THE SHARE OF CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING IN POLAND'S TRADE TURNOVER OF FOOD PRODUCTS WITH THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES ON THE EU'S EXTERNAL BORDER

Halina Powęska

Warsaw University of Life Sciences – SGGW

Abstract. The paper contains an analysis of the changes in the share of food products in the structure of Poland's trade turnover with Ukraine, Belarus and Russia taking into account registered and unregistered turnover. Also, trends related to the share of unregistered sector in the total value of turnover of food products are presented. By considering registered and unregistered sectors together, it was concluded that in the years 2010–2012 Poland's exports of foodstuffs into Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian markets were definitely higher than its imports of food products from these countries. At the same time, considerable differences were noted in the volume of Poland's exports and imports with the particular countries. As regards the trade with Ukraine, the volumes of imports and exports were similar, while in the case of Russia and Belarus Polish exports were definitely higher than imports, which was recorded in both registered and unregistered sector.

Key words: cross-border shopping, foreign trade, food products

INTRODUCTION

Non-wholesale shopping in a neighbouring country which is not registered in the documents required for customs clearance and which is called cross-border shopping [Powęska 2008] is a phenomenon affecting the volume of foreign trade treated as the exchange of goods and services with partners localized outside the customs boundary of a given country [Dudziński 2006, Rymarczyk 2007]. The following basic similarities between cross-border shopping and foreign trade should be mentioned: (1) the necessity of establishing commercial relations between business entities operating in the territory of other countries; (2) transfer of goods across boundaries; and (3) the transaction involving the purchase and sale; whereas differences include: (1) differences in the volume of transactions; (2) a different approach to trade transactions in customs law; and (3) a different

Corresponding author – Adres do korespondencji: Halina Powęska, Department of European Policy, Public Finance and Marketing, Faculty of Economic Sciences, Warsaw University of Life Sciences – SGGW, Nowoursynowska 166, 02-787 Warszawa, Poland e-mail: halina_poweska@sggw.pl

use of the commodities involved in transactions: cross-border trade is dominated by consumer goods, while foreign trade is largely an exchange of more differentiated products.

Poland's trade turnover with the countries situated along the Polish section of the EU's external border showed a growing trend over the period 2010–2012. It encompassed both the transactions performed within the framework of foreign trade, later called registered turnover, and cross-border purchases made within the framework of trans-border trading, which are referred to as unregistered turnover. The volume of foreign trade is determined on the basis of the SAD customs declaration forms and of the EBOPS system which registers the turnover of services provided and purchased. The value of cross-border shopping is estimated on the basis of the observation of border crossing points and by interviewing consumers participating in cross-border shopping trips. The methodological problem lies in the difficulty of distinguishing between cross-border shopping and illegal trade activity. If the amounts of goods carried across the border are conformable with the norms and customs tariffs of the neighbouring countries this can be called cross-border shopping; if, however, the tariff rates are exceeded, this activity is treated as smuggling.

From the perspective of the development of cross-border areas, which are functionally related to agriculture to a great extent, the possibility of selling agricultural produce to foreign consumers is an additional development factor at a local scale. It is also worth indicating that consumers who participate in cross-border shopping are mostly the lowest-income people and the unemployed persons [Powęska 2011].

Taking into consideration the special importance of increase in the share of food products in Poland's trade turnover with its eastern neighbours, the author aims (1) to explore the share of foodstuffs in the structure of trade turnover with the neighbouring countries, taking into account a registered and unregistered sector; and (2) to determine the importance of an unregistered sector in Poland's trade turnover of foodstuffs with Ukraine, Belarus and Russia.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The research problem presented in this paper is to identify the place and importance of food products in the trade turnover between Poland and its eastern neighbours by considering registered and unregistered sectors cumulatively. An important element of this issue is the relationship between registered and unregistered trade turnover of food products between Poland and its neighbours located on the Polish section of the EU's external border.

