

Supplementary material: Table 1a summary of policy indicators at each stages

	<i>Description</i>	<b>Commission Proposal</b>	<b>COMAGRI</b>	<b>Plenary</b>	<b>Council</b>	<b>Political Agreement</b>
GP1	<i>Scope / Green Payment</i>	All farmers entitled to direct payments, organic farmers exempted as “green by definition”	Organic Farms, Natura 2000 & Farms with 75% permanent grassland green by definition	//	Organic Farms & Farms with 75% + of land enrolled in national/regional certified scheme, green by definition	Organic farms & small farmers scheme green by definition
GP2	<i>Objectives / Green Payment</i>	30%	30%	//	30%	30%
GP3	<i>Implementation / Green Payment</i>	Compulsory	Voluntary	//	Compulsory	Compulsory, but gradual phasing in of penalties for non-compliance
GP4	<i>Scope / Crop Diversification</i>	3 ha minimum	10-30 ha minimum	//	//	//
GP5	<i>Objectives / Crop Diversification</i>	3 crops	2 crops, 3 crops over 30 ha	//	//	//
GP6	<i>Scope/ Permanent Pastures</i>	Permanent grassland	Permanent grassland + pasture	//	Permanent grassland only	Permanent grassland + pasture
GP7	<i>Objectives /Permanent Pastures</i>	Farmers level	regional or subnational level	//	//	//
GP8	<i>Scope /Ecological Focus Areas</i>	All farms, 7%	Over 10ha, 3% phased in to 5-7%	//	Over 15ha, 3% phased in to 5-7%	15ha 5% phased to 7% in 2018
GP9	<i>Objectives / Ecological Focus Areas</i>	5 EFAs	6 EFAs	//	13 EFAs	10 EFAs
AECM1	<i>Budget / Flexibility</i>	5% for 9 Member States with low direct payments.	Opposed.	Opposed.	15-25%	15-25%
AECM2	<i>Budget / Earmarking</i>	25%, in preamble.	25%, in legislative text.	25%, in legislative text.	No consensus	Plenary position
AECM3	<i>Objectives / Double-funding</i>	AECP must go beyond EFAs.	AECP do not need to go beyond GPs (allows double funding).		AECM do not need to go beyond GPs (allows double funding)	Agricultural land management AECP must go beyond GPs (no double funding)
CC1	<i>Scope / Statutory Mandatory Requirement</i>	13 SMR	Removes 7 SMRs	Weakens SMR1 & 10	//	SMR1 & 10 re-established
CC2	<i>Scope / Good Agricultural and Environmental condition</i>	7 GAEC	Removes 4 GAEC, weakens others.	Removes 1 GAEC, weakens others.	//	//