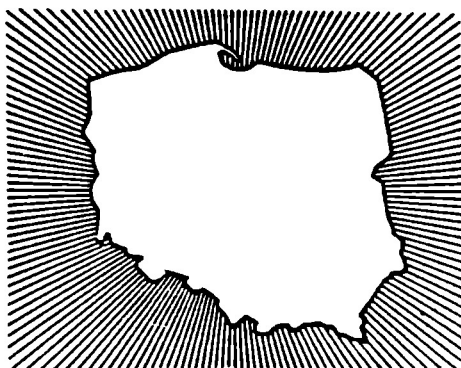
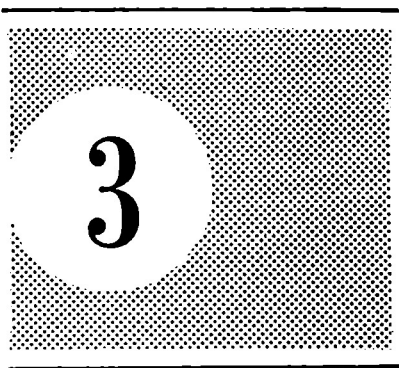


UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
INSTITUTE OF SPACE ECONOMY



LOCAL STUDIES IN POLAND

Warszawa 1987

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LOCAL STUDIES IN POLAND

EDITORS :
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Warszawa 1987

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Introduction

The last decade brings the revival of "locality". We experience self-reliance movements, development from below doctrines, coming back to neighbourhood as the way of life. These processes - already noticed by the contemporary prophets of our civilization (Toffler, Naisbitt, for example)- are the reaction to overomnious state, great scales of production, loneliness in megalopolis.

The local scale of socio-economic processes is being considered as one of the possible ways of overcoming the challenges of the present civilization. This is especially true in these societies which pass the turningpoints in their history - the societies which struggle for inventing new development strategies that are to replace the old ones which prove unsufficient at the present day. Poland by all means should be considered as being in this very situation. The strategy of rapid industrialization, implying great scale of production and spatial concentration, implemented under centralized institutional and political framework, has to be changed if this country is to keep on with the race to the next century. Higher economic efficiency and more social rationality - the two main directions the country should move in - cannot be introduced if the local scale of organizing the state, the economy and the society is not going to rise in importance.

Science should reply to the needs of practice. This consciousness drove Antoni Kukliński to propose the idea of the research programme that would deal with local development - development conceived broadly in economic, social, political and ecological dimensions. Due to Kukliński's efforts and organizational skills the programme came into being and materialized in a 5-year research project, called at first "Local Poland and Territorial Selfgovernment in the Conditions

of Reform". The project employed over 200 persons from all over the country and from majority of Polish scientific and academic institutions.

Localities are the parts of broader spatial systems. The real processes that go on in the whole country and in particular regions shape the opportunities the localities have to promote their development. Also the institutional relations of the local units with the more general institutional set-up have to be considered when examining the possibilities of local innovations and initiatives. These were the reasons why the project shortly called "Local Poland" has expanded and received new title "Regional Development - Local Development - Territorial Selfgovernment". The local approach is still, however, the core of the research philosophy and intellectual orientation.

Poland is not unique in reinventing the local factors as the most promising ones for present development. In several other countries we observe the same trends - and science responds to these trends with equal eagerness as we do in Poland. Thus the international co-operation lies in the focus of our project, both from theoretical and practice-oriented points of view. That is why we present this volume to a foreign reader.

The papers collected here represent the first stage of conceptualizing the project and formulating the main issues that are to be studied. The volume therefore presents broad and perhaps too general perspective, instead of being devoted to concrete findings and research results. This choice was deliberate, taking in mind the preliminary stage of our work and the fact that the empirical investigations are under way. The informative goal of the volume should be clear - to get acquainted with what other do is a prerequisite for thinking about possible future cooperation.

Antoni Kukliński

LOCAL STUDIES IN POLAND. EXPERIENCES AND PROSPECTS

I. Historical experiences

In Poland, after the World War II, main attention in the development strategies was concentrated on macro-political, macro-economic, macro-social, and macro-spatial problems, processes and phenomena. It was assumed that the positive changes in macro-scale generated automatically positive changes in micro-scale. However, a critical evaluation of our experiences has demonstrated that not all changes in macro-scale were positive. We have also seen that even positive changes in macro-scale could generate negative changes in micro-scale.

The assumption that the mechanism of central guidance of the political, social and economic processes was almost perfect led to the wide-spread attitude that the local problems were not important or even non-existent. Very often the opinion was a kind of historical relict which would vanish very soon.

That attitude prevailed in the decisions of the middle seventies when the so called territorial industry lost its institutional identity and was incorporated in the huge complexes of large-scale industries. Unfortunately that incorporation was very often implemented in terms of liquidation of many small-scale plants. The socio-economic policy of that time has not acknowledged the simple fact that Poland is a country characterized by deep spatial differentiations expressed in the spatial differences in labour and capital efficiency and also in psychological and motivational dif-

ferences among the inhabitants of different regions and localities.

The overestimation of economies of scale was a world-wide phenomenon in the third quarter of our century. However the intensity of that sickness in Poland was especially high.

Despite different reservations and qualifications the idea of a wide-ranging uniformization of the country was implemented. That policy has annihilated some individual characteristic features of many localities in Poland. The advantages of small scale and the elasticity of small enterprises and institutions were not appreciated. This is one of the most important reasons of the crisis of Local Poland.

Painting in rather dark colours our experiences in this field I am not trying to say that the whole postwar history has created nothing for Local Poland. I think, however, that much more could have been done in this field if a proper atmosphere for Local Poland has been created. Let me just quote the almost dramatic fate of the so called Nowy Sącz experiment of the middle fifties. It was an attempt to create a mechanism to stimulate the development of Local Poland. We have to answer the question why that experiment was discontinued and why that innovation was not diffused in different regions and localities.

This is not only a matter of historical truth. I am convinced that the historical lesson of the Nowy Sącz experiment will be very useful for our research policy and action in the eighties.

II. The prospects for the future

I am sure that the reconstruction of the economy, society and the state in the eighties will create a new image of local economy, local society and local government in Poland.

This is not only the case of eminent participation of Local Poland in the processes leading to the liquidation of the present crisis but also a new image of Poland of the XXI century, incorporating an efficient and stimulating role of local economy, local society and local government.

The renaissance and development of Local Poland in the perspective of the next fifteen or maybe even fifty years is based on the following sources of change.

The first source is the contemporary technological revolution generating quite new approaches to the advantages of large and small scale. In this technological and economic climate the evaluation of the development potential of small-scale production is seen in quite new perspective.

The second source is the reconstruction and modernization of agriculture in Poland and especially the reconstruction of private individual farms. This reconstruction of agriculture is impossible without the development of local economy and particularly of the system of local productive services.

The third source is the housing problem. In many regions, this problem can be solved first of all in local scale, in the framework of efficient activities generated by local governments.

Contrary to many popular opinions, the housing problem in Poland is not a problem of the capacity of the construction industry but a problem of sufficient supply of building materials.

In this context the rapid expansion in the production of local building materials is very important.

The fourth source is the development of a modern and efficient local government in Poland. In socio-political perspective Local Poland should be the main laboratory of creative experiments in the real popular participating in the solution of authentic economic, social and political problems. I believe that the self-governmental aspirations of the society could be practically expressed more efficiently in the context of local government than in the context of workers' self-government.

The fifth source are the possibilities incorporated in the mechanism of the creation and diffusion of innovations. The development of Local Poland should create a new image of our country, stimulating the processes which differentiate our economic and social landscape. The problem

of differentiation of developmental processes is very important and delicate especially in the psychological climate of our society which has surrendered to the pressure of populist and mechanistic egalitarianism.

We should stop to talk about weak persons, institutions and enterprises that need different forms of subventions and support. Let us create local cases of efficient economy and well being creating demonstration effects inducing others to close the ranks in the upward direction.

We have to generate conditions for the creation and diffusion of innovations in different areas of Local Poland. We have to drop the principle that a given solution is functioning everywhere or nowhere in Poland. We have to open the gates for innovations in five, fifteen or fifty local regions. We have to believe in the power of demonstration effects in relation to the other regions.

I would like to return once more in this context to the idea of the Nowy Sącz experiment. In Poland of the eighties and nineties we need a great number of such experiments. Only in the atmosphere of innovation and experiment we will create a new image of Local Poland.

III. The state of art

The bibliography of contributions on Local Poland would probably incorporate a few thousand or even more items depending on hard or soft criteria of selection. However our economic, political and social knowledge on Local Poland is very limited and fragmentary. How to explain this paradox? I think we can indicate three reasons.

1. Never in the history of Poland a broad comprehensive and interdisciplinary research programme on Local Poland was designed and implemented. Especially, in the postwar period, a general question in relation to the academic community was never formulated - how the role and function of Local Poland should be envisaged in our social, economic and political conditions.

2. In the studies of some isolated or semi-isolated problems of Local Poland, the outdated methodology of descriptive studies was, in most cases, applied. For different reasons, both methodological and substantial, no attempts were made to explain the main mechanisms which determine individual and social life in Local Poland.

3. As already mentioned, in the broadly accepted opinions, the attitude was expressed that Local Poland is just a historical relict which should vanish in the near future.

It is not especially astonishing that in this atmosphere no opportunities were generated for the creation of a large-scale research programme on Local Poland.

IV. The new climate of the middle eighties and the new comprehensive research programme on Local Poland

In the middle of seventies a new stream emerged in Polish Regional Studies.

The main focus of that stream was related to the critical evaluation of the Polish experience in the field of broadly defined space economy.

An integrated social-sciences approach was promoted in that stream stressing especially the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation leading to joint efforts and activities involving regional economics, socio-economic geography, regional sociology, politology, legal and managerial sciences.

The role of that new stream assumed greater dimensions in the early eighties when the Polish crisis and Polish recovery created a general climate for critical evaluations of our economic, social and political experiences after World War II.

In these social and intellectual conditions the Committee for Space Economy and Regional Planning of the Polish Academy of Sciences has established a Working Group, led by the author of this paper, in order to prepare a Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland.

These diagnostic studies have been developed in the years 1981-83 and are documented by a set of twelve volumes published

in the years 1981-1984¹.

The diagnostic studies mentioned above were dominated by mezzo- and macro-spatial approaches. It was just impossible in the framework of the limited time and resources to allocate proper attention to micro-spatial approaches. These approaches - if applied in a well organized way to a large and well selected number of cases - generate new thresholds in the demand for human and financial resources.

However the theoretical and practical necessity to build up a new microspatial research programme on Local Poland was, for the first time, discussed in spring 1984².

That discussion opened the way to the establishment, in the beginning of 1985, of a new research programme "Local Poland and territorial self-government in the conditions of the reform".

1. Two interpretations of Local Poland in the Programme

Two interpretations can be given to the term of Local Poland.

primo - as a way to study from below all phenomena of crisis, recovery and development taking place in Poland. In this way, we join the broad stream of studies known internationally as the studies on development from below;

secundo - as an element of the objective reality called local, in the distinction from regional reality, national reality, continental reality, and global reality.

This local reality can be again seen in two perspectives.

The first- is the *sensu largo* perspective where the term local is applied to the situation when a phenomenon is existing in the local scale. This is, however, a very imprecise approach in this sense that all phenomena belong to the local reality. For example, the biggest steel complex in Poland is a local phenomenon in this sense that it is existing and functioning in a specific local reality. However we cannot reject the term local *sensu largo* particularly in the context of the evaluation of local consequences of the activities of large enterprises and institutions functioning in national,

continental or even global space.

The second - the sensu stricto perspective - is incorporating the situation when the local phenomenon is more directly related to the sphere of local activities. Two forms of this relation come to my mind:

a) the balance relation (for example, the local labour markets or the local commodity markets);

b) the decision-making relation when in the local scale persons, enterprises and institutions are existing who are able to make at least semi-autonomous decisions concerning the given local reality.

VI. Local Poland in the perspective of interdisciplinary studies

Let us look at the following matrix.

Space of Local Poland	Academic fields involved in research on Local Poland				
	ecology and geography	economics	sociology	politology legal and managerial sciences	cultural anthropology
ecological					
economic					
social					
cultural					
political					

Naturally, I am not trying to say this is the best possible matrix. I would like only to formulate a question how to advance from the position of parallel studies on Local Poland

implemented by different disciplines - to integrated interdisciplinary activities. This is an extremely difficult task. We can find very few examples of positive solutions of this problem even in international experiences.

VII. Local Poland - the dialectics of Cartesian and systemic approaches

The critics of the methodological assumptions of the discussed research programme are correctly indicating that the Local Poland research programme 1985 is based on a problem-oriented Cartesian methodology with strong intuitive underpinnings. This critical evaluation is correct. However I must confess that I do not know how - in the conditions of limited human and financial resources and in a very short time - one can start a programme based on the elegant methodology of systemic approaches. I hope that during this year two research programmes on Local Poland for the years 1980-1990 will be prepared; one based on the Cartesian and the other based on the systemic methodology.

VIII. Local Poland - the dialectics of the channels of analysis and the channels of synthesis

The critics of the Cartesian approaches correctly indicate that in this framework the mechanism of interaction between the sphere of analysis and the sphere of synthesis is functioning in a very unsatisfactory way. This is one of the main methodological problems of the research programme on Local Poland. Unfortunately, at the present moment, I am not able to propose any sound suggestions in this field.

IX. Local Poland - the dialectics of historical and prognostic approaches

Maybe the present time is only a passing shadow between the past and the future. In this sense, the diachronic dialectics of the programme is the dialectics of historical and prognostic approaches.

We have to accept some historical and prognostic limits of our research programme. The sensu largo version of this programme could cover, for example, the century 1950-2050. However, from the methodological point of view the main problem is the integration of historical and prognostic approaches developed in the framework of the programme.

X. Local Poland - the dialectics of research and action

We accept very often the tacit assumption that the sphere of research and that of action are the spheres representing totally different orders and patterns of human activities. One should recall only the well known discussion of the relations between the so called theory and the so called practice³. We would like to integrate those two spheres in our programme. Maybe it is an utopian assumption but anyway we will try.

This type of integration creates new methodological and managerial problems for the programme.

XI. Local Poland - in international perspective

Naturally the main aim of the programme is to analyse and perhaps to solve the specific problems of Local Poland. But local problems have an universal character in this sense that local problems exist in all countries of our globe. We hope that the Local Poland Programme will create rich materials and conclusions interesting for other countries and international organizations.

Obviously the programme will not be developed in an international vacuum. We will analyse the experiences of other countries and international organizations with greatest attention and diligence.

To me, personally, it is an occasion to return to the stream of thinking I presented in Toronto, in 1971, in the framework of the Congress organized by the International Union of Local Authorities⁴.

Footnotes

¹ A. Kukliński, Space Economy in Poland: Diagnostic and Reconstruction Studies. (in:) New Spatial Dynamics and Economic Crisis. The International Regional Policy Association, Yearbook 1984. Finn publishers, p. 19-39.

² A. Kukliński, Uśpiony potencjał (Dormant Potential). *Życie Gospodarcze* No. 13, 1984.

³ A. Kukliński, Polish Geography after World War II. Main-springs of Development. (in:) R. Johnston, P. Claval (Editors) Geography since the Second World War - An International Survey. Croom Helm 1984, p. 132-155.,

⁴ A. Kukliński, Local Government in Regional and National Perspectives. (in:) Local Government as Promotor of Economic and Social Development. International Union of Local Authorities, The Hague 1981, p. 9-17.

In Spanish: La Administración Municipal bajo las Perspectivas Regional y Nacional. (in:) La Administración Municipal común Fomentadora del Desarrollo Social y Económico. Union Internacional de Gobiernos Locales. La Haya 1971, p. 8-18.

In French: Les pouvoirs locaux dans la perspective régionale et nationale. (in:) Les communes et la développement économique et social. La Haye 1971, p. 9-18.

Grzegorz Gorzelak

"LOCAL POLAND" PROJECT: AIMS AND METHODS

I. Introduction

The five-year programme of studies on "Local Poland and Territorial Self-Government under the Conditions of Reform and Reconstruction of Space Economy" entered the phase of final crystallization of cognitive aims and ways of achieving them. The discussions conducted have made possible a review of research accomplishments and the defining of preliminary lines of studies. A number of questions, however, should be the subject of further considerations.

I consider two problems to be of key significance from the point of view of the whole programme:

- practicability of studies,
- interdisciplinary character of studies.

Among the basic objectives of the programme "Local Poland", one can distinguish of social sciences - two groups:

- purely cognitive aims,
- aims connected with application.

It is obvious that the two groups of objectives are neither disjunctive nor independent from each other. Success in accomplishing the objectives of one type is dependent on success

x/ This text has been originally prepared for the purposes of elaborating the final scheme of the Local Poland project. It is therefore more fragmentary than comprehensive, there are more arguments than mere presentations. I am convinced, however, that this could be regarded as a kind of advantage: it reveals the ways of discussions and spheres of disagreements, thus presenting Polish science as it is conducted and done in reality, instead of its final results in "export clothing".

in answering questions belonging to the other group. Section 2 of this paper is devoted to the fundamental aims of application of the programme "Local Poland".

The success of studies on "Local Poland" is dependent on the effectiveness of the applications of an interdisciplinary approach. There is no need to substantiate this thesis. Instead, one should point to some basic methodological difficulties connected with this approach. I signal these difficulties in section 3.

2. Applicatory Aspects of Studies on "Local Poland"

2.1. The Significance of Applicatory Aims

In my further considerations, I shall adopt the thesis that, since Poland is now going through a special period of transformations, applicatory aims should be in the focus of attention of the entire research team, and the directions of purely theoretical reflection should be determined by the need to improve the system of management of the state and economy.

An analysis of postwar experience has unequivocally proved that territorial social ties have vanished, territorial communities have been incapacitated, and local economic activity has declined. These processes have in large measure been objective and inevitable: their occurrence should be regarded as the necessary cost of accelerated industrialization and urbanization and of structural transformations. There remains, however, the other side, connected with evident errors (whether conscious or unconscious) committed in the political, social, and economic spheres. The experience of recent years, analyzed in a number of expert's surveys and research projects including the "Diagnosis of the State of Poland's Spaces Economy", clearly shows the negative social effects on the weakening of local systems.

If we accept the thesis that science should feel co-responsible for the shape of the reality (irrespective of whether its directions are accepted or rejected), the ultimate goal of the programme "Local Poland" must be the answering

of two sets of questions:

- questions about the possibilities to shift the point of gravity of the development processes from central systems toward (but not exclusively "to") local systems,
- questions about the conditions that have to be met in order that the potentialities of local systems be utilized.

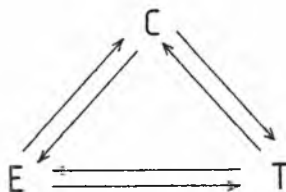
In answering questions thus formulated, two ways are possible:

- maximalistic way, which leads to including all determinants of the functioning of local systems, regardless of the probability of application of new solutions;
- pragmatic way, in which studies are limited to questions which stand considerable chances of becoming the subject of practical applications.

I favour the second approach, in which the emphasis is laid on feasible legal-institutional and economic solutions. This, however, demands a through examination of the "environment" of local systems, their situation in the entire socio-economic system, and the defining of the lines of evaluation of this system.

2.2. Determinants of Local Systems: An Outline of the Scheme

The management system consists of two subsystems: management of the economy and management of the territorial system (cf. S.M. Komorowski, 1978, p.7). In this system, one can distinguish three basic elements: Centre, economic enterprises, and units of territorial division. The interdependencies between these elements are illustrated in the scheme given below.

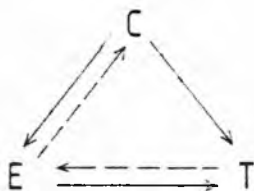


The scheme presents the ideal situation, in which all the three elements of the management system are interconnected by equiponderant bilateral relations. This equiponderance means that the interests of all elements - interests which by the nature of thing are partly different, and in many cases contradictory - are expressed openly and in accordance with the institutionalized mechanisms of their revealment. Moreover, in the case of a conflict of interests, neither element is subordinated to another, whether in a legal way or as a result of the functioning of non-legal mechanisms.

Such an ideal picture is probably impossible to achieve: the reality can only be similar to it to a certain extent. I think, however, that despite its simplicity and generality, the scheme will prove useful in defining general determinants of the functioning of local systems constituting elements of the territorial system.

2.3. Determinants of Local Systems: A Diagnosis

The discussion, initiated in the mid- 1960s by W. Lissowski (1965), on the domination of the branch system over the regional system (cf. e.g. S.M. Komorowski, 1976), was complement and closed by the conclusions of the "Diagnosis of the State of the Spacial Economy". The conclusions from this discussion can be presented in the following scheme:



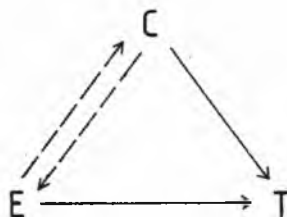
This scheme represents the situation in the 1970s, although one could surmise that it would be true also for the previous periods. The relations $C \rightarrow E$ and $C \rightarrow T$ a high degree of centralization of the system. The weak reverse relation $E \dashrightarrow C$ is a pathological relation representing the influence of the so-called branch pressure groups, which in some cases were identified with regional pressure groups (this is illustrated by the weak relation $T \dashrightarrow E$). The scheme shows that

the territorial system was the weakest element, subordinated to the two other elements. This subordination resulted from both formal and informal dependencies. The role of the territorial system was reduced to passive reception of decisions made at the central level and within the branch system. Local and regional interests did not have their advocate and implementer, since the economic and institutional strength of the territorial system was too small in comparison with the strength of representatives of national and economic interests (which frequently were wrongly understood and implemented).

The reforms introduced in the 1980s have modified these dependencies only to an insignificant degree. As a result of solutions adopted within the economic reform, the dependence of E on C has been loosened. Regional pressure groups have ceased to function, or at least their strength has diminished. However, the relation $T \rightarrow C$ has not developed. The latter thesis is well illustrated by the law on spacial planning according to which any possible contradictions between the lower level and the upper level are resolved at the upper one. The law provides for hierarchical vertical subordination, which gives the administration superiority over self-government bodies. Nor does the law on people's councils and territorial self-government enables us to conclude that the relation $T \rightarrow C$ is now more developed than it was before.

Moreover, the superiority of the branch system over the territorial system has been maintained, since the latter does not command sufficiently effective means to influence economic units in an administrative or economic manner.

The now existing system can be presented in the following way:



The territorial system is still the weakest element, subordinated to the two other elements. One can even suspect that the territorial system is now even more dependent on the branch system than it was before, since as a result of the weakening of the dependence $C \rightarrow E$ limitations in the implementation of the narrow interests of enterprises at the expense of the interests of the other elements have been considerably reduced.

2.4. Determinants of Local Systems: A Normative Prognosis

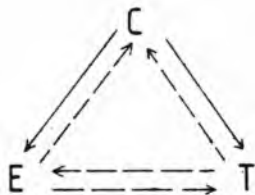
It is almost certain that both the economic situation in the country and the recently adopted systemic solutions and changes in the organizations of the Centre create a rather stable picture of Poland in the years immediately ahead. There are no grounds to presume that the economy could undergo rapid improvement and restructuring. A policy of current reactions to difficulties, a policy of "patching up holes" and of inability to launch bold, unconventional economic undertakings involving considerable social costs, a policy of egalitarianism rather than competition will determine the ways of laborious restoration of the development of Poland.

Secondly, it seems certain that the basic decisions concerning systemic changes (in legal terms) have already been made. There are no reasons to believe that the years immediately ahead, e.g. the next decade, could witness any radical changes in matters of fundamental significance for local systems, such as the system of representative bodies or the organization of the state administration, from the central level down to the basic level. Communal property is not likely to be restored in the next decade, and the necessity to programme the development of the economy (at a low rate of growth, however) will not induce limitations of the strength of enterprises in relation to the territorial system, whose interests, if actualized (e.g. environmental protection, building of social infrastructure, etc.), would inevitably narrow the field of manoeuvre of industrial enterprises. Thus, there are no grounds to prognosticate a strengthening of the territorial system either in relation to the Centre or in relation to the

branch system.

We still are, and will be in the future, quite far from the ideal state, presented in the first scheme. One can even say that from the point of view of the territorial system, the 1980s have brought a certain weakening of the position of this system in relation to the two other partners, since the strength and impunity of the branch system has increased, whereas its real subordination to the Centre has diminished.

If the assessment presented above is correct, the following thesis is likewise correct: since one cannot hope for a considerable strengthening of the system T as a result of an increase of its autonomous strength (through a strengthening of the relations $T \rightarrow C$ and $T \rightarrow E$), the only way to protect the interests of territorial communities against the branch is to channel this protection through the Centre. This thesis leads to the following scheme of dependence:



The system presented in the scheme does not exceed the limits of now permissible institutional and systemic transformations. It does not demand changes in the system, it does not require amendments to the law on people's councils. All the necessary solutions can be introduced by decisions of a lower rank: changes in the regulation concerning the reform, in instruments of development policy (including spacial policy), in current decisions made by the Centre.

The conception presented here, resulting from realistic evaluation of the nearest future and from the thesis about the necessity of strengthening the territorial system in relation to the branch system, assumes an increase of centralization in the branch system and decentralization in the territorial system. In the present situation, this seems to be the only way of counteracting a specific anarchy which

further increases the primacy of the narrowly conceived economic interests over the interests of territorial communities, and in effect over the interests of all society.

2.5. The Lines of Studies on Applications

Any postulates to increase centralization immediately provoke well-understandable protest. Centralization, however, must not in every case be a negative phenomenon. The task of the programme "Local Poland" should be the elaboration of a set of instruments whereby centralization could be made national and beneficial from the point of view of the territorial interests.

The last of the schemes presented indicates what instruments are meant here. It is necessary to propose such legal, institutional, organizational, and economic solutions which would improve and rationalize the Centre's influence on enterprises and units of the territorial system and which would determine the relations between the basic units and voivodships within the territorial system. As can be seen, the programme "Local Poland" cannot be limited to examination of the relations $C \rightarrow T$ and $E \rightarrow T$, but must also cover the relation $C \rightarrow E$ insofar as it is connected with interdependencies between enterprises and territorial systems, especially local systems.

I think that such a definition of the field of study renders precise the aims of the research programme. This field has been extended to include the above-mentioned relation $C \rightarrow E$. On the other hand, it has been considerably narrowed as a result of the adoption of applicatory aims as the leading ones.

2.6. Efficiency: The Supreme Criterion

Despite the collapse of development processes and the failure to provide foundations for a qualitatively new type of development of Poland, efficiency continues to be the loser in the efficiency - equity dilemma. The work on a set of

instruments serving to rationalize the management system, conducted within the framework of the programme "Local Poland", should be based on the principle of primacy of productivity over equality.

However, one should be aware of numerous difficulties and contradictions immediately arising when we attempt to examine all relations between the three elements of the system. These contradictions result from the fact that the criterion of "efficiency" has a different meaning for the system E and for the system T . What is efficient from the point of view of the enterprise may be dramatically inefficient, or even harmful, for the territorial community, and vice versa. It is necessary to examine more closely the potential conflict situations and evaluate them from the viewpoint of social rationality - if such an evaluation is possible. It will also be necessary to attempt to decide, the criterion of which of the systems is to have primary in definite model situations.

I do not even attempt here to elaborate on these difficult problems. I think, however, that we will have to make such attempts in the course of work on "Local Poland" if the results of this work are to have practical value.

3. Interdisciplinary Approach and Difficulties with Definition

The thesis about the necessity of conducting studies on an interdisciplinary basis was the starting point for formulating the methodological conception of the programme "Local Poland". This thesis resulted from the assumption that the rich achievements accomplished to date in studies on local systems did not make it possible to carry out a synthesis and draw comprehensive conclusions on the position and role of local systems in social development processes. The monodisciplinary studies conducted to date do not make it possible to define the relations between social, economic, political, and ecological processes. Nor do they offer the full picture of effects produced in these spheres by the existing systemic and institutional solutions.

One should also emphasize that without a comprehensive

examination of various effects of the instruments and mechanisms of the management system proposed in the previous section, it is not possible to elaborate a rational conception of such proposals.

Hence, the programme "Local Poland", in which a number of disciplines of science are to be involved, should - this seems more important - integrate these disciplines around the key problems.

At this point, there arises a fundamental methodological difficulty. It follows from discussions held to date that the individual disciplines offer entirely different definitions of locality and local systems, or - this is not infrequent, either - have difficulties with precise definition of these concepts.

The ambiguity of the concept of locality results from the fact that various disciplines, in defining the subject of their studies, apply criteria proper to this subject to distinguish local systems from systems of the lower and upper levels. It seems that these criteria can be presented in the following way:

Approach	Subject	Criterion
sociological	local community	social contacts
economic	service market, labour market	self-sufficiency, retail markets, labour markets
politological	power	centrality versus locality
legal	competence	activities of the manage- ment centre
ecological	ecosystems	ecological equilibrium

Two planes can be distinguished here: that which A. Ku-
kliński (1985) calls "manner of viewing" (the politological
approach) and that which, according to the same author, is "a
fragment of the objective reality" (the remaining approaches).
This fact, however, does not constitute the fundamental metho-

dological problem, since the two ways of conceiving local systems are not competitive. Moreover, they are present, though in different proportions, in all monodisciplinary approaches to "Local Poland".

Difficulties arise for a different reason. In the subject approach, each criterion differently delimits the spacial scale of the local system. At least three spacial scales can be distinguish here:

- sub-community scale (village, settlement, small town) - when the criterion pertains to social ties described as local, i.e. ties resulting from "face to face" contacts;
- community scale - when we postulate the existence of a power centre with definite competence;
- supra-community scale - when the local system is distinguished on the basis of limited self-sufficiency in the field of basic services and/or labour resources.

One can believe that both the above-mentioned criteria and their spacial consequences are deeply rooted in the theory and research practice of the individual disciplines and that no discipline will stop delimiting local system in its own way, because it cannot do this.

Differences in defining local systems pose a serious threat to the interdisciplinary character of studies on "Local Poland". The fact that these studies are conducted on various spacial scales may considerably limit the possibilities for integration of both research activity and the results obtained by individual disciplines.

4. Applicatory Aims and the Interdisciplinary Approach

The reflection on the applicatory stratum of the studies on "Local Poland" (section 2) implicitly contained a definition of "Local systems". I have adopted a definition of local systems consistent with their legal conception. The "local system" as an element of the management system is a town or rural community, i.e. the smallest spacial unit which has its own power centre with tasks and competence defined by the law and is equipped with economic foundations of its functioning.

One could risk the thesis that the overcoming of methodological difficulties by individual disciplines in interdisciplinary studies on local systems seems to be the easiest on the basis of application-oriented studies conducted in accordance with the proposals presented in section 2. The adoption of the legal concept of local systems as the basic one does not exclude the possibility of application of other concepts of locality when various effects of the instruments and mechanisms proposed are examined. These effects occur in various fields of socio-economic life and have a different spacial range; their examination should be conducted in accordance with the subject matter of the analysis and the criterion of locality proper to a given discipline.

5. Typology of Towns and Rural Communities in Poland

5.1. Studies on "Local Poland": Fields for Research

The implementation of the programme "Local Poland" obviously demands "field-work", empirical questionnaire surveys, and the collecting of source information on local systems. It is not unimportant where these studies will be conducted, if their results are to provide a theoretical generalization and serve to formulate conclusions concerning applications.

Most generally speaking, the spacial units to be examined must be representative of all "local systems" in Poland. This thesis can be further concretized by identifying local systems with basic units of the territorial division of the country, that is, rural communities and towns. Such a conception of "local systems", despite a number of doubts and objections, is the most proper in view of the following arguments:

1. The statistical data available are the most extensive for towns and rural communities; for smaller units, these data are much more fragmentary.

2. The town and rural community are units-instruments of activity. Most proposals of applications concerning the system of government of society, the economy, and the state, must be addressed to administrative units.

It is necessary to define in more detail the concept of "representativeness". Considering the results of the studies presented here as well as the broader knowledge of spacial systems, representativeness should be understood in two ways:

- functionally,
- geographically.

These two dimensions, which basically differentiate towns and rural communities in Poland, overlap each other, forming a multiplicative typological system (see Gorzelak, 1985). Only some "squares" in the system are empty; in most cases, regional differences "break" functional types, as evidenced by the regional differentiation of spacial units of the same functional type.

Further considerations will be based on the thesis that comparative statistical surveys can greatly contribute to elaborating the typology of towns and rural communities in Poland for the purpose of selection of research fields for studies on "Local Poland". The shape of such surveys is presented in the next section.

5.2. Proposal for a Comparative Survey of Towns and Rural Communities

5.2.1. One Survey or a Set of Surveys?

The first dilemma in projecting a typological survey is connected with the organization of the survey itself. There are two possible ways of procedure:

1. The conducting of one comparative survey and the distinguishing of typological groups solely on this basis.
2. The conducting of a series of typological surveys, with one or (successively) two of the dimensions described above being adopted as the basis primary, external typology.

The first case is in fact identical with studies discussed in this paper, so there is no need to examine it more closely.

The second case is more complicated. Its idea consists in that, on the basis of "external" knowledge, the set of spacial units to be examined is divided into subsets, and comparative statistical analyses are conducted in each subset separately.

For example, one can distinguish towns and rural communities in the individual historical provinces of Poland (Western and Northern Territories, Greater Poland, Little Poland, Mazovia and Eastern Territories) and seek typological groups in these subsystems. A reverse procedure is also sensible: the distinguishing of functional types - although this would be more difficult - and the examining of their internal regional differentiation.

Both ways of procedure have advantages and disadvantages. A single comparative study is more simple and involves much less arbitrary decisions. On the other hand, a "serial" study can offer more unequivocal results, although their objectivity can be questioned because of the arbitrary preliminary typology.

5.2.2. Spatial Units

In a typological study one should adopt the following spatial units:

- towns,
- rural communities,
- towns-rural communities.

Such an approach minimizes the scope of the researchers' arbitrary decisions, for one can assume that towns-rural communities have been established where the ties of a small town - the centre of the rural community - with the countryside are the strongest, where the town is not separated from the countryside, but is functionally linked with it.

5.2.3. The Scope of Variables

The variables used in the survey should encompass all possible aspects of socio-economic development, represented by statistical data available.

Such a broad definition of the preliminary scope of variables does not mean that the stage of reduction of the preliminary list of variables can be omitted. On the contrary, special importance should be attached to this step. The elimination of variables should be based on substantive and formal criteria, and the final list of variable should strictly comply with the requirements of methodological cor-

rectness. One should respect the principle that it is better to have less information, if this information is precise, than more information of doubtful value.

5.2.4. Methods

The set of statistical tools is quite large and well known. Variables should be selected by the correlation-factor method (Gorzalak, 1985).

The preliminary typology of units should be based on multifactor typology, and a precise and unobjectionable interpretation of factors (the main components) is necessary.

The specific typology, within the preliminary types, should be conducted by means of one of the methods of numerical taxonomy. Ward's method seems to be good enough here.

6. Conclusions

It is evident that the concept of the research programme "Local Poland" presented in this paper is not the only possible approach. Moreover, one can probably propose ways, other than application-oriented, of overcoming the methodological problems presented, resulting from the interdisciplinary approach.

The proposals contained here have been presented in the form of brief theses. They are based on intuition rather than a sound research foundation. In spite of this, I think that they deserve being discussed. Their main message is concern for maintaining the integrity and high usefulness of studies to be conducted within the programme "Local Poland and Territorial Self-Government under Conditions of the Reform and Reconstruction of Space Economy".

I also do hope that presenting this thoughts and ideas to the international community of researches dealing with the "local problems" will be helpful for initiating the discussion of research aims and methods, thus promoting further co-operation.

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Bohdan Jałowiecki

AN ATTEMPT AT EVALUATION OF STUDIES ON LOCAL POLAND

Introduction

The task of the research programme "Local Poland and Territorial Self-Government in Conditions of the Reform", which was completed in 1985, was a general study of these problems, a critical analysis of work conducted in this field to date, and an outlining of methodological foundations of future studies. In addition to research work, the important elements of the project included a series of methodological seminars organized by Warsaw University's Institute of Space Economy and two conferences on these problems, at Białeżewek and Nieborów. The conference at Białeżewek assembled several score scholars as well as practitioners, chiefly heads of towns and rural communities from the Poznań voivodship. During the conference, views were exchanged on old and new problems concerning "local Poland", with special emphasis on questions which had arisen in connection with the new law on people's councils and territorial self-government. Questions of the definition of locality and local systems and problems of their delimitation were another important theme of the discussion. At the Nieborów conference, which was attended by a much smaller number of persons, the discussion focused on methodological questions pertaining to the frame of reference for local systems and their relations with the centre; ways of integration of research in view of its multidisciplinary character; questions of systems approaches and scenario methods; problems of applicability of research and of complementarity of macro- and micro-sociological approaches.

The problems raised at the Nieborów conference will be reverted to in a further part of this paper, since the discussion at that conference was founded on research completed earlier and presented in this paper.

1. General Determinants of the Problem "Local Poland"

The interest in the problems of "locality", local systems, or local communities is world-wide and results from the failure of huge development programmes and the appearance of signs of crisis which is of a global character, although its intensity varies from one country to another. The most conspicuous characteristic of this crisis is not so much a decline in rates of economic growth or even the appearance of regression phenomena, as the collapse of the value system existing so far and loss of faith in the automatic character of development, in the dominant ideologies of economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, and macro-scale. The questioning of these ideologies, reflected in the metaphoric expression "small is beautiful", drew the attention of politicians and scholars to the search for alternative roads of development "from below". Such an approach demanded, by the very nature of things, focusing the attention on the problems of "locality" and local systems.