The survey was conducted during the years 2010–2012 on the basis of: (1) data collected by the Centre of Cross-border Areas Surveys and Statistics for Euroregions of the Statistical Office in Rzeszów [Ruch graniczny oraz... 2011, 2012, 2013 (Border Traffic and... 2011, 2012, 2013)]; and (2) the data of the Central Statistical Office of Poland published in the Yearbooks of Foreign Trade Statistics [2011, 2012, 2013]. The analysis of the statistical material began by calculating the value of Poland's trade turnover with Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. In calculations concerning registered turnover, in imports and exports alike, the following elements were taken into consideration: the volumes of imported commodities, registered in the SAD system, as well as the expenditures on

the services purchased (added to the Polish imports) or provided (included in the Polish exports) and recorded in the EBOPS system. In the second stage of the analysis, the percentage of food products was calculated in registered imports and exports to the particular countries. Next, the share of food products in unregistered turnover was examined. The final stage of the statistical analysis was to determine the relationship between the registered and unregistered sectors in trade turnover of food products between Poland and each of its neighbours at the EU's external border. This relationship was defined through: (1) the share of cross-border shopping in trade turnover of food products with the particular countries; and (2) the share of food products in trade turnover encompassing the registered and unregistered sectors together. In a qualitative analysis of the phenomenon the author's own findings and observations were used [Powęska 2012, 2013a, b].

REASONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING

The phenomenon of cross-border shopping is determined by a set of interrelated economic, social, administrative and legislative as well as behavioural factors. Among the most important of the above-mentioned factors one must point to economic reasons. The observation of differences in prices for goods of similar nature in the neighbouring areas across the state border provides an opportunity to make savings in household budgets and to earn extra income. For this reason, many people living in a zone of the influence of the border devote their time and resources to improve their own and their close relatives' living standards through the purchase of cheaper goods abroad. That is why, social aspects co-exist with the factors of economic nature. The low standard of living of the population, scarce labour supply and other problems characteristic of cross-border regions being the peripheral areas are the reasons why cross-border shopping is treated by the inhabitants and by the representatives of the authorities in many small towns and in rural areas located along the Polish-Belarusian border as an important factor of local development. From the perspective of consumers participating in cross-border shopping what is very important is their readiness to go on a trip and to make purchases in an alien environment. This may often be associated with facing additional difficulties stemming from the need to travel long distances and to cross the border. Cumulatively, these aspects of cross-border shopping are treated as behavioural determinants of the phenomenon. As regards the Polish-Belarusian border, administrative and legislative determinants are of great importance. They are regulated by the agreements between Poland and Belarus. The intensity of the movement of people who cross the Polish-Belarusian border in order to make purchases is also influenced by personal, family, cultural, social and tourist ties between persons living on both sides of the border.

THE EXPORT OF FOOD PRODUCTS FROM POLAND TO ITS NEIGHBOURS ON THE EU'S EXTERNAL BORDER IN THE YEARS 2010–2012

In the years 2010–2012 there was an increase in the importance of the sector of food products in Poland's exports to the neighbouring countries located at the external border of the European Union. This fact is important from the point of view of bilateral commer-

cial relations but it also has a positive effect on the development of Polish agriculture. The increase in the sales of food products onto Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian markets has also been noted in both the registered exports (SAD and EBOPS) and in the unregistered cross-border shopping (Table 1).

Table 1. Share of food items in Poland's exports to eastern neighbours while taking into account the unregistered sector (cross-border shopping) and the registered sector (SAD and EBOPS) in the years 2010–2012

Year	Expenditures in Poland of cross- border shoppers from the neigh- bouring countries on the Polish section of the EU eastern border			The value of exports from Poland (SAD) and the value of services delivered by Poland (EBOPS) to the neighbouring countries on the Polish section of the EU eastern border			Unregistered expenditures of foreign consumers in Poland on food items (cross-border shopping) and Poland's exports of food items to the neighbouring countries in the SAD system	
	Total	Of which expendi- tures on food com- modities		Total	Share of food items		Share of cross- -border shopping in Poland's sales of food items	Share of food items in the sales to the ne-ighbouring countries
	thous. PLN	thous. PLN	% of total	thous. PLN	thous. PLN	% of total	%	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8*	9*
				Ukraine				
2012	3 658 884.4	432 152.7	11.8	22 764 356.6	2 091 093.6	9.2	17.1	9.5
2011	3 114 018.9	324 040.8	10.4	18 712 765.4	1 449 395	7.7	18.3	8.1
2010	2 282 677.3	286 944.8	12.6	16 543 981.0	1 414 866.5	8.6	16.9	9.0
				Belarus				
2012	2 628 790.6	342 725.4	13.0	10 111 351.3	1 285 685.4	12.7	21.0	12.8
2011	1 948 596.5	230 714.7	11.8	8 203 719.4	1 025 304.3	12.5	18.4	12.4
2010	1 417 413.6	156 872.6	11.1	6 978 870.5	633 844.2	9.1	19.8	9.4
Russia								
2012	333 118.7	95 985.7	28.8	36 900 588.2	4 421 071.6	12.0	2.1	12.1
2011	188 063.3	49 193.5	26.2	29 057 321.2	3 293 290.6	11.3	1.5	11.4
2010	99 075.2	26 485.9	26.7	23 518 531.9	3 005 329.5	12.8	0.9	12.8

