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THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT IN POLAND IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES

Abstract

New trends getting in processes of the spatial development have been noticed lately. This article points out the changes in social and economic space which determinants are technological progress, evolution of informative society and economy`s globalization and they make new conditions of operation for regions and cities. Spatial concentration follows related with benefits of different territorial units and their peripheral areas but on the other hand connected with expansion of exchange`s network in world-wide.

Keywords: spatial planning, globalization, net economy, local government in Poland

KÜRESEL MEYDAN OKUYUŞLAR ÇERÇEVESİNDE POLONYA'DA MEKANSAL GELİŞİM

Özet

Son zamanlarda mekansal gelişme sürecinde yeni eğilimler gözlemlenmekte. Bu makale, teknolojik gelişimin ve bilgi toplumunun evrimleşmesinin ve ekonominin küreselleşmesinin belirleyici faktör olduğu sosyal ve ekonomik mekanlardaki değişimi ortaya koymaktadır. Mekansal yoğunlaşma birçok yerel birimin ve yakın çevresinin çıkarları ile ilişkilidir fakat bir diğer yandan da dünya genelinde genişleyen değişim ağı ile de bağlantılıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mekansal planlama, küreselleşme, net ekonomi, Polonya'da yerel yönetim

I. INTRODUCTION

Progressive development of integrating Europe causes interest's growth of space's problems. The spatial development allows for greater engagement of local communities into processes of social and economic transformations and that's why optimal realization of challenges standing first of all before countries which have been European Union's members for a short time. Besides, for managing units and societies knowledge about natural, technical, social, economic and political conditions defining their operations are located in the space it is unusually important thing. So the way of localization individual economic subjects, forming their interrelations, building their concentrations, differentiating forms, types and effects of their activities in a space all these affairs play particular role in the analyses of social and economic structure (see more Lösch, 1961).

Modern and still deepening unsimilarity of the world causes, that it exists, reasonable by cognitive and practical respects, need of analysis of spatial, social and economic structures and processes performing in these structures and also research's need of their conditionality and repercussions resulting especially from association between man (and his/her economy) and environment surrounded him/her (Kuciński, 1997: 5-13). These operations are taken in foothold about miscellaneous theories and models captivating general rights ruling of forming settling units (Dąbrowski, 1995: 197-198).

Moreover, contemporary mechanisms of social and economic development of space which determinant is technological progress, evolution of informative society and economy's globalization make new operation's conditions for regions and cities. Spatial concentration follows related with benefits of big cities and their peripheral areas but on the other hand connected with expansion of exchange's network in world-wide (see more Padoa-Schioppa, 2007).

It is worth to underline that today we are in the early stages in the evolution toward a networked economy. The age of alliance capitalism and the maturation of the knowledge economy is demanding a reconfiguration of the

role of each of the three main organizing mechanisms in a market-oriented economy; and indeed, of the very structure of capitalism itself (Olechnicka, 2000: 37). Such a reconfiguration is primarily the result, on the one hand, of a shift in the origins of wealth in most industrial societies from natural resources to created assets and especially all forms of knowledge – and, on the other, of the widening geographical spread of all kinds of value-adding activity.

II. MODERN DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SPACE

In the late 20th century market-based economies, as in earlier phases of capitalism, the privately owned and managed firm remains the critical wealth-creating agent. But, over the years, and particularly in the last two decades, the criteria for its success, the ingredients of its core competencies and its territorial boundaries have all changed; as, indeed, have its relationships with other firms. Similarly, the emergence of an innovation-led global economy, with all its uncertainties and the difficulties of national macroeconomic management, has demanded that national governments reconsider their role and how in particular their actions, for good or bad, may affect the dynamic comparative advantage of resources and the competitive advantages of firms in world market. Also, because firm-specific created assets are increasingly mobile across national boundaries, national governments need to recognize and take account of each other's macro-organizational policies which may best achieve and that objective. In so doing, they may, and do, affect the functions and boundaries of firms (Harrison et al., 1996: 233- 258); and this means that any discussion of the changing nature of the firm which doesn't consider the changing role of government, will be inadequate.

Mentioned processes have twofold form. First of them are processes of spatial and functional integration among adjacent metropolitan areas – giving rise to merge these spatial units. Second – accretion of co-dependences and functional coherences among centres, which cause functional integration due to occurrence lots of feed-backs. Maintenance of hitherto existing competitive

position, not saying about its increase, it forces on settling units strict and effective cooperation in greater degree based on knowledge and information (Nyholm et al., 2001: 253-272). Only operations directed on creation of net match will allow to cope with modern world economy`s requirements and achieve advantageous competitive position by Polish cities and their milieus not only in national scale but first of all in international one. So, belong to have hope, that big cities in Poland (like Warsaw, Cracow, Wrocław, Katowice, Gdańsk, Poznań, Łódź) will soon fulfil in optimal range node`s role in global network and they will be characterized following features (compare Kukliński, 2001: 62):

- directing, meaning assembly of abilities and development`s capabilities of strategic and decision functions on the highest level both in case of enterprises as well as other institutions;
- global feature, it means achievement of certain critical mass in range of competences and services allowing on relative self-sufficiency i.e. unused of assistance of better equipped centres;
- adaptability, which is understood as fitting in to city economic and social systems facilitating productive functions.

