

## TRADE4SD

### Fostering the positive linkages between trade and sustainable development

Programme: H2020-EU.3.2.1.3. - Empowerment of rural areas, support to policies and rural innovation

Topic: RUR-21-2020 - Agricultural markets and international trade in the context of sustainability objectives

Call: H2020-RUR-2020-2

Type of action: Research and Innovation Action (RIA)

Duration of the project: 01 June 2021 – 31 May 2025

## **Deliverable 6.3: Report on enhancement of sustainability impact of CAP**

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Workpackage No. 6.

**Due date:** 31 March 2025 (M46)

**Actual date:** 30 March 2025

Dissemination level: Public



## **About TRADE4SD Project**

Trade is a central factor in shaping not only global, but also regional and local development. Trade policy has an especially important part to play in achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The premise of the TRADE4SD project is that trade has the power to produce positive outcomes when the policies which define the rules of the game are framed and designed in a way to promote access to markets, fair prices and standards of living for farmers, as well as alleviating rural poverty and ensuring sustainable farming practices. Addressing the relation between trade and SDGs requires an integrated approach to policy-making and inclusive governance.

The main objective of the TRADE4SD project is to contribute to build new opportunities for fostering the positive sustainability impacts of trade supported by improved design and framing of trade policy at national, EU and global level, including WTO modernisation, increased policy coherence at different domains including agricultural, energy, climate, environmental and nutritional policies.

To meet this objective, the project will develop an integrated and systematic approach that combines quantitative models from different perspectives, and several qualitative methods recognising that SDGs and trade are highly context-related. On the one hand, a robust analysis of economic, social and environmental impacts is given by using diverse but integrated modelling techniques and qualitative case studies. On the other hand, a wide consultation process is implemented involving stakeholders both in the EU and in partner countries as well as those with a wide international scope of activity, providing opportunities for improved understanding, human capital building, knowledge transfer and dissemination of results. To this extent, the consortium involves, as co-producers of knowledge, a number of research and stakeholder participants with different backgrounds who will use their networks to facilitate the civil society dialogue and build consensus on the subject of gains from trade in view of sustainability.

## Project Consortium

No.	Participant Organisation Name	Country
1	Corvinus University of Budapest (CORVINUS)	HU
2	University of Kent (UNIKENT)	UK
3	Consiglio per la Ricerca in Agricoltura e l'Analisi dell'Economia Agraria (CREA)	IT
4	Johann Heinrich von Thünen-Institut, Bundesforschungsinstitut für ländliche Räume, Wald und Fischerei (THUENEN)	DE
5	The University of Sussex (UOS)	UK
6	University of Ghana (UG)	GH
7	Luonnonvarakeskus (LUKE)	FI
8	Centrum Analiz Społeczno-Ekonomicznych-Fundacja Naukowa (CASE)	PL
9	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)	IT
10	Institut national de recherche pour l'agriculture, l'alimentation et l'environnement (INRAE)	FR
11	Confederazione Generale Dell'Agricoltura Italiana (CONFAGRICOLTURA)	IT
12	Truong Dai Hoc Kinh Te Thanh Pho Ho Chi Minh (UEH)	VN
13	Luminaconsult Sprl (LUMINA)	BE

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### List of Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Definition</b>
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
MS	Member State
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PCA	Principal component analysis
P-set	Set of participants in Q method
Q-grid	The grid used by participants to rang the statements
Q-set	Set of statements for ranking
Q-sort	The process of sorting the statements
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
WP	Workpackage

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# 1. Introduction

For decades, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has raised a heated public debate and a lot of criticism. In the past, the main criticism focused on the distorting effects of market price support and the costs of the policy. However, since its introduction the CAP has been subjected to many reforms. These reforms removed, to a great extent, the main distorting instruments, i.e. coupled payments and export subsidies. Over time, the focus of the debate has moved towards assessing the ability of CAP to provide sustainable use of agricultural resources and to implement effective climate mitigation policies.

Pe'er et al (2020) argue that the widely used direct payments do not have enough strong environmental conditionality. There is a constant pressure to water down the environmental conditionality, and there is a margin for farmers and Member States (MS) to choose light green options. Looking at the future, Guyomard et al. (2024) emphasise the challenges brought about by current external conditions and events in the recent past, i.e. COVID-19, the war in Ukraine, the geopolitical uncertainty and farmers protests in several EU MS. The authors suggest five future pathways which exemplify the trade-off between production and environment, and between societal and purely agricultural challenges.

This deliverable addresses similar trade-offs. Previously project Deliverable 5.3 analysed the coherence of different EU policies related to trade and sustainability. One of the conclusions was that there are conflicting policies across sectors and levels, in particular food consumption policy is within the remit of the Member States, whilst the supply side is dealt with the CAP. The current deliverable centres on sustainability impact of one EU policy, i.e. CAP. It investigates the opinions of a mix of experts, academics, farmers, NGOs representatives and other agents in the agri-food chain on the applicability of project recommendations, formulated in WPs 1-5, to enhance sustainability impact of the EU CAP. It tries to reveal whether there are systematic differences in the opinions on the EU CAP under five sub-topics: a/ CAP in a global perspective; b/Attitude towards farming and policy; c/Attitude towards food, environment and policy; d/Priorities in times of, and following crises; e/CAP governance.

The main analytical tool employed in the study is the Q method proposed by Stephenson (1953). Q method helps investigate systematic differences in the opinions on the EU CAP by characteristics of the stakeholder and by country. The perspective of each participant concerning the sustainability impact of CAP is studied through Q-set of statements which they have to rank order according to their individual subjective opinions. The ranking of the statements by each participant in the exercise, the so-called Q-sort process, provides the data set for analysis in this deliverable.

The varied participation by EU Member State (MS) - stakeholders from all TRADE4SD partners from EU MSs have been involved in the research - allows to reveal whether there are economic, political or cultural differences in the attitudes towards CAP and sustainability. The countries involved in the Q exercise included Hungary and Poland, countries which acceded to the EU and CAP 20 years ago, and a group of three old MSs (Finland, Germany and Italy). In comparison to the old MSs, two decades ago farmers and societies in Hungary and Poland had very high expectations of agricultural support stemming from the CAP and they had a shorter



period of implementation the CAP regulations. The deliverable is investigating whether 20 years post-accession there are still differences in subjective opinions of stakeholders from old and new MSs. Data was collected in the period from November 2024 to January 2025 and consisted of 118 responses.

Data was analysed through factor analysis. It reduced the data collected to a few factors, with each factor providing a perspective of respondents with similar views. The results of this work generated 5 factors. Watts and Stenner (2012) provided a ‘crib sheet’ which suggests a way systematically and consistently to interpret the results. Crib sheets were applied to interpret the resulting factors. At a finer level, it was analysed whether the respondents felt stronger for some of the studied CAP sub-topics. We believe that the results of this study could provide useful insights to the European Commission (EC) about people’s opinions on CAP and sustainability from different subjective perspectives.

The structure of this deliverable is as follows. Next section provides an overview of Q methodology. Section 3 present the considerations involved in the sampling of respondents and survey design. Section 4 interprets the results, while Section 5 concludes.

## **2. Q Methodology: Overview<sup>1</sup>**

Q methodology is used in a variety of fields including economics, ecology, psychology, political science, health among others. It has proved to be a fruitful methodology to investigate opinions in our area of interest, i.e. food, agriculture, trade and environment. Previous relevant studies employing Q methodology covered farm to fork strategy and food labelling (Schulze et al., 2024); agri-environmental behaviour of farmers and behavioural drivers for farmers to voluntarily accept agri-environmental contracts (Walder and Kantelhardt, 2018; Ober et al., 2025); shifting of environmental perspectives in agriculture (Davies and Hodge, 2012); preferences of farmers and food consumers for future directions of agriculture under the crisis driven by the war in Ukraine (Noack at al., 2024).

Q methodology is a set of research techniques employed to systematically explore a diverse range of perspectives towards a topic of interest amongst specific groups within society. The aim of employing Q method is to study the subjectivity of opinions and identify the similarities in terms of characteristics between the respondents and their expressed opinions (Tyllianakis 2024). Essentially, Q method facilitates the analysis of individual human factors. The method combines both quantitative and qualitative procedures to uncover the range of different perspectives amongst the studied group of people (this group in Q method is known as P-set). Some authors argue that the inclusion of quantitative analysis makes Q methodology unusual qualitative research method (Watts and Stenner, 2005).

