratories
- workshops
- study rooms
- service areas
- parking space

Fair & Exhibition Center Lublin
- total cost: € 11.71 mill
- EU co-financing: € 4.03 mill
- renovation
- 8000m² exhibition space
- 5000m² outdoor exhibition space
- 2 conference halls
- 500 parking lots
- 5000 visitors
- 27 events in the last year
- 19 jobs

Expressway Kurow-Lublin-Piaski
- total cost: € 36.08 mill
- EU co-financing: € 17.36 mill
- 66.83 km

Source: Author, 2014

Fig. 20 - Project Examples in the Lublin Province
The European Union’s interest in eastern Poland’s territorial development lies particularly in its border condition with the Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic countries. A key project axis within the OP-DEP framework is, thus, the development of transport infrastructure within the five provinces, fostering more efficient transit for the Union as a whole.

As part of the EU Infrastructural policy, the Union has defined nine TEN-T Pan European Corridors connecting its member states, a vision to be completed by 2030. Corresponding to European policy, Poland’s highways (largely subsidized by EU money) have been planned along the Baltic-Adriatic Corridor and the North-Sea Baltic Corridor, crossing the country.

Since 2007, the Voivodship of Lublin has been subject to numerous road developments, predominantly national roads, feeding the highways to its west, and provincial roads relevant for internal connectivity. The construction of the A2, which crosses the province in its north, is planned to be completed in 2015.

Crucial to the increase of provincial traffic efficiency and environmental quality within urban areas of the region has been the construction of seven municipal bypasses, subsidized by the OP-DEP. By diverting truck traffic, bypasses reduce the stress in city centers, while enabling economic development due to infrastructural connectivity and industrial parks.
Fig. 22 - Road network in Lublin province subsidiary to the TEN-T.

Source: Author, 2014
Projected Subsidies 2014 - 2020

Fig. 23 - Polish financial allocation 2014-2020
Source: www.forsal.pl, 2013
EXCURSUS 2

Frampol
Frampol, both town and seat of the same-named municipality, gives example of the prevailing agricultural tradition in Eastern Poland. Established in the early 18th century by Count Butler, the town was planned after the Renaissance example of the Ideal City with a rectangular street layout around a central market square. Growing trade activity, linked to the inflow of a Jewish population in the mid-19th century, entailed a population increase to approx. 4,000 inhabitants in 1939. Frampol was, thus, an agricultural town with clusters of small trade. In September 1939, the German Luftwaffe conducted its first test bombings in Poland, choosing Frampol as an appropriate target due to its characteristic urban layout. The bombing destroyed 90% of the city’s urban fabric, while subsequent events during the Second World War saw the extermination of its Jewish population, reducing the town to 1,266 people in 1946.
During a seven-day trip from Vienna through Przemysl into the province of Lublin, I had the opportunity to meet nine locals portraying their professional and personal perspectives. My research findings and design decisions are largely based on the conversations I was able to conduct during these days.

Fig. 24 - Meeting Locals of the Bilgoraj county
Source: Author, 2014
“We come because there is nothing here.”

Visitors, Agrotourism Siedlisko
MARCH, 2014
Closed agricultural boarding school, Lubycza Królewska
Bee hives at the agricultural school, Lubycza Królewska
View across fields, Kąty
Source all: Author, 2014
Today, being the province’s smallest town, Frampol has 1,536 inhabitants, while the same-named municipality counts 6,653 people (2007) on 10,294 ha of land. 90% of the town’s and municipality’s inhabitants work in the agricultural sector. Due to unfavorable soil conditions coupled with small scale farming, which is constrained by extensive fragmentation of the landscape and inefficient distribution of parcels, agricultural production costs remain high. Low yields further hamper commodity production, leaving most agricultural activity as subsistence farming.

The soil, which is largely composed of sand and clay (there are multiple sand and lime mines in the county of Biłgoraj, as well as production plants for sand and clay bricks), insufficiently retains precipitation and is, thus, often affected by erosion.
– An influential factor of current farming condition in Poland is the governmental insurance system, which differentiates between Social Insurance for Entrepreneurs (ZUS) and the Farming Insurance (KRUS). The latter is a preferential system, which subsidizes the low productivity and profitability of Polish farmers. With a monthly insurance costs of only 98 złote (~25 €), Polish farmers receive a relatively high pension once retired. However, the policy also constrains their entrepreneurial activities and commercial abilities, such as selling privately processed foods from their farm. As a consequence, many farmers keep land to obtain the policy benefits, but have little interest in economically cultivating it. Many concentrate on a domestic mode of production, essentially depending on national or EU subsidies and often also on the allowance of family members who have left to go abroad. Others compensate the low profitability of their farms with alternative occupations such as construction work, transportation work, domestic service or agrotourism. Anthropologically, this group of farmers has been defined as polybian (Kearney, 1996; Rest, 2008).

Fig. 28 - Agricultural Statistics, Bilgoraj County
Source: All: Author, 2014

Fig. 29 - Insurance Policy System, Frampol
Source: Gazeta, 2014

SYNECDOCHE, FRAMPOL
Based on my findings, I have defined four groups of framers, relating to different farm size according to various agricultural practices in Poland. The groups I have found to be most representative in Frampol are the peasant and polybian farmer.

**THE PEASANT FARMER**
- < 5 HA
- KRUS
- dominant/passive
- domestic mode of production (market risk aversion)
- live of subsidies
- often allowance from family abroad

**THE POLYBIAN FARMER**
- < 10 HA
- KRUS
- harvest sold to wholesalers (collection point)
- wage labor
- seasonal work migration
- day labourer
- domestic help

**COMMERCIAL FARMER**
- > 10 HA
- KRUS
- harvest sold to wholesalers (collection point)
- modernized machines
- livestock for subsistence

**ENTREPRENEURIAL FARMER**
- > 15 HA
- ZUS
- independant of wholesalers
- modernized machines
- private enterprise, retail of processed foods

**FARMER OF 2013**
The extensive fragmentation of the rural landscape stands for much more than merely inefficiantly parcelled land. Poland is one of the few examples where private ownership and individual farming persisted throughout the Socialist era. The particular history of a century-long fight for freedom by Polish farmers, was likewise their fight for private property. Due to extensive farmers’ protests in the 1950s, the Socialist government never collectivized the farmlands in the East and South of Poland. The state-owned farms the government did establish were located in the West of Poland in the formerly German regions.