1.1 The Diminishing Importance of "Locality" in Present-Day Industrial Societies

As a result of expansion and improvement of centralized state machinery, development of large economic organizations which monopolize entire sectors of the economy, spread of mass media unify information and cultural patterns, and expansion of ever larger urban agglomeration and urbanized areas - local systems and local communities not only are losing their autonomy, but are increasingly subjected to the pressure of external factors which at times surpass the boundaries of individual states and may even have a world-wide range. Thus, local communities are losing their dynamics and are sometimes melted in anonymous social macro-structures. Since, however, local

systems are an important element of social structure and a support for the central bureaucratic apparatus, whose efficiency demands a certain measure of decentralization and civic activity, we are witnessing the appearance in Western countries of a centrally controlled movement for the development of local communities.

The economic, political, and ideological centre intervenes using a wide range of methods to influence and regulate the functioning of local communities. The French sociologist, P.H.Chombart de Lauwe, lists nine methods of intervention by the central authority in the life of local communities:

- regional development is used as a means of manipulation and imposition of the dominant ideology;

- there exists a constant pressure of the capital upon other big cities, of big cities on medium-sized towns, of medium-sized towns on small towns, and of small towns on rural communities;

- there is a constant intervention in the life of local communities by national and international economic powers (the role of banks in financing investment projects, the role of international monopolies in selling components of municipal infrastructure, the organization of credit, etc.);

- one can observe a constant intervention of the central authorities by means of the administration and state apparatus, a bureaucratic pressure especially conspicuous in the sphere of local finance, town planning, and infrastructure;

- there is a constant expansion of information which reaches details of everyday life and thereby facilitates control of citizens' behaviour;

- mass media play an ever increasing role in the life of local communities thanks to the possibility of manipulating public opinion;

- another factor can be seen in the location of enterprises, in their relations with local communities, and in their direct and indirect intervention in the life of local communities;

- yet another factor of pressure on the part of the centre is the school system and its local character which facilitates transmission of the prevalent models.

1.2. The Myth of Local Democracy

Despite these pressures by the central economic, political, and ideological apparatus upon the life of local communities, the latter continue to be a real element of social structure, an element which functions thanks to evolving defensive mechanisms: assimilation consisting in reorganization of behaviours in connection with directives coming from outside and situations imposed by the centre; and accommodation or adaptation of existing situations to local needs and interests. In addition to these two processes, the myth of local democracy is an important defensive factor - a democracy which is treated as a precious social value even though its scope is diminishing everywhere. What testifies to the vitality of this myth is the recurring demands for restoring or increasing the role of local self-government.

Our conception of local democracy has been shaped by two models. One tradition derives from the status of mediaeval towns, while the other originates from the organization of European colonizers settling the expanse of the North American continent. In the first case, we owe a scientific analysis to the works of Max Weber and in the second case to Alexis de Tocqueville.

The urban community - writes Reinhard Bendix, a commentator of Weber's work - is an autonomous union of local proprietors which was aimed at: peaceful resolving of controversies, administration of justice, monopolization of all economic benefits serving the interests of the town inhabitants, division of the burden of taxes paid to the local ruler, and, finally, the establishment of a military organization to strengthen the political and economic position of the community.

Besides, the urban community was a religious and cultural union. Thus, its main characteristic consisted in a specific social homogeneity, founded on both cultural traits and, above all, the common interests of the town's ruling stratum. For only the propertied had rights, whereas plebeians took almost no part in government and could not elect officials, which was another important characteristic of this form of local

self-government.

The American community, which de Tocqueville analyzed, had a different character, for it was a community of people who were struggling, not for their independence from feudal authority, but against a hostile environment, nature, and people who were being colonized. The American community was a group of people who in principle had common interests, so it could not be very numerous. On the other hand, it had to be numerous enough to make possible the election of good administrators from amongst its members. De Tocqueville cites two to three thousand inhabitants as the optimum number, which also determines the area occupied by the community. For in order for the community to be able to function, a certain frequency of social contacts is necessary.

For Tocqueville, the community is a sort of association which is indigenous to human nature, which - as he says - seems to come directly from God's hands. At the same time, de Tocqueville is aware of the fact that with the progress of civilization the community as a form of human existence is in ever graver danger and self-government is being constantly restricted by the enterprising central government. Unless the freedom of the community is enrooted in customs - he writes - it can be easily destroyed, but it cannot be enrooted in them as long as it is not present in the laws. This is the fundamental dilemma of democracy and, at the same time, a brief definition of contradictions between the centre and "locality". Of course, the two forms of political organization of society presented above were the product of definite historical and geographical conditions. Therefore, they have survived till our times in residual form, retaining, however the character of a vivifying myth.

1.3. Defensive Reactions to Centralism

The omnipotence of the bureaucratic central state apparatus, the unlimited power of big economic organizations, the cultural uniformity imposed by mass media provoke defensive reactions which express themselves, on the one hand, in protest and

revolt and, on the other hand, in searching for identity and initiating undertakings which are not envisaged in the plans defined at the upper levels. Reactions of the first type are frequently repressed or channelled by the authority, whereas reactions of the second type are developing spontaneously, in defiance of, or parallel to, the existing structures.

The afore-mentioned community development movement is one of the ways of preventing violent reactions on the part of citizens whose local interests are threatened and also a way of stimulating initiatives favourable from the point of view of the interests of the establishment. One of the main purposes of this movement is - according to a leading ideologue of the movement, a high-ranking official in the Dutch Ministry for Culture, Recreation, and Social Welfare, G.Hendriks - "democratization of democracy".

This is intended to draw the attention of the population to important (from the point of view of the state) problems of their own community and stimulate actions in favour of development by organizing a network of exchange of information between various organizations, administrative bodies, and citizens. This is also intended to draw the attention of the state apparatus to local initiatives and, possibly, encourage it to extend assistance to these initiatives. The movement centres its activity in areas in which civic actions can produce the best results. These fields of activity include spacial planning, questions of renovation of old buildings, development of social services and infrastructure, actions toward integration of the immigrant population, etc.

The basic factors facilitating mobilization of society include information conveyed by mass media on a global and/or local scale and also discussions with the participation of the authorities and organizations concerned, which lead to the crystallization of various forms of civic activity at the level of designing and execution. The aim of information exchange is, above all, to acquaint inhabitants with the intentions, points of view, and conceptions of the authority, so as to make possible discussion with administrators and planners with a view to ensuring citizens' rational influence

upon decision-making processes on a local scale.

In order that citizens could be properly informed, government reports and projects should be presented in a language understandable to everybody. It is necessary to fix the hours for citizens' consultations with councillors and specialists working for the municipal authorities and ensure the participation of inhabitants who are not councillors in the work of the commissions and other bodies of the municipal council. The local radio and television should report on meetings of the municipal council and its bodies. This whole system, Hendriks stresses, is designed to diminish the distance between the authority and citizens on a local scale.

Initiatives and undertakings within the framework of community development have been the subject of a considerable number of scientific analyses which show that the results were much more modest than expected. Naturally, the movement could not eliminate or even reduce basic contradictions in state monopoly capitalism. However, it has contributed toward enhancing "local consciousness" and led to the implementation of a number of projects. It appears that a careful analysis of these cases can provide valuable comparative material for studies on "local Poland".

The formalization and bureaucratization of the system of local democracy, which diminishes the real influence of citizens on their own life and the life of their community, have led in all West European countries to a steady decrease in turnout during elections to self-government bodies. This turnout now as a rule does not exceed 50 per cent. The same applies to participation in social consultations. In Switzerland, for example, participation in cantonal referendums rarely surpasses a half of the number of voters. This procedure, which Dan Bernfeld describes as the most democratic of all, is in deep crisis. According to Bernfeld, the erosion of local democracy, both in Switzerland and other Western countries, has been caused by a deep distrust evinced by citizens toward their own representatives and their decisions, which in most cases are made without real participation of those interested, and frequently in deep secrecy, and also by the population's

lack of interest in the administration of the daily affairs of the community.

Recognizing the existing institutional channels as impassable, citizens take up a number of spontaneous actions within the law, or even outside it, forming ad hoc groups in order to force some action on the part of the state or local authorities, or, on the contrary, prevent such an action. Actions by these spontaneous groups concerning a concrete problem as well as the broader political standpoints of some local movements point to the inadequacy of the traditional forms of representative democracy and their helplessness vis-a-vis the complicated problems of local communities today.

In 1978, on Dan Brenfeld's initiative, the International Centre for Documentation, Research, and Dissemination of Visual Arts for Educational Purposes (CIEDART) published four volumes containing 220 documentation cards on various initiatives of spontaneous groups. The scope of these initiatives is impressive: from designing and building housing estates, through explanation of town plans, programmes of renovation of old town districts, establishment of kindergartens, to protest actions in defence of the environment, against expansion of air-fields, building of roads in the mountains or forest areas, etc.

Examination of these documentation cards concerning actions in several countries: the FRG, France, Italy, and Switzerland, convincingly shows the importance of these spontaneous actions, which are the only possible way for people who want to co-create their residential environment in the bureaucratic world of technocratic organizations. Civic initiative and enterprise in defence of even the smallest of minorities, threatened by both the majority and the groups dominant in society, seem to afford some possibilities for reassessment of the forms of self-government existing so far.

Despite the great diversity of actions by these spontaneous groups, there exists a certain common mechanism of taking up initiatives. An initiative group, usually composed of several persons, attempts to attract the attention of the public through information conveyed by the press, radio, and television, in leaflets, and at meetings. This initial step mobilizes those

interested, who, depending on the type of action, number from several score to several thousand persons. Such a group attempts to achieve the assumed objective through propaganda campaigns, pressure on the authority, its own activity, and at times show of force. The most important characteristics of this activity include its informal character, for as a rule initiative arises outside the existing associations, and opposition to representative bodies, unable to resolve the problem.

Similar phenomena occur also in Poland. However, nothing can be said about their scope, since nobody records or investigates them. Mass media are the only source of information on this subject. It follows from various reports that spontaneous actions in Poland include movement for the establishment and in defence of allotments, associations for the building of one-family houses, establishment of private kindergartens, and also foundation of associations for land improvement. There are also cases of protest actions, as, for example, the digging of a ditch across a street to halt motor traffic which was a nuisance to the residents. All these actions are doubtless of a local and largely spontaneous character. Their documentation and analysis should be one of the tasks of the research programme "Local Poland".

2. Local Systems: Relations and Frames of Reference

The question of delimitation of local systems was an important topic of discussion in both Błazejewek and Nieborów. It has been agreed that the local system is a certain territory controlled by a community which is united by a sense of identity and in which the needs of everyday life are satisfied. In other words, the local system is a rural community or a small town. It has been pointed out, however, that in some cases the administrative boundaries may cross various local systems or comprise areas larger than a rural community. Therefore, some studies should not be influenced by the existing administrative boundaries. Nevertheless, the rural community, an element of the territorial division for which statistical data are

available, must be the basic research unit. Another postulate concerned the elaboration of a typology of rural communities which would provide the basis for choosing territories to be studied. It was stressed, however, that there existed serious shortcomings in statistics and difficulties in elaborating a typology in accordance with criteria important for various research teams.

One should stress in this context the existence of an information barrier to research. This barrier is of a dual character. On the one hand, appropriate offices do not collect local statistical data, below the voivodship level and in some cases the level of the town. On the other hand, in field surveys one may encounter serious difficulties in gaining access to some information. It therefore appears that the standard techniques of a poll or an interview with a questionnaire are not sufficient. A more thorough penetration of the community will be needed in some cases, especially when surveys will embrace e.g. the informal sector of the economy. It is understandable that the obtaining of the indispensable information will be very difficult in such cases without a closer acquaintance with the community.

Studies on local systems demand defining frames of reference and discovering essential relations with the central system. Problems of macro-structural determinants were an important subject of discussion in Nieborów, both between representatives of different branches of science and between representatives of the same branches. In this paper, only the most general controversies over the centre-locality relations will be presented.

The first of the schemes of relations presented (G.Gorze-lak) is limited to three elements: centre - enterprise - territory (local system). According to the author, this triangle comprises the basic elements and relations determining the field of research, and the changing character of relations makes possible dynamic approaches. It appears, however, that this scheme, which correctly reflects relations in the field

of organization and management, is far insufficient for the explanation of the social dynamics of local systems. Besides, local systems cannot be treated as indivisible wholes.

The second scheme presented proposed decomposition of the individual systems: central, local, and sublocal, into a number of interrelated and interacting elements.

The influence of the central system takes the form of norms, orders, directives, and instructions issued by the political, administrative-legal, economic, and ideological authorities. Thus, these authorities determine the frames of reference for local systems and the possibilities of their functioning.

The local system consists of three basic elements: the authorities, enterprises, and institutions which form the power elite and pressure group characteristic of the given local system. The functioning of the system is modified by the local subsystem, which consists of neighbourhood groups, interest groups, society and cultural circles, and finally families (cf. the papers of K.Herbst and W.Siemieński, and of W.Piotrowski and collaborators).

The main research problems in the local subsystem include: living conditions and way of life, life-style, ways of articulation of interests and their actualization, and a sense of group identity.

In the local system, the focal problems include: manner of exercise of authority, channels of articulation of local interests (interests of the whole community), authority-enterprise relations, and questions of integration.

In this context, it seems worth while to cite briefly the methodological conceptions of M.Castells. Paraphrasing his definition of the town, one can say that the local system is a living system generated, transformed, and experienced by the people. Spatial forms and functions are generated and utilized in the process of interaction between space and society, that is to say, through historically shaped relations of consciousness, matter, energy, and information.

The social dynamics of local systems has its source in systems of values, interests, institutions, and space which express themselves in social postures and reflect behaviours

of various kinds. The town (local system), Castells says, is a social product shaped as a result of a conflict of interests and social values. Since - according to Castells - the dominant social interests are institutionalized and resistant to change, most social innovations in roles, meanings, and structures may stem from basic needs and social mobilization as a result of their verbalization. When this mobilization causes structural transformations, one can speak of social movements. However, the process of social change cannot be reduced to effects produced at the given place by successive social movements. Thus, the theory of transformation must also take into account transformations resulting from the influence of the dominant interests, from resistance and challenge to this domination.

Although class and strata relations are fundamental for understanding the process of local conflict, this does not mean, however, that they are the only, or even the most important, source of social transformations. One should also take into account other sources of these changes: the autonomous role of the state, relations between generations, ethnic movements, and also spontaneous movements of members of individual communities.

Castells mentions three main problems over which local conflicts arise: collective consumption, i.e. goods and services offered directly or indirectly by the state; cultural identity connected with a specific territory; and political autonomy, or the scope and role of local authority.

In order to explain relations between the local system and social change, one should consider: new relations between production and consumption, especially revindications connected with conditions of everyday life; the role of territoriality in the definition of cultural identity and symbolic meanings; the force of human actions in favour of transformation of relations between the state and society which demands a right to subjectivity, self-government, and local autonomy.

The problems presented above are of key significance for the integration of multidisciplinary studies within the programme "Local Poland". Therefore, they should be the subject of further discussions which would lead to the adoption of

common frames of reference and the defining of basic types of relations. For only the attainment of a minimum theoretical and methodological conformity can provide the basis for developing studies from various perspectives.

3. "Local Poland": Research Perspectives

3.1. Sociological Perspective

B.Misztal, in his work presenting a conception of the studies, says that there exist two ways of looking at "local Poland" from sociological perspective. The first consists in studying the specific course of global social phenomena in a given territory, whereas the second consists in studying global social phenomena from the point of view of individual communities.

The aim of the studies conducted by Misztal's team was to discover differences in social behaviour in a local and global dimension, resulting from holding positions which give unequal access to socially desired goods. The main research tool was an extensive questionnaire containing several score questions, the overwhelming part of which concerned macro-social determinants and only few concerned local factors which modify the picture of social structure. We know, however, that the latter factors play an essential role among the basic determinants of the social position, such as income, education, prestige, and power. A scrutiny of the questionnaire, perfect as it is in formal terms, which, however, almost entirely omits the locality factor, raises doubts as to whether such a tool can serve to study the specific course of global social phenomena in a given territory.

Misztal's team seems to lay excessive emphasis on macro-sociological factors. The same applies to the second way of studying "local Poland", which consists in examining global social phenomena from the point of view of individual communities. It appears that the research programme in question aims, first of all, at examining local phenomena and local social dynamics, which, of course, are determined by definite macro-

structural factors, but which have their specificity. It seems, therefore, that both the problems of research and the research tools presented by Misztal's team require further conceptual work. Also the choice of the locality and sample demands reconsideration, for the selection of Zduńska Wola for pilot studies seems rather accidental.

An entirely different approach is represented by B. Jałowiecki's team, which adopted the general methodological assumption elaborated on the ground of the so-called territorial monographs of local communities. What characterizes this approach is the treating of the local system as an integral whole, identification of the so-called focal problems typical of a given community, and concentration of attention on these problems. In the 1985 research, in addition to defining general and specific methodological assumptions, a research reconnaissance was conducted in previously selected six localities with a view to identifying the main problems. The localities were chosen according to criteria of complexity of the system and socio-economic characteristics. The following six localities were selected for pilot studies:

- Puławy, a town of socialist industrialization, characterized by the domination of a large industrial plant. Prior to the period of intensive industrialization, Puławy was an important scientific and cultural centre on a supra-local scale, a centre which could boast rich historical traditions. Puławy's important problems include functional and social integration and the development of an urban community of a new type.

- Poddebice, a town with balanced functions which has lost its previous political-administrative functions of a district capital. One can observe in the town interesting social processes aimed at preservation of Poddebice's former functions in the micro-region despite the loss of its formal position.

- Szczyrk, a huge winter sport centre characterized by coexistence of two independent economic and social systems, one of which is connected with the traditional local economy and the other with the modern tourist and recreation sector functioning on the principle of an extraterritorial enclave, as

it were. It is also worth stressing that the two systems are functioning in separate areas.

- Sobótka, a suburban rural community in the vicinity of Wrocław, where summer cottages are quickly spreading. The number of these cottages and the periodical immigration of urban population is changing the character of the community and the previously existing social relations.

- Drobin, a village in the Płock voivodship, with prevalence of individual farms. It is characterized by poor trade, educational, and cultural infrastructure and specific cultural traits of the population.

- Stęszew, a rural community in the Poznań voivodship, where the state and private sectors of agriculture coexist. The everyday needs of inhabitants of the rural part of the community are satisfied in the town of Stęszew. Differences of interests and conflicts arising in this context offer interesting opportunities for observing a local system of this type.

The research reconnaissance, on the one hand, confirmed the correctness of the choice of localities to be surveyed, but, on the other hand, it showed that some alterations are needed in order to widen the range of examples, even at the expense of a certain limitation of the scope of problems to be researched.

The sociological perspective is complemented by a culture-oriented approach which is represented by three surveys. The first, by M.Stalski, contains inter alia a description, analysis, and presentation of the results of the so-called second Nowy Sącz experiment, aimed at a cultural activation of the region. Although the experiment encompassed a larger area, its roots were of a distinctly local character. The second work, by I.Poniatowska, deals with local centres of music culture. The third presents Nieborów as a local and national cultural centre. The author of this interesting study, W.Piwowski, shows how this unique cultural monument is becoming a part, not only of tradition, but also of the everyday life of the inhabitants of the village, for whom the Radziwiłł palace is not only a symbolic site, but also a place of day-

to-day activity.

Studies of this type doubtless should be continued and expanded. Of interest would be e.g. an analysis of the functions and role of local cultural societies and also local holidays and folk festivals which are an important instrument of activation of local communities and sometimes even take a national and international dimension. as. for example, the event known as "Week of Beskid Culture".

3.2. Political-Science Perspective

Within the framework of this perspective, a very interesting programme of studies on the socio-political system of the rural community was elaborated in 1985. The project, conducted by J.P.Gieorgica, is one of the most valuable concepts of examination of this aspect of "local Poland". The aim of these studies is to present a dynamic description of the manner of exercise of authority and of functioning of self-government in the rural community, from the point of view of the processes of political decision making. Such a conception results from the theoretical model of political decision-making processes which has been elaborated for a number of years and which the author wants to verify on the basis of empirical studies. Gieorgica presents a very pertinent research model which corresponds to the approaches proposed by Jałowiecki's team. This is a fortunate situation, as it makes possible a close linking of the two groups of studies.

The model presents the following independent variables: the ecological conditions of the rural community and its inhabitants, demographic, economic, and political structures, institutions and organizations of local authority, and the community's ties with organizational units at the upper levels. The integrating variables include: the formation of group interests and articulation of these interests, which are influenced by such factors as value system, socio-political consciousness, cultural and political tradition. The manner of political decision making is a dependent variable.

The author also proposes a wide range of research techniques

and a set of research tools. The latter, however, prior to their application, should be thoroughly discussed, also from the point of view of the interests of other research groups, for the introduction of some additional questions may considerably widen the scope of information obtained.

Among political-scientific works, mention is due to two interesting articles presenting some results of studies conducted by Warsaw University's Institute of Social Policy. Both have been authored by T. Żukowski and concern the sphere of work, in conjunction with activeness in the local community, and cooperation of the local authority with economic organizations in meeting local social needs.

Worth quoting here are several conclusions concerning the problems in hand, which constitute an important research area of the programme "Local Poland". Żukowski says that the forms of integration are chiefly based on an informal exchange of services between the principal units in the community: enterprises belonging to vertical branch structures and municipal political institutions which are seeking to increase the cohesion of the community. The interests of economic structures are privileged also in everyday relations of the local authority with enterprises. This consists in preferences in the distribution of goods controlled by the local authority (flats, admission to nurseries and kindergartens, etc.). Institutions of social activeness are controlled by the part of the power apparatus which administers a given field of life (trade unions and workers' self-management in enterprises - by the management of enterprises, territorial self-government - by the local authorities). The relations between various institutions of social activeness are the result of a play between the economic, state, and party apparatus. Striving for a better use of the resources of enterprises, the local authorities are seeking instruments of influencing enterprises. Workers' organizations can be one of such instruments. Enterprises defend themselves against outside interference by isolating institutions of social activeness. To both sides (enterprises and the local authority), however, institutions of social activeness are of secondary importance. What is

more important is informal bargaining without the participation of institutions of social activeness. The rivalling sides are not interested (and here their interests are convergent) in that social organizations achieve a greater dynamics and, in effect, autonomy. They are afraid that a potentially strong partner might come into play, which might infringe the existing order in the community and enterprises and alter the rules of behaviour. Therefore, both enterprises and the local authority are trying to block institutions of social activeness, especially as regards cooperation between them. Żukowski's remarks, presented here very briefly, are very important and ought to be verified more closely.

The works of J.P.Gieorgica and T.Żukowski discussed above deserve a high appraisal, something which, regrettably, cannot be said about other research projects, which either represent a low standard or deal with subject matter considerably departing from the assumptions of the programme "Local Poland".

3.3..Legal-Institutional Perspective

The materials elaborated by the group dealing with legal-institutional questions are devoted to an analysis of legal determinants of the functioning of local organs of state power and territorial self-government. K.Sobczak discusses the position of people's councils and local organs of state administration within the state apparatus, and S.Piątek examines the possibility of implementation by local industry enterprises of the tasks of people's councils. Two successive works concern territorial planning as an instrument of regional policy (W.Szpringer) and the role of the local authority in the light of the law on spacial planning (M.Kulesza). The last work is of a slightly different character. Z.Niewiadomski examines the legal status of social consultations and proposes many changes and improvements in this institution. Altogether, this group of studies, as a set of preliminary analyses, is doubtless useful. In the future, however, it will be necessary to conduct two types of studies. Studies of the first type should consist in analyzing individual laws, implementing

decrees, and other legal acts of the lower order from the point of view of the correctness of law making. Studies of the other type should analyze the functioning of pertinent legal acts in practice, especially as regards the failure of the local authority and economic organizations to exploit the possibilities afforded by the law.

3.4. Economic Perspective

The team on economic questions, led by B. Gruchman, elaborated an interesting study entitled "Technical Progress and the Local Economy As Exemplified by Poznań". The aim of the study was to search for local determinants of innovation. Unfortunately, the short period of research and the limited means did not permit to accomplish this objective in full. It seems, too, that the research approach adopted by the authors was not very fortunate: enterprises were chosen according to branches rather than territory. The adoption of the latter criterion might have produced better results, since, as we know, the Polish territory is greatly differentiated in terms of technical culture. J. Ziółkowski, who once studied the processes of industrialization of Poznań, cites a significant fact: the starting period of two simultaneously build factories, in Poznań and in the Lublin region, was entirely different. In Poznań it was much shorter and there were no major disturbances. In the Lublin region it lasted much longer and there were serious disturbances in production. It appears that if one compared e.g. innovation in various regions of Poland, it would be easier to reveal local factors of technical progress.

However, studies of this type ought to be continued, irrespective of other problems, such as e.g. local commodity and service markets, local labour markets, local determinants of the work of the private sector, which is greatly differentiated even within voivodships. It is also necessary to take up an economic analysis of the informal sector of exchange and services.

3.5. Ecological Perspective

The study conducted by the ecological team, lead by A. Riechling, departs from the subject matter of the programme "Local Poland". R. Andrzejewski, a reviewer of the study, writes that "the method of distinguishing landscape micro-regions adopted by the authors is inadequate to the problem posed (...) What serves as the basis for distinguishing micro-regions is a geomorphological-geological description along with a rough description of the use of land, and the dynamics of change in this description takes place at time 0 on the geological scale. Without denying that the geomorphological-geological substratum determines to a definite extent the ecological state of nature, one should stress that changes in nature occur much faster, and if they are influenced by human activity - "under our eyes". Thus, it is not on a geomorphological-geological basis that one should seek description and delimitation of landscape, but on the basis of the dynamics of ecological phenomena occurring in it. Cooperation of ecologists with spacial planners shows that such descriptions are effective for evaluation of the local situation, and despite all limitations resulting from the state of knowledge, it is in this direction, I think, that one should seek solutions to the problems posed".

In accordance with Andrzejewski's suggestions, cooperation between physical geographers and ecologists should consist in evaluating changes in the environment under the influence of human activity on a scale not larger than that of the rural community. What is meant here is, of course, an area, and not an administrative unit, with the possibility of some spacial expansion, depending on the type of threat. Using only an example, it would be interesting and important to know whether, and to what extent, the capacity of the geographical environment has been exceeded in mountain and maritime regions as a result of tourist traffic and what consequences such an exceeding may have. It is evident that various threats to the environment occur on a scale much larger than the local one. Nevertheless, they sometimes assume a dramatic dimension on

a local scale, as demonstrated e.g. by studies conducted by A.Biela's team in the areas of Puławy and Głogów.

3.6. Systems-Scenario Perspective

The author of the study, S.M.Komorowski, writes that "the only known method of description of the behaviour of compound systems - and with such systems we are concerned in the study in question - is the method of building ("writing") scenarios - the so-called scenario analysis based on the so-called systems approach. It is effected in two stages: diagnostic analysis and prognostic analysis, since the future is a continuation of the past, but never its repetition".

While agreeing with the author that the scenario method is, in some cases, very useful, one cannot agree that it is the only known method of description of the behaviour of compound systems. Sociologists, political scientists, or geographers have for many years described - with good effects - the behaviour of compound systems without using the scenario method.

One could put this differently: this method - as emphasized by participants in the Nieborów conference - may provide the basis for integration of multidisciplinary studies on condition that common assumptions, acceptable to all disciplines, are first defined.

"The first question", Komorowski writes, "is to define more precisely the subject of the study" which "may be only the rural community or its multiple - a group of rural communities. This is, however, a definition as imprecise as the term "local Poland" used in the title of the project. One must not repeat the chronically committed error of addressing studies to a "region" as a materially understood area instead of addressing them to the community inhabiting a region". The author follows Mesarovič in assuming that this community can be treated as a system, or rather a subsystem of the system which is the whole society.

A serious controversy between the author and every sociologist, and also representatives of related disciplines, arises when he defines the local community as a set to "which every-

thing beneath and above the surface of the lithosphere belongs". The local community has since long had a fixed definition in social sciences. In a narrow sense, it means the set of people inhabiting a definite territory which are interlinked by a dense network of social contacts of the "face to face" type. In a broader meaning, this term is used to denote the set of people inhabiting a definite area. Consequently, neither the natural environment nor even the anthropogenic environment is a part of the local community, because they constitute its surroundings, the frame of the social world. The treating of people and everything beneath and above the lithosphere as a system is unacceptable from both an ontological and methodological point of view. The social system is entirely different from the natural system, which always constitutes the surroundings of the former.

In a further part of the study, the author proposes criteria of decomposition of communities according to the incomes of the population, dividing it into two groups: people earning a living in agriculture and outside agriculture, and also according to the place of residence: in town and in the countryside. These are criteria of classification rather than decomposition, since the local community can be decomposed into smaller social groups: families, interest groups, society circles, and institutions.

These few polemical remarks point to far-reaching differences in the approach to questions under consideration, differences which by no means are limited to terminological problems, although the conventions adopted in this respect should, as it seems, be respected in order to be able to communicate.

Notwithstanding these remarks, however, it appears that Komorowski's proposals deserve attention, even though they require further discussions, if, of course, this approach is to be a tool of integration of studies on "local Poland". What is indisputable is the author's proposal to conduct preliminary studies with a view to elaborating a typology of rural communities and thereby delimiting "testing grounds" for studies on "local Poland". It is very important, however,

that appropriate criteria be worked out. This end should be served by a special conference devoted to these problems.

I would also include in this research perspective the theoretical-methodological study by A.Sopoćko's team entitled "Local Initiatives and Experiments - Selected Problems". The authors have worked out principles of organizing and conducting social experiments, proposing, at the same time, a catalogue of indispensable methodological rules.

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It follows from this brief review that various theoretical standpoints, different approaches, and specific languages have been presented within the framework of the individual research perspectives. Integration of these multidisciplinary studies will be difficult. On the basis of experience to date, especially the work of A.Kukliński's team dealing with a diagnosis of the state of the spacial economy in Poland, the following solutions could be proposed:

- there is need for a rapid exchange of information on studies between the individual teams; this can be achieved through publication of information not only after completion of the studies, but also when they are still under way;
- it is necessary to hold frequent methodological and theoretical conferences for the purpose of unifying the way of thinking of all participants in the research programme;
- it is likewise necessary to strengthen the role of the coordinating team and of the manager of the project in the field of observance of jointly adopted research assumptions and discipline of the studies, which must concentrate on predetermined problems;
- the participants in the programme (participation in the programme is entirely voluntary) should be associated on the principle of common views on problems under study and a common way of thinking.

3.7. Miscellany

Concluding the review of works completed in 1985, one should mention a valuable study by A. Turska, B. Łojko, and W. Staśkiewicz, which offer an extensive review of writings on collective local actions. The study deals with problems in the field of general sociology, the sociology of law, and political science and can serve as material for reflection for all research teams, since it tackles important problems of "local Poland".

M. Najgrakowski's work "Studies on Local Regions" is very precious from another points of view. On the basis of criteria of accessibility, the author has delimited local regions and gravity centres of definite areas. The study is worth being continued, as for the time being it covers only a part of the voivodships. It appears that Najgrakowski's work, useful as it is as material for the typology of rural communities, can also serve as the basis for delimiting for research purposes areas larger than the rural community.

Conclusion

The studies completed in 1985 within the programme "Local Poland" have offered a vast field for further research. They have, in particular:

- led to defining the subject of studies and the principles of delimitation of local systems;
- made possible a review of problems on the basis of both studies on earlier writings and research reconnaissances in the field;
- contributed in large measure toward identification of the problems of "local Poland";
- offered a number of proposals of theoretical and methodological studies, and at times ready, mature research programmes. One can mention here such proposals as: the systems-scenario approach, the proposal of examination of local systems in conjunction with the central and sublocal systems, the programme of studies on the political system of rural communities;

- led to the cristallization of researchers' views, revealed the existing controversies, misunderstandings, and common standpoints. Especially the discussion in Nieborów made possible progress in the elaboration of an interdisciplinary approach in studies on "local Poland";

- contributed to the consolidation of research teams and, at the same time, made possible elimination of proposals which proved to be immature or which did not fit the assumptions of the programme.

Altogether, the experience of 1985 has created a good basis for continuation of the five-year studies on "local Poland".

Stanisław M. Komorowski

LOCAL COMMUNITY AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY
A METHODOLOGICAL PROPOSAL¹

Around the middle of 1984, Prof. A. Kukliński² initiated a discussion of the problems of "Local Poland", above all on the role played by local communities in the development of the social system. The discussion has led to the formulation of a concrete research subject which is to be studied in the years 1986-1990. The discussion lasted throughout the academic year 1984/1985 and took the form of weekly seminars, conferences, and discussions, both formal and informal, at Warsaw University's Institute of Space Economy. The crowning of the discussion was a conference at Błażejewek near Poznań on May 28-30, 1985.

On the one hand, the discussion confirmed not only the advisability and importance, but also the urgency of taking up the above-mentioned subject; on the other hand, it revealed a number of very serious difficulties of a diverse nature, posed by the studies in question.

These difficulties result, above all, from the inadequate knowledge, the neglect of a subject which for a very long time remained outside the scope of organized interest of science. This was connected with lack of interest in the subject on the part of the state administration. The pejorative, though unfortunately true, name, "Poland B", dated from the period between the two world wars and had an intuitive content rather than a content based on results of an objective scientific analysis. The postwar tendency toward limiting the interest to macro-problems played an essential role here, and the once advanced idea of "activation of backward regions" expressed

itself in ostensible actions on a small scale. Attempts at analysis of economic problems - to say nothing of social ones - at the rural community level encountered "information vacuum" difficult to overcome³. This state of affairs urges studies on the subject in question, but at the same time foreshadows very serious difficulties, above all in the field of information.

Difficulties of another type are connected with the problem of, not so much definition, as delimitation of the subject of studies. A. Kukliński⁴ was right when he proposed in one of his notes an interpretation of the subject of studies as "a certain fragment of objective reality described as local...". He went on to explain "that local systems function on a spacial scale above the rural community level and below the voivodship level, and thus - in great approximation - the scale of former districts". One should note, however, that in an extreme case one rural community can be the subject of study. Another pertinent proposal refers to systems which are "...purposeful unions of rural communities", although in the present reality it is difficult to speak of their existence.

Also other remarks contained in this point (point II) of Prof. Kukliński's note are correct, except the proposal that the studies should concern a situation "closed on a local scale in terms of balance or decisions". This proposal is unacceptable because the systems in question are by their nature "open" and must remain such if they are to develop. This is connected with departure from the state of equilibrium, the search for which is a feature characteristic of every process of development.

All this, however, does not resolve the problem of formal delimitation of the "local" subject of study. The discussion mentioned above has shown that the views of participants in a future research project are very differentiated. Some attach special importance to making an appropriate decision in this matter, while others seem to care little about resolving this problem. It appears that this is the outcome of ignoring not only the interdisciplinary character of the planned studies, but also the comparability of their results. This results from the content and construction of the model of the problem.

Despite various considerations of both a theoretical and practical nature favouring a more rational delimitation of basic spacial units than the now existing rural communities, considerations of an informational nature seem to determine the necessity of accepting the present delimitation of communities, that is, the necessity of orienting studies at rural communities or groups of communities (in reference to the afore-mentioned "purposeful unions of rural communities"). Nevertheless, it is necessary to take up - within the framework of the problem - separate comprehensive studies aimed at defining possibly correct and scientifically justified principles of delimitation of rural communities, taking into consideration possible long-term changes, so that they do not cause too frequent changes of the boundaries of rural communities. Within this framework, it is necessary to examine the question of the size of rural communities, since there are many indications that the communities are too big⁵.

In addition to premises of an informational nature, there is the important fact that the present delimitation of basic units implies a definite structure and organization of the administration system. The functioning of this system is of fundamental significance for development processes. The system may effectively block the development of a "local system", i.e. the community inhabiting a given basic unit; however, it may also stimulate, or even dynamize, its development. Naturally, this depends not only on the "local" part of the administration system, but also on its upper rungs, including the "Centre", which determines the social policy of the entire system, and thus also its specific policies.

The ultimate goal of the research project is to show lines and ways of activating local communities, to release their "dormant potential", so as to extract them from stagnation and dynamize the development processes in the whole social system, namely Poland.

Such a goal is defined as the general goal of the study by the model of the research problem, which refers to "examining the functioning of local systems", to "defining the lines of improvement of satisfaction of local needs ... mechanisms

and instruments of administration", and, generally speaking, to "activation of local systems". This, however, does not find reflection in the detailed part - neither in "cognitive aims" nor in "utilitarian aims", which lack any attempts at a comprehensive (applicatory) resolution of the problem. This is confirmed by the detailed list of topics, which proposes many interesting and important contributory analyses, but which does not provide for using these analyses for a comprehensive analysis of the problem, and thus also for formulating proposals of applications. The author of this paper is afraid that in the course of elaboration of the model the aim of the study in question was lost sight of.

To this end, however, it is necessary to know the manner of behaviour of the community of the basic unit. It depends, on the one hand, on characteristics of the basic unit as such. These characteristics may substantially differ in many respects. Some common characteristics may occur to a varying degree and with varying intensity, others will be proper only to some basic units, while still others may characterize only one unit. Naturally, these differences express themselves not only in behaviour, but also in the mode of functioning of basic units, and thus in their structure and organization, which change in time.

On the other hand, behaviour is dependent on conditions determined by:

- the social contract in force,
- the ecological characteristics of the area and its surroundings and determinants connected with the utilization of natural resources,
- the relationship between the unit and the whole ("rest") of the social system⁶, including the unit's participation in the division of labour,
- the policy pursued by the "Centre"⁷,
- the social pressure.