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<sup>1</sup> The following overview was conducted using the search strings “Q Method\*”, “Q Method\*” AND “agri\*” on academic databases including Scopus, Google Scholar and Web of Science. The articles included in this review were taken mainly from the last 20 years to ensure temporal relevance, however, references to basic theoretical literature pre-date this period.

Since Q method is not a survey, usually the respondents included in the P-set are chosen strategically. Appropriate individuals should feel strongly and differently about the research topic. Commonly used sampling methods include purposive, snowball or convenience sampling, the latter recruiting participants based on their willingness to participate since the implementation of Q method is relatively time consuming (Noack et al., 2024).

In Q method large P-sets are not required for the robust data analysis as during the Q factor analysis the participants are treated as variables as opposed to items as in the standard factor analysis (Sneegas et al., 2021). Watts and Stenner (2005) argue that smaller samples can be more effective as the researcher should always prioritise more relevant stakeholders than recruiting mass numbers of participants. Sneegas et al. (2021) reviewed 277 studies and found that the total number of stakeholders included in the P-sets ranged from as few as 7 to 386.

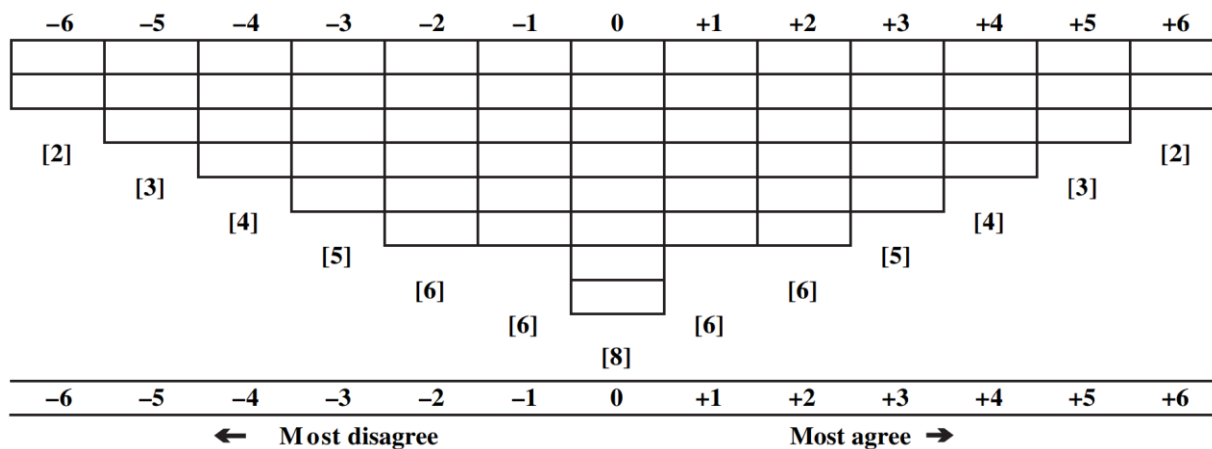
### *Concourse and Q-set*

In order to distil a set of statements that the respondents have to rank it is necessary first to construct a concourse, i.e. a set of statements that aim to capture the wide range of opinions the general population may have towards the topic in hand. The process of generating a concourse varies depending on the study. One may develop a concourse through a review of academic literature, conducting interviews or focus groups with relevant stakeholders, consulting panels of experts. Once the concourse has been developed, a selection of Q statements, known as a Q-set, is drawn from the concourse. The chosen Q statements have to be representative of the spectrum of statements contained in the concourse. The Q-set may never be complete but it should reflect well the relevant opinions in the debate on the researched issue. Watts and Stenner (2005) argue that a set including between 40 and 80 statements is considered satisfactory. Piloting the Q-set with a small group of participants may improve the overall quality of the Q-set by reducing instances of semantic duplication and highlighting the need for simplification of statements that contain multiple propositions.

### *Q-sort*

This stage is the core of the investigation allowing to reveal respondents' attitude to the issue in hand. The participants are familiarised with the Q-set and are involved in a two-stage exercise - initial free sorting of the statements in Q-set into three broad categories relating to their general agreement, disagreement, or neutrality towards a particular statement, and then usually a forced choice which involves higher ranking (Gauzente et. al., 2021). The finer forced-distribution ranking from the three categories results in a grid usually resembling a pyramid shape (as shown in Figure 1) following a quasi-normal distribution with each position on the grid ranging from negative (disagree strongly) to positive (agree strongly). Figure 1 shows that the higher the level of indifference a participant feels towards a particular statement, the more central is its position in the grid, marked in the continuum as 0.

The example in Figure 1 shows 'forced' distribution, meaning that a pre-determined number of statements should be put under each scoring point in the grid. The Q-sort is done individually by the stakeholder, and it finishes when a respondent allocates each statement to a particular position in the grid. In other words, a completed Q-sort indicates that a respondent valued differently each statement included in the Q-set.



**Figure 1: Ranking Grid Example using Fixed Quasi-Normal Distribution**  
**Source: Watts and Stenner (2005)**

In the past, there was an intense debate on the issue of distribution of statements in Q-sort process, i.e. whether the ranking of the statements should follow a pre-determined distribution, or respondent should be left free to rank the statements from strongly disagree to strongly agree according to their personal inclinations. The outcome of this debate favoured the forced distribution, suggested by Stephenson (1953). Watts & Stenner (2005) argued that forced distributions were more convenient for participants to assign an order to a statement during the sorting process and they made it easier for researchers to analyse.

There are different methods to administer the Q-sort with stakeholders. Traditionally, the most common method was to print each statement onto individual piece of card and request the stakeholder to sort the cards onto a physical grid. Recently, studies use online Q-sort software.

#### *Post-sorting interviews*

Post-sort interviews are treated as crucial as they allow the researcher to understand why the stakeholder assigned a particular position to different statements (Ramlo and Newman, 2011). Some critics to Q method argued that the Q-sort is limited in its ability to fully describe the range of perspectives towards the studied topic. The post Q-sort interviews have been used to help address this criticism, as the interviews give an opportunity to ask the stakeholder for additional information beyond their responses captured in the Q-sort (Dugasseh et al., 2024).

In the past, the most common way to perform the post-sorting interview was a verbal discussion one to one between the respondent and the researcher with the analysis carried out from a transcript, or by asking the respondent to complete a response booklet. One of the issues employing Q method in research is the duration of both Q-sort and the interviews. Some more recent methods tried to alleviate the burden both on respondents and the research team. In cases when Q-sort is performed online using a specific software, the latter could be programmed with text boxes which the respondents are forced to fill giving explanations for their ranking.

## *Factor analysis*

Data generated through Q-sort is analysed via factor analysis to identify the underlying commonalities in sorted Q statements with a view to reveal shared viewpoints. A factor summarises a set of Q-sorts to which participants have assigned similar rankings.

Q studies employ inverted factor analysis, pioneered by Stephenson (1953). Inverted factor analysis treats the individuals as the variables rather than the Q-sorts. In other words, in the standard factor analysis items, in this case Q-sorts, load onto the factors but in inverted factor analysis stakeholders load onto the factors (Noack et al., 2024).

Most studies use dedicated software packages for Q analysis such as PQMethod (Watts and Stenner, 2005), KADE (Cuesta-Claros et al., 2024), R (Lhosupasirirat et al., 2023) and Stata (Berg et al., 2023).

There are several debates in the Q literature as to whether principal component analysis (PCA) or centroid factor analysis is more appropriate for Q studies. PCA often produces greater statistical significance and is most often used. The convention in the literature is to then rotate the factors using either manual or Varimax orthogonal rotation to ensure that variance is maximised (Sneegas et al., 2021). Zabala (2014) recommended the Varimax rotation technique as it leads to the most mathematically optimal result.

Once the factors have been rotated, the most relevant Q-sorts for individual factors are flagged to define the distinguishable perceptions. At this stage some confounding Q-sorts which are highly loaded onto more than one factor are identified as well as those which do not load significantly on any factor. Both would not contribute towards a meaningful discourse.