Despite the general notion of economic inefficiency, land fragmentation also encompasses social values, which particularly influence the farmers’ willingness to modernize or consolidate. Depending on the cause of fragmentation, which can be inheritance, population growth, land markets or historical/cultural backdrop, alterations to land tenure structures can have significant social effects on the farming population.
Crops

Fig. 32 - Agricultural Data
Source: Author, 2014
Fig. 33 - Farmland
Source: Author, 2014
Agricultural Production

Fig. 34 - Existing Production Cycle
Source: Author, 2014
14 %
Purchase price
collection from farmer

39 %
Retail margin
& VAT

47 %
Wholesale margin

Fig. 35 - Product Price Division
Source: Gazeta Wyborcza, based on 2012 data
– Finally, Frampol is the subject of this research for its example of badly invested EU subsidies and its controversial spatial implications. Located 70 km south of Lublin, Frampol lies at the crossroads of the provincial road R835, running north-south linking Lublin to Rzeszów, and the national road S74, which will in future connect the A1 highway in the West to the border with the Ukraine in the East. In 2010, the General Directorate for National Roads and Motorways announced it would spend 11.6 million Euro, of which 6.5 million are EU subsidies, on a 4 km long northern bypass alleviating West-East traffic. The decision has incited national critique, as it disregards Frampol’s, as well as larger provincial actual needs. While there are a mere 3000 cars going West to East, there are approx. 14,000 cars traveling north-south on the provincial road. The connection is of particular local importance as it leads to the furniture manufacturing plant in Biłgoraj, a great employer within the region.

The reasoning behind the decisions points to an administrative inefficiency prevailing in Poland. The national and provincial road networks are administered by different authorities: the General Directorate for National Roads and Motorways and the Provincial Government. Accordingly, these bodies can only invest or develop road segments under their responsibility. Prof. Grzegorz Gorzelak (Center for Regional and Local European Studies - EUROREG) criticizes the construction: “The particularism - disregarding current needs, but spending money ‘because it may be useful someday’, the lack of meaningful, integrated multi-level planning, as well as impressive promises (once we will build...) - is a classic example of nonchalance in the allocation of public money. One day we will unfortunately pay for it.” (03.01.2013, www.lublin.gazeta.pl)
Fig. 36 - Bypass co-financed by the Operational Program for the Development of Eastern Poland
Source: Author, 2014
“You’ve picked the wrong example.”

Tadeusz Niedźwiecki,
Mayor of Frampol
MARCH, 2014
DESIGN APPROACH

Synecdoche, Frampol
In line with the European Union’s urban development vision, Poland has developed a strategy for its „Cities of the future”. To complement the increasing emphasis on socio-economic development in cities, this graduation project focuses on the sustainable development of the hinterland in order to preserve its environmental qualities, natural resources and cultural traditions. Rather than denying the anthropogenic reality we live in and plan for, the project aims at enhancing an urban-rural synergy of exchanging knowledge, goods and population.

**Integrative Rural Governance**

An essential issue in the allocation of EU subsidies during the previous policy period has been the disintegration of policy objectives and project development. The intricate manner of certification and verification tied to European money has often subverted local needs, potentials and challenges. Considering rural development, the problem is particularly tied to the lack of educational support assisting farmers needing to comply with increasing regulations and market standards. EU subsidies intended as economic support for agricultural production turn into misguided financial drainage leaving many unaware of how to continue production or entrepreneurial activities once the subsidies have ended. Thus, the project argues for the contextualization of EU development policies through a strengthened local governance strategy. By bringing together public authority, the local population and institutions or cooperatives, a common vision for a rural municipality such as Frampol could be created. In order to counteract the ongoing social and spatial deprivation, awareness of Frampol’s qualities and development potential needs to be established. Key herein is the stimulation of existing spatial and cultural qualities by rendering a common vision for an active cultural landscape. A threefold strategy is followed to activate Frampol’s potentials: fostering a collective identity through regionalizing agricultural production, spatial identity through infrastructural development and urban design resulting in strengthened individual identity. The link between the collective and the individual needs to be established through self-organized cooperation and supported by territorial development.

**Meeting EU Subsidies through co-creation**

The concept of co-creation brings together public authorities, social entrepreneurs and corporations to tackle common challenges and establish social and business cooperation. Tied to the EU’s emphasis on innovation, its integration with economic performance and social impact is of topical relevance. In order to preserve the agricultural tradition in Frampol, the integrated development strategy proposes a regional production cycle within the municipality of Frampol. Agricultural produce, appropriate for the fragmented landscape and soil conditions, is processed within a new center in Frampol in order to be distributed as a local product. Through a collaborative approach, farmers, local authorities and corporations can develop a coherent network of production, processing, retail and distribution, tied to local needs, while enhancing the agricultural tradition and extending the job market.

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**Fig. 37 - Integration of policies and interests**

*Source: Author, 2014*
INFRASTRUCTURAL CONNECTIVITY
A NEW CENTER SHOWCASING AGRICULTURAL TRADITION

Fig. 38 - Elements of Spatial Development
Source: Author, 2014
An Active Cultural Landscape

– Benefitting from its undiscovered condition, Frampol bears the potential to preserve the qualities of its natural landscape through environmentally sensitive development. The Rostocze hill range, crossing through Frampol in its north-eastern parts, has become a unique region of commercially untouched farmlands, forests and creeks. Rather than proposing a strategy to forcefully modernize the landscape or turn it into Natura 2000, another EU subsidized agenda, Frampol’s future lies in the activation and establishment of its cultural landscape, by preserving its small-scale agricultural tradition. Frampol needs to rediscover its apparent weakness of extensive land fragmentation as a strength. It is a cultural and environmental asset, which is rapidly diminishing.

To continue, the labor intensive cultivation of the fragmented landscape the collaboration between farmers and the diversification of their practices is vital. As part of a network of touristic services, local production or cultural activities, farmers can strengthen each other and thereby increase economic stability. In the coming EU policy period, the CAP will focus on traditional farming and ecological production, both aspects characteristic for Frampol and its landscape. However, a precondition for any spatial proposal is the establishment of entrepreneurial visions and opportunities in order to foster the local awareness of its own qualities and potentials.
View of fields, Guciow
Source: Author, 2014
Municipal Development

Governance & Phasing
The potential of rural municipalities lies in their ability to establish a responsive governance model characterized by an active involvement of the population. Particularly in cases such as Frampol, where the majority of land is privately owned, the level of public participation will define spatial, economic and social progress. The farming population has the power to define the scope of spatial development and economic performance for the municipality as a whole. Thus, the suggested consortium responsible for the development and implementation of the municipal strategy is to be formed by a proposed citizen group, the “Farmers Association”, the local government and the Provincial government. The consortium, deciding upon project phasing and financial allocation through EU funds, is informed by the “Body of Advisers” guiding the process in terms of spatial design, financial strategy and public communication. The close cooperation between the three parties could allow for the integration of individual interests into a holistically synergistic vision.
Fig. 42 - Project Phasing
Source: Author, 2014

SYNECOCHE, FRAMPOL
As a representative organ, the Farmers’ Association, formed and owned by the farmers, most essential function is to give farmers a collective voice. Further, its significance lies in strengthening the individual farmer by reducing the impact of market risk. Particularly small scale and elderly farmers refrain from cultivating commercial crop due to the unpredictability of demand and the consequential risk of outstanding return on their investment. To give such peasant farmers an economic prospect, the Farmers’ Association not only acts as main customer, buying daily produce at the local collection point, but also has the collective mandate to regulate prices and the market in terms of demand.