*Column 8 calculated by equation: [3: (3 + 6)] × 100; Column 9 calculated by equation: [(3 + 6) : (2 + 5)] × 100.

Source: Own elaboration based on: Rocznik Statystyczny Handlu Zagranicznego 2011, GUS, Warszawa [Yearbook of Foreign Trade Statistics of Poland 2011, Warsaw, Central Statistical Office]; Rocznik Statystyczny Handlu Zagranicznego 2012, GUS, Warszawa [Yearbook of Foreign Trade Statistics of Poland 2012, Warsaw, Central Statistical Office]; Rocznik Statystyczny Handlu Zagranicznego 2013, GUS, Warszawa; [Yearbook of Foreign Trade Statistics of Poland 2013, Warsaw, Central Statistical Office]; Ruch graniczny oraz przepływ towarów i usług na zewnętrznej granicy Unii Europejskiej na terenie Polski w 2010 roku, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2011 [Border Traffic and Movement of Goods and Services at The European Union's External Border on The Territory of Poland in 2010, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Office in Rzeszów, Warsaw-Rzeszów 2011]; Ruch graniczny oraz przepływ towarów i usług na zewnętrznej granicy Unii Europejskiej na terenie Polski

w 2011 roku, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2012 [Border Traffic and Movement of Goods and Services at The European Union's External Border on The Territory of Poland in 2011, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Office in Rzeszów, Warsaw-Rzeszów 2012]; Ruch graniczny oraz przepływ towarów i usług na zewnętrznej granicy Unii Europejskiej na terenie Polski w 2012 roku, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2013 [Border Traffic and Movement of Goods and Services at The European Union's External Border on The Territory of Poland in 2012, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Office in Rzeszów, Warsaw-Rzeszów 2013].

Based on the data collected in the SAD customs clearance forms one may say that among three above-mentioned countries the registered value of the export of food products to Russia was the greatest one. In 2012, as compared to 2010, registered exports to this country increased by approximately 68 percent (from approximately PLN 3 billion to more that PLN 4.4 billion). As regards Ukraine, the registered value of the sale of food products was 50 percent lower than in the case of Russia, and the growth dynamics of the absolute value of registered exports in 2012 as compared to 2010 amounted to over 66 percent (increase from PLN 1.4 billion in 2010 to PLN 2.1 billion in 2012). The registered exports of food products to Belarus were the lowest of the three countries under review (2010 – PLN 0.6 billion, 2012 – PLN 1.3 billion), and also the growth dynamics was very slow (only 46 percent).

Among food products exported from Poland to Ukraine and to Russia major items included products of plant origin, food preserves, live animals and products of animal origin. Poland's exports to Belarus, on the other hand, were dominated by live animals and products of animal origin, which were followed by products of plant origin and food preserves.

Unregistered purchases of food products made by foreign consumers in Poland within the framework of cross-border shopping increase the official export figures of food products to the eastern markets. The absolute value of unregistered expenditures on food products varied depending on the country; however, in all three cases a great increase in purchases of food products by foreign customers in Poland was reported. Most food products were bought by foreign consumers in Poland in the Polish-Ukrainian border area (from nearly PLN 300 million in 2010 to more than PLN 430 million in 2012); next came the Polish-Belarusian border area (from nearly PLN 150 million to PLN 340 million respectively), and the smallest purchases were reported in the Polish-Russian border area (from PLN 26 million to PLN 96 million respectively). At the same time, one must emphasize that in the years 2010–2012 in the Polish-Russian border area the share of food products in the total value of cross-border shopping was the biggest and it amounted to almost 30 percent, whereas in the Polish-Belarusian and Polish-Ukrainian border areas it totalled approximately 10 percent. It was observed that in the Polish-Belarusian border area the share of foodstuffs in the total value of unregistered turnover increased, while in the Polish-Ukrainian border area declining trends were reported in this field. The decrease was reported in spite of the growth of the absolute value of unregistered purchases of food products exported by Ukrainian citizens from Poland, since there was a much higher increase in the purchase of industrial goods, especially building materials. The structure of the unregistered purchase of food products on all three border sections was dominated by meat and meat products, as well as by fruits, vegetables and their preserves.