The next step is to calculate z-scores, which represent the relationship between statements and factors (Zabala, 2014). Z-scores are a weighted average of the scores given in the Q-sorts that have been flagged. When interpreting the z-score, the higher the score, the stronger the stakeholder agreed with the shared viewpoint (Berg et al. 2023). For every pair of factors, when the difference between z-scores is statistically significant, the opinions given by stakeholders in both factors about a particular statement are distinct. Conversely, if the difference between z-scores for a pair of factors is not significant, then the statement is classified as a consensus one.

The result of the factor analysis is a small number of factors, each representing one perspective towards the studied issue. Researchers interpret their final factor analysis by factor arrays: factor estimates which weight and average all Q-sorts associated with that factor. The systematic way to interpret the factors is a crib sheet which should contain four categories: the highest and the lowest ranked statements per factor, the statements ranked higher in a factor array than in all other factor arrays, and statements ranked lower in a factor array than in all other factor arrays.

### **3. Sampling and Q Implementation Design to Study opinions on CAP and Sustainability**

Since the objective of this deliverable is to investigate the opinions of a mix of relevant stakeholders on the applicability of project recommendations formulated in WPs 1-5 to enhance sustainability impact of the EU CAP, the construction of the concourse started by incorporating results from project deliverables D1.1 ‘Structured review on the relationships between international agri-food trade and sustainability’, D4.1 ‘How to make the best use of model results in trade policy: Insights from stakeholders views’ and in particular D5.1 and 5.3, which were focused on the EU policies coherence Delphi study and a ‘Position paper on Building Policy Coherence: Food Systems Approach for Supporting SDGs in EU’s International Agricultural Trade’.

The work on the concourse was subsequently expanded by:

a/ Literature review of academic articles on the CAP, greening and sustainability (e.g. Röder et al., 2024; Guyomard et al., 2023; Matthews, 2021; Gocht et al, 2017; Vanni and Cardillo, 2013).

b/ recent EC and DG Agri documents (e.g. Strategic dialogue on the future of EU agriculture, 2024; Regulation (EU) 2024/1468; Approved 28 CAP Strategic plans; Political agreement on the new CAP, 2021; Analysis of links between CAP reform and Green Deal SWD (2020) 93 final; The European Green Deal COM 2019/640 final; A farm to fork strategy, COM/2020/381).

c/ Media articles and news in e.g. The Economist, The Guardian, Associated Press, Euronews, The New Statesman, Politico, The European Climate Foundation, The European Parliament news.

On the basis of this concourse an initial Q-set was created which tried to cover the spectrum of the ideas in the concourse. This initial Q-set was consulted with an Expert Panel of seven members familiar with the CAP and the EU greening policies. The panel members added some statements, necessary to better reflect the coverage of the concourse, removed duplications and improved some statements which had double propositions. As a result, the final Q-set was constructed which included 60 statements (Appendix 1).

Q-sort was performed online using freely available software: EQ Web Sort. It was carried out in the period November 2024-January 2025 organised by project teams in each country. At the end of the exercise the respondents were forced to fill text boxes to give explanations for their ranking which replaced the post-sort interviews. The Q-sort in this format was piloted with 6 stakeholders to make small adjustments.

The sample included 118 stakeholders. It was intentionally created to be multi-stakeholders. The stakeholders included farmers and farming NGO representatives (33 per cent of the respondents), civil servants working in agri-food area (16 per cent) academics in the area of agriculture, trade and environment (25 per cent), farm advisors (12 per cent), and other

occupations, including environmental NGO representatives, individuals traders, veterinarians among others. The category ‘other occupations’ accounted for 15 per cent of the participants. The sample was biased to male participants (62 per cent), middle age individuals (an average age of 46 years, ranging from 23 to 75 years of age). They had long professional experience, 22 percent 10-20 years and 44 per cent of over 20 years. Participants were highly educated - most of them had post-secondary education.

Farmers specialisation was livestock (nearly one third of farmers), followed by horticulture and crop specialisation; 74 per cent used conventional technologies and the remaining were organic.

## 4. Results and Interpretation

### 4.1 Methodological notes

The grid on which respondents were asked to rank the statements ranged from -5 (strongly disagree) to +5 (strongly agree) with 0 - indifferent. As we used a forced distribution, usually employed in Q studies, the respondents were constrained to put 3 statements at the two extremes and 10 in the middle (Table 1).

Table 1: Statements pattern under forced distribution

Grid point	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
No of statements	3	4	5	6	7	10	7	6	5	4	3

Data analysis was performed using the freely available KADE software, version 1.3.1 (Banasick, 2019). Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was used and for factor rotation varimax was applied. Two thresholds for distinguishing statements were applied,  $p < 0.01$  and  $p < 0.05$ . Software flagged significant Q-sorts onto factors using Auto Flag with CRITERIA:  $P < 0.05$  and a majority of common variance was required.

Using eigen values above 1, and factor reliability equal or over 0.95, five factors were selected under both distributions. Factor characteristics are presented in Appendix 2.

In the results there were not confounding Q-sorts, i.e. respondents who load on more than one factor. However, 30 respondents were insignificant in any factor, the so-called insignificant Q-sorts. The largest share of insignificant Q-sorts in the countries studied was in Poland. Sneegas et al. (2021) reported that from 277 Q studies that they analysed 55 explicitly mentioned the presence of insignificant Q-sorts, but with more attentive inspection the authors discovered that 25 more had this issue although not discussed explicitly. In most of the studies the authors excluded the insignificant Q-sorts from the subsequent analysis. We have also excluded insignificant Q-sorts, therefore, they were not included in factor interpretations.

Looking at the statements, 8 statements did not load significantly on any factor (Appendix 3). Most probably they have not produced consistently either agreement or disagreement. These statements were:

- There is a need for more international harmonization of sustainability-oriented policies at the global level.
- Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.
- The momentum of public support for climate policies in the EU is waning.
- Food consumers are the most affected by the increase in agricultural input costs due to Russian’s invasion of Ukraine.
- The current coordination between EU Directorates General is not effective in achieving policy coherence between the CAP, trade and environmental policies.
- Food consumers are the most affected by the increase in agricultural input costs due to Russian’s invasion of Ukraine.
- In a Single Market there also needs to be a level playing field across Member States in their policies targeting sustainability.
- There is a lack of coherence between CAP, environmental and social policies.
- Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.

Four of the above statements were included in the sub-topic of governance; the remaining were spread around different sub-topics.

#### 4.2 Heterogeneity of Opinions on Sustainability Efforts of the CAP

In order to interpret the common perspective per factor, crib sheets were developed (the crib sheets are included in Appendix 4). The statements with the highest and lowest z-scores were inspected carefully to develop the narrative per factor. In the presentation below in brackets the number of statement in the Q-set is mentioned and its point in the grid.

##### Factor 1 Sclerotic supporters of traditional CAP

Factor 1 included 13 members, representatives mainly of Hungary (85 per cent) and the remaining were from Poland. Just over half of this group were male (54 per cent), with a mean age of 48 within a range from 24 to 60. According to occupation, 90 per cent of the members of this factors were civil servants and around three quarters had over 20 years of experience. Most of the respondents had an university education, largely at a postgraduate level.

Table 2 below presents the statements with which the members of this factor strongly agreed and those they strongly disagreed.

Table 2: Statements with which members of Factor 1 strongly agreed and disagreed

The highest z score (strongly agree)	The lowest z score (strongly disagree)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.</li> <li>• The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.</li> <li>• The greening of the CAP are undermined by weak enforcement of implementation on farms.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The CAP should increase payments to farmers’ for using climate-friendly farming practices.</li> <li>• European citizens do not want more food but do want sustainable farming practices.</li> <li>• The CAP should increase funds for investment in sustainable practices.</li> </ul>

Members of Factor 1 considered that the CAP should ensure agricultural profitability (27: +5). According to them CAP's environmental initiatives suffered from weak enforcement which undermined their effectiveness (59: +5). These respondents strongly rejected that the EU citizens preferred sustainability over the quantity of food production (38: -5). They believed that consumers prioritise affordability and are not so keen on sustainability. The latter further strengthened the stance of members of Factor 1 that CAP should focus on economic rather than on environmental pathways.