Recapitulating, functional integration resulting from phenomena of economic cooperation, net connections and hierarchic co-dependences, technical progress in range of information`s transmission causes internally compact configuration in metropolitan areas` or regions` sphere. Processes of spatial integration act in the same direction, which can contribute to complete merging previously isolated city-region organisms.

III. CHANGES IN SPATIAL PLANNING IN OECD COUNTRIES

The governments of OECD members` countries apply spatial planning to a broad spectrum of policy objectives, including improving regional economic performance, creating a more rational organisation of land uses, balancing demands for development with the need to protect the environment, to

strengthen social cohesion and to take advantage of the opportunities presented by globalisation and technological innovations. These modern determinants of spatial development cause that at present we can observe the evolution of approaches in spatial planning (Table 1).

Table 1. Evolution of approaches in spatial planning

	Old planning approach (managerial)	Transitional approach (incrementalist)	New planning approach (entrepreneurial)
Main goals	Allocation of land	Spatial redevelopment and infrastructure growth	Economic development Environmental and social sustainability
Concepts (dynamic)	Implementation and tactics	Open planning	Strategic vision
Functions	Provision of public services	Focus on project	Promoting innovation, risk taking and development
Substantive aspects or forms (static)	Centre/periphery rationale	Redevelopment of city centres, strengthening of rural/urban linkages	Poly-centricity urban corridors
Actors	Public actors	Implication of the private sector	A broad set of stakeholders, numerous public-private partnerships
Regional and local dimension	Hierarchical relationships between central/regional and local control	Emerging role of region	Strategic aspects increasingly decentralised

Source: OECD Report, 2007: 23-25.

Table 2. Examples of public participation in planning processes in OECD countries

USA	FRANCE	DENMARK	JAPAN	ITALY
The state has a long tradition of civic leaderships on spatial planning. In some areas includ-	In France, important innovation of the 1999 National Planning and Sustainable De-	In Denmark, the planning process starts with a public consultation, which then leads to a	There advisory boards (Shinji-Kai) play a key role and composed of representatives from	Based on the principle of participatory planning, Territorial Pacts in Italy bring together

<p>ing the Silicon Valley, civic coalitions have successfully promoted the adoption of urban growth boundaries. In other areas, different groups have adopted or prepared comprehensive regional plans.</p>	<p>velopment Act was the mandatory creation of “development councils”. These councils are consultative bodies, bringing together major social and economic actors within a “communauté urbaine’ or a communauté d’agglomération”. Their main activities consist in approving the ‘agglomeration project’ and following up on the “agglomeration agreement”.</p>	<p>proposal to be re-discussed in public fora. However, citizens have progressively lost interest in this process. Officials in charge of the production of the plan are mainly civil engineers, architects or chartered surveyors who tend to focus more on land use tradition rather than on development and growth perspectives. Proposals remain bureaucratic and need to be simplified.</p>	<p>various institutions. Since most of these stakeholders are appointed by the mayor, the composition of advisory boards may vary. However, given the relatively centralised nature of government in Japan and the dominant culture of consensus, debates do not have much impact on the society and controversial issues are mostly dealt with by the different levels of government involved in the planning.</p>	<p>public and private actors to undertake ventures to promote local development at the sub-regional level. Territorial Pacts involve a large number of sectors, including industry, agriculture, services and tourism. Partners include local authorities and local development actors, although regions, provinces and financial institutions can be signatories.</p>
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Source: Own elaboration based on OECD Report, 2007.

IV. SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT IN POLAND

A. Deficiencies in spatial planning are an obstacle for infrastructure development

Insufficient spatial planning creates problems for infrastructure development, particularly for transport and housing. Although municipal spatial planning is in principle a legal requirement, many local governments do not have proper planning systems. Only 20% of the territory has spatial plans and

these focus on municipalities' administrative borders rather than on functional areas and rarely involve cooperation among municipalities. Upper levels of government (region, central government) are unable to enforce the implementation of strategic decisions (Vanhove, 1999: 57-63). As a result, planning does not enough play the role of coordinating and giving spatial articulation to policies. The lack of adequate functional spatial planning has adverse consequences for both urban and rural areas. In large cities, it hinders the development of integrated transport systems and contributes to a rapid increase in the use of cars to the detriment of public transport, thereby increasing congestion and pollution. It has also slowed the development of housing, and Poland now faces a shortage of some 1 million dwellings, particularly for social housing, which again reduces labour mobility and reinforces growing urban sprawl. Poor spatial planning also adversely affects rural areas. With the increased price of land since EU accession, rural communities tend to speculate on land rather than develop a strategic long-term vision on its best use.