In the years 2010–2012 there was a slight increase in the share of unregistered sector in the total value of sales of food products to Poland's eastern neighbours. The highest

share of unregistered sales of food products was observed in trade with Belarus (from 19.8 percent in 2010 to 21 percent in 2012), a slightly lower share was noted in trade with Ukraine (from 16.9 percent in 2010 to 17.1 percent in 2012), and the lowest share was reported in trade with Russia (from 0.9 percent in 2010 to 2.1 percent in 2012). The small share of unregistered trade in the total value of the sale of food products in the case of Russia is determined by the character of the neighbourhood: Poland borders only the Kaliningrad Region.

POLAND'S IMPORTS OF FOOD PRODUCTS FROM ITS EASTERN NEIGHBOURS ON THE EU'S EXTERNAL BORDER IN THE YEARS 2010–2012

The volume of Polish imports of food products from the neighbouring countries on the external border of the European Union varied greatly over the years 2010–2012 (Table 2). Poland bought most food products in Ukraine (in 2010 – for approximately PLN 0.8 billion; in 2012 - for more than PLN 2.1 billion), Polish imports of food products from Russia were several times lower (in 2010 - PLN 0.2 billion; in 2012 -PLN 0.3 billion) and from Belarus they were several dozen times lower (in 2010 – PLN 0.04 billion; in 2012 – PLN 0.06 billion). Over the years 2010–2012, there was an increase in the absolute value of imports of food products registered in the SAD system from eastern neighbours. However, by comparing the data on imports with the data relating to exports presented in the previous chapter one may conclude that the export of food products from Poland to Russia is ten times higher, and in the case of Belarus it is even twenty times higher. It is only in the case of Ukraine that the volumes of imports and exports are balanced. Ukraine's imports are dominated by the products of plant origin, the share of food preserves as well as that of fats and oil being smaller. Poland's major import items from Russia include live animals and products of animal origin, while the main products imported by Poland from Belarus include products of plant origin.

The purchases of food products made by Polish cross-border shoppers in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia, which supplemented Polish imports, varied according to the country. In the case of Ukraine, where the absolute value of food products bought by Polish consumers was the highest one, a decrease of more than 30 percent was reported (from PLN 90 million in 2010 to PLN 60 million in 2012). In the case of Russia and Belarus, where the value of purchases of food products by Polish consumers was relatively lower, a certain increase was recorded in this regard. In Russia the value of purchases of food products by Polish citizens amounted to PLN 5 million in 2010, and in 2012 it totalled PLN 18 million. On the other hand, in 2010 Polish cross-border shoppers brought food products from Belarus for PLN 6.5 million, and in 2012 they bought food products in this country for PLN 9 million. Regardless of the border section, the major import items brought from the neighbouring country were alcoholic beverages. In addition, Polish consumers bought confectionery products, which were the most visible items in the basket of Polish buyers in Ukraine.

The share of unregistered trade in the total value of food products imported from Poland's eastern neighbours (considering the registered and unregistered segments together) was relatively insignificant. In the case of Ukraine, a declining trend was recorded (from

Table 2. Share of food items in Poland's imports from eastern neighbours while taking into consideration the unregistered sector (cross-border shopping) and the registered sector (SAD and EBOPS) in the years 2010–2012