Factor 1 members were sceptical of increasing funds for CAP sustainability initiatives, rejecting proposals to raise payments for climate-friendly farming practices (10: -5), as well as to provide additional funding for sustainable investments (42: -5). Structural changes to CAP that would shift funding from direct payments to rural development were also viewed negatively, although more moderately. The logic behind this opinion was that such changes might undermine economic stability of farmers. Factor 1 did not see broader sustainability efforts, such as increasing the sustainability of global value chains, as being a priority (1: -4). Aligning with this was a strong rejection that climate change is a big threat to farming and food security (49: -4).

In summary, the members of this group were clearly against greening of the CAP; they did not show any adaptiveness to the adoption of policies that mitigate climate change. Members of Factor 1 strongly supported the idea that CAP should focus on maintaining high prices to farmers, the traditional measure of CAP included in the common policy inception, but this measure has gradually lost its importance due to its market distorting effects and new evidence of environmental issues harmful to agriculture. For this group sustainability measures were an unnecessary burden that detracts from CAP's core mission of ensuring high farm prices and agricultural profitability in the EU.

The shocking fact is that this group includes predominantly highly educated civil servants. The fact that non-partisan civil servants who work in the agri-food area are against the new directions of the CAP towards greening and sustainability is alarming as they are expected to implement the CAP green transition and communicate to other agents in the agri-food chain, and in particularly to farmers, the longer-term benefits of current greening actions.

### **Factor 2: Anti-sustainability trade concerned group**

Factor 2 had one of the largest memberships including 24 respondents. They represented a mix of countries, but more than a half were Polish (54 per cent), a quarter were Finnish and 17 per cent Italian. This group was predominantly male (67 per cent), mainly middle aged (mean age of 41, ranging from 25 to 64 years old) and half of the respondents were farmers. Similarly to Factor 1, individuals were highly educated - more than 90 per cent had university education, including nearly half at postgraduate level. They, in general, had long work experience and only 20 per cent had less than 5 years in their profession.

The statements they strongly agree and disagree are presented in Table 3.



Table 3: Statements with which members of Factor 2 strongly agreed and disagreed

The highest z score (strongly agree)	The lowest z score (strongly disagree)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.</li> <li>• The EU alone cannot combat pollution, irrespective on how stringent its' policy is.</li> <li>• EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.</li> <li>• The CAP regulations should be stricter to ensure that Member States put environmental and climate concerns at the centre of their CAP Strategic Plans.</li> <li>• The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.</li> </ul>

Members of factor 2 expressed strong beliefs that EU farmers struggle to compete with imports (16: +5). Also, the high sustainability standards imposed by the EU were seen as a competitive disadvantage in global markets (19: +4). Factor 2 members were sceptical of the EU's ability to combat pollution alone without the collective efforts of other nations (5: +5). This aligned with their rejection of the effectiveness of the EU Green Deal which they only believed would work when applied only at a more global scale (2: +5).

Although Factor 2 members did not show support for broad sustainability structural reforms, they agreed, even not very strongly, that CAP should redistribute payments from large to small and average-sized farms to promote fairness (13: +3). However, Factor 2 strongly opposed further reforms that would impose stricter CAP regulations to prioritise environmental concerns (30: -5) and rejected the idea that CAP greening strategies were an excuse to sustain public financial support for farmers (41: -5). Factor 2 also appeared critical of phasing out tax breaks on agricultural fuel (14: -5).

Factor 2 did not see weak enforcement of CAP's greening measures as a major issue and they did not think that CAP regulations should align more closely with the United Nations Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs). Members of Factor 2 expressed preferences for more tailored EU agricultural policies over global sustainability frameworks.

Overall, this group did not differ substantially in their scepticism of CAP sustainability efforts to Factor 1 but expressed more concerns if such green transition was implemented unilaterally by the EU and not applied globally. The implicit strong pro-farmers focus could be detected in the rejection of tax breaks on agricultural fuel and concerns about stricter environmental regulations to be included in the MSs Strategic Plans.

### Factor 3: Supporters for CAP sustainability transition

In Factor 3, 26 respondents shared a point of view that the biggest threat to agriculture was stemming from climate change. Country participation in Factor 3 showed predominance of members from old MSs, i.e. German and Italian 27 per cent each and 23 per cent Finnish (the

remaining were Polish 15 per cent and Hungarian 8 per cent). On average, they were older than the members of Factors 1 and 2 with a mean age of 50. One substantial difference in the membership in comparison to the previous factors was that the predominant members were female (62 per cent). Factor 3 had respondents from a mix of occupations with a prevailing number of academics (46 per cent). The remaining respondents were civil servants (19 per cent), farm advisors (15 per cent), farmers specialising in organic horticulture (8 per cent) and traders (11 per cent). Most of these respondents had experience in their fields for over 20 years. All Factor 3 respondents had a university education at postgraduate level with only one of the farmers having secondary education.

The statements with which members of Factor 3 most agreed or disagreed are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Statements with which members of Factor 3 strongly agreed and disagreed

The highest z score (strongly agree)	The lowest z score (strongly disagree)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU has a leading role in addressing global challenges like climate change and biodiversity loss.</li> <li>• The climate crisis is the biggest threat to farming and food security.</li> <li>• Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CAP should only focus on increasing EU farmers' competitiveness.</li> <li>• The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.</li> <li>• In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, greening of the CAP should be given a lower priority.</li> </ul>

As it can be seen in Table 4, Factor 3 respondents had a sustainability driven vision of the CAP, claiming that climate change was the most pressing threat to farming and food security (49: +5). This group strongly supported the idea that the EU must take a leading role in addressing global environmental challenges, including climate change and biodiversity loss (3: +5). Factor 3 acknowledged that incoherent policies had created conflicts between agricultural production and environmental quality calling for a need for more consistent policy alignment (58: +5).

Members of this factor were critical of policies that prioritise economic profitability over sustainability. They showed strong disagreement with CAP focusing solely on increasing EU farmer's competitiveness (18: -5). Factor 3 also did not agree that greening efforts should be deprioritised in light of other global crises like the Ukraine war and following the COVID pandemic (45: -5).

Looking at recent policy events, members of Factor 3 rejected the notion that vote against pesticide-reduction targets were beneficial for farming or food consumers (26: -4 and 32: -4), indicating support for stricter regulations on chemical use in agriculture. In their opinion, the CAP was capable of addressing both climate change and food security at the same time (48: -4). Respondents in Factor 3 believed that EU consumers prioritise variety and quality in their food (40, +4), arguing that sustainability policies would be able to accommodate diverse food preferences.

Overall, the members of this factor indicated strong commitment to long-term environmental goals, even in the face of economic or geopolitical pressures. They demonstrated a

comprehensive view of benefits of the CAP green transition, projecting their common perspective that sustainability should be at the core of CAP and that stricter environmental regulations were necessary to ensure that climate and environmental concerns become central to MSs CAP Strategic plans. Looking beyond the EU, members of Factor 3 believed that the CAP should contribute to making global value chains more sustainable and should align more closely with the UN’s SDGs.

**Factor 4 Frustrated critics of the CAP green transition**

Factor 4 was rather small; it represented the views of 16 stakeholders. This group included mainly Polish and Hungarian participants (44 per cent each) with the remaining Finnish and Italian respondents. The mean age was 45, with participants varying from 24 to 70 years old. This group comprised mainly farmers (63 per cent) and the remaining respondents were spread across different occupations. Two thirds of this group were male.

The majority of the farmers had either over 20 years of experience in agriculture or between 5 and 10 years. Similarly to other factors, 81 per cent of respondents had a university education. The farmers in this factor were reasonably diverse specialising in crop (50 per cent), horticulture (30 per cent), livestock (10 per cent). Most of farmers were conventional (80 per cent) with 20 per cent stating they were organic.

The statements with which members of Factor 4 most agreed and disagreed are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Statements with which members of Factor 4 strongly agreed and disagreed

The highest z score (strongly agree)	The lowest z score (strongly disagree)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.</li> <li>• Greening of the CAP has increased farmers’ administrative burden.</li> <li>• The EU is lacking consistent decisions in relation to CAP, trade and environment.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.</li> <li>• Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.</li> <li>• EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.</li> </ul>

Members of Factor 4 criticise the EU’s inconsistent approach to CAP, trade and sustainability, arguing that the Green Deal policies were ineffective globally (2: +5). Additionally, in their opinion the EU decision-making was lacking coherence (54: +5). Respondents in this group showed a great concern over the administrative burden of CAP greening measures, which they thought were diverting farmers from food production (11: +5 and 23: +4).