In the current production cycle, Frampol farmers face a twofold disadvantage. On the one hand, the majority of commercial benefit goes to the wholesale and industrial enterprises processing commercial foods which are located beyond the municipal borders. On the other hand, according to the Polish Farmer’s insurance policy, farmers are not allowed to sell privately produced or processed foods such as milk, honey, jam or smoked meat. This is both an economic constraint put on the farmers by the Polish policy regulation and a commercial constraint inflicted by European Union certificate standards.

The third function of Frampol’s Farmers’ Association is thus, the local processing and production of organic foods. By establishing a dynamic production cycle within the municipality itself, Frampol has the chance to activate its agricultural tradition, enhance profitability through consistent purchase of produce and regulate agricultural cultivation according to processing of foods. The process of regionalization entails a strengthened collective identity through a product which showcases the municipalities’ economic tradition.
The village harvest is processed into a local product at the plant in the town center.
The common ground for spatial interventions is formed by the ambition of preserving the local qualities of Frampol identified in its characteristic landscape fragmentation, the linear structure of its villages and the Renaissance urban layout of the town itself. The three scales of design are thus landscape and agricultural reform, infrastructural connectivity and urban space.
Productive Landscape

The potential lies in its weakness.
Tabacco fields, Żwierzyniec
Source: Author, 2013
Community-led Land Reform

– Particularly peasant and polybian farmers are negatively affected by the high cultivation costs of land fragmentation characteristic for Frampol’s landscape. The farming population is rapidly aging.

Western planning instruments, such as land banking or consolidation, which are used for agricultural land restructuring, commonly follow the objective to reduce land fragmentation in order to increase economic feasibility and profit. While the process of land banking builds on the principle of ownership exchange, targeting enlarged farm sizes rather than consolidating land as such, the restructuring effort is predominantly government-led or by external bodies such as international development organizations.

In view of the ambition to preserve land fragmentation in Frampol due to its cultural and environmental value, an alternative strategy for land reform is necessary. The establishment of the Farmers’ Association gives an institutional framework for a community-led land reform. By means of collaborative participation, individual villages can initiate the process of Land Use Clustering. The aim is threefold: preserve ownership rights and physical land fragmentation, cluster and increase land use per individual farmer and enhance accessibility and efficiency. The model distinguishes itself from Socialist land collectivization, as it preserves both the spatial form of the landscape and ownership rights, as much as it does from western land consolidation efforts by merely addressing the reallocation of land use rather than physical transformation.
Agricultural production has been hampered by land fragmentation and dispersion of parcels.
1. Field Paths
To initiate the process of clustering, a network of field paths is drawn to circumscribe areas of 10 to 20 ha of land. The field paths are drawn according to shape of the landscape and in such a manner as to establish most efficient accessibility of land from local and municipal roads. The path network is agreed upon by the local community as each farmer gives “Right of Way”, but maintains ownership over the land. The field paths further allow for a touristic network for cyclists and hikers.

2. Land Use Conversion
The farmers/land owners agree upon land use clusters which will be cultivated by one farmer. Thereby farmers might no longer cultivate land owned by themselves, but instead are responsible for land parcels located next to each other. The advantage lies in a more efficient land use due to shorter traveling distances and more efficient accessibility due to the field path network. The land use conversion further enables the older generation to resettle to urban areas in order to hand over the use of their land.

Linked to the communal organization and management of agricultural production is the establishment of shared facilities in combination with the collection point. As many peasant and polybian farmers have limited access to machinery, the provision of shared machinery can foster production and profitability.

Fig. 48 - Field Paths
Source: Author, 2014
3.2297
2.0408
10 - 15 HA
FIELD CLUSTER

SYNECDOCHE, FRAMPOL

Fig. 49 - Clusters of use
Source: Author, 2014
– In terms of urban design, the collection point carries the symbolic meaning of the village’s agricultural labor. It represents the daily routine of farmers bringing in their harvest and selling it to the retailer before it is taken to the municipal cooling house. To complement the barn, as the collection point, a representative building is added, functioning as a communal center. Symbolizing weekly gatherings, exchange and social activities, the center gives the Farmers Association a physical space.

Fig. 50 - Envisioned perspective from a field path
Source: Author, 2014
FIELD FRAGMENTATION SUSTAINS BIODIVERSITY

CLUSTERED USE, MAINTAINED OWNERSHIP FRAGMENTATION

Fig. 51 - Preserved land fragmentation
Source: Author, 2014
Fig. 52 - Katy village
Source: Author, 2014
– Municipal development is carried by its infrastructural network enabling ease of access, transit and exchange. Frampol is crossed by both the S74, a national road leading to the Ukrainian border crossing, as well as the R835, the provincial road leading to Lublin and further on to Warsaw. Thus, infrastructural developments are of multi-scale relevance and bear the potential of adding to the local economic success if integrated with other locally significant developments.

5 Scales of Infrastructure

• Field paths for farmland accessibility and for serving as a touristic/recreational network

• Scenic local roads, connecting villages to the town center of Frampol, are enhanced by pedestrian walkways and bicycle lanes

• Municipal roads carrying the public transport network are enhanced by both bicycle lanes and pedestrian walkways

• The provincial road is extended with extra lanes, differentiating between cargo and passenger traffic. In the town center of Frampol, the provincial road will underpass its center through a hybrid tunnel allowing for fast transit of cargo, parking and urban accessibility for visitors and residents and harvest dropoff at the local processing plant for agricultural produce.

• The national road, E74, leading to the border crossing with the Ukraine was extended with a northern bypass in 2012.
Fig. 53 - Road Types
Source: Author, 2014
PICK YOUR OWN BERRIES!