	Expenditures of Polish cross-bor- der shoppers in the neighbouring countries on the Polish section of the EU eastern border			Imports of Polish goods (SAD) and the expenditures on services pur- chased by Polish citizens (EBOPS) in the neighbouring countries on the Polish section of the EU eastern border			Unregistered Polish consumers' expenditures on food items in the neighbouring countries on the Polish section of the EU eastern border (cross-border shopping) and Poland's imports of food items from the neighbouring countries in the SAD system	
Year	total	of which food items		total	of which food items		share of cross- -border shopping in Poland's imports of non-food items from the neigh- bouring countries	share of food items in Poland's imports from the neigh- bouring countries
	thous. PLN	thous. PLN	% of total	thous. PLN	thous. PLN	% of total	%	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8*	9*
				Ukraine				
2012	295 224.7	58 819.7	19.9	9 302 061.8	2 147 248.6	23.1	2.7	23.0
2011	330 508.4	75 760.8	22.9	9 319 923.0	1 502 523.9	16.1	4.8	16.4
2010	340 018.0	90 918.5	26.7	6 624 025.7	836 611.1	12.6	9.8	13.3
				Belarus				
2012	72 302.1	8 950.2	12.4	3 750 873.6	61 557.7	1.6	12.7	1.8
2011	63 570.4	5 792.5	9.1	4 449 364.6	66 067	1.5	8.1	1.6
2010	72 889.2	6 511.9	8.9	2 993 925.9	38 759.7	1.3	14.4	1.5
				Russia				
2012	280 412.8	18 387.6	6.6	93 173 063.3	300 362.8	0.3	5.8	0.3
2011	113 597.8	9 422.5	8.3	76 980 813.5	255 806.7	0.3	3.6	0.3
2010	45 399.3	5 797.8	12.8	56 431 475.6	178 790.3	0.3	3.1	0.3

^{*}Column 8 calculated by equation: $[3:(3+6)] \times 100$; Column 9 calculated by equation: $[(3+6):(2+5)] \times 100$. Source: See Table 1.

9.8 percent in 2010 to 2.7 percent in 2012). In the case of Russia, there was a slight increase in the share of unregistered purchases made by Polish consumers in the total value of imported food products (from 3.1 percent in 2010 to 5.8 percent in 2012), while in the case of Belarus the index of the share of unregistered sector in the import of food products varied in the particular years and it totalled: 14 percent in 2010, 8 percent in 2011 and 13 percent in 2012.

In the case of Ukraine, an increase in the share of foodstuffs in the absolute value of imports was recorded (when considering registered and unregistered sectors together): from approximately 13 percent in 2010 to 23 percent in 2012. On the other hand, the share of foodstuffs in the total value of Poland's imports from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia (inclusive of the SAD trade turnover and the unregistered trade) was very low and it totalled, over the entire period under consideration, 0.3 percent in the case of Russia and 1.5–1.8 percent in the case of Belarus.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis conducted in this paper resulted in the following conclusions:

- Considering the registered and unregistered sectors cumulatively, one can conclude that Poland's exports of food products to Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian markets in the years 2010–2012 were definitely higher than its imports of food products from these countries.
- The years 2010–2012 may be defined as a period of dynamic growth of trade turnover of food products between Poland and its eastern neighbours on the EU's external border, which is confirmed by the data relating to both exports and imports.
- Substantial differences were recorded with regard to the volume of exports and imports relating to the particular countries. In trade with Ukraine, the values of imports and exports were similar, while in the case of Russia and Belarus exports definitely exceeded imports, which was noted in both registered and unregistered sectors.
- During the period 2010–2012 there was an increase in the absolute value of unregistered purchases made by foreign consumers in Poland, whereas the value of unregistered purchases of food products made by Polish citizens in the neighbouring countries decreased. Thus, the unregistered trade had a positive impact on the volume of Poland's trade turnover of food products with its eastern neighbours.
- The share of unregistered trade in the exports of food products from Poland to Ukraine
 and to Belarus was higher than in imports, whereas the case of Russia was an exactly
 opposite situation: the share of unregistered imports of food products was higher than
 that of unregistered exports.
- The structure of unregistered purchases of food products made by Polish consumers in the neighbouring countries in the east was dominated by alcohol and confectionery products, while the items purchased by foreign consumers in Poland included meat, meat products as well as vegetables and their preserves.

REFERENCES

Dudziński J., 2006. Handel zagraniczny. Wybrane problemy [Foreign trade. Selected problems]. Wydawnictwo Zachodniopomorskiej Szkoły Biznesu w Szczecinie, Szczecini.