Factor 4 also opposed the phasing out of tax breaks on agricultural fuel (14: -5) and rejected claims that farmers failed to consider their long-term livelihoods when protesting against the EU green policies (21: -5).

Concerning policies in the time of crisis, individuals in Factor 4 were more focused on economic concerns such as rising food prices due to the war in Ukraine (47: +4), than on sustainability. They rejected the statement that the EU farmers oppose free trade out of fear of increased competition implicitly suggesting acceptance of openness to trade.

Members of Factor 4 are yet another group in our study that appear to express an anti-sustainability orientation. They justified their stance with claims for inadequate policies. It is clear that this group projected farmers perspectives, and their expectations and criticism of policies. Factor 4 judged farmers protests as justified responses to impractical regulation. The respondents expressed discontent with the CAP's long term vision on sustainability issues, particularly regarding pollution from fertilisers and pesticides, as well as fossil fuel use. This group was supportive of the vote against pesticide-reduction targets justifying this with preferences for flexibility over stricter environmental rules.

**Factor 5 Doubters on both policy and farmers willingness to embrace green transition**

Factor 5 included 9 individuals, mainly Hungarian (89 per cent) with the remaining from Italy. Most of the individuals in this factor were male (78 per cent) working as academics. All were very experienced with either 10-20 or more than 20 years work in the area of expertise. All of these respondents had university degrees.

Preferences from most agree to most disagree of members of Factor 5 are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Statements with which members of Factor 5 strongly agreed and disagreed

The highest z score (strongly agree)	The lowest z score (strongly disagree)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU alone cannot combat pollution, irrespective on how stringent its' policy is.</li> <li>• Farmers organisations take conservative positions concerning greening the CAP.</li> <li>• The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.</li> <li>• Food consumers in the EU are only concerned with cheap food freely available.</li> <li>• The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.</li> </ul>

On the one hand, Factor 5 members believed that CAP's greening strategy was just a tool to justify continued public support for farmers rather than a genuine sustainability effort (41: +5), but on the other, they were also sceptical about the willingness of the farming sector to embrace sustainability and believed that farmers organisations took conservative stances on environmental policies (22: +5). These stakeholders acknowledged that the EU could not tackle pollution alone (5: +5), implying that they perceived a need for global cooperation in the area of trans-border negative externalities Expressing support for sustainability, Factor 5 respondents challenged the idea that agricultural profitability should be prioritized over sustainability (27: -5) and they did not believe that sustainability standards destined EU farmers to a competitive disadvantage in international trade (19: -4).

Factor 5 looked positively at technological change and the members supported the need for investments into new agricultural technologies, such as cell-based production, to align with the

SDGs (9: +4). They disagreed with the statement that EU consumers only care about cheap food (39: -5). This group rejected the traditional idea that CAP should focus solely on maintaining high farm prices (20: -5). Factor 5 respondents ranked food security as a lower priority for CAP despite the war in Ukraine and the post-COVID conditions (46: -3).

Factor 5 respondents were critical of the CAP’s current approach to greening, believing it served political interests rather than genuine environmental goals, but they were also critical of farmers organisations about their inability to embrace greening strategy. They saw CAP as a weak policy to balance simultaneously climate action and food security. However, from a trade related point of view, they expressed confidence in the EU’s ability to implement green policies without harming competitiveness.

### 4.3 Comparisons of Opinions by Sub-Topic

As mentioned previously, the Q-set was constructed to cover five CAP sub-topics:

- 1/ CAP in a global perspective
- 2/ Attitudes towards farming and policy
- 3/ Attitudes towards food, environment and policy
- 4/ Priorities in times of, and following crises
- 5/ Governance

Although that with the forced distribution of Q-sorts the respondents were constrained on how many statements to arrange under different points in the grid, this was on average, and they had a margin to express a stronger support, rejection or indifference in relation to the statements for different sub-topics. It is important to reveal for which sub-topics the respondents felt more passionate and for which they were indifferent for two reasons. First, to inform the EC on which topic in relation to the CAP people feel more engaged, and second, to inform future similar Q exercises.

In order to analyse by sub-topic, the percentage of zeros, of lower agreement and disagreement (+1 and -1, and +2 and -2) , and of higher agreement and disagreement (+3, - 3 and above were compared by sub-topic (Table 7).

Table 7: Comparison of statements under different grid points according to sub-topic

% of Q sort under the grid points	Zero	sum+5,-5	sum+4,-4	sum+3,-3	sum +2,-2	sum +1,-1
<b>Sub-topic 1</b>						
% of Q sort under the grid point	18.1	10.4	12.1	14.8	18.9	26.6
<b>Sub-topic 2</b>						
% of Q sort under the grid point	15.4	13.5	14.2	16.9	20.7	20.2
<b>Sub-topic 3</b>						
% of Q sort under the grid point	16.3	9.1	13.1	17.2	20.3	23.8
<b>Sub-topic 4</b>						
% of Q sort under the grid point	14.4	9.6	15.6	21.1	16.7	22.7
<b>Sub-topic 5</b>						
% of Q sort under the grid point	19.9	5.4	12.3	14.7	21.7	26.0

It seems that the respondents were most of all indifferent (the highest share of zeros) to sub-topics 1 and 5, i.e. CAP in global perspective and Governance. Most probably they considered

these aspects of the CAP not close to their individual issues and aspirations. This is also confirmed by the highest percentage of plus and minus 1 received on statements in these two sub-topics. On the other hand, the respondents felt strong for Topic 2 trying to reveal their attitudes towards farming and policy.

## **5. Conclusions and Policy Implications**

This deliverable aimed to reveal the subjective opinions of groups of agri-food stakeholders in five EU MSs on the Common Agricultural Policy. The main interest was in opinions on policy towards food, farming and sustainability under the current complicated conditions post-COVID and in the situation of the war in Ukraine.

The paper did not formulate a priori assumptions about what the opinions might be and relied on the output of Q methodology to create groups (factors) with homogenous views within a group and distinctive between the groups. The ranking exercise, the so called Q-sort, took place in the period from November 2024 to January 2025. Five groups were detected between 118 stakeholders requested to rank 60 statements about CAP. The results of the study indicated the following:

- Most of the respondents (4 out of 5 factors) did not embrace the sustainability vision of the CAP and tended to undermine the CAP path towards greening. Members of one of the factors even supported the obsolete view of the CAP as a policy only supporting farmers' incomes rejecting the recent tendencies towards greening and sustainability as distraction from farm production. This result is even more striking having in mind that the sample included highly educated individuals.
- Major areas of concern were that greening of CAP was counterproductive for farmers competitiveness and that sustainability standards were eroding the position of European farmers in international trade.
- Even 20 years post-accession substantial differences in opinions of stakeholders from old and new MS were apparent. The only clearly pro-sustainability orientated group included mainly respondents from old MSs, when factors sceptical about the CAP path towards greening were typical for the two new MSs studied.
- The above could be used as a predictor to where the major opposition to further measures to enhance the CAP greening may come from.
- Gender wise female stakeholders seem more positive towards sustainability and climate change mitigation policies.
- According to the CAP sub-topics, the respondents seemed more engaged with those nearer to their individual livelihoods, i.e. farming and policy, and much less with aspects important for the CAP per se, i.e. CAP in a global perspective and issues of CAP governance.

The frequency and strength of opinions against sustainability expressed in Q exercise suggest areas where policy actions are necessary.