HARVEST TAKEN TO THE COLLECTION POINT
THE BUS TO THE VOCATION TRAINING CENTER IN THE TOWN CENTER

VEGETABLE TRANSPORT TO LUBLIN, WARSAW & CRACOW

Fig. 54 - Street Sections
Source: Author, 2014

Fig. 55 - Envisioned municipal road leading through the Katy village
Source: Author, 2014
Fig. 56 - Planned bypass to the east of Frampol

Source: "Study of land-use conditions and directions", City and Municipality of Frampol
Fig. 57 - Proposed Underpass
Source: Author, 2014
A CENTER FOR FRAMPOL
Starting point for the redevelopment of Frampol’s town center is the construction of a 400 meter underpass for the provincial road R835. Rather than following the municipality’s proposal of another bypass cutting through the surrounding fields of Frampol to its east, the proposed design maintains the traffic activity in the center in order to enhance its economic potential for tourism and commerce, and its spatial solution with a hybrid structure. The underpass is the infrastructural element which links the farmer to the municipality’s cultural center through the underground delivery of harvest at the municipal processing plant. The underpass, thus, closes the regional production cycle carrying both economic activity and cultural tradition. Finally, the underpass, as the pendant to the EU-subsidized bypass to the north of Frampol, symbolizes the possibility of integrated infrastructural design.
Fig. 60 - A hybrid for transit, harvest dropoff & visitor parking

Source: Author, 2014
The regionalization of Frampol’s agricultural produce not only strengthens its local economy by securing a farmer’s income, but also shortens transportation time and distance. The regional production cycle gains its physical presence through a hub for processing, retail and showcasing. Frampol’s new center thereby stimulates rural identity by staging agricultural produce and cultural traditions. Traditional knowledge of local recipes and craftsmanship can be preserved through their activation. The intended result is a revived local identity and image for Frampol as a region.
Fig. 62 - A hybrid for transit, harvest dropoff & visitor parking

Source: Author, 2014
-- Frampol's cultural identity is enhanced by reestablishing the physical identity of its center. By relieving the town's center of car traffic, space is regained for a public square framed by urban development. The design of the town's center reintroduces its historical function as a market square, a space for merchants, artisans and farmers. The framing architecture provides for representational functions such as a cultural center, educational facilities and local entrepreneurs.

The design of the new urban development relates to the urban language of Frampol's renaissance layout. The building plots not only admit to this formal articulation in terms of orientation, but also react to its functional zoning, which is architecturally distinguished by residential housing, to the front of the plots, the central yard and the barn, to the back of the plots. The new center reinterprets these functions as representative, open and commercial spaces. While the representative buildings face the new public square, a symbolic space for weekly or seasonal activities, the commercial buildings to the back provide for the everyday services and retail. The design of the center reacts on three elements of cultural heritage: the urban layout and functional zoning, the urban plot orientation towards the North, emphasizing the axis to the church, and finally the pattern of field fragmentation in the design of the square's paving itself.

The inter-connection of infrastructure and urban development, thus, carries a much larger value as it stands for an activated local economy, historically tied to and preserving a future for cultural tradition. By activating local potential and strengthening economic activity, the spatial developments not only provide a social prospect for rural life, but add to the regional socio-economic stability. Stronger municipalities and their communities essentially benefit the province economically as a whole.
Fig. 63 - Urban design steps
Source: Author, 2014

Fig. 64 - Zoning
Source: Author, 2014
MARKET SQUARE + URBAN DEVELOPMENT

UNDERPASS + SERVICE FACILITIES

WEEKLY MARKET

HARVEST DROPOFF

Fig. 65 - The new center above and below ground
Source: Author, 2014

Fig. 66 - Programmatic scheme
Source: Author, 2014

Fig. 67 - Urban layout
Source: Author, 2014
THE FIELDPARCELS, FORMAL REFERENCE FOR THE MARKET SQUARE
Fig. 68 - References informing urban layout

Source: Author, 2014

THE CHURCH, SYMBOL FOR SOCIETAL AND SPATIAL ORIENTATION

THE RESTORED TOWN CENTER STAGES THE LOCAL IDENTITY

THE R83 UNDERPASS INTEGRATES EU SUBSIDIES WITH LOCAL NEEDS

THE NEW SQUARE DESIGN STAGES THE LOCAL IDENTITY
Fig. 69 - Agricultural productivity sustains traditions and culture. 
Source: Author, 2014
— Fundamental to the here presented research have been the notions of contextual sensitivity and cultural specificity and their role in informing design decisions.

As my research followed the lines of EU money streams, financial allocation processes and reasoning of spatial development, the core of my investigation addressed their contextual implications.

In the following, I will summarize my understanding of what I consider “the EU’s predicament” against the specific backdrop of the Lublin province in eastern Poland.

I will further elaborate on the design approach, its potential in addressing the existing conflict and the possibilities of further research to achieve a more elaborate project. It is important to note that all statements regarding the EU’s funding system are based on my own research, which has allowed me a glimpse into the complexity of the Union’s policy structures.

The EU’s predicament

Once the geographic heart of Poland, the Lublin province has become Poland’s most Eastern territory after the shifting of borders following the Second World War.

The Socialist regime after 1945 caused the region’s deprivation. Since Poland’s accession to the EU in 2004, its status as an external EU border has granted this region additional attention and financial aid from the EU. It is of particular interest for all of Europe to territorially develop the connectivity and trade possibilities to the East. Traditional, privately run agriculture, dominating both economy and environment, is the province’s weakness and strength.

My journey “following the money” from Brussels into eastern Poland was marked by the constant juxtaposition of people and the abstraction of financial allocation. The means by which I defined the conflicting condition of EU subsidies in Eastern Poland are, therefore, essentially informed by the conversations with locals conducted during a field trip in March, 2014. It is needless to say that Poland’s accession to the European Union and the related financial support entailed an extensive amount of necessary spatial and economic development.

However, I wish to address the pressing problematic regarding the social gain by means of local opportunities for entrepreneurship. If development efforts are to serve a process of sustainable economic, social and spatial development, their local adaptation is essential. Taking the example of express roads and highways, the construction of which in itself is an unprecedented accomplishment for eastern Poland, their lack of integration can turn them into, cynically spoken, “the fastest way to leave this place”.

A recent report published by the European Court of Auditors addressed this very dilemma by highlighting the under-performance of EU funded urban transport systems in terms of economic and social benefits. In accordance with my research on the local effectiveness of the Union’s development policies, Mrs Iliana Ivanova, the ECA Member responsible for the report, stated that „in these times of budgetary constraints, each euro spent from the European budget should effectively address identified needs.”