One should add that these conditions also change in time; only ecological determinants⁸ are relatively stable.

It follows therefrom that the examination of basic units must consist in defining principles governing their behaviour,

including their ability to adapt to changing conditions in which they fulfil their functions of aim.

The only known method of description of the behaviour of compound systems - and such systems are under examination in the study in question - is a method of building ("writing") scenarios, the so-called scenario analysis founded on the systems approach. The method consists of two phases: diagnostic analysis and prognostic analysis, since the future is a continuation of the past, but never a repetition of the past.

There is no need to present here the methods of scenario analysis, that is, the conducting of analytical work leading to the building of scenarios, methods founded on the systems approach, i.e. on the general systems theory and cybernetics, which are applied in the analysis of the structure, organization, and functioning of social systems; these methods have already been described by other authors.⁹

Proceeding from the assumption that the reader is familiar with the method of scenario analysis, and implicitly with the systems approach, it is necessary, however, to discuss a number of problems that will arise in the application of this method in the analysis of basic organizational units of local administration, i.e. rural communities.

The first problem consists in defining more specifically the subject of studies. It has been concluded at the outset of this paper that only the rural community, or a group of communities, may be the subject of study. This is, however, as imprecise a definition as the term "local Poland" used in the title of the problem. What is important here is not to repeat a frequent error which consists in addressing the studies to a "region", conceived of as a territory, instead of addressing them to the community inhabiting a region.

This community - called in this context local community - may be considered as a system, in accordance with M. Mesarovic's definition¹⁰.

In this sense, the people inhabiting a rural community are a part (subsystem) of the whole society (in this case, the Polish society), a part which from a formal point of view

is a product of decomposition of the social system according to the criterion of territorial competence of the local administration - the office of head of the rural community.

There is a large measure of conventionality here, since factors of primary importance for defining basic units of local administration include social structure and its ties with the territory it occupies. This conventionality is justified inasmuch as the delimitation of basic units was correct. The correctness of this delimitation requires - as stated earlier - a separate examination. In the study in question, the correctness of delimitation should be presupposed at the outset, and the study will show incorrectness in individual cases.

A related question is the content of a set defined as local community (social subsystem). This set comprises all that which is situated in the territory delimited by the boundaries of the rural community, beneath and above the surface of the lithosphere. A detailed presentation of this question can be found in the author's work quoted before¹¹.

The question may arise of whether a social subsystem thus defined and delimited (as the subject of study) is - as a basic unit ("local system") - indivisible; of whether it is subject - for example, for research purposes - to further decomposition. The answer is a positive one: this can be, and even will be, indispensable for research purposes.

But here, too, it is important to avoid an error frequently committed in the past, consisting in the wrong identification of criteria of decomposition with aspects characterizing the system or subsystem under examination¹². It is necessary that the products of decomposition should be systems conforming to the requirement of Mesarovic's criterion. Interrelations can exist only between such subsystems (objects).

Nevertheless, the system "local community" can be decomposed according to various criteria, depending on the purpose which this decomposition is to serve, decomposition whose products are subsystems according to Mesarovic's criterion. Such decomposition most frequently serves either research purposes or purposes connected with organizing the implementation of the tasks of the subsystem by its administration system. The forms

of this decomposition vary greatly, depending on the type of criteria applied. It should be remembered that this decomposition must be complete ("division without a remainder").

Typical of the needs of the administration is decomposition of the system according to the functional criterion, e.g. into subsystems: a settlement subsystem (satisfaction of social needs), an economic subsystem¹³ (provision of energy and materials), and an environmental subsystem. This decomposition is also of essential importance for some analytical purposes, but it can hardly be subjected to primary analysis of the manner of the system's behaviour, since it investigates interactions between three, four, or a larger number of elements whose behaviour is unknown yet. Hence, more adequate to primary analysis are forms of decomposition which lead to investigation of interactions between selected (essential) pairs of objects. It should be remembered that the system under examination exists and is linked with its environment (the "rest" of the social system) by various relations which have to be taken into consideration in examining interactions between pairs of objects mentioned above. Naturally, we resort here to the conception of a "relatively isolated system" proposed by H.Greniewski¹⁴.

The choice of criteria of such decomposition is of key significance in scenario analysis. We refer here to criteria in the plural, since as a rule at least two decompositions are applied, according to different criteria, which makes possible crucial verification of research results obtained, using the products of each of these decompositions.

Experience, especially French experience, shows that it is expedient to adopt two criteria of decomposition of communities, namely:

1. according to source of income of the population - into community deriving income from agriculture and community deriving income from non-agricultural activity, and
2. according to place of residence - into urban community and rural community¹⁵.

These decompositions have been tested in practice and proved applicable and useful, and ensure good research results.

Therefore, one should suggest the use of these decompositions also in the study in question.

Naturally, the use of these decompositions in an analysis leading to the elaboration of a scenario does not exclude the application of other criteria of decomposition for the needs of a number of auxiliary analyses which will have to fill cognitive and informative gaps whose scope and scale are difficult to appraise in the present phase.

The "history" of rural communities in People's Poland is - because of constant changes in the territorial organization of the country - only ten years old (we can speak of a relative stabilization only since 1975). This makes difficult the defining of principles governing the behaviour of rural community systems, even if analysis is founded on annual synchronic "cross-sections"¹⁶ which are next set together in a diachronic sequence. Nota bene, the past ten years have also witnessed essential changes in the manner of functioning of the local administration, and this whole period can hardly be regarded as "normal" in the ordinary meaning of the word.

Contradictions are the driving force of development. The fundamental contradiction in every community is a divergence between its aspirations, whether collective or individual, and possibilities to actualize them. This basic contradiction in practice materializes as a contradiction between definite elements of the system in question. These contradictions are inherent in every complex system; depending on conditions, they may be either open contradictions or concealed contradictions. They can be controlled only through a change in conditions; they cannot be eliminated otherwise than through a change of the structure of the system - if this is possible at all - in the sense of liquidation of an object which is in contradiction with another object or other objects. Identification of contradictions and definition of their dynamic characteristics is one of the most essential elements of scenario analysis; we mean here, of course, open contradictions¹⁷.

Open (active) contradictions are a cause of tensions and generate definite tendencies in the system's behaviour. Socially negative (uncontrolled) tensions, caused by open

contradictions, must lead to conflicts by shaping appropriate conditions¹⁸.

We do not elaborate on this question here. We have only mentioned it because we can observe an extremely one-sided simplification of this question, caused by its rather superficial treatment in the diagnosis of the state of the spacial economy¹⁹.

It is not enough to examine conflicts alone; it is necessary to study their origin - contradictions, tensions, and tendencies - which only exceptionally has its ontological source in the phenomenological sphere, which the broadly conceived space constitutes. These phenomena can be observed in the phenomenological sphere, in which they can be localized (as punctual, quasi-punctual, territorial, continuous or non-continuous, etc.)²⁰.

Here, too, it is necessary to examine interactions; but here, too, a static examination of contradictions (necessary for methodological reason) which leads to a synchronic description of the situation (existing at the given moment) does not explain the process. It is only a "time sequence" of synchronic situations that can be subjected to a diachronic examination which explains the mode of the system's transition from one synchronic state to another under the given (changing) conditions and that furnishes in effect a description of the mechanism (of functioning, of cause-effect relations) which leads to defining rules of behaviour of the system.

Of key significance for explaining the mode of behaviour (functioning) of the system is the knowledge of the function of the aim of the system, a function which has a normative (regulatory) character with respect to the system. Every social system - and thus also systems under consideration here - is oriented at a definite purpose; this explains i.a. its anti-intuitive behaviour. Without knowing the function of the aim of the system, it is impossible to explain its behaviour.

For the purpose of the analysis in question, it is necessary to translate the function of the aim of the "rural community" into the language of direct and indirect tasks. First of all, however, it is necessary to define this function, for neither

in the past nor at present the administration system could not and cannot define the tasks of individual objects of the system at the voivodship level, to say nothing of the former district and rural community levels and the present rural community level. Planning has always been the concern of the "Centre", has had little in common with the administration system, and in fact has been limited to the economic system, and, more precisely, to the extractive and processing industries. It was difficult to speak of any planning at the voivodship level, and at the lower levels of local administration planning practically did not exist at all. Hence, at the rural community level, only enterprises representing basic industries had concrete tasks in the field of production, indirectly defined in the National Socio-Economic Plan. The tasks of all other economic units resulted from their statutory obligations, but were not concretized in qualitative or quantitative terms.

We shall not elaborate here on this subject, which will doubtless be subjected to a careful examination within the framework of the project. At any rate, the rural community, whether in the past or at present, was and is unable to define its function or aim even in the form of the short-term "function of tasks"; it is even unable to define such a function for the economic subsystem. Since, however, the knowledge of this function is indispensable for the purpose of analysis, it should be built in the course of the cognitive process.

Information on the performance of the rural community in the past period, which is the subject of diagnostic analysis, concerns only implementation, however. Hence the necessity of supplementing this analysis with an analysis of what could be, but has not been, implemented, in accordance with the definition of the function or aim; the system should constantly search for the extreme form of the function and attempt to achieve it. The determining of the boundary conditions of the "rural community system" will be helpful here. There is no need to recall that the function will consist of three elements which can be suggestively described as "autarkic element", "export element", and "import element", in the sense of relations with the "rest" of the country's social system.

One should note that the division into the sphere of material production and the sphere outside material production is useless here, and its application may lead to serious errors in analysis. The "function of tasks" concerns all economic units, including households, social organizations, etc. It follows therefrom that the definition of the function must be preceded by an exhaustive (complete) analysis and description of the structure of the "rural community system", which otherwise is indispensable in the study in question.

Noting the above observations concerning "reconstruction" of the function of the aim of the rural community, one should also emphasize the necessity of being aware of the character of individual functions of the aim of autonomous objects - in this case, it is enough to recognize households as such objects - which may greatly differ from one community to another. One can speak here of a set of individual functions of aim, the structure of which will be characteristic of every rural community. We shall not elaborate on this question, however. This set will be different in a big city and different in the countryside; it will certainly be different in a Wielkopolska community and different in a Podlasie community. The differences will result from different levels of social development as well as dissimilarities in material culture and cultural tradition.

It is not the aim of this paper - as we have stressed earlier - to be a guide to the method of conducting scenario analysis. The paper limits itself only to defining specific questions for carrying out such an analysis at the rural community level.

The results of the diagnostic part of scenario analysis must include - in addition to a practically useful description (above all, of the structure and organization) and explanation of the performance of the given rural community system - above all the following elements:

1. definition of the "state" of the system²¹,
2. definition of the principles of behaviour of the system under changing conditions referred to above, and
3. definition of barriers determining the behaviour of

the system, including barriers which can be removed through appropriate institutional decisions.

All this must provide a sufficient basis for prognostic analysis, that is, for:

- elaborating possible and most probable scenarios of the future development of the given rural community system, and

- elaborating desirable scenarios of the future development of the given rural community system, the possible implementation of which requires changes in conditions which so far have restricted the functioning and development of the given rural community system.

At this point, the study enters the phase of applications and presents proposals:

- a) the implementation of which does not require "systemic" changes, that is, proposals which can be implemented within the framework of the regulations now in force and the practical functioning of an administration system which is superior or independent²² with respect to the given rural community system²³;

- b) the implementation of which requires definite changes in the regulations now in force and the practical functioning of an administration system which is superior or independent with respect to the given rural community system.

*

All that which has been stated above concerns each of the rural communities under examination. Of course, such studies are useful for every rural community, and in fact every rural community should arrange for such studies to meet its needs. In the study in question, however, results of a more general nature are involved. Whereas the development policies of individual rural communities can and should be differentiated, the set of regulations in force and the manner of functioning of the administration system must be identical for all rural communities.

It is therefore necessary to conduct the study in question in an appropriately selected, representative set of rural

communities, in which all types of communities must be represented.

As far as the author of this paper knows, there does not exist any generally accepted typology of rural communities which would take into account a sufficiently wide range of characteristics essentially differing rural communities. The division into "simple" and "complex" and "multiple complex" rural communities, which is useful for other purposes, is not sufficient here, since it fails to take into account the specific location of rural communities. For example, a "simple" rural community located near the western border is dissimilar from a "simple" community located near the eastern border or on the sea coast. An appropriate typology needs to be elaborated (one of the preliminary tasks).

Naturally, a generalization of the results of studies in individual rural communities does not consist in any "averaging"; every type of rural community must function properly.

Aggregate analysis must consist in identification of identical, similar, less similar, and specific characteristics, and the proposed solutions must in principle concern all rural communities, although one can and should suggest various exceptions (it is important to define them well).

This analysis may lead to the conclusion that changes are necessary in the legal regulations in force, in the structure and organization of the administration system - not only at the local (rural community) level - and in its practical functioning.

*

The greatest difficulties in the study in question are posed by the existing "information gap". In the past period, centralist tendencies led to ignoring the information needs of the lower rungs of the administration system, both in the economic administration subsystem and - to a much greater extent - in the local administration subsystem. This is confirmed by the fact that information on rural communities must be sought at the voivodship level; rural communities themselves do not have such information and, as a rule, are

little interested in it. In these circumstances, attempts at reconstruction of information are very difficult.

Under these conditions, auxiliary studies assume essential importance - studies of a contributive nature with respect to the objective of the study in question, although many subjects can be regarded as comprehensive ones. The model of the study provides for many auxiliary investigations, but in the present phase it is difficult to know whether their results will fill the existing information gap. On the other hand, the present definition of the subjects does not indicate to what extent they will satisfy the need for information in studies oriented at a diagnostic scenario analysis. Some changes, or amendments, are likely to be necessary, however. For example, the manner of formulation of the subject: "Contradictions and Conflicts 1980-1985" does not promise results useful for scenario analysis. Other specific subjects, essential for scenario analysis (e.g. demographic problems) and included in the various groups of subjects, may be treated one-sidedly (from the point of view of the given group of subjects). At any rate, the subjects of studies will have to be formulated more precisely.

From this point of view, the surrogate of a research programme contained in the model of the study must be verified *inter alia* by the research team which will take up scenario analysis, a team which will concern itself with the subject and which, for the time being, is not envisaged in the model of the study.

Of essential importance is the coordination in time of studies on individual subjects, since many of them are interdependent, and the progress of scenario analysis will be determined by the degree of advancement of studies on individual subjects. It is necessary to envisage exchange of information in the course of work, according to a detailed schedule - in many cases, still prior to the conclusion of work.

*

As we have mentioned earlier, the research programme adopted to date, contained in the model of the study, did not provide

for scenario analysis, and thus for an appropriate research subject. The existing documentation only refers to a synthesis of the results (to be carried out in the years 1989-1990), without defining its methodological conception.

The present proposal alters the situation. We suggest placing in the centre of the research programme (as the leading subject) a scenario analysis of a selected set of rural communities and synthesizing the results of this analysis in the form of proposals of applications (at the conclusion of the programme, i.e. in 1989-1990). This is a "single" proposal, as it were, inconsistent with the conception of the method of scenario analysis, which ought to be cyclically repeated, verified, and deepened by the constantly functioning "apparatus" of scenario analysis. The difficulties, and, consequently, costs, involved in the elaboration of the scenario analysis of a given object-system for the first time are considerable, and the results cannot be perfect, chiefly due to the existence of an information gap, filled by surrogates of information. A high quality of the scenario is achieved only after several cyclical analyses (progressive analysis). One can hope, however, that the results of studies on the subject in question will be essential enough to convince the administration system of the advisability of creating genuine (permanent) "apparatus" of scenario analysis²⁴. It is with such a prospect in view that one should commence the research project in question.

It is necessary to set up a research team for scenario analysis, composed of representatives of branches of science important for this analysis.

The following branches of science should be represented in the team: regional economics (spacial economy), economics of agriculture, economics of industry, sociology, ecology, law (administrative law) - the six basic branches of sciences, and as "auxiliary" branches (which are not necessary in every rural community): town planning, organization and management, and economics of transport. This is not to imply, however, that the team should consist of six or nine persons. Everything depends on the qualifications of individual members, on the

one hand, and on the "dimensions" and complexity of individual analytical tasks and their substantive requirements, on the other hand.

The first task of the team is to define the set of rural communities which will be the subject of studies and to appraise the needs for information in scenario analysis²⁵. This will make possible a verification of the research programmes of other teams and the defining of directions of these programmes from the viewpoint of the requirements of scenario analysis. This is connected with elaboration by the team of specific research methods.

In the Polish conditions, one can hardly dream of the fully proper organization of work of an interdisciplinary team²⁶. There is need for some periods of joint work, during which the participants will have no other occupations. Periodical "field sessions" of the whole team (also in rural communities investigated) would last - depending on the needs - for example, from one to four weeks. When the work is more advanced, the sessions will doubtless have to be longer (one can imagine a "summer session" lasting three months in the final period of work).

One should note that the first task of the team will be to elaborate a set of diagnostic and prognostic scenarios for all the rural communities under investigation. Later the team will carry out a synthetic analysis of this set and put forward proposals for applications. The fact that there will be two phases (the second phase could be planned, as it seems, for 1990) requires a definite organization of work²⁷.

Periodical consultations with interested parties (this concerns every rural community separately) are an important element of the analysis in question. Those interested include not only the head of the rural community and his collaborators, and self-government bodies, but also a number of institutions and organizations cooperating with the rural community, above all in the field of technical and distributive infrastructure, and also social infrastructure - institutions and organizations which frequently are not represented by units coordinating administration and which sometimes do not exist in the rural

community, but which nevertheless service the population of the community. Experience, especially French experience, shows that such consultations are very important (at the conclusion of the diagnostic phase and after the termination of the prognostic phase) and substantively fruitful.

Footnotes

¹ This paper is an extension of the critique and conceptions presented in notes of November 1984 and April and May 1985. It has been prepared within the framework of the research project: "Local Poland and Territorial Self-Government in Conditions of the Reform", conducted in 1985 within the inter-ministerial research project III-17: "The Political Culture of the Polish Society".

² A. Kukliński, Uśpiony potencjał (The Dormant Potential), Życie Gospodarcze, no. 13, March 25, 1984.

³ M. Jędrusik, Geografia polskiego kryzysu: gmina Celestynów (Geography of the Polish Crisis: The Rural Community Celestynów), typescript, Department of Geography and Regional Studies, Warsaw University, Warsaw 1983.

⁴ A. Kukliński, Polska lokalna i samorząd terytorialny w warunkach reformy: problemy metodologiczne (Local Poland and Territorial Self-Government in Conditions of the Reform: Methodological Problems), mimeographed, Warsaw, April 2, 1985, pp. 1 and 2 (point II, especially IIb).

⁵ These, however, cannot be studies conducted independently by various research groups one-sidedly proceeding from different premises and criteria - as the model of the study seems to indicate.

⁶ For the time being, we do not raise here the question of possible relations with "foreign countries", that is, with the environment of the social system as a whole; this question requires a separate presentation, especially as regards rural communities located in border regions.

⁷ The "Centre" means here elements of the administration system independent of the community in question, both elements of the local administration subsystem and elements of the economic administration subsystem; the policy of the "Centre" may be deformed by intermediate and other rungs of the administration system.

⁸ Unless we have to do with a systematic deterioration of the state of the natural environment caused by man's uncontrolled activity.

⁹ In Polish: S.M. Komorowski, *Scenariusz jako metoda diagnozy i prognozy* (Scenario As a Method of Diagnosis and Prognosis), typescript, Warsaw 1983; the work contains an extensive bibliography on this subject.

¹⁰ See: S.M. Komorowski, *Elementy teorii przestrzennej organizacji systemu społecznego* (Elements of the Theory of Spatial Organization of the Social System), typescript, prepared within the research project 05 of the inter-ministerial project I.28, Warsaw 1985.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² This error was for many years committed with respect to the social system. Various authors wrote that the social system consisted of social, economic, special, and political subsystems, whereas they meant social, economic, spacial, and political aspects of the social system. One cannot separate from the social system a social or spacial subsystems as separate sets of objects. Such errors result from the lack of knowledge of the general systems theory and, in fact, from lack of comprehension of the concept of system.

¹³ From which a subsystem of technical infrastructure is frequently separated as a broadly conceived set of "transport channels" - energy-material relations.

¹⁴ See: S.M. Komorowski, *Elementy teorii...*, op. cit.; *idem*, *Scenariusz jako metoda...*, op. cit.

¹⁵ One should stress here that the delimitation "town-country" adopted in Poland is incorrect; see: J. Goryński, 0

nowe spojrzenie na wskaźnik urbanizacji (For a New Approach to the Index of Urbanization), in: Odpowiedzi na ankietę rozpisaną przez KPZK PAN w ramach ekspertyzy nr 6 pt. "Procesy urbanizacyjne" (Replies to a Questionnaire Circulated by the Committee for Spatial Development of the Country of the Polish Academy of Sciences within Survey No. 6, Entitled "Urbanization Processes"), mimeographed, 1977 (Archive of the Committee for Spatial Development of the Country, Polish Academy of Sciences).

¹⁶ In view of the state of data and information, one cannot even dream of a greater density of synchronic "cross-sections".

¹⁷ Nevertheless, trivial contradictions do exist and are always negative, but, unlike real contradictions, they can always be eliminated through a change of conditions. Typical contradictions here include those resulting from bureaucratization of the administration system; see: A. Gramaci, *La Giungla Retributiva, Il Mulino, Bologna 1971*.

¹⁸ Nota bene, also positive contradictions which, like all other contradictions, release tensions may, under certain conditions - i.e. when they are not controlled - lead to conflicts (through alienation and frustration) with negative social consequences. Therefore, every conflict is a negative phenomenon, even though tensions which cause it do not have to be negative.

¹⁹ This problem, called "conflict solving", so far has not been fully objectively presented in Polish scientific literature. Above all, it has not been theoretically generalized to a sufficient degree (besides, real conflicts have been mixed up with trivial ones).

²⁰ See: *Scenariusz jako metoda...*, op. cit.

²¹ The word "state" has been put in quotation marks, because the system in question is dynamic and changes in time.

²² We mean here units of the economic administration subsystem, independent of the rural community administration and seated in the territory of the given rural community or out-

side it - units called upon to cooperate with economic units in the given community or units which ought to cooperate with economic units in the community.

²³ These proposals must be supplemented with a detailed and comprehensive description of consequences resulting from their implementation, inter alia in categories in effectiveness.

²⁴ For the time being, the resistance of the bureaucracy, which cultivates the principle "nihil novi", is tremendous and is effectively supported by orthodox scientific circles, which, even though they do not know exactly what this is all about (or perhaps because they do not want to know it), prefer to be against, because being for would commit them to grasp a new area of knowledge and force them to introduce essential changes in their manner of thinking (mentality).

²⁵ One can hardly expect, however, that in the initial phase of analysis this "specification" can be complete: one should consider the fact that new needs may arise in the course of analysis.

²⁶ For more on this subject see: S.M. Komorowski, *Scenariusze jako metoda...*, op. cit. (Part I, Chapter 5, Organization of Scenario Analysis).

²⁷ The first scenario - for the "first" rural community - will be the most difficult. The first scenario, treated in the methodological sense as a model scenario, should be ready for broad discussion and consultation already in 1987.

²⁸ I.e. at an administration level higher than the executive level.

STAGES OF CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN SPACE ECONOMY

1. Towards the end of the seventies and in the first half of the eighties the attention of researchers and maybe also the engineers of space economy focused not so much on the successes but rather on the failures which seemed to have dominated the scene. A meaningful contribution to the investigation of the negative phenomena could only be made through a dispassionate and all-embracing examination of the mechanisms responsible for the unsatisfactory state of affairs. In 1982, A. Kukliński wrote: "It is necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of conflicts in our Polish space. Using hush-language will take us nowhere as it had been amply confirmed by our bitter historical experiences. Conflicts bequeathed by us must be overcome and every effort must be made not to burden our present work with "outstanding" conflicts which will stifle our future space economy. This is not to say that we are going to lose from sight the age-long ideal of spatial order but the way we see it, it could only be put to life in the real perspective of conflicts in the Polish space"¹.

We fully subscribe to his view and in the present paper we shall try to answer some basic questions such as:

- what is the underlying pattern of the deterioration of the phenomena under investigation in conflict situations;
- where is the bottom-line and from which point a crisis begins;
- what exactly is crisis, what scope, time-frame and space range should be applied in our investigation;

- how a normal situation develops into a conflict and grows into a crisis; what are the accompanying symptoms.

Let it be made clear that we shall not give answers to the following questions which for that matter are a logical consequence of the former:

- what are the links that should and could be established between planning (growth) and planned management;

- what is the relationship between crisis and power, and how could a conflict situation and crisis be reconciled with the responsibility of those in power;

- should we approach crisis as a state or a process;

- could crisis be analyzed within the framework established by standard econometric models relying on traditional statistical material.

In this paper we believe that conflict situations need not necessarily be negative as such, rather they are a natural stage of growth; it is the response of the participants in the conflict that could (but again, not necessarily) be negative; therefore an analysis should be dispassionate and conducted *sine ira et studio*. To illustrate what we have in mind let it be said that any optimization (maximization or minimization with restrictions) problem could well be a description of a conflict situation whose dimensions are defined by the constraints imposed.

Any attempt to answer the above questions requires a fresh look at the phenomena in question. We have proceeded from the views presented by a group of experts headed by professor A. Kukliński to work out a diagnosis of the state of space economy in Poland. The group was established in October 1980 by the Praesidium of the Committee for Space Economy and Regional Planning of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

2. "Space management is invariably the effect of socio-economic processes operating in a given country and at a definite moment. Therefore it must be assessed in two aspects: as the aftermath of the past processes and as the fundamental facilitating or hampering future development"².

"The effects of space management should always be assessed

in relation to a definite life-style of both the individuals and the society at large. The main point is the disharmony between the pace of change of social relations on the one hand, and the long-term processes and permanence of changes effected by space management on the other. The problem had been less acute in the past when the evolution of the society proceeded at a slower pace and quite often spanned much more modest territories, and when space management policies had been less comprehensive. Besides, vast areas not included in space policies lent themselves to innovation without arising conflict situations. Today, space is being used very intensively, space policies sweep much bigger areas and, consequently, every change is violent and heightened by its frequency and concurrence"².

The above quotations from W. Pietraszewski illustrate the magnitude of the problem. It grows in time (growth), spreads over concrete space* (spread of innovation) and, given the scarcity of means and space cumulate in conflicts^{3,4}. The process may be further accelerated by incorrect decision-making. His remarks apply also to any other area (set) of any space such as concrete space, time space or Perroux space**

Definition 2.1.

A given subject is in a conflict situation when his activity (interests) negatively affect the activities (interests) of his surroundings i.e., hamper such activity or its effects, and conversely, the activity going on in his surroundings bears negatively on his activity.

The surroundings (environment) may mean another subject (object), a number of subjects, or the environment i.e., a system of indiscernible objects, facts, properties.

* In this work we shall follow the terminology used in (5) and instead of the geographic space (geonomic) we shall use the term concrete space.

** It should be noted that this situation is the opposite to a coalition whose partners effect a quick change in a concerted action (cf. the effect of polarization).

Remark 2.1.

The components of any Perroux space may (and even should) be related to a concrete location in a given time and space. Therefore every conflict situation may be reflected in the extent of real space being managed.

Assumption 2.1.

Strictly speaking, the range (in either meaning) of a conflict situation may be unlimited. Therefore we shall refer in this paper to a finite range. This will permit the introduction of the actors involved in a conflict situation (CSAs - Conflict Situation Actors) as a finite number of subjects (objects) involved in a finite range of conflict situations.

Assumption 2.2.

Further, we shall assume that a normal (N) activity (functioning) of a subject (object) situated outside the conflict situation is characterized by:

- expansion (of activity, the effectiveness, etc.) described by a monotonic time function (which is generally rising):
- gradual and slow "overhaul", meaning a steady evolution of the mechanisms of the system;
- a certain unsusceptibility (stability) to external stimuli necessary for the preservation of the continuity of the existence and activity in response to the environment; usually the environmental impact is random and therefore the unsusceptibility helps to eliminate conflict situations.

The actors (participants) in a conflict situation may behave in either of the following ways:

- 2.1. They may take an active role in countering the crisis;
- 2.2. They may wait passively for anything to happen;

In the first case:

2.1. a) some participants may keep their upward drive at the expense of others who may even be eliminated (this is an uneven growth of a conflict situation);

2.1. b) they may adjust their mechanisms so as to cushion the impact of the conflict situation e.g., by means of new technologies, streamlining and adaptation of their activity.

In the second case:

2.2. a) CSAs may be forced to reduce their growth;

2.2. b) CSAs may wait without taking any innovative action (they may be waiting deliberately or involuntarily) and await the natural barriers such as shortage of means, space, unfavourable business cycle, to come into play.

In either case different circumstances and mechanisms dominate the scene.

Ad.2.1. a) The characteristic feature here is a slow down of growth (or even elimination) of some of the CSAs as a result of the working of an economic, management, political or other mechanism, e.g., the closing down of the Skawina aluminium plant, collectivization of agriculture, situating animal farms within the boundaries of the Kampinos National Park, etc.

Ad.2.1. b) The characteristic feature here is the change of the mechanism of action i.e., the elimination of the very source of the conflict. E.g.: introduction of new types of activity to the conflict area, a change of technology, etc.

Ad.2.2. a) Here the characteristic feature is the reciprocal slow-down of growth of all the CSAs caused by limited resources (space, raw materials, manpower, etc.) E.g.: limited volume of water in Dzierżonów.

Ad.2.2. b) In this case there are three characteristic subsequent stages*:

* A stage: a separate part of a process, a development phase (/6/ p.282).

1. "passive continuation": something ought to be done to find a way out of a conflict situation but no action is ever taken;

2. "turning point": the conflict situation reaches a point where eventual action would not improve the general position of the CSAs⁷;

3. "pre-crisis": the conflict ripens further and more and more CSAs realize that their efforts to find a way out are futile i.e., more and more CSAs experience the situation described above in point 2.

In stage 3 the conflict situation going from bad to worse becomes critical because no other save ineffective decisions can be taken; the decision would at the same time be unfavourable for all CSAs who are eventually compelled to change their mechanism (principle) of action. Such a situation would still be called a crisis.

Definition 2.2

By a conflict situation we shall mean a situation in which a specific (characteristic) action ought to be taken in order to improve the lot of at least some of the CSAs.

Definition 2.3

By a crisis we shall mean a conflict situation in which there is no other way out except for an action changing the mechanisms of functioning of all CSAs because they are no longer able to function.

Table 1
The stage of conflict situation

situation	normal N				
	conflict	active CSAs	elimination of some of the CSAs E		
			change of technology M		
	passive CSAs	slow-down H			
		waiting W	passive continuation PC		
				turning point TP	
crisis C					

Table 2 which follows gives the chief qualitative differences of the features describing conflict situation and a crisis.

A quantitative demonstration of the differences requires a number of additional circumstances to be quoted; this is done elsewhere in the paper.

Table 2

Features of conflict situations and of a crisis.

Feature	Situation		
	normal	conflict	crisis
steps toward improvement of the working of an object	possible	desirable	necessary
possible steps concern changes in	-	the manner of functioning and in part also the mechanism of functioning	the mechanisms of functioning and in consequence also the mode of functioning
changes affect	-	some of the CSAs	all of the CSAs

3. The term "crisis" (economic, in space economy, political, ecological, cultural, social, crisis of confidence, etc.) has been quite often quoted in recent years in Poland. At the first glance, its meaning seems obvious. A qualitative (not to mention a quantitative) description of the circumstances accompanying the nascence and the extinction of a crisis - both these moments are of equal importance - as well as its aftermath are not possible without a definition of the term itself.

So far no such a definition seemed satisfactory and quite possibly no such precise definition is ever needed but this line of reasoning would require additional explanation. Maybe it would be sufficient to withhold from reading into this term

the meanings that could never be there.

The aim of this paper is to give a fairly accurate delimitation of the range of this term (def. 2.3.) so as to reconcile it with a popular understanding of the term, on the one hand, and to satisfy the expectations of scholars who employ quantitative methods and define a crisis as a state of a process. Crisis here is understood as an extremal stage of a conflict situation.

"Crisis is a fundamental and at the same time untranslatable category deriving from the Greek work "krino" - meaning to separate, to choose, to decide, to judge and also to face something or somebody, to dispute or to challenge. Its essential underlying idea seems to be suggesting some definite, ultimate and irreversible solution. It is associated with an ultimate alternative precluding any revision; it means to win or lose, the law or lawlessness, life or death, and ultimately, salvation or damnation (...). The word also survived in the Latin language from the antiquity as e.g. "crisis" in medical sciences, "a iudicium" or "iudicium" in theology (...). It has been spreading to modern languages ever since it had been assimilated from Greek language by other European languages at the end of the Middle Ages. It has also penetrated new aspects of life: politics, psychology, economy and the re-discovered events of the past (...)

There are three semantic models of the term.

First, one could interpret our history as a permanent crisis. The history of the world is tantamount to passing a judgement on it. Such an approach takes crisis as a process.

Second, the word could be used to denote some unique, singular course of events along which numerous conflicts cumulate and finally blow up the old system opening the way for a new order. In such a view the crisis would mean a stepping over a threshold of an epoch, a course of events which could be mutatis mutandis repeated.

Third, crisis could mean the final event in our modern history, while a final judgement could have a metaphorical meaning in this context (...). This understanding of the word "crisis" unlike other meanings, concerns only the future and

is aimed at the ultimate solution"⁸.

From a formal (mathematical) point of view the first and the second model as presented above by Reinhart Koselleck could be reduced to one, namely, crisis is a process, possibly a periodic one, where the periodic character is understood as relating to a sequence of some of the stages and not as a simple repetition. The system is ever changing and with each repetition of some of its sequences, the actual state is different.

Everyday people (the passive observers) express a similar view on the system, their assessment does not last forever either.

The observation and the assessment of the state of a system as a rule focuses on a short period of time (e.g., not many people remember the crisis of the 'twenties from their personal experience). This is perfectly justified since it is the system itself that undergoes a constant evolution, moreover, the observers change as well and so do the goals of the system and the point of view of the observers.

Therefore for practical reasons we have decided to use the term crisis as it is rendered in the second Koselleck model: we are going to understand crisis as an extremal case of a conflict situation.

"Although the notion "economic crisis" is not much valued in the literature on the subject we must not overlook the fact that such a notion does exist. For example, let us look up the 1898 edition of an economic dictionary: «Crisis in a broader sense means a periodic disturbance of economic life, a disturbance negatively viewed by a greater number of people». No wonder then that such an understanding of the crisis must not be used seriously in economic sciences because each of its components required additional specification which in turn may not be universally recognized. (...)

"Somebody who defined an economic situation as a crisis is describing not only the situation as such but also himself. He is expressing his own opinions and what is more important also his personal plans. A current understanding of an economic crisis is a self-referring notion largely burdened with apeli-

lative if not overtly propagandist overtones. The way one defines an economic crisis depends to a great extent on who does it. He who declares a situation to be a crisis is usually prepared to undertake some extraordinary measures, demand special actions and is ready to initiate them on his own in order to change the situation. Others who wish to avoid all this fuss would define the same situation along quite different lines and would rather not call it a crisis. Thus the notion of a crisis becomes a political tool.

This is not to say that it lacks any sense at all. What then is its meaning?

The examination of the past events which had been labelled «economic crises» by the people well equipped with common sense, brought to light a unique problem. The economic crises - be it cyclical or structural (as e.g., the oil glut, the banking crisis, or the present-day indebtedness) must not be defined in economic terms only. Strictly speaking the crisis is the very thing that the society chooses to call «crisis». He who talks of a crisis perceives a given thing in a double way: being an observer he is at the same time an active agent. (...)

I have argued for some time now, inspired by the famous definition of class by Marx (class in itself and class onto itself) that there may be crises in themselves and crises onto themselves. (...) A crisis in itself is an economic configuration which could be defined by a discerning observer as critical and untenable in the longer run. (...) Critical economic alignments become crises onto themselves when they come to be recognized as such by the participants in the process, when a crisis mood sets on, when a crisis is declared or announced and when the awareness of the crisis becomes widespread. Therefore it is so difficult to examine a crisis in economic categories."⁹

This statement by Knut Borhardt brings into focus some of the essential circumstances which ought to be considered in the examination of a crisis. What must be done first is the precise definition of the observer of the phenomena turning

into crisis, his point of view and his participation in the events (active or passive).

By introducing the definition of a crisis as an extremal stage of a conflict situation we are by the same token defining the following:

- the phenomenon in crisis i.e., the subject of a crisis;
- observers i.e., the participants in a conflict situation.

The other elements which ought to be defined are:

- the range of a crisis in the following spaces: concrete, time and Perroux⁵ - this is the range of a conflict situation;

- the role of the participants, their bearing on the increase or decrease of a crisis - these are the competences (authority) of the participants;

- the approximate direction of the activity of the participants, which is related to their responsibility for their decisions¹⁴.

Thus it is more convenient to dissociate the notion of a crisis from the description of a single subject (object, economic agent), although customarily the word "crisis" or "critical state" are applied to describe the state of someone whose health is endangered. A description of how a single object works⁷ (the detailed description of its relations with its environment i.e., the object is thought to be isolated) thanks to appropriate method of diagnosis enables to distinguish the correct and incorrect states in its work as well as states which are neither correct nor incorrect from the point of view of a given method of diagnosis i.e., a state-turning-point-situation which would be followed under given circumstances and given the available means of improvement, by an incorrect state⁷.