<b>Issues feeding anti-sustainability opinions</b>	<b>TRADE4SD suggestions</b>
Weak enforcement of greening measures at farm level	To strengthen the enforcement mechanism and show real achievements, otherwise cannot build trust in policies
Greening of the CAP has increased farmers' administrative burden	Simplify the regulations, cut the red tape, particularly necessary in the process of design of CAP post-2027
Greening strategy appears as a tool to justify continued public support for farmers and not as a genuine sustainability effort	Clearly reported outcomes of different measures, outcomes of funding and the general outcomes of the CAP Strategic plans
Sustainability standards erode the competitiveness of EU farmers in international trade	More studies on how the differences in sustainability standards affect EU farmers in international trade, detailed by major products and regional markets; regular briefs concerning sustainability policies and standards of the main trading partners in particular in the current very volatile situation in international trade
Lack of effectiveness of Green Deal policies since they are only applied in the EU and not in a global scale; the same views on EU pollution policies	Make sustainability chapters in trade agreements much more detailed and enforceable, securing aligned policies towards the three pillars of sustainability
Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality	Implementation of TRADE4SD suggestions to overcome obstacles in EU policy coherence developed in D5.3
Current CAP approach to greening serves political interests and not genuine environmental goals	Intensive political consultations and information campaigns concerning CAP sustainability measures within member states to build understanding and political support

Reflecting on the results, there might be a need for more case study types of research which could exemplify with evidence the consequences of unsustainable farming practices for individual farms, groups of farms, regions, food consumers. Their importance for influencing opinions based on valid cases of harm from unsustainable practices might be very high. Such case studies would require interdisciplinary approach with a substantial input from social, agricultural and environmental sciences.

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## 7. Appendices

### Appendix 1 Q-set

#### Sub-Topic Global Perspective

- 1 The CAP should contribute to making global value chains more sustainable.
- 2 The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.
- 3 The EU has a leading role in addressing global challenges like climate change and biodiversity loss.
- 4 The EU should ensure structural changes in the agri-food sector are made to promote United Nations sustainability objectives.
- 5 The EU alone cannot combat pollution, irrespective on how stringent its' policy is.
- 6 The CAP should align closer to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.
- 7 To create more scope for countries to provide support to enhance sustainability in agriculture, the WTO Agreement on Agriculture should be revised.
- 8 There is a need for more international harmonization of sustainability-oriented policies at the global level.
- 9 The EU should invest in research and development of new kinds of agricultural production technologies (such as cell-based ones) to help meet the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

#### Sub-Topic Attitudes towards Farming and Policy

- 10 The CAP should increase payments to farmers' for using climate-friendly farming practices.
- 11 Greening of the CAP has increased farmers' administrative burden.
- 12 The CAP should improve access to finance for small-scale farmers in the EU.
- 13 To decrease income disparities between farmers across the EU the CAP should reallocate more payments from large toward average and small farms.
- 14 To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.
- 15 EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they fear competition.
- 16 EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.
- 17 At the farm gate the effect of the CAP's climate actions is minimal.
- 18 CAP should only focus on increasing EU farmers' competitiveness.
- 19 High sustainability standards in the EU result in a competitive disadvantage of European farmers in international trade.
- 20 The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.
- 21 Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.

- 22 Farmers organisations take conservative positions concerning greening the CAP.  
23 The CAP burdens farmers with too many requirements which divert them from  
the production of food and fibre.  
24 Environmental sustainability is more important for farmers' livelihoods than CAP  
income support.  
25 The CAP does not enhance the capacity of EU agricultural producers to become  
more sustainable.  
26 The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can  
be seen as positive for farming in Europe.  
27 The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.

### **Sub-Topic Attitude towards Food, Environment and Policy**

- 28 The momentum of public support for climate policies in the EU is waning.  
29 The CAP has stimulated greenhouse gas emissions through its support to  
livestock farming and feed production.  
30 The CAP regulations should be stricter to ensure that Member States put  
environmental and climate concerns at the centre of their CAP Strategic Plans.  
31 The CAP does not have a consistent approach to the use of fossil fuels.  
32 The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can  
be seen as positive for food consumers in Europe.  
33 The derogation in 2024 allowing farmers to receive direct payments while  
ignoring environmental conditions was a bad policy choice.  
34 The CAP should focus on a twin transition – green and digital.  
35 The CAP is lacks clarity about the promotion of sustainability.  
36 The CAP does not have a clear long-term vision for reducing pollution from  
fertiliser and pesticide use.  
37 EU regulation ensures that modern pesticides are much safer than those of the  
past and we should not fear their use.  
38 European citizens do not want more food but do want sustainable farming  
practices.  
39 Food consumers in the EU are only concerned with cheap food freely available.  
40 Food consumers in the EU desire variety, choice and quality in their food.  
41 The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of  
public support for farmers.  
42 The CAP should increase funds for investment in sustainable practices.  
43 Without additional mitigating policies (e.g. a border carbon tax or output tax),  
further agricultural trade liberalisation will increase Greenhouse gas emissions.  
44 Growing food closer to where it is consumed, even if using relatively more  
inputs, produces lower GHG emissions than importing food from abroad.

### **Sub-topic Priorities in Times of, and following crises**

- 45 In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, greening of the CAP should be given a lower priority.
- 46 In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, the CAP should focus on food security.
- 47 The CAP should focus more on the growing concerns over rising food prices due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine
- 48 The CAP is not able to address climate crisis and food security at the same time.
- 49 The climate crisis is the biggest threat to farming and food security.
- 50 Food consumers are the most affected by the increase in agricultural input costs due to Russian's invasion of Ukraine.

### **Sub-Topic Governance**

- 51 The current coordination between EU Directorates General is not effective in achieving policy coherence between the CAP, trade and environmental policies.
- 52 In a Single Market there also needs to be a level playing field across Member States in their policies targeting sustainability.
- 53 The EU Member States do not provide sufficient support to help the EU in reaching its sustainability goals in international agricultural trade.
- 54 The EU is lacking consistent decisions in relation to CAP, trade and environment.
- 55 To strengthen social sustainability in the EU, the balance of CAP support for direct payments and rural development should be amended increasing the funding for rural development.
- 56 It is necessary to increase the coherence between the CAP and EU trade policy.
- 57 There is a lack of coherence between CAP, environmental and social policies.
- 58 Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.
- 59 The greening of the CAP are undermined by weak enforcement of implementation on farms.
- 60 CAP green payments are designed to reward farmers only for what they already deliver.

## Appendix 2 Factors Characteristics

P sample (n = 118)		F1 (n = 13)	F2 (n = 24)	F3 (n = 26)	F4 (n = 16)	F5 (n = 9)	
Factor Reliability		0.981	0.99	0.99	0.985	0.973	
Eigenvalue		16.34	13.75	6.80	5.09	3.98	
Age (Mean (min/max))	46 (23/85)	48 (24/60)	41 (25/64)	50 (31/65)	45 (24/70)	57 (36/85)	
	%	n	n	n	n	n	
<b>Gender (Male)</b>	62%	73	7	16	10	11	7
<b>Nationality</b>							
German	9%	11	-	4%	27%	-	-
Polish	34%	40	15%	54%	15%	44%	-
Hungarian	25%	30	85%	-	8%	44%	89%
Italian	18%	21	-	17%	27%	6%	11%
Finnish	14%	16	-	25%	23%	6%	-
<b>Occupation</b>							
Farmer	30%	35	1	12	2	10	-
Academic	25%	29	1	2	12	1	8
Farm Advisor	12%	14	1	2	4	2	1
Civil Servant	16%	19	10	2	5	1	-
Farming NGO Representative	3%	3	-	2	-	-	-
Environmental NGO Representative	1%	1	-	-	-	-	-
Other	14%	17	-	4	3	2	-
<b>Experience in Profession</b>							
less than 5 years	18%	21	1	5	3	3	1
5 - 10 years	16%	19	-	8	6	2	-
10 - 20 years	22%	26	3	2	3	4	4
more than 20 years	44%	52	9	9	14	7	4
<b>Education Level</b>							
No formal education	1%	1	-	-	-	1	-
Primary education (or equivalent)	0%	0	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary education	3%	3	-	-	1	1	-
Vocational training	0%	0	-	-	-	-	-
Post-secondary education (non-university or technical training)	3%	4	-	1	-	1	-
University degree (bachelor's)	22%	26	1	11	-	4	-
University degree (masters)	43%	51	9	11	12	7	1
University degree (PhD and higher)	28%	33	3	1	13	2	8
<b>Type of Farming</b>							
Horticulture	26%	9	1	1	2	3	-
Crop	23%	8	-	2	-	5	-
Livestock	31%	11	-	6	-	1	-
Other	20%	7	-	3	-	1	-
<b>Farmer Production Method</b>							
Conventional	74%	26	1	11	-	8	-
Organic	26%	9	-	1	2	2	-