In the case of the municipality of Frampol, which has served as my object of study for more specific social and cultural investigations, the disintegration of the EU’s objectives through contextual challenges became apparent. Next to infrastructural developments, such as the bypass road, EU subsidies were utilized for the construction of bike lanes, solar panels, playgrounds or solar-powered traffic signs. While all projects bear some validity, the reasoning for financial support is based on self-referential EU policies rather than local needs and challenges. Generic European strategy, thus, takes physical shape by standardized, because certifiable, design and materiality, as well as by means of agricultural crop cultivation and land management.

Rather than promoting development, which derives from local potentials, the EU superimposes itself as an alien context nurturing a generic European standard. In light of such a paradigm, citizens potentially turn into marionettes laking the social benefits of EU policies in terms of local opportunities for entrepreneurship.

Inevitably, the causes for the resulting problems must be looked for at both ends of the spectrum: on the side of the EU, a growing Leviathan of policies and directives, as well as on the side of the Polish government, intrinsically shaped by what locals describe as “the echo of communism”. Such analysis needs however more extensive research on EU policies and a more refined understanding of the political structure in Poland. Nonetheless it is possible to define the consequences as a short-sighted development by the EU and self-inflicted aid dependence on the Polish side.

Essential for my project has been the question, which role an urban designer or planner can or should take. The predicament herein lies in the extent to which such professionals are able to provide integrated strategies for contextual challenges, without becoming entangled in the above described dynamics and thereby becoming themselves part of the problem.
Rural specificity

The dissection of Frampol’s seemingly unprepossessing landscape was triggered by the search for local resources which, once activated, could generate sustainable development of the municipality’s landscape and people.

The conducted research, thus, built the foundation for my positioning as a designer, whereby I took the stand in favor of local empowerment. In order to preserve and enhance Frampol’s particularity in terms of culture and landscape potential, development efforts need to foster an active agricultural practice. It is my argument that this can be the route to strengthen Frampol’s identity as a rural town. As sociologist and organic farmer Andreas Willisch described, “A village only exists where there is agricultural land to which it refers, because it provides its economic ground. A village is a village because it cannot grow beyond its borders into the agricultural lands”.

Crucial for the research and its design informing results has been the post-Socialist backdrop, rendering a very particular dynamic between European interests and local intricacy in terms of politics and mentality. Perhaps the most valuable lesson I have learned in the process of the project has been the relationship of scales.

The project led to a unique relational analysis and the ability to extrapolate the particular condition of an individual farmer in Frampol, today, from the historic events during the Second World War, the subsequent Socialist regime and the unprecedented acceleration of history and radical transformation Poland has experienced in the past two decades. Thus, the farmer has become a synecdoche for the collision of larger forces, a historic legacy which claims more time to come to terms with and a pressing future set out by global trends and European visions. The recognition of such a complex background informed my conviction not to superimpose Western development concepts and methods in a region and town which are still rich with its spatial and culturally specific agricultural tradition. In view of growing skepticism towards the EU, demonstrated by an EU-wide shift towards the political right in recent elections to European Parliament, the emphasis should be on preserving diversity for a stronger whole. This is a matter, which in the case of the rural city of Frampol, addresses the economy, the landscape and people tied together by their agricultural practice.
Design Approach & Evaluation
The choice to use the city of Frampol as an exemplary recipient of EU aid, introduced a series of issues regarding the town’s economic, social, cultural and historic background, which shape its existing spatial condition. The design proposals address the vast fragmentation of landscape, EU subsidized infrastructure and the layout of the town according to the renaissance ideal of a city. The proposed municipal strategy of regionalizing agricultural production and closing the economic circle of food production within the borders of Frampol sets the framework for the design components. Finally, my project proposes a consortium, formed by the newly introduced Farmers’ Association, the municipal government and the provincial government, which carries the responsibility of executing the development plan, its phasing and application for EU funding.

The design approach suggests the empowerment of local governance by means of a spatially defined rural vision leading to development beyond the EU’s 2020 policy period. The spatial changes address local needs and emphasize the potential of project design as part of a long term strategy utilizing EU aid. Key herein is the integration of objectives and coordination of interests on multiple scales. By embedding the design components into a holistic strategy, a chain effect of economic, social and spatial change can be triggered.

Looking back at the research question, which asked how the contextualization of European policies can lead to new models of rural organization, the design proposal answers only one side of the question.

The contextualization of EU financial instruments can be tackled from both the perspective of the EU’s top-down structure, as well as the bottom-up understanding of how a local community can utilize financial aid in a most effective way.

My project focuses on strengthening communal self-organization, in view of an existing lack of awareness towards its development potential amongst the population. The creation of awareness and the enhancement of a local identity is the essence of my project’s ambition.

Thus, the research and subsequent design of a regional production cycle for Frampol, is potentially a small contribution to the necessary study on Eastern Polish development potential, aside from prevailing modernization efforts towards a cheap food, or fruit, basket for Western Europe.

Further research recommendations
To further address the potential of contextualizing or enabling contextualization from the side of the EU, more extensive research on its policy structure and processes of implementation is necessary. In addition, further case studies from other borderline regions and towns would be helpful.

Following my research, the question can be reformulated in a more precise manner: How can the EU encourage local adaptation of its policies and strategies and strengthen the integration of general ambitions with local challenges?

In view of the growing skepticism towards the EU, demonstrated by a general shift towards a political right in the recent municipal elections, emphasis needs to be put on the preservation of diversity for a stronger whole. Perhaps the most essential question for further research would be: How can the EU empower communities and community management in the process of a European integration?
Abstract – This paper investigates the different planning instruments used in agricultural land restructuring and their potential for implementation in regions affected by post-Socialist land reform. Land fragmentation, often understood as a fundamental impediment to rural development, is looked upon with a focus on its socio-cultural and historic context. While the spatial legacies of individual Socialist regimes mark prevailing economic challenges in the region, the European Union faces the paradox of both the need to restrain agricultural surplus and the need to diminish rural poverty. The paper looks at historically determined conditions of land fragmentation and thereby measures the impact of different land consolidation methods prevalent in western Europe. Varying land tenure systems, as well as economic and environmental conditions demand integrated rural development strategies utilizing short and long term land reform. The paper stresses the contextualization of policies, acknowledging both advantages and disadvantages of land fragmentation.