Crisis is related to the activity of a number of separate objects - the participants in a conflict situation. Then the crisis is understood as an extremal stage of a conflict situation preceded by several characteristic stages such as a passive continuation of previous policies, a turning-point situation and a pre-crisis stage.

The term crisis may be expanded to cover several extremal stages in a number of conflict situations of a local nature.

In a concrete space (geographical, geonomic) conflict situations could form islands or combine into larger areas; they may relate to the same feature or to different features (e.g., the indebtedness crisis - the debts have only one - financial - dimension; an ecological crisis - conflict situations are caused by various pollutants in various places of the world). Therefore the term crisis must be sufficiently universal, it must first of all embrace all the stages in various conflict situations. It seems that def.2.3 satisfies all these requirements.

4. The stages of a conflict situation will be further on called as follows:

Ad.2.1. a) elimination of some of the CSAs (E);

Ad.2.1. b) change of technology, modernization (M);

Ad.2.2. a) a slow-down (H);

Ad.2.2. b) waiting (W). This stage could be further subdivided into:

- passive continuation (PC);
- a turning-point situation (TP);
- a pre-crisis situation (VC);

We shall consider a crisis to be an extremal stage of a conflict situation.

In each of the above stages we are faced with different objects (systems) representing the CSAs. Their comparison requires a list of features characterizing to a satisfying degree the CSAs.

Initially, we propose to consider the following features (factors) besides the cause of the conflict situation:

1. the number of the CSAs subdivided into: some of them (S), all of them (A);

2. the mechanism of functioning of the CSAs subdivided into: no change (NC), small change (SC), large change (LC);

3. the working (functioning) of the CSAs (meaning the volume of the feature of an object⁷) subdivided into: small change (SCH), large change (LCH);

4. a derivative in relation to the time of the CSA activity subdivided into: small change (SMC), large change (LAC);

5. secondary factors subdivided into: no change (NCH),

change (CHA).

Each stage of a conflict situation comprises the features as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3
Factors characterizing the stages of a conflict situation

feature stage	number of CSAs	change of mechanism	change of activity	change of derivative of activity	secondary factors
E	S	LC	SCH	LAC	NCH
M	S	M	SCH	SMC	NCH
H	W	NC	SCH	LAC	NCH
PC	W	NC	SCH	SMC	CHA
TP	S	NC	SCH	SMC	CHA
PC	S	NC	SCH	SMC	CHA
C	W	LC	LCH	LAC	CHA

In the five-dimensional space of factors there are 48 stages from which we have selected seven. The selected stages and their configuration are shown in Fig.1.

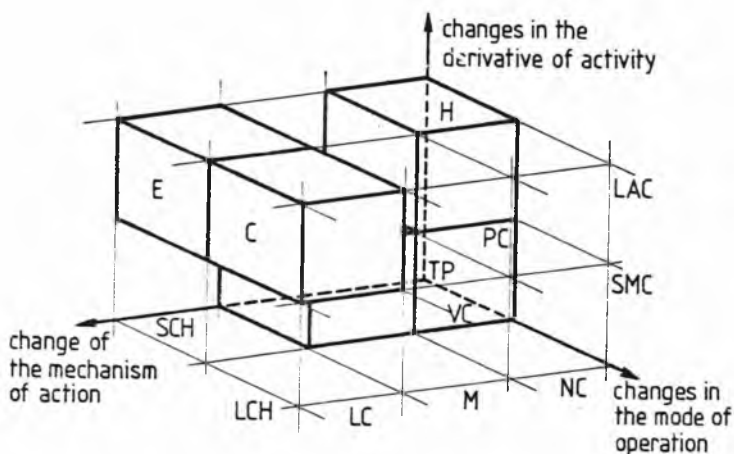


Fig.1.

In either of these stages save the crisis, the object under investigation (one, several, all CSAs) undergoes a relatively small change (we set apart the eliminated objects) while its functioning may change (but not necessarily). This means that the object of the analysis (and also its mathematical model) remains approximately the same, instead, what does change are the properties of its operation; it is manoeuvred in a new way.

Ad.2.1. a) If we take as the features (measures) of the activity of the CSAs their intensity (of consumption, production, etc.), the quality (of work, environment) considered as a function of time then in stage E the limitation of the role or elimination of some of the CSAs manifests itself by a quick change of the derivative of the function of the activity of the eliminated part of the CSAs accompanied by an equally quick decrease of its value. The remaining CSAs do not change their activity (cf. Fig.2).

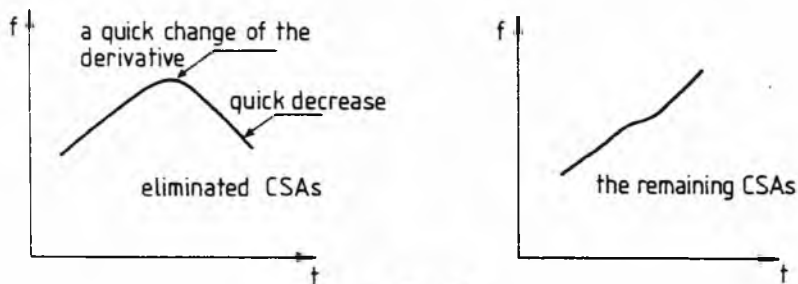


Fig.2.

Remark 4.1

From the subjective point of view of the CSAs, this is a situation resulting exactly in the same manner as that of a crisis stage; in a way it is equal to a selective crisis.

Remark 4.2

At stage E, the diagnosis of the state of the eliminated CSAs should indicate an incorrect state⁷, while the analysis of the state of non-eliminated CSAs should indicate a correct state.

Conclusion 4.1

At stage E it is useful to collect information on the eliminated CSAs.

Ad.2.1. b) A forced change of technology or its streamlining (M) means a local (limited) change of the mechanism (or its mathematical model) without changes to the CSAs without any new solutions to the mathematical model of the CSAs. Obviously, this remark concerns only the extremal, economic effects because e.g., a change in the way of the utilization of some areas may mean an important change in the technology, while causing only a marginal correction in the economic description (e.g., the function of production could nearly be identical).

Remark 4.3.

In stage M the diagnosis of the state of the CSAs after the change in the technology may indicate a correct state in the sense of⁷.

Conclusion 4.2

In stage M it is useful to collect information on the technological changes in view of the willingness to overcome the crisis situation.

Ad.2.2. a) The activity of the CSAs in stage H within a negligible change of value may be characterized by a quick change of the derivative in relation to time (Fig.3). In the extremal case the derivative may be discontinuous (Fig.4).

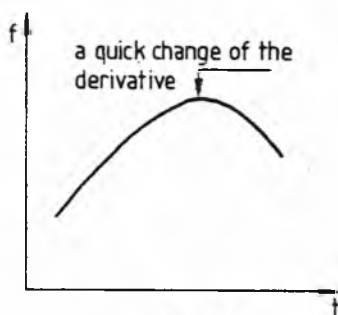


Fig.3.

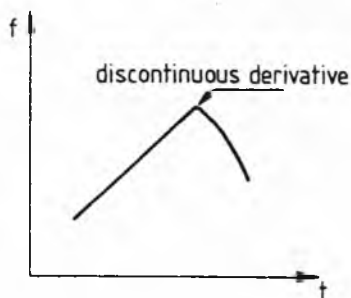


Fig.4.

Conclusion 4.3

A characteristic feature of the situation H is a quick change of the derivative in relation to the time of the function of the activity of all the CSAs toward a less favourable direction than previously². Such in-

formation are collected by Statistical Offices, while there may be some difficulties with associating the data with particular CSAs.

Remark 4.4

There is a similarity of the situation H with the threshold in the meaning given by B. Malisz¹⁰, with the difference that the threshold as conceived by Malisz may occur independently from a conflict situation e.g., in effect of a strong physical restraints¹¹.

Remark 4.5

In stage H the diagnosis of the state ought (but not necessarily) to indicate that the CSAs have left their proper state of activity but it is not as yet tantamount to an incorrect state in the sense of⁷.

Ad.2.2. b) At stage W the activity of the CSAs remains unchanged and so does the core of the mechanisms of action. What may change are the secondary properties of the mechanism (e.g., the reserves of raw materials and semi-finished goods, changes in the mentality, health, culture, professional enterprise, manpower, changes in the environment, etc.). It is among those secondary properties that we may start looking for the symptoms of stage W.

Remark 4.6

Under the conditions of a planned economy the symptoms of stage W representing as they do the volumes (as a rule outside the plans) may not be covered by routine statistical surveys.

In stage PC the incorrect situation of the CSAs should be signalled by the economic calculus but only when it is sufficiently precise. This is rather unlikely in a situation when the demand exceeds by far the supply.

The economic calculus and a cool assessment of the margin of freedom for effective action to resolve the conflict situation should be helpful in defining the position on the phase plan of the turning-point situation⁷. However, when

the state is systematically subsidizing some of the CSAs. without any prospects for long-term, large loans for other CSAs. the prospects of specifying the position of the turning-point situation are dim indeed.

The economic calculus and the changes in the value of the secondary factors of all the CSAs enable the definition of the pre-crisis stage. When the chances of identifying the secondary factors are strongly diminished int.al. through an elimination of the insitutional opportunities of manifesting their presence then the identification of the pre-crisis stage may not be possible at all.

Remark 4.7

From the formal point of view the strategies of action of the CSAs correspond to the solution of their dynamic optimization problems with constraints on those circumstances which constitute a conflict. A solution of such a problem is influenced by changes of the constraints and of the models of action of the CSAs. Therefore we have decided to include in our classification the cases of the change of constraints (stages H and E), a small change of the important parts of the models (stage M) as well as changes in the secondary parts of models (stage W). The crisis situation corresponds to such a change in the model and constraints that the optimal solutions are unacceptable. This forces changes in the model towards the desired solutions.

5. The stages of the conflict situation described above together with the crisis itself (as the extremal stage) have been defined for a system of two or more subjects (objects) sharing the same constraints (resources, place in the concrete space, time, etc.). This means that all the CSAs in their actions are present in a definite place of:

- concrete space;
- time axis;
- the space of the factors participating in their activity and produced by them (respective Perroux spaces).

This allows for each conflict situation and crisis to be

labelled by means of the data on their location in those spaces:

- in concrete space (e.g., the conflict between the users of the Kampinos National Park);
- time (e.g., the conflict situation in Dec. 1970);
- Perroux (e.g., the oil crisis).

Remark 5.1

The investigation so far into the conflict situations failed to produce any rules as to the labelling of these situation. It seems justified to include in the names of such situations the information on the place of their occurrence. It has long been proposed to start a research on the maps of conflict fields¹⁵.

The question of labelling of conflict situations could be reversed and for each field of the above-mentioned kinds of space (concrete, time, Perroux) one could try and find a corresponding conflict situation and possibly also further information necessary to determine the stage of the conflict situation. This is quite feasible insomuch as the conflict situations take on an island-like pattern (in concrete space, time, and space of the occurrences) followed by their growth and expansion embracing new actors, the progress through subsequent stages and the elimination of the former CSAs. The process has a dynamic nature and therefore it is very important to make a correct identification of the first centre of the process, mapping out the direction of its progress, pinpointing the changes of the stages and the determination of the areas where conflict situations subside.

The literature on the subject offers quite a lot of data on the location of the hotbeds of conflict situations⁴, the directions of their growth (spatial barriers to growth¹⁰) but rather little attention has been devoted to the areas where conflicts subside. Perhaps one of the reasons is the fact that in general opinion the process of spatial planning is identified with the process of extinguishing conflict situations thereby the very implementation of a plan is identified with the carrying out of the process of eliminating

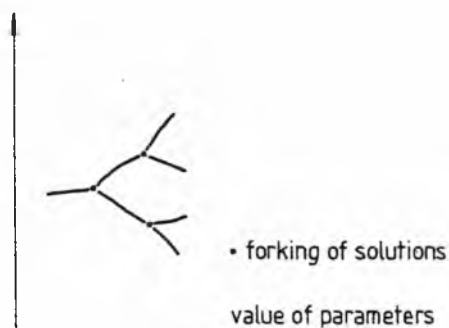


Fig.5.

following situations

	S	E	M	H	PC	TP	VC	C
S	•	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
E	+	•	+	-	+	-	-	-
M	+	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
H	-	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
PC	-	+	+	+	•	+	-	-
TP	-	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
VC	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	+
C	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	•

Fig.6.

a conflict situation. This is not, however, always true.

6. Similarly to the method employed in the examination of forkings (bifurkation or multifurkation - cf. Fig. 5) in the solution of differential equations of dynamic systems¹³, we could try and arrange the conflict situations according to the order in which they arise. Preliminary analysis reveals that stages of a crisis situation could be ordered in a variety of ways e.g., $N \rightarrow H \rightarrow E \rightarrow N \rightarrow M \rightarrow \dots$ but not every arrangement is admissible in practice. In the matrix (Fig. 6) the rows give the preceding stages and the columns give the following stages; symbol "+" means that a passage from the preceding to the following stage is possible; symbol "-" means that such a passage is not possible. Obviously, every passage needs a finite amount of time, it depends on whether appropriate decisions are taken and promptly put into effect. Among the various sequences worthy of our attention are periodic sequences which could be easily observed in reality.

6.1 Periodic series NHM

It is a series of recurring sequences NHM, NHM, NHM, ... with NHM as its interval (normal activity, slow-down, modernization). This is probably a natural rhythm of the technological progress (Fig. 7).

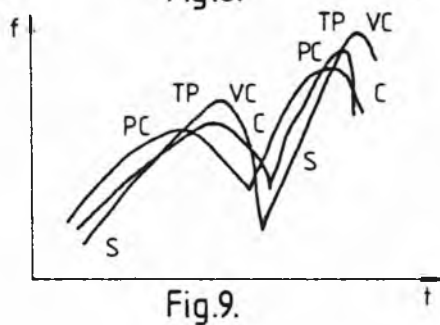
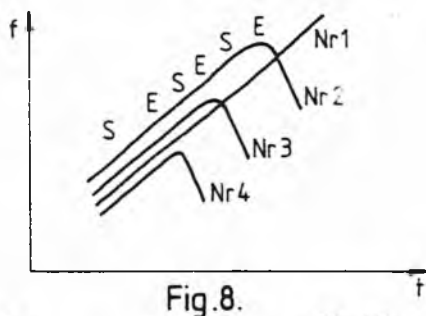
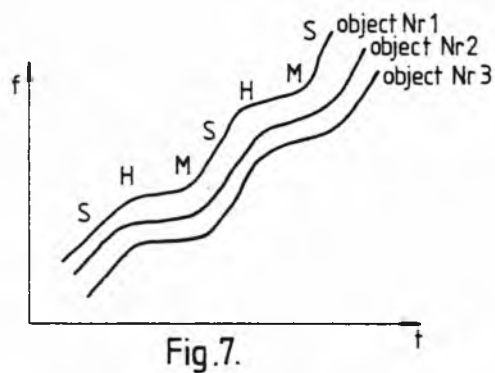
6.2. Periodic series NE

It is a series of recurring sequences NE, NE, NE, ... with NE as its interval (normal activity and elimination of a part of the CSAs). This is a regular rhythm of "cleaning up the market" and the emergence of individuals dominating a given kind of activity (Fig. 8). It may turn out that this process engenders new conflict situations outside the conflict situation currently under investigation. In the recent period, the new conflict situations are those caused by the degradation of the environment.

6.3. Periodic series NWC

It is a series of recurring sequences N PC TP VC C, N PC TP VC C, N PC TP VC C, It describes a system with a cyclical crisis (Fig. 9).

6.4. Periodic series NHEM



It is a series of recurring sequences NH₁EM, NH₂EM, NH₃EM, ... illustrating a situation caused by quick changes in technology e.g., in electronics.

6.5. Periodic series N H PC M

The recurrence of such a sequence may illustrate a situation that could be observed in centrally planned economies in a difficult stage but not in crisis.

Also other combinations are possible including combinations of the above types arranged on a non-periodic basis.

Example 6.1

We could generally assume that in Poland since 1949, the following sequences could be observed;

- N H PC M (the years 1949-1956);
- N H PC M (the years 1956-1970);
- NH PC TP VC K (the years 1970-1981).

It follows that there were three changes of the type $N \rightarrow H$, three changes $H \rightarrow PC$, two changes $PC \rightarrow M$ and two changes $M \rightarrow N$.

Remark 6

Given the above one could assume that the Statistical Offices are well prepared to identify the mentioned changes.

7. The discussion in point 4.4 might suggest that the necessary condition of a conflict situation (or a crisis) is the expansion of the very discussion so as to span (substantially, spatially and in time) all the CSAs. In a systemic approach this could suggest that what is being considered is a huge system (as a consequence of numerous inter-relations).

Actually, in order to detect a conflict situation one should either know the properties of a given subject (object) under normal situation and in the presence of other participants generating a conflict situation or know the properties of a similar subject (object) phenomenon from without the circle of the participants in a given conflict situation.

The second approach helps the analysis because the analysis

could focus on small sections of the reality (including a part of the CSAs) but at the same time it erodes the strength of conclusions as it always happens when the object of the examination is a substitute rather than the real object.

In either case the procedure of detecting a conflict situation consists in comparing the given object with another object treated as a standard operating in different but comparable conditions. The very act of comparing (if it is not a comparison of two figures i.e., if it is not a uni-dimensional act) is an arbitrary act of the person doing the comparison. The subjectivity of comparisons is responsible for a very limited scale of values in practice consisting of two classes: better - worse, good - bad, and at times also a third class - a vague answer where there is no sufficient grounds for accepting either argument (cf.¹⁴).

The selection of the person doing the comparison or the selection of the point of view as well as the objects and situations serving as reference becomes as essential for the determination and classification of the stage of a conflict situation as is the precision of defining the conflict situation itself or a precise classification of its stages.

Conclusion 7.1

It follows from the definition of a conflict situation that it is necessary to compare the present situation with an appropriate standard. This means that the classification of the stages may at best be subjectively asserted.

8. The selection of the person who is to determine the stage of a conflict situation is not by any means a trivial act. In the point of fact, everybody can pass a judgement if he has sufficient information on the object to be assessed and on the object that would serve as a yardstick. Obviously the assessment will be the more precise (there is no such thing as an objective judgement) the closer to the reality are both the assessed object and the standard as perceived by the judge. This seems to suggest that the judge ought to know well and understand the workings of the object and the

standard and may (in some cases) identify himself with the assessed object in the sense of all the features which describe it. At any rate if there is any scale which puts in order the assessed objects than the judge should be placed on this scale close to the assessed object.

Conclusion 8.1

The selection of the judge should depend on the features of the assessed object, while the features of the judge and his object should be relatively close.

This conclusion has important practical consequences:

1. dynamic processes burdened with large inertia require a sufficiently long period of observation;
2. objects operating in concrete space (geographical) require that the section of the space under observation be comparable with the range of the phenomena under investigation;
3. the phenomena of one type require to be compared with other phenomena of the same type.

It may be that where there is no appropriate "judge" no assessment is at all possible; this appears to be the case in Poland - in the point of fact no one is capable of definitely stating that the present situation should be called a crisis and if so then whether what we are witnessing is a beginning or an end; or may be the situation is just normal.

9. The subjectivity of judgement springing from the arbitrariness in selecting the judge is further compounded by the arbitrariness of the features taken into consideration. A situation of a subject is assessed by a vector with several or even more components. A comparison between two vectors requires:

1. first of all that the number and meaning of components be identical for all the CSAs;
2. an arbitrary introduction of the principle explaining what it means that one vector is different from the other;
3. an arbitrary introduction of the principle putting several (as many as there are CSAs) vectors in order.

The multitude of possible solutions prompts the employment

of aggregated indexes with all the consequences of aggregation. This leads to the following conclusion:

Conclusion 9.1

The appraisal of a conflict situation is burdened with the effects of an arbitrary selection of aggregated indexes.

10. The arbitrariness of the assessment of the stage of a conflict situation is responsible for the fact that the reasons that had led to the conflict situation cannot be absolutely determined; hence the remedies turn out to be equally "uncertain". The question of the responsibility of the correctness of a diagnosis has so far been considered only by the decision-maker who makes the decision to change the conflict situation and in no way differs from the responsibility taken for making such a decision. In a crisis situation the diagnosis "what we have here is a crisis" triggers off drastic decisions which could be the more effective the sooner they would be taken. The weight of the responsibility for decisions may bear on the decision-maker in such a way that he might wish to make radical decisions sufficiently early or he might want to delay the decisions. From the formal point of view he is entitled to either solution since the diagnosis is never trustworthy.

This problem directed our attention to the necessity to characterize the decision-maker in terms of his authority and responsibilities. An attempt at such an analysis is given in¹⁴.

Remark 10.1

In the works on the diagnosis of the state of space economy in Poland, the question of the responsibility for the correctness of the diagnosis itself is formulated indirectly as the question of confidence in the scientific competence of the Committee for Space Economy and Regional Planning of the Polish Academy of Sciences which included a group of eminent Polish specialists. One could then be sure that the diagnosis was prepared correctly. However, it remains an open question what access had been granted to the

authors of the diagnosis to the relevant information regarding the object of the comparison and the standard of features and properties, the construction of an aggregated index and the scale of values; regrettably these questions are not satisfactorily answered in the publications on the diagnosis (including the Final Report).

11. Any process of diffusion or aggravation of a conflict situation requires making decisions depending on the stage of the situation. Their effectiveness would depend on the adequacy of decisions to the depth of the conflict situation, but this is not to say that every conflict situation is the situation which could and must be extinguished. First, the authority of the decision-makers has its limits which means that not all conflict situations could be diffused and, second, the elimination of one conflict situation may give rise to another.

The question of the elimination of conflict situations with limited authority and interdependence of subjects constitutes a problem equalling that of balanced growth, the only difference being the difference in the level of the indices on the absolute scale.

Is this, ultimately, a "progress in poverty"? The principal difference consists in that in a conflict situation there are potential chances for a normal situation to emerge unless adequate decisions to eliminate the causes of the conflict itself are taken thereby opening the way for a quick growth with relatively small outlays.

There is one more question relating to the above problem, namely, whether in a given conflict situation we should first extinguish the conflict itself, or make other decisions leaving the conflict untouched. The answer justified quantitatively is not as yet known because such problems have not been put nor resolved as yet. It seems that the answer would depend on the point of view of the "judge". If the conflict situation encompasses the entire field of the action of a decision-maker then every "reasonable" action on his part would work toward the elimination of the conflict situation, but if it encompasses only a part of his field of action then the

elimination of the conflict situation may be either temporary or totally overlooked.

Thus if the aim of the action is the elimination of a given conflict situation in a given stage then we should look for a decision-maker for whom the situation encompasses the greater part of his field of action. This remark does not concern a crisis because in such a case, ex definition, all decision-makers are interested in changes toward a quick resolution of the whole situation.

Conclusion 11.1

The materials on the diagnosis of the state of space economy in Poland reveal that an important role in the elimination of conflict situations should be played by lower-level authorities and local authorities.

Conclusion 11.2

Given unequal opportunities of activating the CSAs, it appears that only in a crisis the CSAs would act promptly to diffuse the conflict situation.

12.Example

The knowledge of the actual stage of a conflict situation facilitates affective decisions. We shall now assess the stages of conflict situations in agglomerations which were discussed in¹⁵. Jerzy Kołodziejski¹⁵ not only provided examples of conflict situations but also determined their causes and proposed the ways out. It must be said that each of the situations discussed by him actually are found in different stages which in turn conditions the ways of resolving them i.e., passing into the stage of normal activity. In his work J. Kołodziejski defines conflict situations as having a solution so neither of them should be found in stages TP, VC or C which need not be true since the conflict situation analyzed by him are not examined with all the CSAs considered.

Let us have a closer look at two examples.

1. "Conflict situations arising out of the accumulation of

new functions (demand for apartments but shortage or absence of suitable locations considering good quality soil, forests, waters, recreation). Possible solutions:

- a) restraining the demand;
- b) intensification of the existing housing resources;
- c) conversion of the function and change of the structure (expansion of the living quarters at the expense of services, industry, transport);
- d) location of housing at the expense of farming, recreation, forests;
- e) qualitative changes in the structure - release of new areas which are not conflict-generating or less conflicting."

The above ways out could be effective only when the whole conflict situation goes through a certain stage. And so:

Ad. a) Restraining the demand means the acceptance of a slow-down in the supply of apartments so the conflict situation is at stage H. The conflict situation is thus removed to another place since the question of balancing the demand and supply of apartments remains open.

Ad. b) Intensification of the existing housing resources means stage M. We could hope that the conflict situation will be resolved.

Ad. c) The conversion of the function and change of the structure indicates that the conflict situation is in stage E.

Ad. d) Location of housing at the expense of other types of economic activity means that the conflict situation is in stage E or PC or TP or VC or C. The assessment of the effectiveness of this remedy requires further examination (more data). At any rate one could doubt as to the effectiveness of this approach and one could expect that a new conflict situation may soon arise.

Ad. e) This solution may correspond to stage M or E. With respect to the previous point the difference consists in the stress being put on the possibility to eliminate a part of the CSAs.

2. "Conflict situations arising out of already localized

functions: a housing estate in a zone affected by industrial emissions. Possible ways out:

a) improvement of the spatial structure through a gradual (in step with the depreciation of the capital) liquidation of housing or sources of noxious emissions;

b) establishment or expansion of green belts;

c) change in the technology or structure of troublesome production:

d) qualitative change of the functional-spatial structure."

The above list of solutions includes proposals capable of extensive manipulation of the CSAs. They will be effective inasmuch as the conflict situation itself would still be manouverable by the remaining resources (meaning that the conflict situation is not beyond TP).

Ad. a) It turns out that the continuation of the stage PC with a "gradual (in step with the depreciation of the capital) liquidation" of the CSAs may be a way to deal with the situation. Under the circumstances a quiet assumption is made that the actual conflict situation is not very harmful and so may be also not conflict-generating.

Ad. b) This proposition could prove effective only when the conflict situation is not aggravated.

Ad. c) The solution typical for stage M.

Ad d) The proposal: "A qualitative change of the functional-spatial structure" could be comprehended as a removal in space of one of the CSAs. This solution is radical but only provided that it is at all feasible and that no new conflicts should emerge in the new locality.

The analysis of the two examples proposed by J. Kołodziejewski seems to confirm our belief that for an effective elimination of a conflict situation it should be properly identified beforehand, its participants should be known and the actual stage of the conflict situation should be determined.

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TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND THE LOCAL ECONOMY

(As Exemplified by the City of Poznań and the Poznań Voivodship)¹

1. Introductory Remarks

The world economy is going through a successive phase of revolutionary transformations caused by recent achievements in science and technology. An era of microprocessors, industrial robots, and lasers is beginning. In order to sustain the competition of new products and technologies introduced in leading industrial countries, many states decide to effect structural transformations, at times drastic ones. Suffice it to mention drastic reductions of metallurgical production in Western Europe, the closing down of a number of hard coal mines in Great Britain, or the robotization of the motor industry in France.

In recent years, Poland has also paid much attention to the modernization of her economy. Means that can be allocated for this purpose are - as a result of the crisis - extremely modest. On the other hand, there is the awareness that without new material - and energy-saving technologies, without modern products that could compete on the world markets, the Polish economy stands no chances of successful development.

Under the circumstances, much importance is being attached to all kinds of research concerning various complex questions in the field of development and diffusion of innovations. Among other things, there is a growing need for relating more closely studies on innovations with studies on the regional economy. Many works have already appeared in the world, devoted to interrelations between technological development and regional development. These works sum up the results of

studies concerning inter alia:

1. the location of enterprises manufacturing technologically modern products;
2. the dynamics of regional development in conjunction with modern industry;
3. the spacial diffusion of technological innovations;
4. the regional policy of technological development².

Particular attention has been paid to the study of location of modern branches of industry. The study has provided information on new, non-classical location factors. It has turned out that the traditional location factors, such as proximity of markets and suppliers, costs of transport, the existence of infrastructure, and even the benefits of the agglomeration are no longer so very essential. Instead, the significance is increasing of such factors as availability of highly skilled labour, costs of labour, proximity of research centres, tax policy, costs of living, etc.³.

Another interesting question concerns the process of spacial diffusion of innovations. What regions adapt most rapidly to innovation changes? Is this process dependent on the existing structure of industry? How can we influence the process of spacial diffusion of innovations? Maladjustment of the economies of some regions to new technologies may lead to growing inter-regional differences.

All these problems make it necessary to elaborate some lines of regional policy which would provide favourable conditions for the development of modern technology. This would consist in the creation of a third sector, aimed especially at rendering services in the field of information on, research and financing of technological changes⁴.

Special attention has been paid to the conditions of application of new technologies by small and medium-sized firms⁵ which constitute the majority of enterprises, especially in traditional regions (industrialized a long time ago). Small and medium-sized enterprises do not command sufficient labour, financial, and material resources to invest independently in research on new technologies. Nor are they privileged partners

in cooperation with strong research centres or universities. All this creates the need for local and regional initiatives which would extend aid to small and medium-sized enterprises in this field.

No extensive studies have so far been conducted in Poland on interdependencies between regional development and technological progress. For a variety of reasons, this problem must be formulated somewhat differently under the Polish conditions. First, modern, high-technology industry is not well developed in Poland; rather, the traditional branches of industry prevail. Second, we have not recorded any wide-scale process of establishment of new enterprises (which would manufacture modern products). In this connection, technical progress is rather achieved by way of modernization of products already manufactured and technologies applied so far. One can also presume that as a result of the crisis the second manner of introduction of technical progress will dominate for a long time to come. Third, on the basis of the experience of newly established Polish-foreign firms, many of which manufacture very modern products, one can presume that one of the methods of introduction of technical innovations consists in developing the existing small and efficient enterprises which change their production pattern.

The problem of modernization of production is, of course, a problem of the entire economy, and one should consider what changes in the system of management and financing are needed to this end. Such changes are certainly indispensable, but may prove insufficient. The central steering of various processes may be ineffective unless account is taken of regional specificity and local factors determining the behaviour of enterprises. It appears that, alongside the process of decentralization of the management system, there should be room for local initiatives aimed at technological progress.

One of the first research tasks in this field is to define the character, scale, and quality of innovations introduced in enterprises and their internal and external (including regional) determinants. This was the aim of a questionnaire survey of innovations in enterprises in the Poznań voivodship.

The Poznań voivodship commands a considerable economic potential. In 1983 the value of fixed assets in the socialized sector of the economy totalled 1,328,500,000,000 zlotys (following revaluation). Employment in the socialized sector amounted to 419,500 persons. The industrial output in the voivodship totalled 240,000,000,000 zlotys (in 1982 prices), or 3.4 per cent of the national output.

The relatively weaker position of industry in the voivodship (in comparison with the branch structure of the national economy) and its declining position in favour of the third sector (which appears to be characteristic of big agglomerations) do not alter the fact that industry still is the basic sector, which in 1983 grouped 31.1 per cent of all labour force in the voivodship.

In the branch structure of industry in the Poznań voivodship, the electroengineering industry comes first, grouping nearly a half of industrial workers in the voivodship. It includes the most modern, progress-generating industries: the electrotechnical industry and electronic industry. In addition to the electroengineering industry, the main industries of the Poznań region, within both the internal and external structure, include: food-processing, timber and paper, and chemical industries. The latter - in view of the fact that it is strongly determined by the development of scientific research and that there exists in Poznań a noted chemical research centre - may in the future become a branch of industry in which progress will be the fastest.

What distinguishes the Poznań voivodship in the structure of the national economy is a relatively high percentage of those employed in building, trade, and municipal economy. The voivodship can also boast of highly efficient agriculture.

Many of the factors, described by foreign scholars, favouring the introduction of technical progress can be observed in the potential and structure of the economy of the Poznań voivodship. Without prejudging the extent to which they are an attribute of the Poznań economy, let us specify them here.

a. The Important Position of the Sector "Science and Development of Technology"

The percentages of employment, fixed assets, and investment in this sector in the Poznań voivodship are much higher than the national average. As we can see, it is a sector with a very big potential in comparison with other voivodships. In 1983 its assets totalled 8,628,000,000 zlotys (after revaluation); only the Warsaw, Katowice, and Cracow agglomerations commanded a larger potential⁶. In terms of per capita potential the Poznań voivodship ranks third in Poland, ahead of the Katowice voivodship.

The above-mentioned sector employs over 6,700 persons. In this respect, the Poznań voivodship ranks fifth in Poland after the traditionally strong scientific centres in Warsaw, Cracow, and Łódź and the dynamically developing Katowice centre.

b. Availability of Highly Skilled Labour

In 1985 the Poznań scientific centre grouped a total of 1,240 professors, associate professors, and persons holding doctorates second degree, which constitutes over 10 per cent of the total number of these scholars in Poland. In the socialized sector of the economy in the Poznań voivodship, 12.5 per cent of all persons employed have higher education (the national average is 9 per cent). For comparison, in the Warsaw agglomeration, the leading one in this respect, this index is 16.6 per cent. Higher percentages are also recorded in the Cracow (15.2) and Wrocław (12.9) voivodships⁷. One should add that about 35,000 students are attending the eight schools of higher education in the voivodship, and over 7,000 persons graduate every year. Also the percentage of employees with general and technical secondary education is higher than in other voivodships.

c. The Large Proportion of Small Industrial Enterprises in the Overall Structure of Industry in the Voivodship

Assuming the small enterprises evince potentially the greatest propensity to introduce innovations, this element

of the structure of the Poznań economy should be regarded as a very essential one.

In 1983 enterprises employing from 51 to 500 persons accounted for almost a half (47.9 per cent) of the entire sold production of the socialized sector in the voivodship, whereas the national percentage was only 30.2. On the other hand, large enterprises, employing over 500 persons, were responsible for 42.0 per cent of the sold production, with the national percentage being 62.9. It is worth adding that in the Poznań voivodship there are no enterprises with employment of over 5,000 persons, whereas on the national scale this group of enterprises are responsible for as much as 17.8 per cent of the industrial output.

d. Concentration of Foreign Enterprises (Especially Polish-Foreign Enterprises)

Poznań is the second largest centre of foreign enterprises in Poland (after Warsaw). In 1984 there were 57 foreign firms, which employed a total of 3,880 persons (or 9.1 per cent of the total employment in foreign enterprises in Poland)⁸. In view of the character and specificity of these enterprises, they are an element of the economic structure of the voivodship whose existence is dependent in large measure on innovation processes.

e. The Holding of Fairs, Especially the Poznań International Fair

Although the influence of the Poznań International Fair upon technological progress in Poznań enterprises is difficult to distinguish in statistics, one should assume that such an influence does exist and that it is stronger in the Poznań voivodship than in other voivodships in Poland.

f. The Existence in the Voivodship of a Group of Enterprises Equipped with Modern Installations and Manufacturing Highly Refined Products

Examples of such enterprises are provided by the Telkom-Teletra tele-electronics works or the Tonsil enterprise in

Września, which manufacture very modern products (computerized telecommunications equipment for ships and loudspeakers, respectively), competitive on Western markets. These and similar enterprises are the natural "leaders" of technological progress and, through cooperation, contribute to the diffusion of innovation processes. The latter factor is not a differentiating one on an inter-voivodship scale. Only concrete studies aimed at determining the number of such enterprises and the force of their influence on technical progress in other enterprises can provide the basis for perceiving inter-voivodship differences (such studies are still lacking).

Information on which of the afore-mentioned external factors and what internal factors in enterprises had an effect on innovations and what was the scale and quality of these innovations is provided by the results of questionnaire surveys presented below.

2. Presentation of Results of General Questionnaire Surveys

The research team elaborated a questionnaire and tested it on selected enterprises. Subsequently, in consultation with the Planning Commission of the Voivodship Office in Poznań, it sent them to all state industrial enterprises and industrial enterprises functioning on the basis of full economic calculus in the Poznań voivodship. Similar questionnaires were sent to all socialized building enterprises and municipal enterprises in the voivodship. Moreover, questionnaires were sent to all cooperative industrial enterprises in the Poznań voivodship, associated in the Central Union of Industrial Cooperatives, Central Union of Dairy Cooperatives, Central Union of Horticultural and Apicultural Cooperatives, Union of Invalids' Cooperatives, Central Union of Cooperatives of the Blind, and the Cepelia.

Completed questionnaires were returned only by a part of the enterprises. As shown in Table A, the ratio of the number of questionnaires received to the number of questionnaires sent out differed depending on the type of enterprises.

Table A

Questionnaires Sent to and Received from
Individual Types of Enterprises in the
Poznań Voivodship

Type of enterprise	Number of questionnaires sent out	Number of questionnaires received	Percentage of questionnaires received
State industrial enterprises	119	72	60.5
Cooperative industrial enterprises	90	33	36.7
Socialized building enterprises	55	38	69.1
Municipal enterprises	26	13	50.0

Questionnaires sent in by state industrial enterprises were elaborated in most detail. The majority of these questionnaires were worked out according to three criteria: the branch of industry, the size of the enterprise, and the location of the enterprise⁹. Questionnaires sent in by building enterprises were divided into those received from enterprises supervised and not supervised by the Voivodship Office in Poznań. What justifies such a division is the fact that building enterprises supervised by the Voivodship Office include mainly housing, agricultural, and municipal construction enterprises, and thus enterprises meeting the needs of the voivodship. Questionnaires received from municipal enterprises and co-operatives were elaborated without additional divisions.

We shall begin the presentation of the results of the questionnaire surveys by showing the type, scale, and quality of innovations introduced in the enterprises. Comparing the results obtained, we can notice that new products appear most frequently in industrial enterprises. Innovations of this type were recorded in over 70 per cent of the enterprises. Interestingly, such innovations were slightly more frequent

in cooperative enterprises. In state industry, the leading branches were: chemical industry and electroengineering industry.