## Appendix 3 List of Statements with Factor Scores

No	Statement	Factor Scores				
		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
1	The CAP should contribute to making global value chains more sustainable.	-4	0	3	-1	-3
2	The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.	-3	5	-2	5	-2
3	The EU has a leading role in addressing global challenges like climate change and biodiversity loss.	-1	-1	5	-2	0
4	The EU should ensure structural changes in the agri-food sector are made to promote United Nations sustainability objectives.	0	-3	2	0	0
5	The EU alone cannot combat pollution, irrespective of how stringent its' policy is.	0	5	0	3	5
6	The CAP should align closer to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.	-1	-2	2	-1	0
7	To create more scope for countries to provide support to enhance sustainability in agriculture, the WTO Agreement on Agriculture should be revised.	-2	0	0	0	-1
8	There is a need for more international harmonization of sustainability-oriented policies at the global level.	0	4	4	-1	0
9	The EU should invest in research and development of new kinds of agricultural production technologies (such as cell-based ones) to help meet the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.	1	0	3	-3	4
10	The CAP should increase payments to farmers' for using climate-friendly farming practices.	-5	2	4	2	4
11	Greening of the CAP has increased farmers' administrative burden.	3	4	1	5	4
12	The CAP should improve access to finance for small-scale farmers in the EU.	-3	3	1	1	3
13	To decrease income disparities between farmers across the EU the CAP should reallocate more payments from large toward average and small farms.	-3	3	0	-3	-3
14	To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.	-1	-5	0	-5	-1
15	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they fear competition.	3	1	2	-4	1
16	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.	2	5	0	-5	2
17	At the farm gate the effect of the CAP's climate actions is minimal.	2	-4	-1	2	1
18	CAP should only focus on increasing EU farmers' competitiveness.	4	-1	-5	2	-4
19	High sustainability standards in the EU result in a competitive disadvantage of European farmers in international trade.	3	4	-1	3	-4
20	The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.	5	-2	0	-3	-5
21	Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.	-3	-4	-1	-5	-2
22	Farmers organisations take conservative positions concerning greening the CAP.	4	1	-1	4	5
23	The CAP burdens farmers with too many requirements which divert them from the production of food and fibre.	2	3	-2	4	3
24	Environmental sustainability is more important for farmers' livelihoods than CAP income support.	-4	-3	-2	-4	-4
25	The CAP does not enhance the capacity of EU agricultural producers to become more sustainable.	0	-3	-3	1	1
26	The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can be seen as positive for farming in Europe.	-1	1	-4	2	-1
27	The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.	5	2	-5	3	-5
28	The momentum of public support for climate policies in the EU is waning.	1	1	-1	0	-2
29	The CAP has stimulated greenhouse gas emissions through its support to livestock farming and feed production.	-1	-4	2	-4	-3
30	The CAP regulations should be stricter to ensure that Member States put environmental and climate concerns at the centre of their CAP Strategic Plans.	-2	-5	3	-2	-2
31	The CAP does not have a consistent approach to the use of fossil fuels.	1	0	1	2	1
32	The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can be seen as positive for food consumers in Europe.	-2	0	-4	0	0
33	The derogation in 2024 allowing farmers to receive direct payments while ignoring environmental conditions was a bad policy choice.	-2	-4	1	-1	0
34	The CAP should focus on a twin transition – green and digital.	-2	0	1	-1	-2
35	The CAP lacks clarity about the promotion of sustainability.	3	-1	2	3	2
36	The CAP does not have a clear long-term vision for reducing pollution from fertiliser and pesticide use.	0	-2	0	4	2
37	EU regulation ensures that modern pesticides are much safer than those of the past and we should not fear their use.	-1	0	-3	-3	-4
38	European citizens do not want more food but do want sustainable farming practices.	-5	-2	1	-4	2
39	Food consumers in the EU are only concerned with cheap food freely available.	2	-3	-4	0	-5
40	Food consumers in the EU desire variety, choice and quality in their food.	-4	2	4	-1	3
41	The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.	1	-5	-3	-3	5
42	The CAP should increase funds for investment in sustainable practices.	-5	1	4	0	4
43	Without additional mitigating policies (e.g. a border carbon tax or output tax), further agricultural trade liberalisation will increase Greenhouse gas emissions.	-2	-1	0	-2	1
44	Growing food closer to where it is consumed, even if using relatively more inputs, produces lower GHG emissions than importing food from abroad.	-1	3	-3	1	3
45	In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, greening of the CAP should be given a lower priority.	2	0	-5	1	-1
46	In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, the CAP should focus on food security.	4	4	-2	1	-3
47	The CAP should focus more on the growing concerns over rising food prices due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.	3	2	-3	4	2
48	The CAP is not able to address climate crisis and food security at the same time.	0	-1	-4	2	3
49	The climate crisis is the biggest threat to farming and food security.	-4	-1	5	0	-3
50	Food consumers are the most affected by the increase in agricultural input costs due to Russian's invasion of Ukraine.	0	-2	-2	-1	-2
51	The current coordination between EU Directorates General is not effective in achieving policy coherence between the CAP, trade and environmental policies.	1	1	0	0	0
52	In a Single Market there also needs to be a level playing field across Member States in their policies targeting sustainability.	0	2	2	0	-1
53	The EU Member States do not provide sufficient support to help the EU in reaching its sustainability goals in international agricultural trade.	0	0	0	1	0
54	The EU is lacking consistent decisions in relation to CAP, trade and environment.	2	-1	3	5	1
55	To strengthen social sustainability in the EU, the balance of CAP support for direct payments and rural development should be amended increasing the funding for rural development.	-3	0	-1	-2	0
56	It is necessary to increase the coherence between the CAP and EU trade policy.	1	3	3	0	2
57	There is a lack of coherence between CAP, environmental and social policies.	1	1	1	3	1
58	Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.	0	2	5	1	-1
59	The greening of the CAP are undermined by weak enforcement of implementation on farms.	5	-3	-1	-2	-1
60	CAP green payments are designed to reward farmers only for what they already deliver.	4	-2	-2	-2	0

\* Bold values denote distinguishing statements at either the 0.05 or the 0.01 level

## Appendix 4 Crib Sheets

<b>FACTOR 1 – CRIB SHEET</b>		
<b>Factor 1 Statements Ranked at +5</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
27	The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.	5
59	The greening of the CAP are undermined by weak enforcement of implementation on farms.	5
20	The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.	5

<b>Factor 1 Statements Ranked Higher in Factor 1 Array than in Other Factor Arrays</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
15	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they fear competition.	3
18	CAP should only focus on increasing EU farmers' competitiveness.	4
20	The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.	5
27	The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.	5
39	Food consumers in the EU are only concerned with cheap food freely available.	2
45	In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, greening of the CAP should be given a lower priority.	2
50	Food consumers are the most affected by the increase in agricultural input costs due to Russian's invasion of Ukraine.	0
59	The greening of the CAP are undermined by weak enforcement of implementation on farms.	5
60	CAP green payments are designed to reward farmers only for what they already deliver.	4

<b>Factor 1 Statements Ranked Lower in Factor 1 Array than in Other Factor Arrays</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
1	The CAP should contribute to making global value chains more sustainable.	-4
2	The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.	-3

7	To create more scope for countries to provide support to enhance sustainability in agriculture, the WTO Agreement on Agriculture should be revised.	-2
10	The CAP should increase payments to farmers' for using climate-friendly farming practices.	-5
12	The CAP should improve access to finance for small-scale farmers in the EU.	-3
38	European citizens do not want more food but do want sustainable farming practices.	-5
40	Food consumers in the EU desire variety, choice and quality in their food.	-4
42	The CAP should increase funds for investment in sustainable practices.	-5
49	The climate crisis is the biggest threat to farming and food security.	-4
55	To strengthen social sustainability in the EU, the balance of CAP support for direct payments and rural development should be amended increasing the funding for rural development.	-3

**Factor 1 Statements Ranked at -5**

No.	Statement	Rank
10	The CAP should increase payments to farmers' for using climate-friendly farming practices.	-5
38	European citizens do not want more food but do want sustainable farming practices.	-5
42	The CAP should increase funds for investment in sustainable practices.	-5



**FACTOR 2 – CRIB SHEET****Factor 2 Statements Ranked at +5**

No.	Statement	Rank
5	The EU alone cannot combat pollution, irrespective on how stringent its' policy is.	5
16	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.	5
2	The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.	5