Key words – post-Socialist land reform, land fragmentation, land consolidation, rural development

1 Introduction
The aim of this paper is to review policy measures used for restructuring fragmented farmland in the post-Socialist context. The study is to inform rural land reform, sensitive to differing historic contexts, as part of a larger integrated regional development plan. In order to encourage spatial, economic and social progress in the rural regions of Central and Eastern Europe, the understanding of agrarian structural evolution during and following the Socialist era is imperative. The subject of this paper is CEEC, i.e. the eleven Central and Eastern European Countries, which have sought accession to the European Union since the fall of their Socialist regimes in 1989-90. These are Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia, which joined the Union in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 and the Union’s most recent member Croatia, which accessed on July 1st, 2013.

In the search of appropriate planning instruments to enhance rural areas and agricultural production, classic land consolidation methods, which have been part of European land reform efforts since the 1950s and 60s, need to be reassessed (Van Dijk, 2005). To apprehend the historic complexity determining the effectiveness of land management measures in Central European countries, the paper has been structured in three sections.

The first section of the paper looks upon land fragmentation as a spatial legacy of the Socialist era (Bogaerts et al. 2002, Mathijs and Swinnen, 1997). It elaborates on the tenure structures imposed on the CEEC by Socialist governments as well as the process of de-collectivization following the collapse of Communism in 1989. The second section discusses the issue of land fragmentation as such, highlighting the differentiation of four types of land fragmentation, essential for the understanding of the post-Socialist rural development challenge (Bogaerts et al. 2002; Demetriou, 2014; Van Dijk, 2005). In the third section the paper elaborates on the two most common policy instruments, namely land consolidation and land banking (Van Dijk, 2005; Graefen, 2002). Lastly, the paper emphasizes the contextualization of policy instruments through location specific components in the effort to achieve long lasting development effects.

The paper is written to enhance the theoretical framework for the author’s graduation project which proposes an integrated rural development strategy for a municipality in eastern Poland characterized by extensive land fragmentation.

2 Spatial legacies of Socialist land reform
With the fall of Communism in 1989, the CEEC entered a transition period from centrally-planned to market economies, thereby abolishing their Marxist principles of collectivism in favor of a Western model of private entrepreneurship (Bogaerts et al. 2002; Van Dijk, 2004; Thomas 2006). The ensuing privatization and restructuring of farmland has led to a vast amount of small-scale farming units, a spatial division which hampers efficiency and productivity of land, capital and labor (Van Dijk, 2004; Graefen, 2002). With the prospect of accessing the European Union, the CEEC were challenged with the establishment of functioning market economies, constitutive of reformed land administration systems comprising ongoing land consolidation processes (Bogaerts et al. 2002).

2.1 Land Tenure under Socialism
With the introduction of centrally-planned economies by Socialist regimes, agricultural production was organized in large-scale collective and state farms (Bogaerts et al. 2002; Mathijs and Swinnen, 1997). The extent to which the two types of collectivization, differing
in land ownership and tenure rights, were implemented, varied greatly across the CEEC and FSU. In the case of state farms, land and property was entirely expropriated in order to be consolidated into state farms or other state organization (Bogaerts et al. 2002). Collective farms, meanwhile, were established as land co-operatives, in which the owners retained their property rights as the land became part of a larger land-use complex. The process nevertheless erased the physical boundaries of the parcels, merging them into massive tracts of land, which obscured the legal patchwork underneath (Bogaerts et al. 2002; Van Dijk, 2004).

The large agricultural sector, built on collectivized lands, was extensively modernized by means of machinery, fertilizers and irrigation systems under Socialist regimes (Wadkin, 1990). Such, often substantial, capital investments were made by the central governments to ensure unprecedented levels of agricultural production, exploiting the highly variable resource base across their countries. As Turnock elaborates in his paper, the expectations of productivity gains, merely stemming from collectivized land and labor, disregarded the agricultural dependence of the residual labor force however, “which lacked the ability or motivation to migrate to the towns” (Turnock, 1996). Part of the Socialist strategy of capitalizing agriculture through collective production was, however, the dissemination of ideological prejudice towards private farms and preference for directive planning (Wadkin, 1990).

As part of the endeavor to make agricultural production more efficient, steering institutions, such as the cooperation councils in the GDR or Agricultural Industrial Complexes (AICs) in Bulgaria, were installed. Tied to the food processing industry, for instance as sugar refineries, several AICs joined to form Industrial-Agricultural Complexes, managing up to 45,000 ha of land, as was the case in Nitra, Slovakia (Turnock, 1996).

Despite the extensive collectivization, small-scale farming remained attractive in the context of unskilled labor surpluses and marginal areas, such as in the mountainous regions of former Yugoslavia (Meze 1984), where the efficiency of large organizations was constrained. Apart from former Yugoslavia, Poland is another example where private ownership and individual farming persisted throughout the Socialist era. The particular history of a century-long fight for freedom by Polish farmers, echoed in their fight for private property. While the Socialist government never collectivized farmlands, predominantly located in the East and South of Poland, around 1700 state farms were established in the country’s Western regions. Expropriation affected lands previously owned by Germans, due to the Potsdam agreement, by the Catholic church and the Polish aristocracy, of which several families owned more than 100,000 ha.

2.2 Decollectivization & Privatization in its Aftermath

With the collapse of Socialist regimes, the systematic of agrarian production which had depended on price controls and trade contracts with Soviet Union, correspondingly broke down (Turnock, 1996). Economic reforms set out since 1989 turned towards a western market economy, encompassing overall agrarian reforms and land restructuring. The procedure of restructuring collective farms and transformation of large-scale production units into individually-operated farms was defined by Mathijs and Swinnen as “decollectivization”. The varying processes leading to the reestablishment of private property and production, through land restitution was related to ownership rights determined within the collective or state farms (Bogaerts et al. 2002, Mathijs and Swinnen, 1997). Agrarian legislation set out to restitute land rights differed considerably among the various Central and Eastern European countries and in several cases, the land reform procedures chosen were not the most efficient (Swinnen, 1999).

As elaborated by Swinnen (Swinnen, 1999), the distributional effects of land reforms addressed two concerns, “the social (‘equity’) considerations of reforms and the legal (historical justice’) demands of pre-collectivization land owners whose land was confiscated by the Communist regime or who were forced to participate in collectivization.” In some cases, such as western Polish state farms, the demand for an equitable distribution of land conflicted with the demand for historical justice, which would have implied the restitution of land to German owners prior to the Potsdam agreement in 1945.

To redistribute the land managed by Polish state farms, the Polish government established the Agricultural Property Agency of State Treasury (APA) in 1991. In an effort to increase existing family farms, as well as establish new ones, the agency was set up to transfer ownership and property rights from state property to private individuals (Bogaerts et al. 2002). Bringing together agricultural property from demised state farms, the State Treasury, as well as the National Land Fund, about 15% of the total rural area of Poland was put under the Agency’s authority. In the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, such Land Funds owned about 10% of rural lands. The practice of privatization through selling or leasing had, however, a negative impact on the land market. Consequently, a considerable amount of land has remained unrestituted, has been sold or leased.