The results of the surveys also show that the percentage of enterprises introducing new products is the smallest among enterprises employing up to 500 persons. Only about a half (56.5 per cent) of state enterprises of this type introduced such innovations. Another noteworthy fact is that, from the point of view of location, a slightly larger percentage of enterprises introducing new products was recorded among state enterprises located outside Poznań than among enterprises located in the capital of the voivodship.

In building enterprises, new products appear much less frequently than in industry. Only every third building enterprise introduced new products. As regards municipal enterprises, new products were an extremely rare occurrence, for only in one such enterprise new products were introduced.

Changes in production technology are another type of innovations. The number of state industrial enterprises which after January 1, 1980, introduced such innovations was the same as in the case of new products. The largest number of new technologies were introduced in the light, electroengineering, and chemical industries, and the smallest number in the timber and paper industry. As in the previous case, the smallest number of technological innovations were introduced in enterprises with the lowest employments. On the other hand, there was no significant difference between enterprises located in Poznań and outside it.

In cooperative industrial enterprises, technological innovations were less frequent than new products (only 57 per cent of the enterprises introduced such innovations), whereas in building enterprises the percentage of technological innovations was about 30, the same as in the case of new products. No technological innovations were recorded in municipal enterprises.

In order to present in more detail the character of innovations introduced in enterprises, the authors included in the questionnaire questions concerning the degree of novelty of

new products and technologies. The information obtained shows that the degree of novelty of new products was the highest in state industrial enterprises¹⁰. The degree of novelty of both new products and technologies in small enterprises was distinctly lower than in large enterprises.

Another confirmation of this thesis is the fact that new products manufactured by cooperative industrial enterprises (which are usually small) are distinctly less original than new products manufactured by large enterprises. New products introduced by building enterprises represented the lowest degree of novelty.

As regards technological changes, their degree of novelty was lower than that of new products. The highest degree was recorded in state industry, notably the chemical and food-processing industries. As we have already said, the degree of novelty of both new products and technologies was rather low in the smallest enterprises. From the point of view of location, enterprises did not differ much as regards the degree of novelty of new products, whereas in the case of technological innovations the degree of novelty was distinctly higher in industrial enterprises located in Poznań.

A similar, very low degree of novelty of technological innovations was recorded in cooperative industrial enterprises and building enterprises.

A large part of the enterprises which introduced new technologies also started manufacturing new products. This implies a relationship between technological innovations and product innovations. The surveys have confirmed this fact, at least with respect to industrial enterprises. In building enterprises, however, the dependence of new products on new technologies is relatively small. Interestingly enough, this relationship is somewhat closer in cooperative industrial enterprises. State industry is quite differentiated in this respect. The dependence is most conspicuous in the timber and paper, chemical, and electroengineering industries and smaller in the power and fuel, light, and food-processing industries. From the point of view of the size of the enterprise, the relationship between new technologies and new

products is the loosest in the smallest enterprises.

With a view to presenting innovations in more detail, the surveys also examined the influence of the individual types of innovations upon sales, profits, costs of production, labour productivity, and the incomes of employees. As regards the influence of product innovations, it was quite similar in both state and cooperative industry and in building. The influence was the strongest as regards increase of sales and also profits of enterprises. Only in building enterprises, the influence of new products on profits was distinctly weaker. In about a half of the industrial and building enterprises, product innovations exerted an influence on labour productivity. The influence was much weaker in the case of production costs¹¹ and the incomes of employees. As regards state industry, it is difficult to say which groups of enterprises - distinguished according to branch or employment - were more susceptible and which were less susceptible to the influence of new products.

The influence of technological innovations on the above-mentioned magnitudes was much more differentiated. In all groups of enterprises, new technologies exerted a strong influence on the increase of labour productivity. In state industrial enterprises, new technologies also contributed to a decline of productions costs and increase of sales and profits. In cooperative industrial enterprises, innovations of this type contributed, above all, to an increase in sales and profits, and in building enterprises they led to a rise in employees' incomes and decrease of production costs. One should add that the influence of technological innovations on the above-mentioned magnitudes was the strongest in the smallest enterprises, employing up to 500 persons. A careful examination of innovations in small-scale metal industry confirms the relatively insignificant influence of changes in products or technologies on profits and employees' incomes¹². Especially the influence of innovations on the latter magnitude was imperceptible or even negative.

The results concerning the character, scale, and quality of innovations can be interpreted more broadly if we discover

factors stimulating and factors impeding the introduction of innovations. These questions were the subject of the second part of the surveys.

The question about factors stimulating innovations was answered only by enterprises which introduced innovations. These enterprises could point to no more than six of the ten factors listed. The factors most frequently mentioned by state industrial enterprises included: employment problems, the demands of customers, problems with supply, reduction of costs, increase of the total amount of profits, and improvement in work safety and health. These factors were listed by 55.5 to 63 per cent of the enterprises. The least frequently mentioned factors included requirements of environmental protection (18.5 per cent), pay rises (35.2 per cent), and other factors (29.6 per cent).

An analysis of state industrial enterprises according to branches shows that the demands of environmental protection played the smallest role as a factor stimulating innovations in the electroengineering industry, which is the leading industry in the voivodship.

An analysis of factors stimulating innovations according to the size of enterprises shows that with the increase of the size of enterprises, the significance of employment problems, requirements of environmental protection, and reduction of costs as factors stimulating innovations likewise increases. A reverse tendency is recorded in the case of an increase in profits. Also significant is the smaller importance of customers' requirements for large enterprises.

In contrast to state enterprises, cooperative industrial enterprises much more frequently introduced innovations with a view to increasing profits and the pays of employees. Many innovations were intended to help to overcome difficulties with supply. On the other hand, cooperative enterprises introduced much less innovations than state industrial enterprises, connected with employment problems and improvement in labour safety and health.

One should also note that whereas both state and cooperative enterprises listed customers' demands in the first place

among factors stimulating innovations, building enterprises listed this factor as the fourth one, putting employment problems to the fore.

All enterprises, whether or not they introduced innovations, could present their views on factors hampering innovations. As in the previous case, enterprises could point to six out of ten factors impeding innovations.

More than a half of the state industrial enterprises emphasized four factors hampering innovations. These include:

- lack of material incentives (this factor was mentioned by the largest number of enterprises),
- lack of means to finance innovations,
- lack of foreign currency to finance innovations,
- lack of a sufficiently strong research and development base.

The remaining factors, such as difficulties with preparation of technical-economic documentation, legal and administrative barriers, difficulties in contacts with research and development units outside the enterprise, fear of risk, and other factors, clearly play a lesser role. This regularity was recorded in all industrial enterprises, both as a whole and when divided according to branch, size, and location.

What is astonishing is that enterprises located in Poznań mentioned more frequently than enterprises located in the voivodship difficulties in the preparation of technical-economic documentation, legal and administrative barriers, and lack of a research and development base. In accordance with expectations, however, enterprises located outside Poznań laid stronger emphasis on difficulties in contacts with other units and fear of risk.

In contrast to factors stimulating innovations, no major differences were recorded between state and cooperative industrial enterprises in the evaluation of factors impeding innovations. Such differences existed only in the case of building enterprises, which listed difficulties in the preparation of technical-economic documentation, legal and administrative barriers, and difficulties in contacts with research and development units outside the enterprise as

factors of equal importance as those mentioned by industrial enterprises.

Writing about factors hampering innovations, one should cite information received from enterprises on the subject of their research and development units and the innovation and rationalization movement. Of the 58 state industrial enterprises which introduced innovations, 18 had their own research and development units. Only two enterprises regarded the influence of the unit on innovations as exclusive, 13 as significant, and three as small. Enterprises which had their own research and development units were as a rule large enterprises, an overwhelming majority of them located in Poznań.

Cooperative industrial enterprises and building enterprises were in a much worse situation. Of the 27 cooperatives which introduced innovations, only three had their own research and development units, and of the 15 building enterprises which introduced innovations, only one had its own unit.

To the question about the existence of the innovation and rationalization movement, almost all enterprises answered positively. The influence of the movement on innovation processes was assessed most highly by building enterprises, 64 per cent of which considered this influence as significant. In the group of state industrial enterprises, the influence of the innovation and rationalization movement on innovations was evaluated as significant by 53 per cent of the enterprises, and in the group of cooperative enterprises, only 32 per cent of the cooperatives viewed this influence as significant.

A next part of the questionnaire was devoted to examination of relations between enterprises and their environment. This part contained questions concerning evaluation of the general and specific location of enterprises, the location of the chief suppliers and buyers, and appraisal of cooperation with other institutions in initiating and implementing technical progress. The list of potential partners of enterprises in their efforts to introduce technical progress included universities, research centres of the Polish Academy of Sciences, industrial research centres, the Central Technical Organization and other professional organizations, enterprises from

the same branch, and enterprises from other branches. For all the above-mentioned institutions, four possible locations were defined: the Poznań voivodship, the neighbouring voivodships, the remaining voivodships, and foreign countries. The importance of cooperation with other institutions was classified in six categories: lack of cooperation, very little, little, average, considerable, and decisive importance.

Most of the enterprises surveyed (irrespective of the group of enterprises) positively assessed their general and specific location, although more positive appraisals concerned general location. In this connections, one should think that location does not pose any special obstacle to enterprises' contacts with the environment. It was also found that a positive assessment of location was more frequent among enterprises located in Poznań (as compared with enterprises located in the voivodship) and among large enterprises. These two regularities were recorded in the group of state industrial enterprises. The largest number of positive appraisals of both general and specific location was recorded among state industrial enterprises and building enterprises (81-86 per cent of positive appraisals of general location and 67-72 per cent of positive appraisals of specific location). Cooperative industrial enterprises evaluated their location somewhat less positively (69 per cent and 56 per cent of positive appraisals of location, respectively). The situation was the worst in the group of municipal enterprises (42 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively), which is very significant considering that these enterprises work mainly for the needs of the local economy.

As regards the location of customers, one can clearly distinguish two groups of enterprises. The first includes state and cooperative industrial enterprises which have customers all over the country (ties with the local economy do not dominate in this case). The second comprises building and municipal enterprise which have customers mainly in the Poznań voivodship.

The suppliers of the enterprises surveyed also constitute a differentiated group in terms of location. No location ca-

category dominated in this group. State industrial enterprises (especially medium-sized and large) have the largest number of contacts with customers and suppliers abroad. Next come cooperative, building, and municipal enterprises.

The evaluation of enterprises' cooperation in the field of technical progress was differentiated, depending on the type of the partner institution and its location. Generally speaking, most enterprises surveyed did not maintain contacts with universities. The situation was somewhat better as regards cooperation with technical universities, especially the Poznań Technical University. State industrial enterprises, especially large ones, had the largest number of contacts with the Poznań Technical University, whereas other groups of enterprises described these contacts as insignificant.

Research centres of the Polish Academy of Sciences do not constitute important partners to any group of enterprises, while branch research centres are chiefly partners of industrial enterprises and building enterprises. It is also characteristic that enterprises cooperate with branch research centres located mainly in the Poznań voivodship and in the remaining voivodships.

The most frequently listed partners of enterprises' cooperation in the field of technical progress include the Central Technical Organization and other professional organizations, and specifically their branches in the Poznań voivodship. The largest number of contacts and the highest appraisal of cooperation were declared by state industrial enterprises. Next come building, cooperative, and municipal enterprises. Among state industrial enterprises, the number and significance of contacts increase with the size of the enterprise.

Cooperation with other enterprises from the same branch varies in the individual groups of enterprises. Intra-branch contacts are relatively the most frequent among state industrial enterprises (especially medium-sized and large ones) and building enterprises, whereas cooperative industrial enterprises and municipal enterprises maintained few intra-branch contacts.

Contacts with enterprises from the same branch, located

in other voivodships, were more frequent than contacts with enterprises in the Poznań voivodship.

Cooperation in the field of technical progress with enterprises from other branches had the largest scope in the group of industrial and building enterprises, while in the group of cooperative and municipal enterprises these contacts were negligible. It is also characteristic that enterprises from other branches, important partners of cooperation in the field of technical progress, are located in all parts of the country. Thus, contacts within the Poznań voivodship do not dominate.

Concluding, one should add that cooperation in the field of technical progress with foreign institutions is highly irregular in all groups of enterprises surveyed. Sporadic cases of cooperation with foreign institutions were recorded mainly among large and medium-size state industrial enterprises (chiefly electroengineering enterprises).

3. Presentation of Results of Specific Questionnaire Surveys

The questionnaire surveys presented above provided general information on innovations and factors influencing them in a very large and diversified group of enterprises in the Poznań voivodship. Parallel to these studies, more extensive questionnaire surveys of innovations were conducted in 18 small metal industry enterprises in Wielkopolska (Greater Poland). They embraced three branches most representative of small-scale metal industry: industry manufacturing metal articles of general use, industry manufacturing metal products for industry, and industry manufacturing tools. The enterprises surveyed included industrial and invalids' cooperatives, economic units of social organizations, and one key industry enterprise which formerly belonged to small-scale industry. The information collected concerned selected individual cases of applications of technical innovations in the 1975-1984 period. Altogether, 26 cases of applications of new technical solutions were examined, including 21 cases in the city of Poznań and the Poznań voivodship and five cases in neighbour-

ing voivodships.

Specific studies of innovations in small-scale metal industry permitted to discern a number of problems overlooked in the questionnaire sent to all enterprises in the Poznań voivodship. One should presume that problems identified in small-scale metal industry enterprises occur also in other types of enterprises in view of the similar internal and external conditions in which they function.

Analyzing innovations introduced in small-scale metal industry enterprises, we can notice that these were minor innovations, consisting chiefly in small improvements in production methods and construction of products, or in taking up products which nobody associates with the concept of modernity, e.g. wire baskets, necktie hangers, fireman's axes, etc. Innovations prevailed, which did not require outlays exceeding 200,000 or even 100,000 zlotys, took little time to be implemented, and represented a low technical standard.

It is very significant that designs of these innovatory solutions were elaborated mainly in the enterprises implementing them. Only in one case, a new technical solution was worked out in the research and development unit of the superior institution, and in one case such a solution was elaborated by another research and development unit. Lack of broader cooperation with other units should be seen as one of the causes of the low quality of innovations introduced.

An analysis of motives inducing innovations in small-scale metal industry enterprises shows a considerable convergence with motives cited by other enterprises. They include market demand, striving to improve the economic results, work safety and health conditions, demands of customers, and supply problems. It is characteristic that enterprises in question seemed to care little about reducing material and energy intensity (these indices were not recorded in general surveys).

In contrast to studies on all enterprises in the Poznań voivodship, studies on innovations in small-scale metal industry encompassed not only the 1980s, but also the second half of the 1970s. This made it possible to present innovation activity in two different periods in the functioning of the

economy.

The surveys adopted as the data separating the two periods July 1, 1981, i.e. the day of entry into force of resolution no. 112 of the Council of Ministers concerning the development of small-scale industry. The division of innovations into those introduced in the first period (i.e. between January 1, 1975 and June 30, 1981) and those implemented in the second period (i.e. between July 1, 1981 and December 30, 1984) permitted to obtain some information on the influence of the economic crisis, on the one hand, and of the new principles of functioning of the economy, on the other hand, upon the scale and character of innovation processes. The data collected on small-scale metal industry enterprises in the second period showed deep regression in innovation activity. The scope of innovations in absolute terms diminished, and there were unfavourable shifts in the structure of innovations toward small changes representing a low technical standard and yielding insignificant economic results.

It is interesting and worth stressing that the collapse in innovation activity occurred in a period of a slight increase of the influence of the environment upon the elaboration and implementation of innovations in enterprises. Namely, it has been observed that there were more cases than in the previous period of the introduction of innovations worked out outside the enterprise - mainly in other enterprises. A certain growth was also recorded in the interest of research and development units in small-scale industry enterprises as implementers of their concepts and innovation projects.

With the introduction of the economic reform, some changes also occurred in the importance of motives inducing innovations. The enterprises surveyed pointed to the growing significance of improvement in economic results, improvement of quality and modernity of production, and improvement of work safety and health conditions as factors stimulating innovation. These declarations, however, have not led to an enlivening of innovation activity.

4. Summing-up

Studies on innovations in enterprises in the Poznań voivodship and on their local determinants make possible the formulation of a number of general remarks.

1. Many of the factors, described by foreign authors, conducive to rapid adaptation and diffusion of technical progress in the region can be discovered in the economy of the Poznań voivodship. One can conclude on this basis that, generally speaking, the potential and structure of the economy of the Poznań voivodship are favourable for the introduction of technical progress.

2. The innovation processes occurring in the economy of the Poznań voivodship are not connected with the establishment of small efficient firms manufacturing modern products, a phenomenon characteristic of advanced capitalist countries. This is proved by the fact that among the 156 enterprises which responded to the questionnaire, there was not a single enterprise founded after 1975 as a result of completion of a new investment project. Foreign enterprises were the only exception from this rule. About 60 such enterprises have been set up in the Poznań voivodship since 1980, but their potential constitutes but a small percentage of the total economic potential of the voivodship.

3. Since January 1, 1980, most of the enterprises surveyed have started manufacturing new products and introduced new production technologies. These changes, however, rarely consisted in the introduction of really modern products and technological processes. At the same time, the proportion of product innovations in overall output was in most enterprises insignificant.

4. The relatively low innovation activeness of enterprises in the Poznań voivodship results, above all, from the general economic situation in the country. Practice demonstrates that in the face of economic crisis, enterprises have found much easier ways to pursue their objectives than innovation activity. The deep economic disequilibrium, for example, encouraged enterprises to seek maximization of sales without

paying any attention to the quality and modernity of their products. Moreover, the fact that prices were computed on the basis of actual costs made totally unprofitable the introduction of innovations aimed at reduction of costs.

The factors hampering innovations, most frequently mentioned by enterprises surveyed, include: lack of means to finance investment projects, lack of a research base in the enterprises, difficulties in contacts with other institutions (above all, lack of strong ties with local research institutions), a low level of cooperation within the voivodship, and fear of risk.

From the point of view of the local economy, it is especially important to determine units which design new solutions and initiate their application. Surveys have shown that such units usually are enterprises themselves and, to a lesser extent, branch research centres and the Central Technical Organization.

5. One should expect that as the crisis is gradually overcome, the interest of enterprises in innovations will increase. Potential factors conducive to innovations, resulting from the specificity of the voivodship, cannot be disregarded by the voivodship authorities, even if at present they are not utilized. On the contrary, factors which are potential today ought to become really functioning factors tomorrow. It appears that the local authorities have considerable possibilities for action in this field. First of all, they should extend care to small enterprises, enable them to absorb technical progress by facilitating access to research units, setting up a data bank on new products and technologies, render financial, material, and personnel assistance.

Footnotes

¹ The present article is a synthesis of a broader work under the same title, prepared under the direction of B. Gruchman within the framework of problem MR.III-17-4-1 by a team of researchers from the Academy of Economics in Poznań, composed of: E. Gługiewicz, P. Gruszka, R. Kamiński, R. Kiedro-

wski. K. Zaristny. See Postęp techniczny a gospodarka lokalna (na przykładzie miasta Poznania i województwa poznańskiego), Poznań 1985 (typescript).

² Cf. e.g. P. Aydalot, Technologies nouvelles et développement territorial, Groupe "Technologies Nouvelles et Espace", Paris, October 1984.

³ Location of High Technology Firms and Regional Development. Case Study of the United States, Workshop, Paris, October 1983. OECD.

⁴ D.Maillat, The Industrialisation, Tertiary-type Activities and Redeployment: The "Arc-Jurassien Case", RSA, 24th European Congress, Milan 1984.

⁵ L.M. Bouilanne, D. Maillat, M. Rey, L'appui technologique des PME au niveau régional, Communauté d'Études pour l'Amenagement du Territoire, September 1983.

⁶ See Rocznik Statystyczny Województw 1984 (Statistical Yearbook of Voivodships 1984), Warszawa 1984, pp. 108-109.

⁷ Ibidem, pp. 64-65.

⁸ See Rocznik Statystyczny 1985 (Statistical Yearbook 1985), pp. 391-392.

⁹ The size of an enterprise is measured by the number of persons employed in it. Three employment intervals were distinguished: up to 500 persons, from 500 to 1,000 persons, and over 1,000 persons. In each interval there was a similar number of enterprises. Enterprises falling within the above-mentioned intervals were conventionally called: small, medium-sized, and large enterprises.

From the point of view of location, enterprises were divided into those located in the city of Poznań and those located in the Poznań voivodship (but outside the city).

¹⁰ Branches of industry representing the highest level of product innovations included, above all, the electro-engineering, chemical, and food-processing industries.

¹¹ Such situations were extremely rare especially in building enterprises.

¹² In this case, the influence of product innovations and technological innovations was not examined separately.

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ARTICULATION OF INTERESTS IN LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

The category of interests relates local authorities and policies to social (political) activity. Political activity is a distinguishing feature of a class of actions covered by a subclass "social activity". Social activity, in turn, will denote here the human activity oriented on satisfying the needs of individuals, groups of individuals, communities, institutions, organizations, etc. Political activity will denote the activity of the subjects of policies, which is directed toward satisfying the needs and interests of the society. Chiefly it concerns actions designed to articulate, protect, maintain self-interests of social interests.

Political activity could be described by way of examining the relationship between what it is designed to produce for the subject himself, and what other political subjects expect to gain, i.e., a profit/loss relationship. One could distinguish the following articulations of political activity:

1. Altruistic activity.

Activity so modelled that the external political object - or the "addressee" of requests and postulates - should profit irrespective of the fact whether the "sender" loses or not.

2. Auxiliary activity.

Activity so modelled that the "addressee" profits, while the "sender" bears only neutral costs of activity (effort, time, etc.).

3. Cooperation activity.

Action so modelled as to bring profit to both parties.

4. "Ipso facto" activity.

Action so modelled as to profit the "sender", while social good remains unaffected. No one else except the "sender" gains or loses.

5. Egoistic activity.

Action so modelled as to profit the "sender", the losses borne by the "addressee" are a side-effect. It is a "no-directed activity towards other interests.

6. Exploitation activity.

Action so modelled as to profit the "sender" at the expense of the "addressee".

A local system comprises the following variations of articulatory activity:

1. actions taken within the framework of formalized groups (their organizations), by passing the central decision-making body;

2. actions taken by groups and organizations towards central decision-makers;

3. political actions of the centre toward its surroundings;

4. political actions within the framework of the central decision-making body;

5. political actions where the "actor" cannot be clearly distinguished.

The analysis of political actions done on the grounds of political science and in the light of local authority experience should discern between a number of planes of articulation. First of all we should analyze the following:

- the targets of political actions: big social groups, interests groups;

- immediate actors: decision-making centres, social and political organizations;

- intermediaries in political activity together with a characteristic of various environments in which they operate.

- political actions vis à vis other points of reference than those of the "actors" and "addressees" e.g., man-mac and other objects, attitudes, etc.

A proper typology of political actions requires a correct diagnosis of the mechanisms of motivation. There are three well-known theories (hypotheses):

- individualistic, saying that man never loses his own interests from sight, while his social activity is just another way of securing individual profit¹;

- psychological theory of "internalization of norms" saying that man adopts norms of community or group-oriented activity in a process of political socialisation;

- normative hypothesis of collectivism which claims that social relations should be so ordered as to make social good the main driving force of motivation, which would not prejudice one's own interests.

Motivation of political actions could be traced back to broadly conceived processes of data processing in social consciousness, and its main sources would include the needs and interests stimulating actions in effect of :

- discrepancies between a perception of the normal state and the information from within;

- discrepancies between "ideal standards" and reality;

- development changes.

Other reasons include a potential for an effective articulation of the interests which spell the conditions for making, implementing and carrying through various political decisions.

The political process could be divided into several phases. The criteria employed here include: identification (of political process), the actor, the time factor.

The political (decision-making) process goes through the following stages:

1. identification of needs;
2. definition of interests;
3. presentation of political postulates;

4. setting priorities by a decision-making centre and stating their scope;

5. coordination of interests and formulation of decisions.

In model understanding of political process the articulation of policies would refer to the first three stages, which are characterized by the following: a gradual progress in the implementation of interests; variety of "contractors" of interests (individual, a social group, a political organization, a decision-making centre), and various time bracket for each stage of the process².

Now let us try to characterize each stage of the political articulation of interests.

Stage One: Identification of Social Needs.

This stage will relate not so much to the origin of interest but rather to the ways it develops i.e., how it first surfaces and how it is identified. The mechanism of the identification of needs provides at the same time a plane on which social contradictions come into view. The basic forms of this mechanisms are:

1. political activity of social groups and collectives directly interested in the identification of their needs (direct action and indirect activity through representatives, spokesmen, etc.);

2. activity of specialized state bodies such as e.g., planning institutions, administration, party offices, social and political organizations;

3. activity of intermediary bodies int.al., surveys and expertises from advisory bodies, public relations, representatives from the press, radio or tv, etc.

Before we proceed to describe each of the forms of that mechanism let us outline how the state of unfulfillment grows into the state of concern culminating in political action.

It is not infrequently that no major political action is taken by a group whose interests could in theory be described as strongly enough articulated and justified. It is so because

the interests of such a group have no bearing on the priority of decisions taken within a political system (they never are "input" into the system). These are non-identified interests of a group, community or social aggregates. The needs of such a group are for various reasons removed from political life, nor can they at a given moment enter the political system. This is by no means to say that unidentified interests remain only a theoretical construct. It is possible and quite often encountered on mass scale that taking up or restraining from a particular activity (more often individual actions by people making up a group) may serve as an indicator of unidentified needs. Typically such actions are spontaneous, incidental and lacking in organization. When the specialized bodies of the mechanism of identification of needs fail then we may turn for help to such sources as:

- appeals by neutral, non-committed individuals who are not interested in giving precise articulation to an interest of either group;
- psychological indicators of the urgency of needs (e.g., signalled by various forms of mass culture).

It is worthwhile to mention in this place that not all requirements addressed to a political system may be regarded as being a way of articulating group interests. We refer here primarily to the kind of political activity which focuses on single and unrelated acts of individual persons, and which could only be registered occasionally. These phenomena are referred to as the manifestation of needs in view of the fact that they stand only a slim chance of growing into something as big as social demands.

The needs could be distinguished from interests upon a decision whether:

1. the demands addressed to a political system require a change in/or recapturing of the existing balance of the system, and
2. meeting the demands could be handled within the framework of the existing order in which goods are distributed.

What decides about a given repertory of needs eventually

growing into a political postulate is access to the channels of articulation of the system. Here we could distinguish a number of aspects.

First, it is not unlikely that unfulfilled group needs could be the effect of a lack or insufficient access to articulation channels. Besides objective reasons one could also point to deliberate neglect of "official" channels of articulation. The unwillingness could have various motives rooted in political alienation³. By political alienation we will understand an unwillingness to make use of accessible channels of articulation for a variety of reasons of which two seem to dominate. They are: the place of groups and individuals in socio-political structure, and the psychological elements. A good example from our political system is the distrust of the conservative segments of our social structure (e.g., part of intelligentsia) for the channels of articulation created by the new political system - socialism. Similarly, the psychological barriers with respect to those channels among the unprivileged classes (workers and farmers).

Alienation postures usually manifest themselves in two ways. One is the so-called participation model - when attitudes are oriented on the transformation of articulation channels and, the withdrawal model - characteristic for the attitudes of non-involvement in political dealings with the "official" channels of articulation.

Examples of participation attitudes include:

- a) activity conforming to political norms defined by relevant laws;
- b) activity inconsistent with political norms and laws;
- c) activity on the territory not covered by legal norm, non-political in nature, where a political commitment takes the form of "social protest" or participation in "subcultures".

The withdrawal attitude is best expressed by e.g., non-participation in general elections as a symbol of disapproval of the political system. The differences in the models of expression stem from various types of political alienation which include:

a) a sense of helplessness - borne out of a belief that political activity (individual or collective) could not elicit the desired political decisions;

b) a suspicion or an impression that the channels of articulation are being "unfair" and remain closed when it comes to addressing the interests of certain social groups;

c) an impression of disarray - meaning a belief that the ways and means of how the system works is something that cannot be comprehended, nor is it possible to pass opinion on political moves or effects of political action;

d) isolation - the alienated groups downgrade the channels of articulation which are highly thought of by those at the political driving wheel.

The above models and types of alienation are closely related. For example, social needs fail to grow into political demands because of alienation attitudes of people who withdraw on their own from active politics as a result of hostility toward the legal channels of articulation, and instead getting involved with illegal models of articulation.

Second, the transformation of needs into postulates is based on a hypothesis that the interested group not so much lacks access to articulation channels but rather sees no connection between unfulfilled needs and irregularities in the distribution of goods.

Such situations always require a decision from the political system regarding the structure of articulation channels. These are largely of class character i.e., they usually facilitate the surfacing of the needs of the ruling class which quite often leads to concealing the fundamental social contradictions. The other needs are processed by the political system through a complex mechanism described by A. Kamiński⁴.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that suppression of the transformation of needs into interests is the outcome of the adoption of such criteria of selection which effectively reduce the chances of smaller interests to surface than those ascribed to the privileged group. It is, however, also the result of the mechanism of needs which:

- eliminates the needs which may erode political system;
- eliminates the needs which the political system is unable to satisfy due to scarcity of social resources;
- eliminates the needs by making appearances that they are being seen to (substitutional meeting of needs).

Third, identification of needs could be examined in relation to the potential of a given group. This problem is reflected e.g., in the present-day socio-economic policies. Quite often the development of new housing estates and housing policies in the country coupled with the creation of new jobs unwittingly trigger off massive and in the longer run consequential migrations of the people from different social environments. Eventually needs which are obvious for some of them e.g., commuters, stand a slim chance of ever growing into interests because it is extremely unlikely that any of their representatives could command the necessary potential to voice his group's interest. These assumptions are backed by hard evidence from research on housing and environment problems in Poland. As a rule a typical resident in a housing estate is deeply dubious as to the effectiveness of such bodies as residents' committees, local house management authorities or a housing cooperative.

A situation in which some interests are more audible than others prompt a conclusion that regardless of the mechanisms of argumentation and representation of interests in every political system the means and channels of identification of needs are not evenly allocated. This claim is evidenced by the existence and perpetuation of a number of social inequalities which could hardly be justified in a socialist society by the legacy of the "old-type" social relations. The articulation is also the function of such variables as the intellectual horizon of the people or their abilities to pass a proper judgement on the chance of their needs being implemented i.e., the kind of perceptive insight into the works of political actions. But not only. Active identification of needs might spring from something else apart from the realization of the fact alone. It may be stimulated by some external force e.g., ideologues,

spiritual leaders, the top political managers of the system etc.

Peoples' needs take on a variety of shapes. Individual or group actions are not driven by identical needs, or interests, and people not always unite under the same goals, instead they keep themselves busy pushing their own needs. In case of a group this requires a deep commitment and engagement in the realization of a long-term programme, especially during its initial stages when there is room for leaders and leading groups capable of taking the lead and integrate the rest around them. In the process, the leaders have a chance to gain popularity. They are entrusted with a task of spelling out the goals and waking up the dormant will of their group. They give them a form and a direction toward attaining the accumulated needs.

Such individuals are called in the language of behavioural political sciences ideologues, or animators. If they manage to combine also (as it usually happens) the skills of integrating the political interests of the group, they become leaders, political top-men, etc. Their position in the group is defined by the amount of their involvement and commitment to vringing to life its needs and interests. With respect to the articulation of social interests the above facts seem to bear the greatest weight for the stage of the identification of needs. The implementation of interests, for its part, should be analyzed in connection of needs. In the political system of Poland we can distinguish the following channels:

1. System of representatives.

Needs are identified through the electrorate during general elections and during the term of office of the representative of particular interests;

2. The party system

The party statute obliges the party members to "... relay to the party the postulates and opinions of the working people, take care of their needs, to use their activity and attitudes to win trust and support among the non-party ...", "...

eliminate all manifestations of evil and unlawfulness from social life ..."

In general terms the above duties would be binding for the members of parties other than the communist party. The scope of the duties would depend on the degree of articulation of interests throughout the entire political system. So while the communist party - in view of the all-national nature of the ideology and the actually performed functions in a socialist country - acts as a spokesman of the entire nation, the allied groupings fulfill this function with two restrictions. They represent:

- a) mostly the class and strata interests of large social groups: the United Peasant Party - the farmers, and Social Democratic Party - the intelligentsia, craftsmen, private sector politically allied with the working class, and,
- b) such needs and interests which the party deems as being correct and concurrent with the needs and interests of the nation at large.

Another important limitation to the function of identifying the needs in a party system is the fact that political parties today not only do not restrict their activity - according to M. Sadowski⁵ - to advance current economic interests but openly delegate this function to social organizations (in bourgeois societies this function is delegated to interest groups), which leave to the parties the representation of the opinions and interests of classes and milieus and keep for their competence the function of identifying the broadest social needs.

3. The system of social organizations

The social organizations shall include here all channels of identifying social needs which play the role int.al., of articulators of interests. In the conditions of the Polish political system these channels occupy the leading position in addressing the interests of local communities.

4. The system of social self-government

Under the conditions of socialism, social self-government

is conceived as the partner in state activity. In Poland today one could distinguish the following types of self-governing bodies: the self-government of employees on the shop-floor level, the self-governing bodies of farmers, town residents and villagers; the self-governments organized along professional lines, and the People's Councils (territorial self-government).

5. Other forms of identifying needs

Under this heading we include the remaining institutions concerned with articulating interests. Among them an important place is occupied by such channels as the media and the centres acting within and outside the political system. This heading also covers important political figures enjoying high socio-political prestige.

So far we have discussed the identification of needs and interests in connection with group potential. Such approach was the consequence of the assumption that it is the group itself which is the active agent, while the decision-making centre is the "addressee". However, in the local political system, this assumption is only partially correct, if only for the fact that the initiative rests with the central authorities. Therefore a complete picture could only be obtained if the two aspects were considered as reference for every decision-making step up to the stage of formulating a postulate. At this stage the function of specialized channels of articulation could be comprehended in two ways. One, as the receiving uncoordinated signals from various milieus, and second, as institutions stimulating an unfettered emergence of needs.

Using a simplified analogy to biological-psychological mechanisms of how needs come about, the works of the channels of articulation could be explained as follows. First, the balance in the structure and the environment of a group (individual) is upset causing enhanced activity to acquire desired goods. This triggers off the whole reaction and stimulates the receptors ready to detect this unusual activity. Typically it translates into e.g., a livelier than

usual influx of letters from the public, or it may manifest itself in a greater demand for some goods, be it material or cultural. All this sets off the regulatory mechanisms, which do not belong to the system but work as preventive measures to contain the situation. Next, we can observe quick changes in the behaviour of the group (individual) leading to a sense of anxiety and a readiness to satisfy the need which had engendered the whole situation. Next, action is taken to satisfy the need. Next, the slow-down mechanisms are activated causing a temporary break in the process. After some time the action is resumed and continues until balance is regained.

The decision-making centre can use the articulation channels to:

1. cause a shortage of the good indispensable for the satisfaction of a given need;
2. activate negative stimulation to disintegrate the group along with its needs and interests;
3. drive a wedge between attitudes (expectations and habits) and the reality;
4. promote the view that no such discrepancies exist;
5. direct the attention of the public not only to the present reality but also to what might happen in future (shortages, disintegration, controversies, social nostalgia).

It follows from the above that identification of needs is not the sole concern of social groups but also depends on the decision-making centre and its appropriate use of the available ways and means of stimulating and controlling the process of articulation in its initial stage.

In practical terms, the identification of social needs on local level does not appear too complex a task, especially when there are insufficient supplies of basic goods (even more so considering the real purchasing power and the level of aspirations). Empirical research provides ample evidence that unfulfilled needs are perceived with equal clarity by the political authorities and the population. However, the two sides may differ as to the perception of the preferences and criteria applied to determine the order of needs to be satisfied (and by the same token also their identification).

Theoretical solutions to the above-presented problems should be based on the facts of socio-political life (i.e., the overall message sent by the intensity of demands and postulates advanced by various social groups). This general thesis is beginning to take on a more concrete shape if we refer it to local policy-making. Then a number of determinants and restraints of local decisions have to be considered. The general characteristics of local decisions written into the theoretical model of analysis ought to concern the margin of freedom. This in turn is limited by restraints of internal or external nature, independent or dependent, economic, political or ideological as well as sociological and organizational all working differently in various time perspective. The research procedures designed to explain the phenomena and processes affecting local policy-making largely depend on the description and reconstruction of every type of determinants.

The internal determinants include those related to the characteristics of the local political and economic systems. The external determinants cover the effects of the overall national activity. These two looks are not intended to signal a hidden part-versus-whole opposition (e.g., the overall national system and the local system) but they are to better throw into relief and give the right proportions to the specificity of the function of the local political system all the more so that it is hardly acceptable that the local policy-making in Poland is but a scaled-down model of the overall system. Therefore the division into external and internal determinants seems to be more rational in its functional aspect than in genetic or structural aspects. The independent determinants group those which remain, in the decision-maker's view, outside his reach, Centralistic properties of the Polish political system seem to suggest that a local decision-maker is operating with his autonomy seriously restricted. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the margin of freedom is large enough to necessitate a look at dependent determinants which are related only (or mainly) to a local decision-maker. These

determinants are closely tied to the margin of freedom e.g., they are related to. say, execution of a given economic strategy, or the overall pattern of political thinking, or more precisely, the preferences defined by a number of factors including subjective factors. The scope for manoeuvre is doubtless restrained by the potential of the independent determinants under the command of a decision-maker which he is inclined to consider. Putting independent and dependent determinants in separate boxes, notwithstanding the arbitrariness of the move itself, is important if only for the fact that any change in this field (e.g., a reform of administrative units, usually means a serious overhaul not only of local policies but also general political strategies. It could also be noted that a number of determinants may change their character from independent to dependent when viewed in a longer perspective. Then the time factor should be considered as a variable which modifies or consolidates given modes of conduct in the implementation of decisions by the local political system.