**Factor 2 Statements Ranked Higher in Factor 2 Array than in Other Factor Arrays**

No.	Statement	Rank
13	To decrease income disparities between farmers across the EU the CAP should reallocate more payments from large toward average and small farms.	3
16	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.	5
19	High sustainability standards in the EU result in a competitive disadvantage of European farmers in international trade.	4
37	EU regulation ensures that modern pesticides are much safer than those of the past and we should not fear their use.	0

**Factor Statements Ranked Lower in Factor 2 Array than in Other Factor Arrays**

No.	Statement	Rank
4	The EU should ensure structural changes in the agri-food sector are made to promote United Nations sustainability objectives.	-3
6	The CAP should align closer to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.	-2
17	At the farm gate the effect of the CAP's climate actions is minimal.	-4
30	The CAP regulations should be stricter to ensure that Member States put environmental and climate concerns at the centre of their CAP Strategic Plans.	-5
31	The CAP does not have a consistent approach to the use of fossil fuels.	0
33	The derogation in 2024 allowing farmers to receive direct payments while ignoring environmental conditions was a bad policy choice.	-4
35	The CAP lacks clarity about the promotion of sustainability.	-1

36	The CAP does not have a clear long-term vision for reducing pollution from fertiliser and pesticide use.	-2
41	The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.	-5
54	The EU is lacking consistent decisions in relation to CAP, trade and environment.	-1
59	The greening of the CAP are undermined by weak enforcement of implementation on farms.	-3

**Statements Ranked at -5**

No.	Statement	Rank
41	The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.	-5
30	The CAP regulations should be stricter to ensure that Member States put environmental and climate concerns at the centre of their CAP Strategic Plans.	-5
14	To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.	-5

<b>FACTOR 3 – CRIB SHEET</b>		
<b>Factor 3 Statements Ranked at +5</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
49	The climate crisis is the biggest threat to farming and food security.	5
3	The EU has a leading role in addressing global challenges like climate change and biodiversity loss.	5
58	Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.	5

<b>Factor 3 Statements Ranked Higher in Factor 3 Array than in Other Factor Arrays</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
1	The CAP should contribute to making global value chains more sustainable.	3
3	The EU has a leading role in addressing global challenges like climate change and biodiversity loss.	5
4	The EU should ensure structural changes in the agri-food sector are made to promote United Nations sustainability objectives.	2
6	The CAP should align closer to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.	2
14	To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.	0
21	Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.	-1
24	Environmental sustainability is more important for farmers' livelihoods than CAP income support.	-2
29	The CAP has stimulated greenhouse gas emissions through its support to livestock farming and feed production.	2
30	The CAP regulations should be stricter to ensure that Member States put environmental and climate concerns at the centre of their CAP Strategic Plans.	3
33	The derogation in 2024 allowing farmers to receive direct payments while ignoring environmental conditions was a bad policy choice.	1
34	The CAP should focus on a twin transition – green and digital.	1
40	Food consumers in the EU desire variety, choice and quality in their food.	4
49	The climate crisis is the biggest threat to farming and food security.	5
58	Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.	5

<b>Factor 3 Statements Ranked Lower in Factor 3 Array than in Other Factor Arrays</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
11	Greening of the CAP has increased farmers' administrative burden.	1
18	CAP should only focus on increasing EU farmers' competitiveness.	-5
22	Farmers organisations take conservative positions concerning greening the CAP.	-1
23	The CAP burdens farmers with too many requirements which divert them from the production of food and fibre.	-2
26	The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can be seen as positive for farming in Europe.	-4
32	The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can be seen as positive for food consumers in Europe.	-4
44	Growing food closer to where it is consumed, even if using relatively more inputs, produces lower GHG emissions than importing food from abroad.	-3
45	In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, greening of the CAP should be given a lower priority.	-5
47	The CAP should focus more on the growing concerns over rising food prices due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.	-3
48	The CAP is not able to address climate crisis and food security at the same time.	-4

<b>Factor 3 Statements Ranked at -5</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
45	In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, greening of the CAP should be given a lower priority.	-5
18	CAP should only focus on increasing EU farmers' competitiveness.	-5
27	The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.	-5

<b>FACTOR 4 – CRIB SHEET</b>		
<b>Factor 4 Statements Ranked at +5</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
2	The EU Green Deal policies are not effective as they are not applicable at a global level.	5
11	Greening of the CAP has increased farmers' administrative burden.	5
54	The EU is lacking consistent decisions in relation to CAP, trade and environment.	5

<b>Factor 4 Statements Ranked Higher in Factor 4 Array than in Other Factor Arrays</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
11	Greening of the CAP has increased farmers' administrative burden.	5
23	The CAP burdens farmers with too many requirements which divert them from the production of food and fibre.	4
26	The vote against the pesticide-reduction targets in the European Parliament can be seen as positive for farming in Europe.	2
31	The CAP does not have a consistent approach to the use of fossil fuels.	2
36	The CAP does not have a clear long-term vision for reducing pollution from fertiliser and pesticide use.	4
47	The CAP should focus more on the growing concerns over rising food prices due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.	4
53	The EU Member States do not provide sufficient support to help the EU in reaching its sustainability goals in international agricultural trade.	1
54	The EU is lacking consistent decisions in relation to CAP, trade and environment.	5
57	There is a lack of coherence between CAP, environmental and social policies.	3

<b>Factor 4 Statements Ranked Lower in Factor 4 Array than in Other Factor Arrays</b>		
No.	Statement	Rank
3	The EU has a leading role in addressing global challenges like climate change and biodiversity loss.	-2
8	There is a need for more international harmonization of sustainability-oriented policies at the global level.	-1
9	The EU should invest in research and development of new kinds of agricultural production technologies (such as cell-based ones) to help meet the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.	-3

15	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they fear competition.	-4
16	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.	-5
21	Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.	-5
56	It is necessary to increase the coherence between the CAP and EU trade policy.	0

**Factor 4 Statements Ranked at -5**

No.	Statement	Rank
16	EU farmers are opposed to EU agreements to promote freer trade in agriculture as they cannot realistically compete with imports.	-5
14	To stimulate the green transition the CAP should phase out tax breaks on agricultural fuel.	-5
21	Farmers do not consider their future livelihoods when they protest against EU green policies.	-5

**FACTOR 5 – CRIB SHEET****Factor 5 Statements Ranked at +5**

No.	Statement	Rank
22	Farmers organisations take conservative positions concerning greening the CAP.	5
5	The EU alone cannot combat pollution, irrespective on how stringent its' policy is.	5
41	The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.	5

**Factor 5 Statements Ranked Higher in Factor 5 Array than in Other Factor Arrays**

No.	Statement	Rank
9	The EU should invest in research and development of new kinds of agricultural production technologies (such as cell-based ones) to help meet the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.	4
22	Farmers organisations take conservative positions concerning greening the CAP.	5
38	European citizens do not want more food but do want sustainable farming practices.	2
41	The CAP greening strategy is used as an excuse to continue with a high level of public support for farmers.	5
43	Without additional mitigating policies (e.g. a border carbon tax or output tax), further agricultural trade liberalisation will increase Greenhouse gas emissions.	1
48	The CAP is not able to address climate crisis and food security at the same time.	3

**Factor 5 Statements Ranked Lower in Factor 5 Array than in Other Factor Arrays**

No.	Statement	Rank
19	High sustainability standards in the EU result in a competitive disadvantage of European farmers in international trade.	-4
20	The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.	-5
28	The momentum of public support for climate policies in the EU is waning.	-2
37	EU regulation ensures that modern pesticides are much safer than those of the past and we should not fear their use.	-4

39	Food consumers in the EU are only concerned with cheap food freely available.	-5
46	In the post-Covid world, and in the face of the war in Ukraine, the CAP should focus on food security.	-3
52	In a Single Market there also needs to be a level playing field across Member States in their policies targeting sustainability.	-1
58	Incoherent policy generates conflict between agricultural production and environmental quality.	-1

**Factor 5 Statements Ranked at -5**

No.	Statement	Rank
39	Food consumers in the EU are only concerned with cheap food freely available.	-5
20	The main CAP support required by farmers is to maintain high prices.	-5
27	The priority of the CAP should be on agricultural profitability not sustainability.	-5