In the case of collective farms, where owners retained ownership rights, two processes for restoring property rights were implemented. The first was the practice of restitution, by which the original owners, or their heirs, could reclaim their land. However, this often entailed the problematic that original parcels had been built upon in the meantime, or former owners could not be found. The second process was the practice of Compensation, chosen by some CEEC governments, by means of “restitution in comparable boundaries”, particularly when new owners intended to privately farm the land (Grelan, 2002; Swinnen 1999). This process often implied incomplete transfer of property rights (user, income and alienation rights), as farmers were prohibited from selling the lands or taking their assets (Sabates-Wheeler, 2002; Swinnen, 1999). Compensation to former owners was a common practice in Hungary and Albania (Turnock, 1996), whilst compensation to farm employees, due to land restitution to former owners, was practiced in Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Slovenia and Slovakia (Swinnen, 1999).

The conditions of land reforms and privatization measures, defined by the CEEC governments, ultimately influenced the decision of collective farm members to leave the collective production framework in favor of starting up individual farms. The likelihood of such a decollectivization decision process was modeled by Mathijs
and Swinnen by comparing expected utility of collective versus individual farming. Influential factors were the expected productivity and profitability of individual farming, as well as the cost of leaving the collective farm by means of restitution, which often entailed considerable transaction costs (Mathijs and Swinnen, 1997; Swinnen 1999). Hence, despite the aforementioned social considerations and demands of legal justice, compromised restitution, which allowed cooperatives to continue on a reduced scale, if favored by the members, remained a common practice (Turnock, 1996).

3 Land Fragmentation
One of the critical issues in the process of privatization and decollectivization has been the increasing amount of small-scale farming throughout the CEEC (Graefen, 2002, Van Dijk 2003). The extensive parcellation of restituted land impedes farm management and causes lack of efficiency and productivity in terms of land, capital and labor (Bogaerts et al. 2002; Graefen, 2002). In 1993, more than 50% of private farms in the Czech Republic were smaller than 1.0 ha and almost 30% had between 1.0 and 10.0 ha of land. Despite the demands for land reform in the wake of joining the European Union, a considerable amount of rural regions in former socialist CEEC countries has remained marginalized within their national economies (Graefen, 2002) - an increasingly development-constraining condition in view of emigration, aging and unemployment trends.

3.1. Advantages/Disadvantages
While land fragmentation is not problematic by definition, it has been defined as efficiency-hampering regarding its spatial dispersion, high cost expenditures and labor intensity (Demetriou, 2014; King & Burton, 1982). There are several factors which challenge the economic viability of land fragmentation. Most important is the small scale of the parcels, which hinder the use of machinery and entail a great amount of boundary lines and uncultivable land. Consequently, such farms often rely on an excessive amount of manual work or remain subsistence farms. The spatial dispersion of the individual parcels, often located at a distance from the farm house, further strains their accessibility. Due to the small parcellation, some land lacks road access entirely, which limits the implementation of irrigation and drainage systems necessary for their cultivation (Demetriou, 2014).

As mentioned in the previous section on exceptional cases of private farming during the Socialist era, land fragmentation can be beneficial in mountainous or monsoon areas. In such contexts, the advantages of spatial dispersion relate to natural processes, allowing for risk management, crop scheduling or ecological variety. Risk can be minimized firstly due to the reduced chance of a natural disaster's impact, and secondly through a variety of soils, crops and natural conditions (Demetriou, 2014; King & Burton, 1982). Crop scheduling, meanwhile, allows for maximized self-employment, due to optimized crop and labor scheduling.

Despite the general notion of economic inefficiency, land fragmentation also encompasses social values, which particularly influence the farmers’ willingness for modernization or consolidation. Related to the root cause of fragmentation, which can be inheritance, population growth, land markets or historical/cultural backdrops, alterations to land tenure structures can have significant social effects on the farming population.

This particularly affects those CEEC which were once part of the Austro-Hungarian empire with its history of inheritance laws. The repeated subdivision of land into equal parts for distribution among heirs has caused intricate ownership relations, as in the case of a Slovak land parcel, amounting to 170m² with 120 co-owners (Bogacers et al., 2002; Demetriou, 2014).

3.2. Various Definitions
Conventionally, the term ‘land fragmentation’ refers to the spatial division of farmland into a multitude of parcels (Van Dijk, 2003, Demetriou, 2014). Considering, however, the complex restructuring of land and ownership in the process of post-Socialist decollectivization, a more differentiated understanding of ‘land fragmentation’ is necessary. Van Dijk has categorized land fragmentation into four types, differentiating between the fragmentation of land ownership, fragmentation of land use, fragmentation within a farm and the discrepancy between ownership and use (Van Dijk, 2005). While western European countries have predominantly dealt with the fragmentation of land-use and internal fragmentation, which addresses the number of parcels per farm, the remaining two categories are specific to the privatization processes across the CEEC (Van Dijk, 2003; Demetriou, 2014; Sabates-Wheeler, 2002). The differentiation between the various types of fragmentation is significant with regards to potential policy measures controlling or even consolidating such patterns.

3.3. Policies
To control the fragmentation of land, three governmental interventions have been defined. First, preventive legislation amendments, such as changes in the inheritance laws, definition of minimum size parcelation or maximum size of farm holdings, prevention of absentee ownership as well as of land transfer to non-farmers.

Second, is the implementation of policy instruments which tackle specific challenges of rural and agricultural areas, the most widespread being land consolidation, land banking by means of land funds, partially also voluntary parcel exchange and cooperative farming. The third kind of governmental intervention concerns the protection of agricultural lands or the preservation of particularly scenic or environmentally valuable landscapes (Demetriou, 2014; Van Dijk, 2005). Farmland conservation tools are used to prevent the fragmentation of lands due to urban sprawl and commercial development.

The following section will elaborate on the policy instruments used for land management purposes. More particularly, it will discuss the danger of transplanting western planning practice into countries with specific challenges, as was the case during the preparatory phase for EU accession throughout the CEEC in the 1990s.