The discussion of the relations between economics, politics and ideology should consider the following criteria of the determinants of decisions:

- economic determinants - defined by economic resources (both identified and prospective) with respect to the local system communes and to national economy;
- political determinants - connected with the functioning and structure of the overall and local systems and also resulting from the interactions between them. The basic criterium of political determinants is the real or hypothetical, formal (institutional) or informal state of needs, interests and their image (against the background of national affairs) among groups and individuals together with the influence on the system decisions;
- ideological determinants - any determinants related to current opinions and evaluations passed on the needs, interests, values and norms relating to the society at large both in their traditional form or adopted to suit a concrete policy line. The political norms and values, which

function in practice, compose a hierarchical system ordered by the principles of superiority and inferiority, directiveness and instrumentality as well as relative exchangeability of functions. (These principles may not be rigorously executed depending on the situation);

- socio-organizational determinants - the these stem from the following sources: the characteristic of a given social structure, the intellectual potential of local community, individual personality profiles, the threshold of acceptability for unorthodox political solutions, etc. For example, such organizational determinants arise out of the internal division of work, within a political or economic institution, a system of cooperation, a system of information interchange/flow, personal policies, etc.

Putting into focus the variety and complexity of the determinants of the local-level policy-making system serves the purpose of throwing the whole problem into sharper focus for should we say, didactic purposes rather than providing sound grounds for taking decision. The interrelations of the above determinants (e.g., dependent-economic-short-term-internal) may serve as analytical situation models the accuracy of which should be judged by practitioners. It would not be too difficult to provide fitting illustrations, but any attempt to turn theory into practice should remember that the identification of social needs requires in the first place continuous, up-to-date and long-range analysis of facts and realities from socio-political life as well as institutional and political potential.

Stage Two: Arguing for Interests

This stage is to some extent a continuation of the preceding stage but at the same time it is a qualitatively new development. This stage is directed towards giving a political edge to interests i.e., presenting it as the effect of a political decision. It is also the stage where the identified needs aggregated on various planes and according to various criteria. Finally, it is the stage at which selection comes into play.

The Planes of Aggregation of Interests

Let it be noted that in order to win broad social support any interest must so presented as to appear to concern everybody. Probably, general support is linked with higher chances of success in carrying through actions aimed at eliciting some political decision. This involves a collective behaviour which should be associated not only with the convergence of interests but also with the sense of being part of a community. The interests that are being initially spelled out initiate further action and become one of many motivations during the next stages. This is how an ideological superstructure is erected over real interests; this superstructure later on plays an important role of a "booster" for some interests and also suppresses others. The ideology thus conceived is a carrier of an "interest aggregation"⁶ for the promotion of ways and means to help articulate the interests of a group. Thus at the base of every articulation lie first of all the social values which are accepted by a given political system. These values are part of ideology and play a crucial role in the process of articulation.

Next in importance come the political norms, which are burdened with the task of providing ideological groundwork. The techniques of manipulating the mechanisms of power and typical forms of argumentation for some postulate refer to, in the first instance, advanced and actual socio-political values operating in a given political system. W. Narojek in his analysis of the influences on the decision-making of local authorities in the socialist country introduced a term "political symbols". It denotes the bases of communication between the community and local councillors and representatives of organizations active in shaping local policies. The author uses the term to describe the instruments which help the decision-maker to understand what is going on and it is also employed to apply moral pressure on the decision-maker and his policy through reminding him his system of values.

It seems however that more important is the pressure of a political and ideological nature since the decision-maker and

the group need not be guided by the same set of values. Given a strong pressure applied by the group the decision-maker will have to give it priority over other groups regardless of what system of values he himself follows. The strongest arguments on the part of the group include a high degree of concentration, organization, communication, placement in the social structure and the accompanying circumstances. If these are fulfilled one could even imagine a situation when a group would advance views which are antagonistic toward the official ideology and yet win a priority treatment. Therefore, it seems that what we actually witness is a reference to socio-political values both normative and real rather than political symbols which carry with them options restricting some of the articulation techniques. Proceeding from empirical data W. Narojek distinguishes the following typical ideological arguments:

- bringing into focus the discomforts of a given or future state of affairs against the set standards of living;
- putting stress on the class links within a group, especially when it comes to a conflict of interests in satisfying non-equivalent needs by materially and socially divergent subjects;
- reviving martyrology, alluding to the recent national history.

In the references made to norms mention is made of the following:

- the laws of economy, the regularities of social and cultural life, which are presented as the duties on the part of the authorities;
- decent living conditions, promotion of economic development in the cities and the accompanying improvement in living standards, achieving a better overall satisfaction of needs;
- the interest of the whole society;
- improved performance on national level.

The ideological plane provides the broadest platform for concretization of interests but there are also other planes. Here mention is due first of all to the class-strata level (the subjective range) when it comes to the distribution of

the national income, or the economic development (the objective range) or it may concern a political situation resulting from some coincidence of circumstances.

For example, surveys on district level conducted in 1973 show that in the greatest number of cases (37.0 percent) the basis of articulation has been the interest of professional groups (as regards socialized institutions, the interests of the people having some business to take to these institutions accounted for 18.4 per cent). The territorial or local matters accounted for 32.3 per cent (village problems, local territorial groups etc.), while the people referring their matters to local organizations accounted for 20.0 per cent. Demographic matters, and special groups (the disabled) provided additional planes for the articulation of interests. Ultimately, the sociological categories such as profession, neighbourhood and customers of socialized organizations provided the basic planes on which interests were articulated⁸.

Surveys of rural communities (W.Adamski) gave similar results and the interests there centered around in descending order: the family, the neighbourhood, formal organizations, institutionalized groups, profession, and special interest matters⁹. Slightly different conclusions were drawn by K. Jasiewicz in 1974 upon the examination of interviews with councillors of Voivodship People's Councils. The territorial plane (village, town, administrative district) accounted for 33.2 per cent, social-occupational groups (farmers, people employed in one branch etc.) made up 10.9 per cent, the institutional level (organizations, individual enterprises) - 10.6 per cent, other levels (car owners, village population etc.) - 10.0 per cent. No definite basis was determined for 35.1 per cent¹⁰.

Comparisons between the above findings are hardly possible owing to different scope or time frame but they provide a broad outline of the levels of aggregation of needs and interests on the middle and lower level of policy making in Poland.

The Mechanisms of Rationalizing the Interests

Quoting values (systems of values) or taking advantage of the interactions between the levels of interests does not exhaust the list of arguments used to rationalize group interests. The group usually has in store other arguments to reinforce their claims. Such arguments are as a rule closely related to the political system at large and ranked by the group according to their social, economic, political and ideological soundness and effective feasibility

The techniques of influencing the decision-making centres consist, in the main, in an appropriate (effective) engagement of economic or political assets. Other techniques are used when the strength of the assets is not sufficient or when the group has no assets at all. The assets include:

A. Quantitative arguments, with particular stress on the so-called degree of concentration in the political, economic, or spatial structure. Such arguments are nearly the most common way of advancing claims. For example, the leading role of the working class under socialism is asserted by quoting its percentage share in the generation of the national income, the socio-demographic structure etc. Such arguments are advanced to buttress the special priorities of such groups as e.g., the workers in large industrial areas.

B. Qualitative arguments, e.g., vast capabilities for mobilising a group (army, para-military organizations such as the militia, voluntary militia), economic, natural, financial, information advantages, etc.

C. Ways of keeping control of the decision-making and control of the ways the decisions are implemented. Such assets and their impact are being studied in depth in surveys of local authorities.

D. The potential hidden in the structure of the group leadership. The composition of the leading group is a great asset. It offers important opportunities of informal personal contacts which could be used to advocate the interests of the group.

E. Support of the public opinion, It would appear that public support represents an unreliable asset since at no time can one be sure about it but this would also have to be said about all other assets.

Now, the techniques of pressurising the decision-makers and winning some for the group interest include:

1. Actions with a "positive" core, like for example, voluntary work, collecting signatures on petitions, election of representatives and other awareness-rising actions.

2. Continuing interventions in support of a cause. Repeated or simultaneous submission of postulates independently to various channels of articulation (offices of state administration, institutions involved in the voting system, party branches, social institutions, the media) with a view to blow up the affair and consequently, increase the chance for success. Especially frequent here are letters from the public, complaints, petitions, criticism. They are at the same time a handy indication of the degree of satisfaction of social needs and the efficacy of the channels of articulation.

3. Public presentation of the problem. It covers a variety of intervention-oriented activities routinely applied when the channels of articulation are little efficient.

4. Psychological methods. The most popular form is gossip and dissemination of facts likely to win the applause of the public.

5. Bargaining techniques. This means achieving one's goals through concessions, mutual favours, agreements, alliances etc.

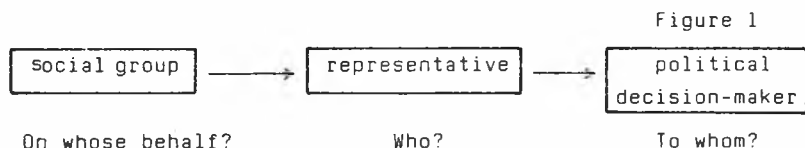
6. Actions bypassing some official levels. Usually this means pressurizing superior authorities directly especially through one or another asset. This technique is quite frequently prompted by disunity within the decision-making centre over e.g., the list of priorities.

7. Combinations of the above techniques combining e.g., moral, rational or psychological arguments.

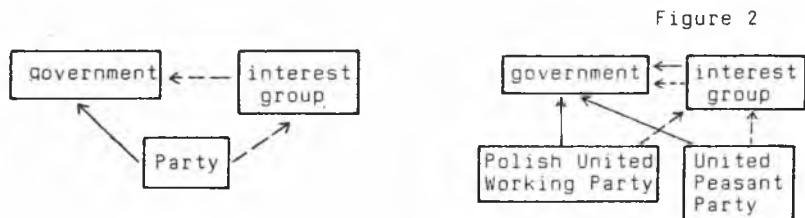
3. Representation of Interests

The word representation commonly denotes acting as a symbol of something by somebody. But in political sciences¹¹ the word also means acting or speaking for, and the manner of expressing the interests of the representatives of one group, and presenting them to the political institutions and organization. It should be noted that political representation means a free election of a member of a group (or an individual identifying himself with the interests of the group) by that group, or acting in such capacity upon the authority handed down from "the top".

While the legal sciences discuss representation in the perspective of the political system, the political scientist discusses it against a broader social background. Therefore, the political scientist's final conclusions are the starting point for the student of law. A typical scheme of research of political representation involves such questions as who, on whose behalf, and to whom acts as representative:



Surveys applying the theory of group interest to the analysis of political phenomena in the socialist system make use of the following patterns¹²:



The manner in which a representative articulates the interests of his group depends on the legal relationship between the representative and his electorate. An unrestrained mandate leaves the representative free to choose the best way of advancing group interests. It gives him a large measure of independence, which in turn may carry the risk that the interests of the group would be articulated only inasmuch as they would concur with broader national interests or interests typical for other groups as well. The unrestrained mandate as such is a product of an environment dominated by strong central authority, hence, as it seems, it stands a chance where it must win the approval of the electorate through the system of election or, the mechanisms of the entire political system.

The other concept - the binding mandate - considerably restrains the activity of the representative. He is obliged to follow closely the instructions given by the group and report to the group on his achievement. The socialist system of representation rests on the norms which embrace internal, the principle that a mandate is binding on the representative and his constituents. Both concepts are theoretical constructs hardly met in pure form in practice, especially given the present vigorous political activity. The representative is increasingly bound by the political programme of his own party proposing and supporting his candidature. However, this is only a "tip of an iceberg" since at least two other relevant issues must be considered with regard to the term "political subjectivity". They are:

- while recognizing a personal aspect of the term "the representative of the interests", so too, must be considered the various influences made by other political subjects;

- it is disputable whether it is justifiable to attribute the right to represent to individuals and not to collective subjects of policy.

Z. Cackowski¹³ distinguishes the final and direct subjects of authority, and by analogy one could apply his classification to the subjects of representatives of interests.

Figure 3

Subjects of interests	Final	Large social groups
	Direct	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - organizations of large social groups; - organs of the organizations of large social groups; - representatives of the organizations and organs of large social groups. 	

This new interpretation of the term "political representation" suggests that it may not necessarily be related to the obligation to elect a representative by the group. The political representation in its broadest sense is exercised when a person acts as spokesman for a social group and especially when he takes on the role of a middle-man between the group and the policy-making centre. This is a sociological and political comprehension of representation. It has, however, two varieties.

First, the political representatives are thought to be those who are a more or less accurate reflection of the social and political traits of the population they are supposed to represent. The political institutions are not full representatives unless the composition of their organs is a credible picture of the class and strata (and, consequently, the interests bred on this soil), structure, or unless their internal organization maintains the propositions of the sociological characteristics important for the differentiation of the interests of socio-occupational groups, political parties, gender groups, age groups, or groups sharing comparable educational standard, etc.

Second, political representation may be conceived along different lines. The mandatories represent group interests irrespective of their social status, political commitment or occupational group¹⁴.

K. Jasiewicz has verified the first of the above concepts

in Polish conditions. In his study of the role of councillors he wrote: "over-representation within the composition of the council of some socio-occupational groups (and in consequence also demographic) is justified by the necessity to secure to the council two kinds of powers: relating to substance and relating to politics. The rules of nomenclature do not pre-determine individual or collective manner of representation. In other words, they do not offer any guidance as to whether each and every councillor should represent the interests of different milieus, (e.g., a factory director his enterprise, the directors as a group, his age group; a woman farmer - her village, the farmers at large, all women), and additionally act as specialists, or whether these functions should be discharged by the council acting as one collective body"¹⁵.

As regards the second aspects - the social traits of the people are set aside because it is claimed that the consequence of doing otherwise would be an unacceptable differentiation of interests and domination of particular interests over those of the general nature. This is an important conclusion, especially in conditions of socialism where the shortage of goods coupled with growing demand cannot but impose such political strategy which consist in reconciling social activities and leaving behind particular interests. It is important, in this connection, that representatives on the local level should articulate the interests which have been maximally aggregated, or in other words, the most important ones and best serving the basics of the whole system. In the conditions of socialism such aggregation is secured by a joint electoral platform, Therefore a representative need not rigorously deliver as spokesman for the interests of some group as some would suggest.

A. The Degree of Generality of Interests

Some scholars argue that the representative is obliged in the first place to articulate the interests which cut the widest swath (national good, the good of the society at large, state interests, etc.). This view probably derives from the concept of national interest conceived by the "school of

political realism" represented in its fullest by H. Morgenthau. Defining the national interest as "power", he goes on to argue that the goals of policy should invariably be defined with respect to that interest which constitutes the essential determinant of state behaviour and that of state official.

A similar view is advocated by G.S. Gurwicz. While rejecting the category of "power", he declares that "a moral-political unity of the nation in a socialist state leads to a full identity of all interests"¹⁶, which in consequence means a negation of every other interest save the national interest. The tendency to identify the representation of representative bodies with the representation of national interests is not absent from Polish literature on the subject. Z. Rybicki writes: "Their (People's Councils) authority and not the representation of interests is being fitted to the limits of their territorial unit. Therefore, the councilors whose task is to see that the local needs are satisfied in harmony with national resources and priorities, are at the same time the representatives of the interests of the state"¹⁷.

B. Representation of Group Interests or the Interests of Organizational Collectives?

F. Siemiński sees the role of the representative in the socialist system in the following way: A deputy in representative bodies acts as a representative of his constituency. Being a part of a representative body, however, he is also the representative of the working people i.e., the population living in the area falling under the competence of that body. He is not the representative of the entire working class or the population in a given area. They are, in the point of fact represented by the representative body as a whole. "The principal role and objective of a representative is to promote the interests and the will of those who had elected him, i.e., the majority of his constituency. This makes for the democratic nature of the principle of absolute majority provided for in election laws of the socialist countries. The representative's task is to act as a permanent link between his constituents and the representative body. His duty

is to carry out his mandate on behalf of his constituents"¹⁸. Further, the author claims that the deputy is also a representative of the social group to which he belongs, e.g., a political party, a political organization which put forth his candidature and whose programme he is fulfilling; however, the identification of interests is not carried beyond this point. Similar views have been advanced by K. Gościński when he wrote that every Sejm deputy is not a representative of the entire working people, he only represents his constituents. Only the Sejm as a whole represents the entire nation¹⁹.

C. The Representation of General and Partial Interests

There is a relationship between the concept of representation of interests which acknowledges a concurrence of general and partial interests and a concept of a representative, which obliges to reconcile the former and the latter. According to A. Bezughlow, the moral-political unity is not by any means a guarantee of unanimity in detailed issues. It is true the unity integrates the principal policies but the sharper the look taken on the reality the greater number of problems come into focus²⁰. W. Zakrzewski writes: "A representative should reconcile the duty toward his constituents i.e., he should articulate their concerns, needs and legitimate interests, with efforts to give full effect to state objectives"²¹. B. Zawadzka provides a theoretical foundation to such view in the concept of public interest. She writes: "The public good is at the same time the interest of the constituents although the two are not identical. Similarly, the public interest is also the interest of local groups, environmental groups or occupational groupings, but again it is not identical with them. The national interest thus amounts to a synthesis of more divergent interests such as local, branch, group etc., but it not a straightforward sum total because some aspects of the lower level interests may not at the moment fit the overall pattern of what was in a given time-frame considered priority national interests. This gives rise to a conflict of interests of differing level"²².

It should be added that needs and interest are such that

their sum total (consumption, housing, neighbourhood) make up the national interest. But it seems that such concept could hardly be realized in practice. Let me now quote some the problems of representation: low effectiveness of the institutions of the representative system, inefficient channels of articulation, unconvincing presentation of interests by the representatives, barriers to their mandate and authority facilitating a transfer of disputable issues to other grounds and arriving at directive solutions by higher level authority.

Some scholars representing the empirical approach are growing anxious about the possible outcome of continuing preference given to the public interest. It is accepted that the structure of the system (except for the system of representation) is equipped with effective defences against particularism, and the loosening of the centralized system of selection of representatives need not be tantamount to a reorientation in the socialism towards approaching the political process from the point of view of group interest. S. Zawadzki writes: "The present election system is the effect of animated class struggle and is prepared to handle antagonisms and also provides guarantees of the maintenance of the socialist direction in the activity of the representative bodies"²³. So, the criteria used to select candidates for councilors must depend on the following: a) actual objectives facing the councils at a given stage of development; b) overall political and social situation in the country. Lastly, it should be pointed out that the less polarized the class antagonisms and the lesser the threat to the stability of the socialist system the bigger voice should be given to other than political criteria for selection.

In view of the above discussion it could be said that at the present stage the optimal criteria for selection to bodies representing local interests are:

- the representation of local interests, taking into account the actual social structure and the ongoing changes;
- level of education necessary to discharge the duties;

- personality and objective conditions enabling the candidate to carry out his duties. The preference here favours such personal qualities as: popularity in a given area, experience in social work, personal qualities indispensable for successful leadership.

One attempt at finding a link between those two tendencies is the proposal by K. Jasiewicz that an optimal set of criteria be completed with regard to the following requirements: the requirements to provide the council with high quality expertise and professional competence (specialists), the requirement to provide political experience (well trained functionaries of the apparatus of authority) and a good grasp of local interests (local middle-men). Lastly, the third option is proposed by K. Ostrowski. It is more of a research postulate than a scientific thesis. He writes: "The system of representation which functions in various structures of authority facilitates the processes of contact between the vanguard and the masses because it is carried out by people with direct connections with social milieus. The contact between the constituents and their candidates is quite often formal and superficial. But the important thing is that the process of representation itself helps delegate the specific characteristic of the electorate to the higher level. The specific traits are reproduced and are fixed on every level of representation. In this way, representation is less a system but more a process of transferring some traits from the constituents to the highest representative bodies"²⁴.

The views presented by K. Ostrowski are on the whole correct but it remains an open question whether the desired composition of traits could be achieved by other ways than by allowing for the population traits adequate to the structure of social interest in preparing the elections. Even if it would be so, still the problem needing solution is one of the representation and the representative, who in the final count is partly responsible for successful articulation of interests. The analysis of these problems opens vast opportunities for empirical studies as well as for the theory of politics.

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Anna Turska

SELECTED PROBLEMS OF JURIDIZATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PHENOMENA

I. Theoretical problems

1. The term "juridization" is to a great degree under-defined both in the language of legal doctrine and the sociology of law. Therefore, one ought to start with an attempt to specify the range of meaning for the term in the normative and real dimension.

In the normative dimension the term "juridization" is synonymous with the term "regulation by law" of certain social and economic phenomena. Of course, pointing to that synonymy does not solve the problem, for regulation by law includes both the existence as well as the binding force of a norm. The existence of a norm is nothing more than its written recording done by the appropriate state organ and in accordance with legal exigencies of form and content. From that point of view we can say that only in the linguistic-logical dimension can we predicate about the existence of a norm. Whereas, we cannot perceive the binding force of a law only in the normative dimension. It is indispensable to refer to the categories of behaviour of the addressees of the law. Norms legally binding exist in the linguistic-logical dimension, but they are called legally binding due to their relation to the facts formulated in a different dimension, that is in the sociological one.

The problems raised above have yet another aspect essential for the notion of juridization of socio-economic phenomena¹. It is the issue of the intention that accompanies the sentences uttered about reality. As is known, a sentence can

fulfil both a descriptive function, (in which case it is qualified as either true or false), or a normative function, in which case it becomes a model for reality. Accordingly, we can divide the uttered sentences into qualified, that is true or not true to the reality, or qualifying sentences, that is such which constitute models for reality.

As we know, the function of a norm is to intentionally regulate reality, that is to adjust it to the norms. Thus, we can say that it is the qualification of reality in accordance with the norms and not the contrary. In consequence it means that a norm of law is an utterance qualifying certain situations of reality. And so the norm of prohibition qualifies as prohibited situations, mainly human acts, falling into the contained within it characteristics. The case is similar when it concerns the norms of obligation and permission. Those potentially qualifications become actualized when the situations specified by the norm occur in reality. The presented issue constitutes further proof for the need of perceiving the definitional interdependence between the norm - considered along the normative dimension, and the phenomenon of law, which ought to be considered both in the normative and social dimension.

What consequences follow from the presented problems for the issue of defining the juridization of socio-economic phenomena? Above all, it ought to be pointed out that the term juridization cannot be completed in its definition only along the normative dimension. All attempts at defining juridization along the normative dimension lead either to the fetishization of law or to the belief in its omnipotence. With such approach, each instance of legal regulation is juridization of social or economic relations, regardless of the extent and the intensity of its realization in social reality, which comes into effect through actions of organs applying and controlling the application of the law, as well as through the actions of other addressees who are subject to the law.

That kind of approach to the problems of juridization of social phenomena occurs on the side of political decision

markers as well as on the side of a part of the society. Within those approaches, regulation by law is treated not only as a remedy to all kinds of social problems and shortcomings, but also as the most effective tool for the realization of the state policy carrying into effect a planned social change.

The pointed out attitudes are followed by two processes dangerous to legal order: that is hypertrophy and the inflation of law. Disregard for the social and economic reality, which does not fit the existing regulations incurs on the legislator a constant necessity not only to change the existing norms but also constant attempts at the enhancement of the legal control in an effort to squeeze the reality into the formalized models, which, in effect, leads to downgrading and the general inflation of law.

2. The so far presented train of analysis must lead to the conclusion that we can talk about the problems of the juridization of socio-economic phenomena in a sensible and constructive way only when we refer the term "juridization" both to the normative and real dimensions. In our analyses, the real dimension is formed on the one hand, by the psychosocial phenomena that accompany the law, and, on the other hand, by the objective laws and regularities of the socio-economic relations.

The attempt to complete the definition of the notion of juridization in terms of those dimensions requires that we refer to unusually complex systems of conditions deciding about the social effectiveness of law and also to a variety of axio-logical assumptions accompanying the general objectives of law, the purposes of law treated as a definite system, and, finally, the axiology of individual normative acts.

The object of my analyses will be, most of all, the systems of different factors from the sphere of consciousness, behaviour and organization, which influence or determine the real juridization of socio-economic phenomena. That is why, at this point, I would only like to suggest certain problems concerning the axiological assumptions of the regulation by law. Reducing those problems to the indispensable minimum, one ought to point out in particular the general axiologies

of the purposes of law and the ways of using it as a tool of conscious influencing of the social reality.

The objective of law unquestioned in the doctrine is the formation of such values in the social reality as order, safety, justice, harmony of interests and individual, group and all-society needs. In the juristic doctrine and also in the socio-juristic ideas those general objectives of law often appear in the form of consideration of the functions of law. According to M. Borucka-Arctowa the general purposes of law can be defined as a methafunction which consists in: "organizing a society, thus creating certain forms of collective life and specifying their structure, in regulating different spheres of social life together with the economic sphere as well as in maintaining social order and securing the compliance with the law in order to achieve the uniformity with the principles of the system and the protected values"^{1a}. In thus perceived methafunction of law the author differentiates its two aspects, that is its stabilizing function and the function of dynamics. The former is, most of all, the factor of the homeostasis of social relations, thus the factor which maintains their balance. The latter one is the factor which forms new social relations. The presented herein standpoint of M. Borucka-Arctowa refers to the already long-lasting dilemma whether law reveals and projects the already existing social relations or whether it creates them, hence its nature is that of adaptation or whether it is creative. That dilemma has been the object of many an analysis of the Marxist doctrine, which has quite consistently adopted the adaptation character of the norms of law, particularly in the area of economic relations².

In the policy of the socialist countries one did not escape, however, the distortion consisting in the separation of the ideology and practice. The ideas of Stalin formulated in the paper on the project of the constitution of the USSR in 1936 played a significant part in this matter. J. Ładosz states, "The arguments of Stalin brought about ideological-political effects, which up until this day have had negative impact on the Marxist studies of socialist societies. Gene-

rally speaking, that negative influence means favouring varnish and wishful thinking"³.

The presented above problems concerning the axiology of the general objectives of law and the ways of using the law as an instrument of adaptation or social change, only on the surface seem to be a remote digression from the topic of our interest, which is the problem of the juridization of socio-economic phenomena. Nevertheless, they are the problems of great importance for our train of arguments. As the choices made in this matter, assigning to the law the character of adaptation or the creative character, bear significant consequences in two domains: the size and the depth of legal coercion and the regulatory power in a situation when the law creates new social relations independently. The views of K. Kulcsar, one of the leading Hungarian sociologists of law can be referred very adequately to such situations. He writes: "Each newly created norm aimed to change social behaviours and phenomena shares the lot of the norms adopted from a different system. Therefore all factors conditioning effective reception also have an essential significance in those situations"⁴.

In this context it is worth recalling to mind another important thought of the same author, which concerns the constructive and destructive role of law in the organization of social relations. The point of departure for that thought is the question posed by the author: "In order to achieve what kind of social goals can we use law as one of the means of action, and what kind of influence do the specific characteristics of the law have on the attainment of those goals"⁵. According to Kulcsa, the specific characteristics of the law are its institutionalization and formalization as well as the fact that every legal system has its own goals associated with its internal rationalization and the abilities of flexible adaptation to the social reality in which it operates.

The ideas of Kulcsar presented in the paper are well set both in the problems of the goals of law and in its capability of exerting influence on social relations. They

concern the situation when the law expresses the ideas of adaptation, reflects the really existing social relations and also when it creates new models of those relations, contrary to or rectifying the models already existing in the social reality.

It is obvious that the problems of the juridization of the socio-economic relations are much more complex when the law is an active factor of social change, than when it only reflects the existing relations. The essential problem of the creative function of the law is a real possibility of the occurrence of various forms of resistance to new legal solutions on the part of individuals, social groups and social communities as well as organizational structures. Along with those various forms of resistance goes the awareness of the extortion by law of such behaviours which do not correspond to the existing environmental models. In light of the knowledge of sociology and law it can be determined that the force of that resistance remains inversely related to the socially acknowledged authority of state and law and to the degree to which the models created by the law correspond to the socially accepted values, aspirations and the formed ways of perceiving the needs and interests of groups, individuals and the whole society.

3. In relation to the creative function of law with respect to the socio-economic phenomena, we ought to consider yet another problem, that is the problem of the kind of effectiveness that we are concerned with. How deeply do the central decision-making organs and legislators want to go into the real socio-economic relations. In this matter we can talk about two general options, that is the option of coercion of the required behaviours by the law or the option of educational influence of law on the society.

In the literature on law and sociology the problems mentioned herein are expressed in the differentiation of the so called finite effectiveness of the law and its behavioural effectiveness. By the effectiveness in a broader sense, finite one, M. Borucka-Arctowa means the consistence of the

social effects of the power of a certain norm or a certain section of law or the whole system of law with the intentions of the legislator, that is with the goals which he has set up. And consequently, by the effectiveness in a narrower sense, the behavioural effectiveness, she means the behaviour of the addressees of the norm. The author also points out that the attainment of the behavioural effectiveness does not always lead to the finite effectiveness. That is in spite of the observance of the norms, the legislator does not always achieve his goals. Different policies with respect to the anti-alcoholic regulation can be a classic example in the matter⁶.

The problem of the relations obtaining between the observance of the law and the attainment of the objectives set up by the legislator, (which can be considered in terms of global and partial objectives and immediate, long range and perspective objectives), is unusually significant for the juridization of socio-economic processes. As there exist whole great areas concerned with the regulation of those relations, in which the extortion of the required behaviours in accord with the goals of the norm-giver, is not only unattainable practically, but also irrational with respect to the established objectives. I mean mainly the areas of regulation by law based on the norms of consent or the norms without sanctions. From the socio-political point of view, a very important area of the consent norms based on regulation by law is formed by the normative acts concerning the environmental and territorial self-governing as well as by the acts regulating the participation of citizens in governing and in the formation of government organs. I shall talk about the actual functioning of those areas of legal regulation later on in my analysis.

Then, the area of regulation by law where the problem of norms without sanctions has been particularly controversial for some time, is the management of the national economy, among others by the organs of the state administration and economic enterprises. The main controversies concentrate around the problem of understanding the notion of creating

coersive situations for the addressees of legal norms. Some authors hold the opinion that the creation of coersive situations by the legislator for the purpose of obtaining required behaviour is impossible without sanctions. In the literature concerning the problem there also exist different opinions which maintain that outside a sanction there exist other ways of forming preferences for certain behaviours. There is particularly emphasized in legal regulation a possibility of making use of the existing circumstances in such a way "that for an average citizen in average circumstances, behaviours incompatible with the normative obligation - despite a lack of sanctions - would be more burdensome or strenuous than the submission to the norm"⁷.

We do not intend to judge the controversied touched in this paper on their merits. However, from the interesting to us point of view, (the juridization of the socio-economic relations), one ought to concede that those who emphasize the quality of the effectiveness of the norm without a sanction, indicate at the same time that that kind of regulation is possible on the condition of a good discernment on the part of the legislator of the knowledge and preferences of the subjects who apply the law as well as the knowledge of the socio-economic situation in which such norms are to operate.

4. To end this train of theoretical analyses concerning effective regulation by law, I would like to draw your attention to two problems. They are: first, the limits of law in social planning; secondly, the systems of factors influencing the social effectiveness of the law.

As regards the matter of the limits of the law, I would like to refer to the formulated and developed idea of M. Borucka-Arctowa. Considering the problem of the possibilities of exerting influence on human behaviour by means of the law, the author differentiates three spheres of social relations in which such influencing is respectively: 1. necessary and sufficient, 2. necessary but insufficient, 3. superfluous.

The first situation of necessary and sufficient regulation is particularly characteristic for such state of affairs which requires procedural regulation or the regulation of

order (terms of trials, right or left-sided traffic). The range of that kind of legal influencing of the social behaviours of people can be widened in cases of the existence of the norm of legalistic attitude among the addressees.

The second situation - of the necessary but insufficient regulation concerns a very broad sphere of social relations, among which we can differentiate: a. such social relations in which the law plays a very important and distinctive role of a behaviour regulator, and where the complementary role of other factors, mainly including other normative systems, can be defined as auxiliary, b. such social relations in which the norms of the customs and habits, moral and religious norms play a decisive part, whereas the law fulfils the role more of a final protection than of an active regulator. As was confirmed by the 1973 studies of the Group of M. Borucka-Arctowa on the legal awareness of blue-collar workers, the legal regulation of family relations plays such a role. 40% of the subject defined the settling of alimony contestations in court as the last resort and only 12% recognized the norms of the law as the active behaviour regulator in that domain⁸.

The results obtained by that study group concerning the functioning of the family law constituted, among others, the basis of the conception of three relations which can obtain between the legal regulation and the regulation of other normative systems, which was formulated by K. Pałeczki. They are: 1. the relation of parallelism - regulation analogous to other systems of norms, 2. the relation of complexity - mutual completion of norms of different systems of norms, 3. relation of conflict - when different systems of norms regulate the above relations differently⁹.

And finally the third situation concerns such social relations which make legal regulation superfluous. Within that situation we are confronted with the following circumstances: a. there is no point in setting up norms for the necessary behaviour, that is for such behaviour which must occur, b. there is no point in setting up norms for impossible behaviour, that is such which cannot occur, c. it is pointless to set norms for behaviours which cannot be enforced or check-

ed with respect to their conformability to the norms (e.g. the control of beliefs).

The situations analysed above do not exhaust the problem of the limits of the law. Borucka-Arctowa correctly points to the fact that the basic issue in this matter is moral approval of law by its addressees, the conformability of the law with the public opinion and also the conformability of the law with the principle of "self-limitation of the state". This principle is the result of the constitution, the acts of the international law as well as, indirectly, of the adopted political and ethic axiology of the political system¹⁰.

In view of what has already been said, following Kulcsar, we can name the following factors of the real juridization of the socio-economic phenomena. According to Kulcsar, law as a means of action is being unavoidably reduced with relation to political expectations by definite, socially conditioned behaviours of the subjects who carry it into effect. Thus the existing social relations and the corresponding behaviours form the first system of factors which influence its effectiveness.

The second system of factors influencing the effectiveness of the law is its "correctness" in the broad sense of the expression. The way of the expression of the content of the particular regulations as well as the functional links of the norms within particular branches and the whole system, the sanctions contained in the norm, etc. are what is concerned.

The third system of the factors of the effectiveness of the law is connected with the structure of the organizations applying the law and the process of applying the law realized within them. That process always leads to the modification of the norms because it itself is subject to the influence both from the external environment and the internal organization system.

The author concludes the analyses of the effectiveness of the law with the statement that "the effectiveness of the law is nothing other than its realization in social relations" and that "the most important factor of the effectiveness of the law is the very phenomenon of the society, in which the law

is to be realized"¹¹. That global factor is not a hypothesis for K. Kulcsar, but a complex whole of multisided differentiations of social interests, levels of culture, perceptions of historical development, political and organizational structure etc.

II. Empirical exemplification.

1. The research into the domain of general sociology, the sociology of political relations, the sociology of law and the economic sciences provide empirically verified knowledge about the relations that obtain between the formalized political structure of a society along with such an instrument of its activity as the law and the socio-economic phenomena.

We are unable to convey the richness of the knowledge of that domain even in the most essential form. It is not our objective anyway. What we can do is to attempt to exemplify empirically in a very selective way the posed theoretical problems. Making that attempt, we ought to point out that the existing knowledge about the relations that occur between the legal regulation and the socio-economic phenomena, provides the information about: 1. the impact of the law on the awareness of people, 2. on their behaviour and 3. on the functioning of the structures which are in effect. Those three levels of activities accumulate, giving as a result a network of a variety of dependencies, in which the functioning of, for example, formalized structures is both the cause and the result of certain definite states of awareness and behaviours.

2. Let's begin with the influence of the legal regulation on the awareness of the society. From the point of view of the problems that interest us, that is juridization of social phenomena, we ought to point to the generally empirically proven fact, that the so called legal consciousness - and in particular such component of it as the knowledge of the law, has an intermediate character with relation to legal texts. As it is, above all, formed by the legal order in effect, that is the content of the applied law. It is an important

settlement, because it provides grounds for the formulation of the statement that it is not the law contained in the normative acts, but the law really in effect that is the source of the basic social perception of the juridization of the social relations.

Based on the existing empirical knowledge, we can say that the social awareness of the law consists of three types of information. They are: 'a. the information concerning the systemic and branch principles of law, b. the elementary information connected with the performed social roles, c. the situational information resulting from the necessity of decision making in a certain matter.

Moreover, the empirical results of the studies point out that the knowledge of the law is differentiated not only by socio-demographic factors, but also by the regulatory content of the individual branches of the law. Thus, the principles of the branches of the law which remain in close relation with the moral norms and the norms of custom or the axiology of the political system, are better known.

Such a shape of the social knowledge of the law coexists with the following psychological phenomena:

the phenomenon of adjustment - consisting in a tendency of people to reconstruct the contents of the legal regulations so that it would correspond to other extra-legal norms. As a result, in the consciousness of people there become fixed "legal regulations" distorted to a greater or lesser extent,

the phenomenon of positivization - which consists in considering the internalized, extra-legal norms as the norms of law. It leads to the situation, where people tend to think that legal norms have to be the same with what a given person considers correct with respect to the norms of other normative systems,

the phenomenon of the transfer of content - it consists in the fact that people attribute to the law the contents that are attributed to it by the institutions which apply the law,

the phenomenon of the transfer of values

- it consists in the attributing to the legal regulations certain values, (evaluating it), in a similar or identical way with that attributed to the organs applying the law or to the legislator¹².