B. Polish spatial planning trends: a micro-focus

Although spatial planning is in principle a legal requirement and a prerogative of local governments (communities and voivodships-regions), most local governments do not have proper planning systems. The 2003 Spatial Planning Act requires that communities prepare a study on the commune's future physical development. Most municipalities have such plans, and 20% of the Polish territory is covered by the plans. In 2003, the Parliament abrogated all Poland's local development plans, but did not make the design of new plans for urban land use compulsory (see more National Development Plan for the Years 2007-2013). Some municipalities lack the capacity (both financial and in terms of human resources) to make such a plan. When development plans are absent, exemptions for specific projects are possible through an administrative procedure, which involves some degree of arbitrariness.

Even when planning is well organised at the municipal level, it is weak, because of a narrow focus and lack of long-term vision. Physical development plans are not well connected with strategic plans and the planning focuses on administrative borders of communities rather than on functional areas. The communities do not cooperate enough in the planning process and have no incentive to do so, with the result that decisions on the use of space are sub-optimal. The upper levels of government (region, central) are unable to enforce the implementation of strategic decisions. Regions (voivodships) have responsibility for planning systems, because they prepare the regional spatial development plans. However, these plans are not binding on municipalities and tend to remain quite general and superficial. In particular, the communities have many ways to avoid unwanted programmes and projects, e.g. by prolonging procedures for preparing local plans, undertaking lengthy social and judicial processes, etc. There is no comprehensive spatial planning that encompasses physical and socio-economic developments at the regional scale, even though regions are encouraged to do this. The planning documents prepared at the different administrative levels are also often not coherent.

C. Poland's spatial development laws

Most of the planning activities in Poland are performed at the local and regional level by local governmental institutions. Spatial Planning Acts were introduced in 1961, 1984, 1994 and 2003. The basic regulatory instrument for spatial planning is the Spatial Planning and Spatial Management Act of 27 March 2003, which: defines the scope and procedures related to appropriation of land for specific uses and the principles for its sustainable development; and regulates the means of resolving conflicts of interests that might arise between citizens, self-governed communities and the state.

Other important acts of Parliament impose certain tasks and obligations on spatial planning actors, with the result that planning, building and environmental protection are regulated by completely different acts: the Environmental

Protection and Management Act (the framework for many detailed regulations concerning forests, water or waste management, protection of nature or arable land), the Building Code (in relation to construction and engineering activities), the Law on Real Property Management.

The lack of legal stability in planning systems over the past two decades has also contributed to an increase in “spatial chaos”. Responsibility for national physical (or spatial) development policy and other forms of planning at the central governmental level lies with the Ministry of Regional Development since 2006.

D. Chaotic spatial planning and urban/rural development

The weaknesses of spatial planning systems have adverse effects on urban areas, particularly in terms of housing and public transport systems. The lack of functional spatial planning at city scale impedes the development of integrated transport systems and contributes to a rapid increase in the use of cars to the detriment of public transport. This increases congestion and pollution in cities. Besides, the lack of zoning has slowed the development of housing. Given the legacy of under-developed housing form the period of central planning, Poland now faces a shortage of some one million dwellings, particularly for social housing. In addition to reducing labour mobility, the shortage of affordable housing reinforces a growing urban sprawl (see more Fujita et al., 1999). The rural population started to increase again after 2000, especially in the neighbourhood of large cities, owing to the rise in housing prices. This new rural migration should continue until 2030 (the share of urban population is forecast to drop to 57%, while the share of rural population should reach 43%).

Although urban sprawl and migration to rural areas can provide new opportunities for rural development, the new mobility patterns, with increasing numbers of people commuting long distances every day, require better planning. However, because of the increase in land prices, especially around large

cities, the surrounding communities tend to speculate on land rather than develop a strategic long-term vision on its best use. The previous government therefore intended to amend the Law on Spatial Planning and the Construction Law. The process is still under way and the issue of cooperation with transport infrastructure investments has not been fully dealt with in the draft legislation. Two crucial challenges – for both competitiveness and cohesion objectives – are linked to the integration of housing and transport developments into broad strategic planning.

Spatial planning needs to be linked to initiatives targeting enterprises and job creation. Urban space in Poland has suffered from the construction in the 1960s and 1970s of gigantic complexes of block housing, usually forming a ring around Polish towns and cities. Today, such complexes represent sub-standard housing with high costs of exploitation and rapid depreciation. In some Polish cities such high-rise constructions are inhabited by 30-40% of residents, often low-income groups. As mentioned earlier, rehabilitation of these post-industrial (post-military) areas is crucial for both social and competitiveness reasons but will probably take decades. Management of town centres, where the housing stock is old and often run-down presents another challenge.