4 Instruments for agricultural land restructuring
Due to the resulting amount of land fragmentation, the privatization efforts of post-Socialist land reform failed to meet the original ambition of increased efficiency through reestablishing competition (Van Dijk, 2003; 2005). With the prospect of accessing the European Union, this not only caused a central European rural crisis,
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but also, as Van Dijk describes, “created a pressing need for instant solutions causing the process of institutional transplantation to tumble into the pitfalls.” (Van Dijk, 2005; Sabates-Wheeler, 2002). The co-operation and exchange of planning practice between western and central European bodies led to the presumption that land consolidation would be the most suitable policy instrument to counteract the hampered agricultural productivity. While land reform efforts conducted in western European countries since the 1950s largely used land consolidation as an instrument to rationalize agricultural land use, its direct transplantation into the post-Socialist context has caused unsatisfactory, or even negative results (Van Dijk, 2005). As Van Dijk explains, planning themselves (Demetriou, 2014; Van Dijk, 2005). In respect to the various types of land fragmentation, a more elaborate understanding of planning instruments and their applied principles is necessary.

As Van Dijk describes in his study, it is significant to distinguish between the principle being the legal amendment of ownership or land use, and the instrument which the implementation procedure. The principles can vary between the reorganization of land parcels for individual farms, the conversion of land use and the transfer of ownership rights. Potentially reconfiguring the order of space and land tenure, the principle is the essence of the procedure. The instrument, in return, can employ differing principles, within a country itself (Van Dijk, 2003; 2005). A more conventional means of transferring ownership, used in the Netherlands or Germany, is via land banking. Farmers can make land accessible for redistribution by signing it over to a land fund, an agricultural policy tool which makes it available for the enlargement of other farms or infrastructural developments such as roads or irrigation and drainage systems (Demetriou, 2014; Van Dijk, 2005, p.5).

4.2. Strategic Analysis

In order to specify the appropriate principles of an applicable policy instrument, a strategic analysis of problem dependency and context-specific interventions needs to be conducted. Relating to the particular instruments are highly complex, due to their being embedded in the legislative, cultural and administrative context of a society. Referring to the various types of land fragmentation described in the previous section, any type of planning instrument and its principles need to be adjusted to the contextual conditions of its implementation. The following section will, thus, address the different kinds of policy instruments used to control land fragmentation and explore their potential adaptation to the post-Socialist context.

4.1. Principles & Instruments

In general terms, the reduction of land fragmentation implies a reduced number of owners and users, as well as a reduced number of parcels per farm. A further aim would be to increase the share of the owners that cultivate the land framing them in terms of legislation, project specific execution and stakeholder involvement, as well as funding (Van Dijk, 2005).

Depending on the national context, the principles employed may significantly vary despite the use of the same terminology for the planning instrument. The traditional focus of land consolidation efforts on enhancing the physical condition, and thereby the productivity, of farmland (Markuszewska, 2013; van Dijk, 2003), can evolve towards a greater emphasis on ownership exchange, linked to infrastructural developments or nature conservation. But the instruments can differ not only between countries such as Denmark, which emphasizes farm enlargement in contrast to the Netherlands, but also between the individual projects case of CEEC land fragmentation, the most essential problematic has been defined as the bimodality of farm sizes (Van Dijk, 2005; Graefen, 2002). Bimodality implies a large amount of small-scale farmers, often elderly smallholders limited to subsistence farming, as opposed to a small amount of large-scale farm estates, reliant on tenant farmers (Van Dijk, 2005). The twofold fragmentation in terms of parcel sizes and ownership detached from use, renders the core challenge in the CEEC as does the redistribution of ownership to enhance viable farm sizes and establish longtermancy rights. Van Dijk points out that “as long as ownership and use remain widely separated” a merely spatial restructuring of farmland remains ineffective. Particularly relating to tenants’ impeded ability to invest, compete and autonomously change farmland structures,

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**Figure 1:** Schematic representation of the variation that exists between the two land management instruments and the actual principles that they imply (Van Dijk, 2005, p.3).
which are all determining factors for a healthy farm.

To tackle the afore-mentioned issue of land ownership, reducing the gap between use and ownership, the application of landbanking on a short term appears adequate. Even more so, when considering the significant amount of absentee ownership, it circumvents the willingness of land users to invest in better parceling, as a precondition. One needs to anticipate, however, the consequential scenario of an indeed growing number of medium sized farms owning extensively fragmented lands. Thus, in the long term perspective, land consolidation will play a vital role in enhancing the efficiency of agricultural production. For an integrated development strategy in rural areas, the phasing of policy instruments is essential.

To ensure the effectiveness of an instrument, contextual factors which can inform necessary components of policy instruments, need to be determined. While the likelihood of success cannot be verified, international comparison can illustrate the relationship between used instruments and their context. Van Dijk, thus, argues that scholars and practitioners should refer to the “exporting of knowledge” in terms of the relationship between components of a planning instrument and their relevant contextual aspects (Van Dijk, 2005).

One example of such a component refers to the actors involved in the process of land consolidation. The majority of consolidation efforts have been government-led, as is the case in the Netherlands, or led by external bodies, such as International Development Organizations. In Germany, however, the establishment of a Body of Participants has become a common practice, which gives the affected farming population a participatory role in the process. Van Dijk argues that in view of the post-Socialist skepticism citizens have towards government interference, the German model of participatory project-management could be an effective component in terms of joint interest representation towards state administration and private companies on the agricultural supply or processing side (Van Dijk, 2005; Graefen, 2002).

5 Conclusions

Reviewing the evolution of agrarian reforms leaving their imprint on the rural landscape, renders the agrarian condition in Central and Eastern Europe as highly complex. As emphasized by Van Dijk, the export of western European knowledge or even policy instruments is a sensitive endeavor, potentially harming the context of its implementation. When dealing with rural land reform it is, thus, significant to specify the terminology used to describe both problem, here the various types land fragmentation, and possible solutions, the policy instruments and the great variety of their specific components (Van Dijk, 2005). Planning policy and instruments should not only work in favor of future scenarios driven by governmental agendas, but most importantly address the cultural and administrative context of the society for which they are meant to enhance development. Immediate interventions, such as the alleviation of intricate ownership fragmentation, needs to be embedded in a long term strategy, specifying context sensitive development towards farmland and environmental preservation or agrarian modernization. As part of the free market within the European Union rural regions of Central and Eastern Europe are in need of integrated rural development plans, which enable them to sustain their cultural and social specificity, while also strengthening their economic competitiveness at the level of the European Union.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND BANKING</th>
<th>LAND CONSOLIDATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main agricultural target</td>
<td>farm size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agricultural targets</td>
<td>providing space for infrastructure, water management etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time dimension</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affects</td>
<td>National farming population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prerequisites for success</td>
<td>One or more agencies that acquire and redistribute parcels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-relations</td>
<td>Involving land-banking parcels can improve effectiveness in voluntary exchanges</td>
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</tbody>
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