The presented above psychological mechanisms accompanying the formation of the social awareness of law prove that the knowledge of the law as a factor of the juridization of the social relations is strongly entangled in the socially approved values. Those valued constitute the standards of evaluations of the law in force. It also ought to be emphasized that, according to the Center of the Public Opinion Research, (the study was carried out in 1983), as regards democracy in the contemporary Polish circumstances, there exists a strong link between the standards of the evaluation of the law and the evaluation standards of the democratic functioning of the government system. The subjects were asked, among others, to enumerate any number of terms that they associate with democracy. It turned out that the most often quoted term was: equality before law (37%), freedom and civil rights (25%) and justice (11%). Those results are interesting, since, as it has turned out, according to a great majority of the subjects (73%), the values of law are at the same time the values of a democratic government system.

The presented above results of the studies give a certain insight into the complex mechanism of the social perception of the juridization treated as an element of the receivers or the addressees of the law. In the analyses carried out there is particularly emphasized the fact that the basic source of the perception of the law is not the statutory law but the law in effect. From the empirical results, however, it follows that the value of the statutory law is of important significance to its control process. The process which becomes the school of legal education of the society.

3. Referring to the issues posited above, one ought to mention the results of the studies, which in turn, concern the functioning of the normative models of a series of legally regulated institutions, such as the institution of a juror, national council and territorial self-government, and dif-

ferent institutions of community self-government. The empirical studies concerning those institutions are characterized by the fact that they associate legal elements - regulatory ideas of those institutions - with the actual behaviours of the subjects who are active in them, and consequently in their real organizational structures. In that area of research there is usually observed a wide gap between the normative models of those institutions and their actual models.

It is a very important observation for the problem of the juridization of social phenomena not only because such a gap downgrades the rank of the juridization in a normative sense, but also because it sets off a whole chain of consequences in the real sphere of legally regulated social relations. The particular expression of those consequences is social memory and experiences, which determine the attitudes and behaviours of people towards the legally regulated institutions. In this network of dependencies, a change of the regulatory content of certain institutions, even when it meets socially approved values, does not guarantee at all a change in the behaviours of the addressees of the law, because their behaviours are marked with certain definite social experience and memory.

The phenomenon of social memory in the context of studies on self-government and self-governing was the object of the research of the Group which I lead. The studies were carried out in 1983. The objective of the studies, among others, was to establish how the subjects - residents of two settlements in Tarnobrzeg and Wrocław - evaluate the almost 40 year activity of various self-governments in our country and what years they assess as particularly beneficial to the self-government activities.

The gathered data allow us to formulate the statement that in the consciousness of the subjects there is a deeply rooted conviction that self-governing is not a highly estimated value in our legal-political system. Almost 55% pointed to a relatively good functioning of the self-governments, 21% expressed the opinion that the self-governments had never functioned well in our country and about the same percentage of the subjects had no opinion in this matter. It is worth

emphasizing that every third respondent from among those who acknowledged relatively good functioning of the self-governments pointed to the years 1956, 1980 as particularly effective with respect to self-governing. It allows us to suppose that the studied population perceives self-government either in terms of social self-organization movement, or it upgrades the self-government, whose functioning results from a more intense political activity of a society. At the same time, those who expressed the opinion that the self-governments had never functioned well in this country, emphasized their fictitiousness, that is their being controlled or manipulated by different sections of the state and political structure, as well as the fact that the self-governments had never been the organizations of social groups but the personal organizations of activists.

The above settlements have a great significance for the problems of the juridization of the sphere of the social relations connected with the public activity of people. One can say, thus, that such experiences and such social memory concerning self-governing will block even the best normative solutions in this area at the level of realization. I think that the analysed conclusions have a more general cognitive value, as they can constitute a departure point for the interpretation of those spheres of the juridization of the social relations which are based on the norms of assent, that is such ones which by nature cannot be forced.

4. The problems dealt with above concentrated on the issues of the juridization of social phenomena. However, we have not taken up directly the problems connected with the juridizations of economic phenomena. Nonetheless, it does not mean that the so far touched trains of analyses have no reference to the economic phenomena.

The economic activity is one of the forms of human social actions, but at the same time it has own autonomy designated by the objective laws of economy. Therefore, the basic problems of the juridization of the economic phenomena concentrate around the models of creative but not voluntaristic legal regulation. As is clear from the social practice and

the related literature on the subjects, it is not easy to work out such a model of the regulation of the social phenomena, because the borderline between creative solutions and voluntaristic solutions can be very vague. The empirical phenomena observed in the sphere of economic relations, in the scientific ideas of lawyers and sociologists, among them mainly the sociologists of organization, form the grounds to think that the limitations of the effective juridization of the economic phenomena are extremely complex and diverse. That is why we shall confine ourselves only to mentioning some of the very important problems in our opinion.

The first problem is associated with respecting of the objective economic reality in the adopted legal regulations. We shall use the consequences of the existence of a producer or a consumer market as an exemplification. A. Stelmachowski takes up that issue in the context of the real scope of influence of the civil law on the national economy. According to him, in the conditions of the consumer market the significance of the civil-legal regulation becomes dominant, whereas the producer market is the real enemy of the autonomy of the parties and opens the way to the regulation based on direct state coercion¹³.

The second problem concerns the conception of formalization in the economic processes. In that matter I would like to invoke the analysis of different possible types of the formalization in the economic processes carried out by A. Iwanowska. The author uses the notion of formalization interchangeably with the notion of regulation and refers them to the formation processes of the management mechanisms, "which means to such a set of mutually coordinated rules, whose aim it is to prompt the economic organizations to realize certain tasks determined by the control center"¹⁴.

The author differentiates three types of the formalization of the economic relations. They are: mechanistic, adapting and creative. The criteria that the author uses to differentiate those formalization types are: on one hand, the formalization level, (exclusively central, partly central, multilevel, decentralized), and on the other hand, the adapt-

ing capability to the changing environments of the external reality.

The mechanistic type of the formalization occurs in the methods of planning and management of the extreme centralism. The adapting type of the formalization is also characteristic of the centralized systems, but it consists in a more even spreading of decision making powers on different management levels. To quote the author, "the functioning of the adapting type formalization is the process of creating by the control system such rules of game, according to which each time anew the decisions are being adapted to the successively occurring changes in the environment"¹⁵.

The creative type of the formalization is characterized by conscious anticipation of changes in the external environment and adopting the adequate strategy to create conditions for creative endeavours on particular levels of the management.

In view of the economic reform which is being instituted, the above presented typed of the formalization of the economic processes have not lost their theoretical and practical value, since, as I think, many difficulties in instituting that reform are connected with the problems at issue here. The question of the ability to adjust to the changing conditions of the external environment by the economic enterprises is definitely one of the decisive matters in the juridization of the social phenomena.

5. Closing the analyses carried out, it is not possible to skip the socio-technical approach to the problems of the juridization. A. Podgórecki popularized the approach in the Polish literature. Sociotechnique as a practical science deals with determining an effective method for the realization of the adopted goals. Therefore, the sociotechnical statements take up the form of utilitarian estimates: "in order to achieve so and so, one ought to do so and so".

In the domain of the problems of our interest- the juridization of the socio-economic problems - A. Podgórecki adopts two assumptions as a departure point for his approach. The first one concerns the purpose of a particular concrete action of legislation, - the situation which the organ of legislation

considers positive and which it intends to realize ought to be considered the purpose. The second one concerns the results of the normative acts - all the empirically verifiable consequences are to be considered the results of the normative acts.

Those two assumptions allow A. Podgórecki to approach the problem of the effectiveness of the normative act in terms of its productivity. According to A. Podgórecki, that productivity can be assessed by balancing the intended positive effects of the normative act against the so called declines. The notion of declines includes unintended negative effects and secondary effects, "which, according to A. Podgórecki, the legislation authority foresees, which it does not approve of in a certain way, but to which it consents, because, (among others), they are the necessary condition for the attainment of the essential goals of the authority ..."¹⁷. Thus the secondary results of the operating normative act are, in a way, in the reckoning of the costs of the functioning of legal acts.

A. Podgórecki differentiates furthermore direct and indirect effects in the sociotechnical analysis of the effectiveness of the normative acts. He defines the direct effects as the states of affairs resulting from the regulations of law without the mediation of additional activities; whereas the indirect effect as the states of affairs which result from the legal activities and which are an intended consequence of additional activities. That distinction, according to A. Podgórecki, has great significance because: "... many a time the attainment of the intended goal by the legislator is possible only after having completed a chain of practical activities, whose partial results constitute remote links of initiating activities, while the grasping of the entirety of the effectiveness of a given normative act is only possible following the studies of the scope of the spread of the indirect effects"¹⁸.

The above presented conception constitutes undoubtedly the basis for setting in motion the imagination of the legislators at the level of the technology of the legislative ac-

tivity. The technological dimension of that conception is mainly expressed in the fact that the aims of the legislative activity are not perceived as an essential element of the effectiveness of the normative act. From that point of view one can oppose to it the attempts at the formation of the imagination of the legislators in terms of the axiology of the aims which rest at the basis of the legislative actions.

Those kinds of the attempts at the formation of the socio-political imagination of the legislators would require systematic evaluative studies which would analyse the effects of political activities in terms of their intended goals. In such studies the important problem is the conformability of the goals of the subjects included in the realization of a given normative act. Mainly concerned is the degree of the concurrence of the aims of such subjects as: the legislative organs, the organs applying law, the organs controlling the application of the law and finally the society in its entirety and also its various groups and communities. The search for the answer to the question, which of those subjects and to what degree will become the agents of the adopted goals of the legal regulation is the basic problem in the effective legislative activity. Unfortunately, in Poland there are no such studies, hence we can talk about the social effectiveness of the socio-economic phenomena in an insufficiently adequate and insufficiently systematic way.

Footnotes

¹ Comp. A. Peczanik, The planes of the study of law, "State and Law" 1968, book 2 pp. 232 and on

^{1a} Comp. Social Views on the Function of Law, ed. by M. Borucka-Arctowa, 1982, p.14.

² Comp. the letter of Engels to I.B. Schmidt of 10.27.1980 and a series of statements contained in: Ludwig Feuerbach: The Dusk of the Classical German Philosophy.

³ Comp. J. Ładosz: Property as an economic category of the law of property; in a collective work edited by S. Kozyra-Kowalski: Property: Economy and Law. The studies of Marxist

Theory of Property, PWN 1977, p.191.

⁴ Comp. K. Kulcsar: Rechtssoziologische Abhandlungen, Budapest 1980, s.230.

⁵ Comp. as above, p.221.

⁶ M. Borucka-Arctowa: Legal Information and Planned Social Changes, Ossolineum 1981, p.78-79 and J. Wróblewski: The effectiveness of law, a theoretical notion and its application of the norms of the penal law, The Studies of Criminology, Criminalistics and the Penitentiary Studies, v.IX, 1979.

⁷ Comp. J. Jabłońska-Bońca: The Premises of Establishing Norms without Sanctions, Legal, Economic and Sociological Movement, book 4/1984, p.152 and: M. Iyczka: The system of Determining Legal Regulations for the Social Economy, Warsaw 1975;

Z. Ziemiński: The Basic Problems of Jurisprudence, Warsaw 1980, pp.145, 440 and on.

⁸ Comp. M. Borucka-Arctowa: Legal Information and Planned Social Changes, Ossolineum 1981, pp.80-83.

⁹ Comp. K. Pałeczki: Variants of influencing family relations with law, in: Law in a Society, Warsaw 1975.

¹⁰ Comp. quot. M. Borucka-Arctowa, pp.84-91.

¹¹ Comp. quot. K. Kulcsar, pp.237-238.

¹² Comp. K. Pałeczki: Legal consciousness as a factor influencing the effective impact of law, in: Legal Consciousness in the Process of Changes of a Socialist Society, edited by M. Borucka-Arctowa, Polish Academy of Science, The Institute of State and Law, 1976, pp. 137-149.

¹³ Comp. A. Stelmachowski: The Introduction to the Theory of Civil Law, PWN 1984, pp.72-78.

¹⁴ Comp. A. Iwanowska: The formalization in economic processes, in: Leading in a Society. A Sociological Analysis, ed. by W. Morawski, PWN 1979, p.351.

- 15 Comp. as above p.355.
- 16 Comp. A. Podgórecki: The Principles of Sociotechnique, PWN, 1966.
- 17 Comp. A. Podgórecki: The Outline of the Sociology of Law, PWN 1971, pp.457-458.
- 18 Comp. as above, p.459.

Peter Iadicola

SOLUTIONS TO THE PATHOLOGIES OF URBAN PROCESSES

During the fall of 1983, a conference was held in the small quaint isolated village of Kazimierz Dolny, just outside of Warsaw, Poland, to discuss the problems of urbanization processes. The conference was organized by Warsaw University in conjunction with its exchange agreement with Indiana University. Conference participation was by invitation only and was drawn in equal numbers from the United States, Poland, and Western Europe. Participants from Japan and India represented the United Nations Center for Regional Development. The conference was held for three and one half days. There were two sessions each day with the concluding summary session held at Warsaw University.

The goal of the conference was to "develop a new approach in the studies of the pathology of urbanization processes" (Kuklinski, 1985a; p. XVII). This entailed the development of a broad interpretation of the term pathology inclusive of all negative phenomenon as it manifests in political, social, economic, psychological, aesthetic, and moral terms. This interpretation was to be objective, that is, one which would be applicable across different social systems and different ideological perspectives. Furthermore, it was to be a comprehensive interpretation which would outline the "mechanisms of cumulative causation" (Kuklinski, 1985a).

The conference was organized into seven panels (see Kuklinski, 1985a). Each panel was charged with the task of refining the definition of pathology as it applied to the urban crisis. Needless to say, the utility of the underlying theoretical

framework of the conference that urban problems could be productively analyzed by means of a medical model, that is, conceptualized to be analogous to that of pathologies of living systems became the major focus of the conference.

The final product of the conference was a published edited volume with the same name as the conference, *Pathologies of Urban Processes*. This work represents a significant step forward in the conceptualization of urban problems as pathologies. The volume traces the debates of the conference beginning with Kornai's (1985) conceptualization of pathology in its application to economics and the problems of economy policy. The Thoben (1985) article lends theoretical and historical justification for the pathological approach to the study of social systems. The debate follows through the first section of the volume as to whether the concept needs to be broadened (Szul, 1985), restricted or refined (Letgers, 1985; Ostrom, 1985a; Rykiel, 1985) in its definition, or abandoned altogether in its application to urban problems (Komorowski, 1985).

Part II of the volume addresses the intersecting nature of the crisis, specifically reviewing the societal and extra societal or international influences on urban development (Hamm, 1985), application to the Polish situation (Kukliński, 1985b), and reflections on the intersecting nature of the crisis and what it reflects in terms of the urban future (Klaasen, 1985. Part III of the volume reconsiders the classical or Chicago School of American Sociology's approach to urban pathology as it applies to the problem of crime (Iadicola, 1985; Pepinsky, 1985), spatial distribution (Jałowicki, 1985) health conditions (Parysek, 1985) and attitudes toward large cities (Heinemeyer, 1985).

Part IV analyzes the pathological nature of urban environments in psychological terms (Rabinowitz, 1985; Ziółkowski, 1985 and in terms of the clash of urban and rural lifestyles in developing countries (Misra and Misra, 1985). Part V considers how urban pathologies manifest themselves in spatial terms. The problems of spatial distribution are considered

in terms of patterns of cultural segregation (Bridel, 1985; Weclawowicz, 1985), housing deterioration and gentrification within cities (Odland, 1985; Maher, 1985), and problems of spatial distribution of populations on regional and national scales as it applies specifically to the cases of Poland (Gorzalak, 1985) and Finland (Kultalahti, 1985). Part VI reviews the role of managements systems and bureaucracies in the creation and maintenance of pathological features of urban systems (Bickley and Stough, 1985; Maher, 1985; Ostrom, 1985b; Lambooy, 1985; and Pfister, 1985). All in all, the volume represents a step forward in our understanding of urban problems. However, it is only one step, one which needs to be followed.

The question now is where do we go from here? The final goal of the conference was to develop a research plan. The research plan was to utilize the operationalization of the concept of pathology in uncovering patterns of pathologies in the urbanization processes of developed and developing countries, and to begin to address what steps need to be taken to remedy these conditions. Unfortunately, this goal was not achieved. The greatest amount of time at the conference was devoted to the epistemological and ontological nature of the term pathology and its appropriateness in its application to urban problems. Participants realized that it was crucial that there was agreement on the theoretical foundation of the study of urban problems before they could proceed to the more specific issues of identifying and investigating the causes of these pathologies in urban systems. The major difficulty with the conference was that this groundwork was not clearly laid during the first day of the conference. If this had been accomplished discussion could have built upon this foundation. Another problem with the conference was that it was too broad in scope and too ambitious in its goals. Although, given the complexity of the topic, this was quite understandable, this breadth and ambitiousness of goals did not adequately serve as a guide to the conference and in general often served as a barrier to constructive dialogue.

At this point in time, I would like to propose a different

manner of studying the phenomenon of urban problems and to propose a working draft of a conference proposal which will be designed to produce an outline for the development of demonstration projects to alleviate the problems of urbanization processes. The reader must realize that first of all this is a working draft, and those who previously participated in the first conference and those who wish to be involved in this proposed conference are encouraged to suggest modifications in this proposal.

The first recommendation is that the next conference should focus on The Solutions to the "Pathologies" of Urban Processes. This does not imply that the issues and questions raised in the first conference are resolved. Far from it. What I believe was learned by the participants in the first conference is that by following the original conference plan of addressing the origins or epidemiology of pathologies and investigating the many forms of pathologies of urban environments we became more mired in the problems of specification of the models tested and became somewhat lost in the different forms these pathologies took in different social systems. This was again, in part a problem which stemmed from the lack of clarity with our original conceptualization of the term pathology, but more so this was a problem because of the general inadequacies of the theories in the area of urban political economy.

By instead beginning our investigation at the other end, focusing on what works and what has been learned from failed initiatives designed to alleviate the problems or pathologies which are caused by factors associated with the urbanization process or which take place within urban geographic space, we may be able to trace back or deduce why they worked or failed. Also, by implication we will gain insight as to what factors the innovations are changing or need to change in the environment to alleviate the problem. In short, by looking at solutions we are closer to our end goal of understanding what needs to be done to alleviate pathologies and in the process may be able to further develop social science theory which can guide us in preventing these problems in the future.

In addition to the above justification for the proposed conference theme, I would like to suggest two others. First of all, by addressing the concrete (the performance of policies/initiatives to alleviate urban pathologies) we are more likely to avoid problems of idealism and problems of becoming too abstract in our thinking. This is often a product of the multi-disciplinary nature of the investigation and an unclear problem statement. Finally, seeking solutions before discovering the causes of the problems or pathologies is consistent with our medical analogy. Most medical interventions are based on the treatment of symptoms without knowing the cause of the disease. This is reflective of the urgency of the problems which they are attempting to resolve. A lesson which should be obvious to us all in our investigation and suggested remedies to alleviate urban "pathologies".

Next, I propose that the conference be held for four and on half days and it will consists of the following five panels:

1. How to define the Problem? - The Epistemological and Political/Ideological nature of the problem definition.

The central goal for this panel is to clearly operationalize the problem definition and to identify a list of "pathologies" which exist in all urban environment and pathologies which are unique to urban systems in specific social systems at various stages of development. This first panel is crucial for laying the conceptual foundation for the conference. The first day (two three hour sessions) of the conference will be devoted to this panel. This panel will be divided into two groups.

- a. The first group will begin by addressing the epistemological nature of the concept of pathology. The first issue this panel must address is the differences in the epistemological presumptions of our conceptualization. Specifically, the differences between order versus conflict theoretical

orientations are crucial distinctions for clarifying our conceptualization of urban problems. The differences in these two general theoretical orientations manifests themselves in whether our definition of pathology is rooted in what is possible within the system (order model) or what is possible outside of the parameters of the system (conflict model). The concept of pathology is by definition and in terms of the historical usage of the term in the social sciences is grounded in an order conceptualization of the problem. The premise of disease models in general is that the organism or system needs to be preserved and defended from problems not endemic to the system but rather incidental and/or external to it. We need to clearly discuss the implications of this conceptualization in terms of our own understanding of the nature of urban problems in specific social systems. A related issue is the differences between conceptions of urban problems or pathologies in terms of cultural/system relativism versus universalism (human right). Upon which standards of health do we define the pathology, health within the context of what exists and can exist within the parameters of the system, or health which relates to a more general/universal of ideal conception of what the human condition should be. This distinction is also reflective of the differences between order and conflict theoretical orientations and thus, must be addressed in the operationalization of the concept of pathology.

b. The first group of participant will next lead the discussion of the adequacy of the definitions which were utilized during and were products of the last conference. We may begin by considering Kornai's definition of pathology and its application to economic policy. The arguments presented for restricting, broadening, and refining of the conceptualization need to be addressed. As a beginning strategy, we may wish to begin by counterposing Kornai's definition with Kuklinski's definition proposed in the conference reassessment (Kuklinski, 1985c). Kuklinski's definition builds on some of the discussion which occurred at the conference and which is presented

in the volume. Kuklinski (1985c) suggests that the term pathological be used only in the situations in which four special characteristics of negative phenomena and processes are jointly demonstrated: (1) The negative phenomena and processes are socially harmful. This harmfulness is broadly accepted as a value judgment in the given society in the given place at a given time. (2) The negative phenomena and processes are relatively durable or persistent over a long period of time. (3) The negative phenomena and processes have strong internal mechanisms creating resistance to positive interventions by public actions, in other words, these phenomena resist the processes of their liquidation. (4) The negative phenomena and processes have a well defined scope of existence. These phenomena are not universal because universal phenomena are not perceived as pathological. At the same time, these phenomena are not restricted to a few isolated individual cases. In the medical analogy, these phenomena can be seen as local, regional or national epidemic diseases which have penetrated the urbanization processes. This definition presumes agreement on the issues raised in section "a" and thus would have to be modified in terms of the conclusions reached in this first part of our discussion.

c. In the afternoon session of this first panel the second group of participants will address the geographic/spatial dimension of the definition of pathology, specifying and differentiating pathologies unique to urban systems from system level pathologies which are present in the urban setting. This distinction is crucial in our further discussion of the limits to which grassroots/informal initiatives can be successful in alleviating system level pathologies which take place in urban settings. At this point in our discussions we will be working with the definition which has been developed as a product of the morning session.

d. Finally, the afternoon group will lead the discussion as to the political nature of identifying pathologies. Here we need to be aware of the differences in social systems as to who defines pathologies, which constituencies they may

represent, and how the ideologies which guide their understanding establishes the parameters for the problem definition. This again brings us back to the morning session's discussion regarding the cultural/social system relativity versus the universal nature of our conceptualization. In a hierarchically ordered society, those who have most power in defining what is a pathology, their definition will be within the parameters of the social order or cultural/social system relative. Whereas, it is in the interest of those who are furthest from the locus of power in hierarchically ordered society to define pathologies in terms of more universalistic conceptions, ones which presume changes in the system to achieve correction or health.

2. Formal Institutional Initiatives to Alleviating Urban Pathologies: Successes and Failures/Contributions and Limitations.

The second day of the conference will be devoted to a discussion of case studies from various countries highlighting formal institutional responses to different problem areas. All institutional arenas of action will be considered, i.e. government agencies, religious institutions, educational institutions, private or public economic enterprises as part of economic institutions, etc. In order to maintain a sharp focus in our discussions, we may wish to limit our analysis to institutional innovations which are designed to address three or four specific problem areas (i.e., crime, housing, human resource utilization problems (unemployment and employment redundancy), natural resource utilization problems (pollution, scarcity of natural resources) and citizen participation (issues of political alienation). The goal of this panel and our discussions will be to identify the following:

a) what institutional initiatives (at various levels and types of institutions) are successful in alleviating urban pathologies;

b) what institutional initiatives (at various levels and types of institutions) have been tried and have been proven

unsuccessful in alleviating urban pathologies;

c) what are the limitations to institutional responses in general;

d) what are the requirements for successful formal institutional responses;

e) what are the problems in evaluating the success of institutional initiatives? The panel needs to address the relative importance of objective and subjective measures and the political nature of measurement and assessment in terms of assessing institutional initiatives.

3. Grassroots (cooperatives, neighborhood organizations, citizens groups) Initiatives to Alleviating Urban Pathologies: Successes and Failures/Contributions and Limitations.

The third day of the conference will be devoted to a discussion of case studies from various countries highlighting informal citizen responses to correcting various problem areas. Here we are looking at the activities of voluntary associations. An example of this type of initiative is where in many parts of the world organizations of residents develop to address problems (housing, crime, pollution, poverty, etc.) in their local communities. Since the 1960's grassroot citizen efforts to rectify the problems within their communities has been an important force in urban politics in the United States (Morris and Hess, 1975; Boyte, 1980; 1984; Cox, et. al., 1979). Jałowiecki cites the work of Bernfeld in noting the importance of this type of citizen response in solving the problems of cities in Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland (Jałowiecki, 1986). Jałowiecki notes that similar phenomena occur in Poland however there is no current way to determine the scope of this activity. He suggests that one task of the Local Poland and Territorial Self-Government in Conditions of the Reform (a large scale research program begun in 1985 assigned to investigate local and rural development in Poland) should be to document and analyze these local grassroots initiatives in Poland (Jałowiecki, 1986).

The distinction between formal institutional responses and

informal grassroot responses is crucial for our discussions. The distinction centers on the following dimensions: (1) scope of activity; system wide versus local, (2) relative permanency versus relative impermanency/spontaneity of organization, (3) degree of formality of structure/organizations, and (4) degree of bureaucratization. Again, in order to maintain a sharp focus in our discussions, we may wish to limit our analysis to grassroots initiatives which are designed to address the same three of four specific problem areas featured in the previous session. The goal of this panel and our discussions will be to identify the following:

a) what grassroots initiatives are successful in alleviating urban pathologies;

b) what grassroots initiatives have been proven to be unsuccessful in alleviating urban pathologies;

c) what are the limitations to grassroots responses;

d) what are the requirements for a successful grassroots response;

e) what are the problems in evaluating the success of grassroots initiatives? The panel needs to address the relative importance of objective and subjective measures and the political nature of measurement and assessment in terms of assessing grassroots initiatives.

4. Forces Internal and External to systems (Formal Institutional/Grassroots organizations as well as the urban setting in general as a system) which limit their successes in overcoming pathologies of urbanization processes.

The fourth day of the conference will be devoted to this panel's deliberations. The goals for this panel and our discussion will be the following:

a) Identification of the internal elements which limit the success of initiatives. This should include issues of organizational structure, leadership/managerial style, resource allocation, as well as elements within urban systems, i.e., social structure, geographic/spatial structure, issues of styles of governance,

functioning of bureaucracies, etc. as they all impact the success or failure of initiatives.

b) Identification of the external elements which limit the success of initiatives. This should include discussion of elements of the society as a whole as well as the impact of regional and world system political and economic position on the success or failure of initiatives.

5. Institutional and Grassroots (cooperatives, neighborhood organizations, citizens groups) Initiatives to Alleviating Urban Pathologies: Successes and Failures/Contributions and Limitations. Examples from Poland (The Local Poland Project).

The first part of this last day of the conference will be devoted to a review of the findings of the Local Poland Projects as it pertains to illustrating cases of institutional and grassroots initiatives to alleviating Urban Pathologies. The goal of this panel and our discussions will be to identify the following:

a) what Polish examples are there of institutional and grassroots initiatives that are successful in alleviating urban pathologies.

b) what Polish examples are there of institutional and grassroots initiatives have been proven to be unsuccessful in alleviating urban pathologies.

c) what are the limitations to institutional and grassroots responses in Poland.

d) what are the requirements for a successful institutional and grassroots response in Poland.

e) what are the problems in evaluating the success of institutional and grassroots initiatives in Poland? The panel needs to address the relative importance of objective and subjective measures and the political nature of measurement and assessment in terms of assessing institutional and grassroots initiatives in Poland.

6. Forum on Policy and Research Agenda for Alleviating Pathologies of Urbanization Processes.

The concluding half day of the conference will consist of a more or less open forum reviewing the findings of the conference and addressing what needs to be done from here. The goal of this session is to develop a research agenda, to determine what steps are necessary to develop demonstration projects, and to identify the sources of monies for research and the development of demonstration projects. This panel will be composed of representatives from earlier panels as well as experts on funding agencies. The goals for this panel and our discussion will be the following:

a) To identify what lessons have been learned from each of the spheres of action (institutional and grassroots spheres)

b) To identify what are the obstructions to successful implementation of such proposals in different systems at different levels of development. Do these initiatives translate across societies.

c) To identify what research needs to be conducted to successfully implement demonstration projects of successful programs.

For each succeeding day of the conference, session will begin with a summary of the conclusions reached during the previous days session. Regarding the conference format, participants will be asked to prepare a paper on one of the topics listed in the above schedule, however, their participation will be directed more towards a discussion of the issues and their ideas in light of the ongoing intellectual development of the conference. As a general rule, the reading of prepared papers is to be discouraged. The participants for this conference are to be those who were invited for the previous conference in 1983 as well as those who have not been previously invited and are interested in the proposed program of discussion. A special effort will also be made to contact practitioners in both institutional and grassroots organizations who have been involved in addressing urban problems. Furthermore, experts from governmental and extra

governmental bodies who are knowledgeable in the development and/or funding of demonstration projects will be invited to participate.

Conclusion

International conferences as a rule are extremely valuable vehicles for bridging the distance that exists spatially, culturally, and ideologically between scholars. The sharing of information and experiences which takes place at international conferences serves to progress our understanding of the world.

The 1983 conference at Kazimierz Dolny began a project for a group of individuals who came from different fields of study and different parts of the world. The general goal of the project was to come to a better understanding of the nature of urban systems and the problems which afflict them. This modest goal was accomplished. However, this is only the beginning, the next step is to further our understanding of the phenomenon of urban problems or pathologies in order to allow us to move into the sphere of action in the development of a research agenda and the development of the design of demonstration projects.

The proposed conference is designed to progress our understanding of the problems of urban systems and to achieve the goals specified in this proposal. It is important to again reiterate that this is a working draft and that the comments of interested parties are actively solicited. It is my hope that this conference because of its focused agenda and its different approach to the investigation of urban problems will produce benefits to all scholars who are interested in the subject and, more importantly, hopefully to all those who are most effected by the problems of urban systems. It is this latter group, the largest audience, which is most important. For the true tests of a successful conference is whether it produces results for those who are most in need of correcting the deficiencies which are the object of study, and in the case of problems of urban systems, these are problems which virtually effect us all.

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Antoni Kukliński

REGIONAL PROBLEM - REGIONAL SCIENCE -- REGIONAL STUDIES

I. Why regional problem?

The XX century is a proud century. The human mind, the human imagination and the human will have created in this time unique achievements in the philosophical and practical dimension of good and evil. However the list of problems which have not been solved nor by the visible nor by the invisible hand is very large, almost impressive in its scope and magnitude.

In this list, maybe not at the top but in the middle ranks, we will find the regional problem as a problem which was not solved in our century despite assumptions, declarations and good intentions of different ideological denominations.

The problem of underdeveloped, depressed and overcrowded regions is equally valid in the middle as at the end of the XX century. Naturally the nature, the method of explanation and the theoretical and practical approaches to the regional problem are changing.

It is not clear, however, if the intensity, scale and socio-political urgency of the regional problem is not greater now than in the fifties. Anyway, the regional problem is still valid and will be a problem of the XXI century¹.

II. The regional problem and the international academic community

The regional problem is as old as the history of humanity

or at least as the history of the state². In this long history different academic disciplines - like geography, architecture, economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, law, political science - have developed specific theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches to deal, more or less successfully, with particular sets of facts, phenomena and processes which were recognized as the regional problem by the given discipline in a given place and at a given time.

Ex necessitate rei all approaches and solutions offered by different disciplines could only partially explain the objective reality of the regional problem. Nolens volens each discipline, consciously or unconsciously, selects but a limited field of attention in the framework of the ceteris paribus assumption. The conventional practice of partial approaches very seldom opens the way for holistic approaches - even as a methodological postulate for next stages of more advanced research.

Nevertheless the dream to discover holistic approaches in our field is an old dream in the history of sciences and humanities.

If we restrict our attention to the experiences of the second half of the XX century two real or apparent discoveries should be mentioned -

1. the attempts to apply the systems approach in the analysis of the regional problem³,

2. the attempts to develop different patterns of interdisciplinary interaction and cooperation leading to the establishment of a dynamic interdisciplinary field involved in the explanation and prognoses of the regional problem.

The international academic community has proposed two terms to define this new interdisciplinary field - regional science and regional studies⁴.

The conceptual relation between regional science and regional studies can be seen in the light of two interpretations -

1. these two terms are related to the same interdisciplinary field,

2. each of these two terms is related to a different metho

dology in the analysis and interpretation of the regional problem.

The second interpretation is closer to my mind. In my opinion, the academic school of regional science has achieved its greatest success in the development of modern quantitative apparatus in the field of regional analysis while the academic school of regional studies has achieved its greatest success in the development of interdisciplinary approaches and in the promotion of empirical studies on regional development, regional policy and regional planning.

III. The experience of Regional Science⁵

The term Regional Science has been promoted for more than 30 years by the unique personality of Walter Isard and by the Regional Science Association.

In the concluding part of the book titled Regional Development and Planning - International Perspective⁶ I have presented the following remarks:

The Regional Science Association, created in 1954 in Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A., has a very distinguished record in the promotion of international cooperation in the field of new analytical and planning techniques. The meetings and publications of RSA have contributed evidently to the perfection of the technical apparatus applied in regional studies in most countries of the world. The extraordinary intellectual capacity ... of Walter Isard were instrumental in the rapid diffusion of the ideas of RSA ... However, after the first decade ... the progress of RSA was slowed down and it arrived at the present state of stagnation. The experience of RSA is an important indicator that international cooperation in the field of regional development and planning cannot be reduced only to the technical substance of this activity. The discussions of models and methods not incorporated into the authentic reality of socio-political processes and planning activities have a limited appeal.

There is a growing number of scholars and planners who feel that there is a necessity to devote some time to a reflection and discussion concerning the successes and failures of regional science. In 1974, R. Funck organised a panel discussion on Frontiers of Regional Science: Theory, Problems and Planning. In the introductory statement, R. Funck described the past and the future of Regional Science in

the following way⁷:

After more than two decades of thinking and academic research, has regional science reached its boundaries? Do regional scientists have to pause and ponder the old questions ... Or may we expect to find open lands beyond the present frontiers of regional science -- an area of previously unsolved ... problems which is open to exploration ... and to the development of new ... solutions? Are regional scientists finally bound for the discovery of the real world?

... In viewing the bulk of publications in the field, it is possible to identify three overlapping periods of major emphasis. During the 1950s and early 1960s, an interest in ... 'classical regional science' prevailed. This period saw the development ... analysis of regional activity (mainly economic) and the construction of regional and interregional models ... Disturbing or inaccessible aspects of a problem were often ruled out or reassigned to other disciplines ... Classical regional science, therefore, had ... flavour of *l'art pour l'art* -- to a greater extent than its antecedents, the works of Lösch, Christaller, Predöhl, Weber and von Thünen.

Much of the work presented during the 1960s and the early 1970s was devoted to the development of micro-economic and macroeconomic regional decision models. Programming techniques ... became standard tools in the study of the optimal level (or development) of ... regional variables as income, employment and investment. However, this 'operations-research regional science' had two major shortcomings: first, the world was not linear ... and second, the answers to the questions of what to maximize and under what constraints were assumed to be determined from the outside. Thus, with this operations-research approach, regional science was reduced to a field of merely technical, non-substantial knowledge. Interdisciplinary cooperation remained a claim rather than a fact ...

Only during the 1970s has a 'new regional science' begun to emerge. This deals with the objective systems of regional policy and planning measures, with the values, weights and standards that are incorporated within them or are revealed by them. It analyzes the political structures that produce the objective systems and the decision processes through which they act. ... In this sense it can accommodate information theory and decision theory; ... There are as many real worlds as there are ways of perceiving and selecting information. Reaching a common understanding on the methods of information gathering and transformation is, therefore, a major task for the new regional science.

This picture of a new regional science is very promising. However we should answer the fundamental question -- are there any innovative forces in regional science strong enough to

push this field into a new stage of rapid adaptation and modernization? To my mind there are at least six obstacles on the way to a new regional science.

The first obstacle is created by the permanent under-estimation of the importance of problem-oriented research. The analytical and planning techniques are very interesting but this topic cannot hold a monopolistic position in regional science.

The second obstacle is created by the false assumption of unlimited universality and automatic transferability of the experiences in our field. Too much attention was devoted to the universal topics in regional science, too little attention to factors which are differentiating the approaches to regional science around the world ...

The third obstacle is created by the total failure of regional science in developing countries. A new image of regional science must be built up ...

The fourth obstacle is created by the exclusive character of the establishment of the RSA. Regional science lost its contact with the practical needs of planning.

The fifth obstacle is created by the excessive individualism prevailing in regional science. Little attention is paid to the social mechanisms which are instrumental in ... collective research activities ... which determine the rate of growth of regional science.

The sixth obstacle is created by internal and external diplomacy which is eliminating a real critical academic discussion ... We are excessively polite saying that each contribution is outstanding, illuminating etc. Some salt and pepper in the regional science discussion is really necessary...

... there is no doubt that the obstacles on the road to the new regional science are a real phenomenon ... I am very doubtful if these obstacles will ever be removed and that the era of new regional science will ever emerge ...