Poor spatial planning also adversely affects rural areas. Because rural communities do not enough cooperate on spatial planning, investment decisions are sub-optimal. For example, neighbouring communities may build individual and thus more costly sewage systems. In the absence of strategic planning, the use made of rural areas creates negative externalities and the tourism potential of some rural areas is not well exploited. Although the price of land remains below the EU average in rural areas, it has increased rapidly since accession to the EU and there is a great deal of speculation. Additional difficulties arise from difficulties for changing the zoning of land from agricultural use to building purposes.

Community (gmina)	County (powiat)	Region (voivodship)
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Table 3. Allocation of functions among tiers of local governments in Poland

Strategic and physical planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Plans for local development ✓ Local physical master plans ✓ Granting building permits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Plans for county's development ✓ Building inspection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Strategic regional planning ✓ Regional development ✓ Contracts with central government ✓ Water supply and sewerage ✓ Waste collection and disposal
Roads and communal infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Street cleaning ✓ Street lighting ✓ Parks and green areas ✓ Conservation ✓ Central heating ✓ Local roads ✓ City public ✓ Transportation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ County road network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Regional road network ✓ Water management (flood protection)
Public order and safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ City guards ✓ Voluntary fire brigades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Public order and security (police) ✓ Civil defence 	
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Kindergartens and primary schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Secondary school education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Some higher education facilities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Public health and sanitary services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Regional hospital
Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Social services, such as housing benefits, services for elderly, social welfare benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Unemployment measures and fighting ✓ Care for homeless people 	
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Construction of social housing ✓ Management of municipal housing 		
Culture, sport and leisure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Local libraries ✓ Theatres, cultural institutions 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Regional cultural facilities

Source: Swianiewicz, 2002.

Strategic planning needs to be understood as a key tool for competitiveness. Many OECD (OECD, 2008: 35) countries that have problems with planning and lack a multi-sector approach have moved in recent years to a more

dynamic approach, often called “strategic planning”. This more comprehensive approach has a multi-sector dimension and takes a broader perspective than municipalities’ administrative areas. This is especially true for large metropolitan regions. Although there are many difficulties – given the frequent lack of multi-year and multi-sectoral budget for major projects – innovation in planning is crucial to better match public policy and local development needs.

V. CONCLUSION

Summing up, it’s necessarily to stress those essential changes in spatial structures occurred in the second half of the 20th century. The regions as basic spatial units underwent long evolution from units which had only auxiliary and administrative character to full subjectiveness. This caused appearance of new unit in social and economic processes. These changes’ reasons are indubitable different. They included first of all acceleration and intensification of exertion of development’ s process and keeping company of this process progressing globalization of worldly economy and also social phenomena like for example: development of local governments. That’s why the increase of phenomena connecting with decentralization follows; it means the role of state authorities in creation of spatial development’s processes is limited (the meaning of intraregional policy increases). Progressing economization of space and processes occurring in it has got important influence for regions’ situation. It causes in large range transformations of individual areas – they often run in spontaneous and unexpected way. The transformations are not only connected with changes of regions’ positions in economic processes appearing in economy’s scale of country or world but also their internal structure. Another important feature of these processes is disparity of level of their appearance in several spatial units. It causes disproportions’ accumulation in development’s level of individual parts of state or world. As this fact is clear in comparison’s situation of weak developed countries and high developed ones, in space of individual states it isn’t advantageous phenomenon and not always explained in rational way. The

internalization of cumulative potential in the networks takes place in the learning region (which is high developed area), by the possibility of complementary usage of resources in existing and developing cooperation. However we should remember that creating of the nets in a region is a selective process, it happens at different intensity in different places in regional space (Zuskovitch and Justman, 1995). Areas with suitable capital (also human resources with the highest qualifications) and knowledge become leaders in this process. The nets' knots are situated in these areas (these are mostly big urban centers of modern structure). New regional structure created in these conditions is what we call 'new quality', however at the same time it is not continuous. This means that apart from the areas in regional space where the social and economic activity is being accumulated, there are areas which do not belong to the network and do not benefit from the synergy effect. This seems to be a natural occurrence, but the exclusion of a single area is not permanent. According to the changeable net's logic, where the changes happen rapidly the areas which appear not to be very attractive nowadays can become desirable elements of the network in the future, e.g. for their unique nature, localization value or other yet not known reason. More important is for the spatial unit as a whole to be able to create the fundamentals for the effective development by its innovational nature or unique potential and to use benefits of the net structure in the future.

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