Powęska H., 2008. Cross-border shopping in Poland in the early 21st century. Acta Scientiarum Polonorum, Oeconomia 7(1), 111–121.

Powęska H., 2011. Functions of retail trade in borderlands of Poland – a theoretical perspective. Acta Scientiarum Polonorum, Oeconomia 10(2), 65–74.

- Powęska H., 2012. The financial dimension of unregistered cros-border trade in the Polish segment of European Union's external border. In: Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference Marketing and Finance in Agribusiness, Section New Trends in Finance, Nitra, 88–98.
- Powęska H., 2013a. Spatial extent of cross-border trade in the Polish-Ukrainian border area, 2013. Region and Regionalism 11, 2.
- Powęska H., 2013b. The development of retail trade in the border areas in Poland in the Light of selected theoretical approaches. Acta Scientiarum Polonorum, Oeconomia 12(2), 77–84.
- Rocznik Statystyczny Handlu Zagranicznego 2011 [Yearbook of Foreign Trade Statistics of Poland 2011], Warsaw, Central Statistical Office]. [Rocznik Statystyczny Handlu Zagranicznego 2012, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa [Yearbook of Foreign Trade Statistics of Poland 2012, Warsaw, Central Statistical Office].
- Rocznik Statystyczny Handlu Zagranicznego 2013, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa [Yearbook of Foreign Trade Statistics of Poland 2013, Warsaw, Central Statistical Office].
- Ruch graniczny oraz przepływ towarów i usług na zewnętrznej granicy Unii Europejskiej na terenie Polski w 2010 roku, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2011 [Border Traffic and Movement of Goods and Services at The European Union's External Border on The Territory of Poland in 2010, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Office in Rzeszów, Warsaw-Rzeszów 2011].
- Ruch graniczny oraz przepływ towarów i usług na zewnętrznej granicy Unii Europejskiej na terenie Polski w 2011 roku, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2012 [Border Traffic and Movement of Goods and Services at The European Union's External Border on The Territory of Poland in 2011, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Office in Rzeszów, Warsaw-Rzeszów 2012].
- Ruch graniczny oraz przepływ towarów i usług na zewnętrznej granicy Unii Europejskiej na terenie Polski w 2012 roku, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2013 [Border Traffic and Movement of Goods and Services at The European Union's External Border on The Territory of Poland in 2012, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Office in Rzeszów, Warsaw-Rzeszów 2013].
- Rymarczyk J., 2007. Teoretyczne podstawy międzynarodowej wymiany handlowej. W: J. Rymarczyk, M. Niemiec (Eds). Współczesne tendencje w handlu międzynarodowym, Wrocław [Theoretical aspects of international trade. In: Contemporary trends in international trade, Wroclaw].

UDZIAŁ HANDLU PRZYGRANICZNEGO W OBROTACH TOWAROWYCH ARTYKUŁAMI ŻYWNOŚCIOWYMI POLSKI Z KRAJAMI SĄSIADUJĄCYMI NA ZEWNĘTRZNEJ GRANICY UE

Streszczenie. W artykule dokonano analizy zmian udziału towarów żywnościowych w strukturze obrotów handlowych z Ukrainą, Białorusią i Rosją, uwzględniając obroty rejestrowane i nierejestrowane. Przedstawiono także tendencje w zakresie udziału sektora nierejestrowanego w ogólnej wartości obrotów towarami żywnościowymi. Traktując łącznie sektor rejestrowany i nierejestrowany, wykazano, że eksport artykułów żywnościowych Polski na rynki ukraiński, rosyjski i białoruski w latach 2010–2012 był zdecydowanie większy niż import towarów spożywczych z tych krajów. Jednocześnie odnotowano znaczne różnice w zakresie wielkości eksportu i importu z poszczególnymi krajami. W handlu z Ukrainą wartości importu i eksportu były zbliżone do siebie, a w przypadku Rosji i Białorusi zdecydowanie eksport przewyższał import, co odnotowano zarówno w sektorze rejestrowanym, jak i w nierejestrowanym.

Słowa kluczowe: handel przygraniczny, handel zagraniczny, artykuły żywnościowe

Accepted for print - Zaakceptowano do druku: 01.12.2014