The tone of this paper is very bitter, maybe over-critical. We now have a better background for the evaluation of Regional Science. In a book by Walter Isard, we find, among other things, the following formulation: "regional science is, at the time of this writing, the newest of the social sciences"⁸. Regional Science as a discipline "... concerns the careful and patient study of social problems with regional and spatial dimensions, employing diverse combinations of analytical and empirical research"⁹. In this definition an old and magnificent dream has been abandoned -- the original intention to create a new interdisciplinary field. That old dream has been

replaced by a much more modest reality -- the reality of a new discipline.

IV. The Regional Studies - A multidisciplinary field¹⁰

The scope of Regional Studies is defined in many different ways. A *sensu largo* definition would include any contribution in the field of technical, natural and social sciences as well as humanities -- which is trying to explain the regional reality.

So, for example, the technical sciences related to the development of power, transportation and communication networks - in other words to the development of the so-called technical infrastructure - are relevant from the point of view of Regional Studies.

In a similar way, the sciences which are involved in the research on natural environment, biology, physical geography, geology, etc. could be considered from the point of view of their contribution to Regional Studies.

A special case is created by the broad sphere of architecture, city planning and physical planning which is a field flourishing on the borderlands of three empires: the empire of science, the empire of art and the empire of technique. This is a very important point because in some countries this borderline empire claims that it should have the monopoly for regional studies and regional planning.

There is definitely a necessity to prepare an inventory of regional studies *sensu largo*.

However, in this paper, we will restrict our attention to Regional Studies *sensu stricto* -- related to social sciences and humanities only.

In a Spanish publication on *Estudios Regionales*¹¹ the following seven areas were included into this multidisciplinary field:

1. area economica
2. area urbanistica
3. area geographica
4. area sociologica

5. area anthropologica
6. area historica
7. area juridico-institutionalis

Naturally, the relative intellectual and social power of the different partners of this multidisciplinary coalition is changing in both time and space. In different countries the academic and planning communities expressing the capacity and interest of each partner enjoy prestige and influence of different scale of importance and validity.

However, in most countries, in a prevailing number of cases there are stronger and weaker partners of this coalition.

Among the stronger partners one should mention the area economica, the area urbanistica, the area geographica and the area juridico-institutionalis. Among the weaker partners the area sociologica, the area anthropologica, the area historica should be mentioned.

V. Regional Studies - A interdisciplinary field

In the case of a multidisciplinary field we assume only that the given phenomenon -- the regional reality -- is analysed by a smaller or bigger group of academic disciplines.

In a pure case each discipline is totally independently preparing the design and implementation of the given Regional Studies. This discipline applies in this regional study - theories, concepts, instruments and intellectual traditions - developed historically only in the framework of this discipline.

In such a situation we can have parallel mutually isolated Regional Studies developed in the same country or in a group of countries. The results of these studies are published, for example, in economic or geographical journals where quotations and footnotes are firmly kept within the limit of the given discipline.

This picture of splendid intradisciplinary isolation is prima facie totally anachronic.

However we will still find quite a few academic institutions in many countries where such a splendid intradisciplinary

plinary isolation is still the fundamental *modus operandi*.

All the same, in a growing number of situations, inducements are generated to create the push and pull mechanisms which are driving the scholars out from the intradisciplinary isolation into the sphere of interdisciplinary cooperation.

I think three mechanisms of this type can be mentioned:

1. The mechanism of practical needs in the field of Regional Studies. The demand for research generated by regional policy and regional planning is in most cases problem-oriented. The proper planning and policy institutions establish research projects in the field of Regional Studies which create a framework for interdisciplinary cooperation between scholars representing different, sometimes competing, academic disciplines.

2. The mechanism of internal intellectual curiosity of the individual scholars. An intelligent scholar in a given discipline must sooner or later formulate the question: how the given regional problem is analysed in other disciplines and how competitive I am in the efficient and proper solution of this problem.

3. The mechanism of escape from the routine and monotony of our own academic discipline. The necessity to be confronted by new challenge of a different academic and professional environment.

To my mind these three mechanisms are transforming a multidisciplinary field into an interdisciplinary field. The case of Regional Studies in many countries will confirm this general observation.

There are four main channels of interdisciplinary integration of Regional Studies.

1. The first channel is the selection of joint fundamental research priorities - a joint list of questions which could be tested in empirical research.

2. The second channel is a quest for common denominators in the field of methodological and theoretical assumptions.

3. The third channel is a certain standardization of the technical and methodological equipment used by scholars involved in Regional Studies.

4. The fourth channel is the integration of the information systems used in Regional Studies.

These four channels of integration are to my mind very important in the development of Regional Studies as an interdisciplinary field.

VI. Regional Studies as a metadisciplinary field

The distinction between inter- and metadisciplinary approaches is rather in the sphere of psychological identity of the scholar.

If this identity is related predominantly to his maternal discipline then we are speaking about an interdisciplinary team - where a member of this team is trying to contribute to the solution of the given problem, stressing, however, all the time his association with the given academic discipline.

If this psychological identity of the scholar is related to the new context of the new problem - if this scholar is ready to apply the totality of his knowledge and ability to the solution of this problem - and to overcome the conventional routine of his maternal discipline - then this scholar is involved in Regional Studies as a metadisciplinary field.

I think that Regional Studies is a very attractive and interesting field. I think, too, that we can find already a relevant group of scholars who approach Regional Studies as a metadisciplinary field in the sense mentioned above. Naturally in these conditions we face the danger that the metadisciplinary field will transform itself into a new discipline subordinated to all conventions of the classical academic disciplines. I think we can hope that at least for some years in the future Regional Studies will remain a metadisciplinary field - drawing all the time new converts from the classical academic disciplines. These new converts are always an important asset for a growing metadisciplinary field. As a rule the new converts bring along some new ideas and approaches into Regional Studies. So the apostolic spirit to find new converts for the extension of the metadisciplinary domain of Regional Studies is an important factor in the development

of our field.

VII. Regional Studies - the experiences of three countries

The concept of Regional Studies was introduced in Great Britain, in 1965, via the creation of the Regional Studies Association and the journal - Regional Studies.

The twenty volumes of this journal supply rich empirical materials and interesting methodological reflection for a pragmatic interpretation of the concept of Regional Studies.

This interpretation could be compared with the Spanish and Polish experiences in the field of Regional Studies as documented in two volumes published recently.

The first volume - La Espana de Las Autonomias¹² presents a holistic and interdisciplinary interpretation of the Spanish regional problems.

The second volume - Regional Studies in Poland. Experiences and Prospects¹³ - is also an attempt of a holistic and interdisciplinary analysis of the difficult experiences related to the transformation of Polish space, generated by the processes of accelerated industrialization and delayed urbanization in the years 1950-1980¹⁴.

Naturally the experiences in the field of Regional Studies are not limited to the three countries mentioned above. In fact I think that in the tradition-building process leading to the creation of an international academic school of Regional Studies an especially important role was performed by three institutions of the United Nations - UNRISD in Geneva, CEPAL - ILPES in Santiago de Chile and UNCRD in Nagoya, Japan.

VIII. United Nations and the international academic school of Regional Studies

To my mind, we can see three main functions in the activity of the United Nations:

1. political function
2. technocratic function
3. academic function

The political function is related to the fundamental problems of the existence of our planet.

The technocratic function is related to the analysis and solution of technical problems of international cooperation in such specific fields as agriculture, industry, transportation, health, science, culture.

These two functions are easily seen and appreciated.

I think, however, that the UN is also a huge complex of institutions involved in research and training and that we can speak about the UN academic complex in the best sense of these terms. It would be interesting to test the hypothesis that progress in many fields of academic endeavour was induced by the results created by the UN institutions.

In this paper I would like to try to suggest that three UN institutions performed an important role in the creation of an international academic school in the field of Regional Studies.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in Geneva has sponsored the Regional Development Programme in the years 1967-1971 and the UNRISD - Mouton Regional Planning Series in the years 1971-1983.

The spirit of that endeavour was well expressed by S.M. Komorowski in the title of the volume analysing the results of those activities: Regional Studies - The Geneva Programme¹⁵.

The second link in this chain of success is the thought and action of the CEPAL - ILPES complex, leading to the creation of the Latin American School of Regional Studies. This School is demonstrating the ability to integrate theoretical and practical, technical and ideological approaches in Regional Studies.

It is worth while to analyse from this point of view the materials published in the years 1976-1986 in the 27 volumes of CEPAL Review being one of the best publications in the field of social sciences.

The third link of this chain is related to the activity of the United Nations Centre for Regional Development in Nagoya.

This Centre achieved, in 1981, a unique academic and editorial success: at that time UNCRD published, via Maruzen,

in one shot a ten-volume Regional Development Series.

1. Changing Perception of Development Problems - R.P. Misra and M. Honjo.

2. Regional Development Alternatives: International Perspectives - Akin L. Mabogunje and R.P. Misra.

3. National Development and Regional Policy - Ed B. Prantilla.

4. Rural Development: National Policies and Experiences - R.P. Misra.

5. Rural-Urban Relations and Regional Development - Fu-chen Lo.

6. Urbanization and Regional Development - M. Hanjo.

7. Human Needs and Regional Development - H. Nagamine.

8. Institutional Dimensions of Regional Development - G. Shabbir Cheema.

9. Training for Regional Development Planning - Om Prakash Mathur.

10. Nation Building and Regional Development: The Japanese Experience - H. Nagamine.

Masahiko Honjo, the Director of UNCRD at that time, in the Foreword to Volume 1 has indicated unequivocally who is the main architect of the series. Let me quote M. Hanjo in this place¹⁶:

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to all my colleagues in the Centre but for whose dedication and cooperation, the series would have not seen the light. Each expert has edited his volume in rather a short time and deserves our congratulations. I am especially thankful to Dr. R.P. Misra, Deputy Director, who initiated the project and carried it through despite odds which at times appeared formidable. We owe him much for helping us launch the Regional Development Dialogue and this Series. It was his untiring effort which made it a success.

The UNCRD - Maruzen Regional Development Series is introducing two dimensions into the treasury of the School of Regional Studies.

The first dimension is the broad interpretation of Asian experiences in our field. The second dimension is the interpretation of the Regional Problem in localities, regions and nations where rural communities are still very important in

the economy and society.

These tentative remarks can be seen only as a starting point for a comprehensive analysis of the contribution of the United Nations to the development of Regional Studies in the past and in the future. Unfortunately both the UNRISD - Mouton Regional Planning Series and the UNCRD Regional Development Series were terminated in the early eighties. Eventually, only the Latin American link in the chain of success has remained in the old successful shape.

Let us hope that in the next years the lost links in the chain of success will somehow be replaced by the UN institutions. The Regional Studies as an international academic school should enter a new Sturm und Drang Periode both inside and outside the UN Family.

In this new Sturm und Drang Periode we will need again all the virtues of R.P. Misra - the power of this thought, the energy of his managerial abilities, his talents of a scholar and diplomat¹⁷.

So this paper is not only a tribute to the achievements of R.P. Misra in the past. It is also an inducement for R.P. Misra and all of us to see what could be done for the rapid development of Regional Studies in the future.

Quod felix faustum

Fortunatumque sit

Footnotes

¹ G. Gorzelak (ed.), Regional Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change. Experiences and Prospects in Europe and Latin America. University of Warsaw, Warsaw 1987 (in print).

² A. Kukliński, Regional Policies - Experiences and Prospects. International Social Science Journal No. 112, May 1987. UNESCO (in print).

³ M. Kęsik, S.M. Komorowski (eds.), A Systems Approach to Regional Studies. Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo 1985.

⁴ A. Kukliński, *Regional Policies*, op. cit.

⁵ This paragraph of the paper has been based on partial reproduction of the materials published in my booklet *Space Economy and Regional Studies in Poland*, UNCRD, Nagoya, Japan 1982, p. 117-120.

⁶ A. Kukliński, *Concluding Remarks*, in: A. Kukliński (ed.), *Regional Development and Policy, International Perspective*, Sijthoff, Leyden 1975, p. 450.

⁷ R. Funck, *Panel Discussion of the Third Advanced Studies. Institute in Regional Science*, Karlsruhe 1974. In: *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, Vol. 34. 1975, p. 180.

⁸ W. Isard, *Introduction to Regional Science*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, p. 1.

⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁰ Paragraphs IV, V and VI of the paper have been based on the materials published in my paper "August Lösch - The Prominent Classic of Regional Studies", in: R. Funck, A. Kukliński (eds.), *Space - Structure - Economy. A Tribute to August Lösch*. Karlsruhe 1986.

¹¹ Rodriguez F.F., Gomez S.A., *Estudios Regionales*. Instituto Nacional de Prospectiva y Desarrollo Economico, Madrid 1976.

¹² F.F. Rodriguez (ed.), *La Espana de las Autonomias*. Instituto de Estudios de Administracion Local, Ministerio de Administracion Territorial, Madrid 1985.

¹³ A. Kukliński (ed.), *Regional Studies in Poland - Experiences and Prospects*. Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 1986.

¹⁴ A. Kukliński, *Regional Development in Poland - Lessons of Experiences*, in: A. Kukliński, J.G. Lambooy (eds.), *Dilemmas in Regional Policy*. Mouton, Amsterdam 1983.

¹⁵ S.M. Komorowski, *Regional Studies - The Geneva Programme*. UNCRD, Nagoya 1982.

¹⁶ M. Honjo, Foreword, in: R.P. Misra, M. Honjo (eds.), Changing Perception of Development Problems. UNCRD - Maruzen Regional Development Series Vol. 1, Singapore 1981.

¹⁷ R.P. Misra, Development or Disruption: The Challenge of Culture-Neutral Development Planning, in: R.P. Misra, M. Honjo, (eds.), Changing Perception of Development Problems, op. cit.

Antoni Kukliński

FOUR INTERPRETATIONS OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The concept of regional development is applied in a multiplicity of situations, contexts and meanings. It is used in everyday language, in official documents of public authorities and naturally in the sometimes esoteric prose promoted professionally by the academic community.

It is difficult or maybe even impossible to prepare a full inventory - presenting all spheres - where the concept of regional development is applied.

In these conditions, we have to concentrate our attention on four interpretations of the concept of regional development. These four interpretations, I think, will be valid for an international discussion leading to a clarification of approaches and motivations represented by different political, social and academic environments. The selection of these four interpretations is based on my current intuitive and subjective knowledge of the field. I hope, however, that my remarks will go beyond the limit of conventional wisdom.

I have in mind the following four interpretations:

- I. Regional development as a fact of the objective reality.
- II. Regional development as a social, cultural and political movement.
- III. Regional development as a goal, task or instrument in the activity of public authorities at the local, regional, national and international level.
- IV. Regional development as an academic doctrine promoted

both within the classical disciplines and as an interdisciplinary or metadisciplinary field.

I. Regional development as a fact of the objective reality

This interpretation is applied preponderantly in geography, economics, sociology and cultural anthropology. The attention is concentrated on the selections of the proper indicators of regional development, the collection of reliable statistical data and the preparation of comparative analytical studies. In this context, regional development is interpreted as development of a set of regions selected and delimited according to assumptions, hypotheses and criteria chosen in the given analytical endeavour.

To my mind one of the most important publications in this field is the RFF Study - Regions, Resources and Economic Growth¹. After 25 years we can say that this study is a milestone in the development of regional analysis both in substantial and methodological perspective. This study is an excellent example how much substantial light can be generated via the application of relatively simple but very efficient analytical techniques.

Maybe the RFF could sponsor a new updated version of this study as a contribution to the traditional building process in our field.

The second example can be drawn from the West European experiences. I would like to mention the publication of the Commission of the European Communities, The Regions of Europe, Second Periodic Report on the social and economic situation of the regions of the community².

In the last twenty years in Western Europe a very strong stream of studies was created by the activity of eminent academic institutions involved in the analysis of regional development especially in the empirical framework created by the European Economic Community. The book sponsored jointly by College of Europe and the Netherlands Economic Institute can be quoted as a good example of this line of academic endeavour³. Last but not least the case of Latin America should

be mentioned and especially the study of P.O. Pedersen published as volume 10 of the UNRISD Mouton Regional Planning Series⁴. We should find a sponsor to create conditions for the preparation of a new updated version of the Pedersen study.

The four examples presented give the taste of my approach. I doubt if it is worthwhile to prepare a full inventory of empirical studies in the field of regional development. It is much better to concentrate attention on a selected set of classical items. Naturally the scope and criteria of this selection remain an open problem.

II. Regional development as a social, cultural and political movement

In this interpretation, the demand for regional development is the result of social, cultural and political dissatisfaction - the driving force for regional development is the strong pressure from below organized sometimes within and sometimes outside the dominating legal and institutional order. Regional development in this interpretation is a social movement generating an ideology based both on rational and irrational foundations. This is a situation where the classical distinction of rationality and irrationality is very often totally useless, where the value judgements loaded with emotions and passions are influencing so strongly the individual and collective patterns of behavior.

The most interesting example of this interpretation was supplied by the study sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research, ECPR⁵. In my paper on research priorities, I present a proposal concerning the follow up of this study⁶.

III. Regional development in the activity of public authorities

In this interpretation, regional development is a concept deeply incorporated into the respected vocabulary of the

public authorities of the given country. It is a concept defending the status quo, or a concept well built into the mechanism of controlled change.

The fundamental problem is the incorporation of this concept into the shifting scale of value judgements and preferences represented by the public authorities in conflicting time horizons (especially important is the conflict between the short and long term preferences).

Two interpretations of regional development in this context can be mentioned⁷:

1. The teleological interpretation (regional development as a more or less autonomous goal).

2. The instrumental interpretation (regional development as an instrument to achieve other goals-economic, political, social, military, etc).

In operational terms, the concept of regional development is used in both explicit and implicit regional policies.

Finally, the concept of regional development is well incorporated in to the vocabulary of regional planning.

The last volume of the UNRISD Mouton Regional Planning Series⁸ on the Dilemmas of Regional Policy presents a good set of material to test this interpretation of regional development.

The materials published in volume XII are related predominantly to the Dutch and Polish experiences. However, the stream of general methodological reflection is quite strong in the volume.

In this context we would like to quote the following remarks of J.G. Lambooy on institutionalism⁹.

The institutionalist's economic paradigm differs from conventional economics in at least four ways:

1. It emphasized the human being as a "total" being. Economic phenomena are intricately interwoven within the socio-political world. Economic decision-making takes place within an institutional context. An individual is part of a group or class, which influences his choices. Preferences are not given; they are influenced by institutions and by social processes. Utility functions of people are not independent from each other or from material conditions (Boulding, Pfaff & Pfaff, 1973).

2. As does Marxism, it stresses the fundamental importance of the technical and industrial development to social relations and economic decision-making.

3. Institutions are the expressions or the tools of power searching groups which decide about the strategic points in society. Individual decisions have a certain freedom within the boundaries set up by those system determining institutions.

Planning is an instrument through which institutionalized groups exert pressure in order to maintain or to better their position in the social fabric.

4. The state - the national as well as the regional and local - has a double role to play. It has an instrumental position and a managerial one. The first means that certain external power groups exert pressure on the state to satisfy their wants; the second means that the state institutions have a certain responsibility of their own, and power with which they can strive to reach the goals of the bureaucracy itself.

The basic elements of the paradigm imply and empirically based on policy-making orientation of institutionalism.

I would like to propose to look on the recent contribution of D.J. Savoie¹⁰ as a study representing a Canadian institutionalistic approach.

Especially important and interesting is the analysis of the history of DREE as an institution for the promotion of regional development in Canada¹¹.

The institutionalistic approach is one of the most promising in our field.

However, we should remember that the reality of institutions is not the only one - reality. We have also the reality of material facts created by these institutions; by DREE in Canada, by Cassa in Italy or by Sudene in Brasil and so on. So patient empirical studies should be promoted to answer for example the following question. How many new physical objects in the Canadian landscape were created with the participation of DREE? In the description of the role of DREE we can use different analogies or metaphors¹² for example the parent analogy, the midwife analogy, the godfather analogy.

I think the midwife analogy is the best one. If we look on the performance of DREE in the convention of historical

analysis, then next questions can be formulated. How long and strong is the list of success stories of objects which function and flourish to the present day? How long and strong is the list of failures of empty ghost building waiting in the wilderness for the potential bridegroom ready to perform the ceremony of *matrimonium ratum et consumatum* in relation to this DREE object.

Only empirical studies of this type could prepare sufficient evidence for the verdict of the history if DREE or Cassa were really efficient institutions.

Exactly the same approach should be applied in the evaluation of such international institutions as the European Regional Development Fund which is one of the most important institutions in the framework of the Commission of the European Communities¹³.

IV. Regional development as an academic doctrine

Regional development as an academic doctrine is promoted both within the classical disciplines like economics, geography, sociology, or architecture and in the framework of interdisciplinary or metadisciplinary activities¹⁴. I think that the discussion generated by the recent book edited by G. Demko is creating a sufficient amount of light and heat for the evaluation of the classical regional development doctrine¹⁵. I think however that we need a new metadisciplinary regional development doctrine explaining the fundamental dimensions of development in an intellectual and methodological context located beyond (meta) the classical sphere of any conventional academic discipline.

Naturally, this suggestion is easy to formulate an extremely difficult to implement. In more pragmatic terms we would like to create an inducement to look on the whole field of social sciences and humanities for inspirations to find new unconventional ideas, concepts and approaches which would stimulate new discussions and new contributions leading to the creation of a new regional development doctrine.

V. Nine sources of inspiration for the new regional development doctrine

From this point of view we may concentrate our attention on nine debates emerging in the present landscape of social sciences:

1. The debate on the nature of contemporary crisis;
2. The debate on the theory of change;
3. The debate on development;
4. The antiequilibrium debate;
5. The Wertfreiheit debate;
6. The debate on the role of power;
7. The debate on mechanistic and organistic analogy;
8. The environmental debate;
9. The prognostic debate.

1. The debate on the nature of contemporary crisis.

The problem of crisis can be seen in a narrow or broad perspective. In the narrow perspective¹⁶, the crisis is only a depression or a slow growth period. I think however that the problem of crisis should be seen in a broad fundamental perspective.

From this point of view, the best definition of the concept of crisis was formulated by J. Graciarena¹⁷.

Let's quote the appropriate passage of J. Graciarena paper¹⁸.

The concept of crisis as used in the present paper covers a broad spectrum which presupposes the existence of a moment in history when the weight of social contradictions is so overwhelming that it disrupts the functioning of society and alters its structural foundations. The crisis thus tends to become a break in at least two senses. In the first place, something comes to an end, and something else begins. Hence a crisis is a moment of flexion between two differentiable historical periods, of social indecision characterized by a kind of deadlock in which the system is unable to resolve the conflicts stemming from its contradictions. Secondly, a crisis is accompanied by a state of dissociation which involves the loss of the notion of entirety, whether of an institution, a social class, a nation-State or an international order. The social indecision this implies entails a fragmentation of reality springing primarily from the

aforesaid dissociative nature of crisis, due above all to the generation and accentuation of more and more conflictual confrontations, which are exacerbated by the loss of identification with the meaningful unit in question. Overcoming the crisis necessarily implies some degree of recomposition of the whole...

In more concrete terms, the present crisis is characterized by: a) a progressive and irreversible breakdown in the social and political orders of industrial civilization; b) a greater confusion and ambiguity of objectives and values; c) a considerable weakening of moral responsibility and of spontaneous consensus, with the consequent increase in dissension, apathy, alienation and conscious social repression; d) the predominance and spread of decadent, sensualist life styles, of which consumerism is one of the most tangible expressions; e) widespread questioning of the future possibility of indefinite economic growth; f) and finally, swindling confidence in the prevailing societal models and the absence of viable alternatives with which to replace them. What is at stake is the survival not of particular social orders but of nothing less than industrial civilization and the Faustian drive which animates it.

I think that the contributions published in the recent book edited by P. Aydalot¹⁹ accept rather the broader definition of crisis.

Such sensu largo interpretation can be applied also to the fundamental study of J. Kornai²⁰ "Economics of Shortages"; the J. Kornai contribution presents the East European version of the global crisis.

In the Western industrialized countries, the most unpleasant manifestation of the current crisis is unemployment.

Let us quote the following passage from A.G. Frank²¹.

It is not necessary to share this author's interpretation of the nature of the world economic crisis to observe its all too visible manifestations, such as low growth rates, high unemployment, and changing competition and division of labour as well as distribution of political power. For instance, one of the most unpleasant manifestations of the current crisis, unemployment as officially registered but actually underestimated in the Western industrialised countries, more than doubled from less than 7 million in the 1967 recession to 15 million in the 1973-75 recession and then more than doubled again to 32 million at the time of writing in the 1979-82 recession, and it is certain to continue rising even further and by some predictions even to double once again.

2. The debate on the theory of change.

It is worthwhile to follow the most interesting debate on the theory of change started by R. Prebisch in CEPAL Review²².

From our point of view the main problem in this debate is the centre-periphery relations in the process of change.

This problem is seen by R. Prebisch in the following way²³.

The dream of developing in the image and likeness of the centres that beguiled the imitative capitalism of the periphery has never come true; this has already been shown in our preceding articles. Neither have the great social disparities been gradually smoothed out - on the contrary, they have become more profound - nor the democratization made any progress; yet another hope frustrated.

What is more, the capitalism which it was sought to imitate is passing through a serious crisis which, because of its structural character, is much more complex and harder to cure than the great depression of the 1930s. Its repercussions on the periphery have already begun to make themselves felt. In our relations with the centres there has been a resurgence of pertinacious problems to which CEPAL has given priority from the time of his earliest writings.

These problems seemed to have vanished into thin air during the long-drawn-out boom years which preceded the present crisis in the centres. There were years of exceptional development in the centres themselves and also in the periphery, where, as we have so often pointed out, the prosperity of the privileged-consumer society was impressive.

The centres, and in particular the chief dynamic centre of capitalism, associated themselves more and more closely with this type of development based on flagrant social inequity. They resolutely played their cards in its favour. But as often happens in boom periods, attention was diverted from the basic problems, namely, the great contradictions in centre-periphery relations.

This situation can no longer subsist in face of the crisis in the centres. It is clearly out of our power to shed much light on the nature of this crisis, but we should like to point out certain factors that play a part in it so that its repercussions on the periphery may be better understood. First, however, the basic problems in relations with the centres will be briefly reviewed.

Capitalism in the developed world has been and still is centripetal. The concept of its power of expansion throughout the world scenario is a myth. However great the initiative and drive of its entrepreneurs may have been, it did not spontaneously carry industrial develop-

ment to the periphery in the days of outward-directed growth. Industrialization was started deliberately by the periphery itself; it was a necessary result of the crisis in the centres. And this inescapable requisite of the periphery's development is being met with a time-lag so great as to give rise to a number of problems deriving from the disparity and that of the centres. These problems primarily concern:

- the innate tendency towards external disequilibrium which acts as brake on the development of the periphery;
- the economic fragmentation of the periphery; and
- the considerable differences in economic and technological power which characterize the phenomena of peripheral dependence under the time-honoured hegemony of the centres.

The crisis in the centres is also the crisis of a development ideology which, from the chief dynamic centre of capitalism, has spread to the periphery, and in particular to Latin America. This chapter would be quite incomplete if we did not end it with a few remarks which, besides being relevant, are timely in face of regrettable deviations and backward steps in development policy and relations with the centres.

3. The debate on development.

The debate on development is one of the most characteristic features in the landscape of social sciences in the last 25 years. I will not try to present a synthesis of this debate in this paper. I would like nowever to indicate three important contributions which should be noted in this debate from our point of view.

First of all the challenging papers published in CEPAL Review in the years 1976-1985 should be mentioned²⁴.

The next item is the recent book by F. Perroux²⁵ "A New Concept of Development".

Last but not least, the charming paper of B. Higgins. "An Author in Search of Six Characters"²⁶ should attract our attention,

4. The antiequilibrium debate.

The antiequilibrium debate is an old problem in the methodology of social sciences.

However, a new perspective for the discussion of this problem was created by the study of J. Kornai, "Anti-Equi-

librium: An Economic System Theory and the Tasks of Research"²⁷

I think that this debate is important as a contribution to the new doctrine of regional development.

5. The Wertfreiheit debate.

The neoclassical economists are dedicated to the idea of Wertfreiheit (freedom from value judgement).

This idea is seen as an instrument to develop pure social sciences per analogical to pure natural sciences.

The critics of this approach indicate that Wertfreiheit in social sciences is an illusion of mistification. In the situation of conflict, no value judgement is de facto a value judgement.

The problem of Wertfreiheit is seen by B. Higgins in the following way²⁸.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the insistence on wertfreiheit was linked to the third tenet: that market choices measure satisfaction or welfare for society as a whole. No economist holds this position today. Even the most ardent of the latter day saints of laissez-faire admits the need for government intervention in the market to assure steady growth. Extremists like Milton Friedman may wish to limit government intervention to assurance of steady expansion of the money supply plus some sort of incomes policy (including subsidies for education); but even such limited intervention requires a high degree of sophistication if it is to be carried out effectively.

Most economists, however, retreat to the position that it is for the government to make the political value judgements involved in weighting of the various objectives in the welfare function of a society, and once in possession of this quantified welfare function the economist can determine the optimal solution with no value judgements on his part. In this roundabout way wertfreiheit is thought to be preserved.

How can intelligent and highly trained men cling to such nonsense? In the first place, it is obvious that no group of politicians is able to provide the economist or planner with a precise, completely quantified welfare function at the outset of the planning process. Politicians don't think that way. They like to promise their people everything at once, or to demand vague and generalized sacrifices in terms of generally accepted national goals, like winning a war, or defending the free world, or making Communism strong enough to be safe. The very idea of attaching weights to raising per capita income

on the one hand or reducing unemployment on the other is repugnant to politicians. Do both, they will say, and will make value judgement only when convinced that they must, and when the options have been clearly defined and quantified by the planners towards the end of the planning process (more of this below). An economic theory of planning based on the tenet that planning begins only when the welfare function is defined is useless in the context of actual planning in virtually every country in the world.

In the recent book, F. Perroux²⁹ discussed "The Possible Conflict Between Economic Considerations and Cultural Values".

Inter alia we find the following passage³⁰:

The West, because economic activity there is disquietingly remote from cultural values, which are insistently proclaimed but not experienced, offers the developing countries its technology as an extension of its science and its art of economic calculation.

Calculation, the preferred and too frequently used way of expressing economic considerations, consists in translating costs and outputs into algebraic quantities or numbers. By its very nature, it concentrates on things, material objects that are counted, that are supposed to be measured, and on the basis of which are largely conventional arrangement of figures permitting the statement of a net maximum. The fact that this maximum tends irresistibly to be confounded with an optimum is revealing.

Nevertheless, whatever efforts may be made to introduce what are termed human variables into the calculation, it will never be possible to take account of the multi-dimensional and infinitely complex aspects which, we know, from direct experience and from analysis, distinguish each human being and each society of people.

When economic calculation boasts of being 'operational' it raises serious issues. Operational for what kind of operations? Operational in regard to whom? The operations referred to are those of the market economy, which presupposes the equivalence of services rendered and values. Economic agents and economic subjects never stand in a relationship of perfect reciprocity of intentions and situations. These elementary observations take philosophical reflection a very long way since the first leads on to the very concept of value and the second to the idea of reciprocity of consciousness.

Without carrying the challenge to economic trading as far as that (though it has been fruitful whenever it has been ventured), one cannot help being struck by the narrowness of calculations based on market values. The biologist's calory and energy counts are, after all, calculations as precise and legitimate as price calculations. There can be no question of using them as a substitute,

but to admit them is to introduce a judgement of market values based on objectively beneficial effects.

6. The debate on the role of power.

In 1973, F. Perroux formulated the following question³¹.

Pourquoi la théorie conventionnelle, prise dans son ensemble, élude-t-elle le pouvoir? Comment parvient-elle à traiter incomplètement ou à négliger ces phénomènes de pouvoir si visibles dans le domaine économique? Par quels procédés?

At the same time, in a paper by J.K. Galbraith³² we find the following statements.

The most common place features of neoclassical and neo-Keynesian economics are the assumptions by which power and therewith political content, is removed from the subject. The business firm is subordinate to the instruction of the market and, thereby, to the individual or household. The state is subordinate to the instruction of the citizen. There are exceptions but these are to the general and controlling rule, and it is firmly on the rule that neo-classical theory is positioned. If the business firm is subordinate to the market - if that is its master - then it does not have power to deploy in the economy save as this is in the service of the market and the consumer. And the winning of actions to influence or rig the behavior of markets apart, it cannot bring power to bear on the state for there the citizen is in charge

...
The decisive weakness in neoclassical and neo-Keynesian economics is not the error in the assumptions by which it elides the problem of power. The capacity for erroneous belief, is very great, especially where it coincides with convenience. Rather in eliding power - in making economics a nonpolitical subject - neoclassical theory, by the same process, destroys its relation with the real world. The problems of this world, moreover, are increasing both in number and in the depth of their social affliction. In consequence neoclassical and neo-Keynesian economics is relegating its players to the social sidelines where they either call no plays or urge the wrong ones...

Power being so comprehensively deployed in a very large part of the total economy, the can no longer, except for reasons of game-playing or more deliberate intellectual evasion, be any separation by economists between economics and politics. When the modern corporation acquires power and markets, power in the community, power over the state, power over belief, it is a political instrument, different in form and degree but not in kind from the state itself. To hold otherwise - to deny the political character of the modern corporation - is not merely to avoid the reality it is to disguise the reality. The victims of that disguise are those we

instruct in error. The beneficiaries are the institutions whose power we so disguise. Let there be no question: Economics, so long as it is thus taught, becomes, however unconsciously, a part of an arrangement by which the citizen or student is kept from seeing how he is, or will be, governed.

This does not mean that economics now becomes a branch of political science. That is a prospect by which we would rightly be repelled. Political science is also the captive of its stereotypes - including that of citizen control of the state. Also while economics cherishes thought, at least in principle, political science regularly accords reverence to the man who knows only what has been done before. Economics does not become a part of political science. But politics does - and must - become a part of economics.

There will be fear that once we abandon present theory, with its intellectually demanding refinement and its increasing instinct for measurement, we shall lose the filter by which scholars are separated from charlatans and windbags. These latter are always a danger, but there is more danger in remaining with a world that is not real. And we shall be surprised, I think, at the new clarity and intellectual consistency with which we see our world, once power is made a part of our system.

The problem of power should be incorporated into the new regional development doctrine. Fortunately some steps in this direction are already made in the contributions of J.R. Lasuen³³, M. Bassand³⁴, J.G. Lambooy³⁵ and D.J. Savoie³⁶.

7. The debate on mechanistic and organistic analogy.

Fifty years ago, physics was widely recognized as the ideal methodological model for all disciplines³⁷. Today the frontiers of human knowledge are seen more vividly in biology so that the theoretical, methodological and empirical achievements of biology provide a major source of crossdisciplinary inspirations.

It is not an accident that recently several authors including³⁸ J. Kornai, B. Higgins and H. Thoben revived the classical discussion on the organistic analogy in social sciences.

J. Kornai has presented an analysis discussion³⁹ the Analogy between the Medical Science and Economic.

8. The environmental debate

The environmental debate has produced many thousands of most valuable publications. It is impossible to review this field in this paper.

We will quote only the final remarks incorporated in the paper of O. Sunkel⁴⁰.

The introduction of the environmental perspective sheds doubt on a series of orientations arising from the ideology of economic growth which have prevailed in recent decades. Accordingly, the following have become open to question:

a) confidence in exponential and unlimited economic growth;

b) the possibility of sustaining over the long term a style of development largely based on the export of natural resources in exchange for the import of the style characteristic of contemporary urban-industrial civilization;

c) behaviour aimed at accumulating the maximum of material consumer goods;

d) the advantages of urban concentration;

e) indiscriminate faith in scientific and technological progress and its unlimited ability to 'artificialize' nature;

f) the ability to make the high and growing levels of consumption practised by industrialized countries and by high-income groups in underdeveloped countries compatible with the achievement of similar levels of consumption for the broad masses.

On the other hand, the introduction of the environmental dimension means that planning must accord special emphasis and concern to the following:

a) guaranteeing access to and proper use of the natural resources required to ensure the satisfaction of the current basic needs of the entire population;

b) promoting the appropriate use and renewal of natural resources to allow long-term development to be sustained in order to ensure the survival and well-being of future generations;

c) reorienting scientific and technological activity towards the integrated use of the potential of the biosphere proper, and especially the use of renewable resources and the recycling of wastes and refuse: this is crucial in the case of energy;

d) adopting an integrated multidisciplinary perspective regarding the various levels and fields of planning, incorporating especially knowledge provided by the

natural sciences and the physical and spatial dimensions of planning;

e) promoting profound and systematic concern over the way in which the structure and functioning of society in all its dimensions, and increasingly in the environmental one, is being constantly influenced by its international context. The forms of articulation with the dynamic and radiating centres of the prevailing style are one of the key aspects of the limitations and opportunities which must be kept in mind in the search for alternative styles;

f) searching constantly for forms allowing the participation and social organization of the broadest sectors of the population to be increased and for means of decentralizing the implementation of planning so that through these measures the power-concentrating trends and structures prevailing in the economy and in society can be counteracted;

g) making a large-scale effort to re-educate the entire population so that they may become aware of and internalize the environmental dimension and ecological aspects of development. This is particularly important with regard to higher professional, technical and scientific education, because these are the principal sectors which contribute to the local reproduction of the transnational cultural style.

9. The prognostic debate

The third quarter of our century has been the golden era of prognostic and futurological thinking. In the fifties and sixties the corporation of futurologists knew very well what will happen in the next 10-20 or even fifty years.

The shock on the seventies produced a severe blow destroying the self-confidence and sometimes the arrogance of futurological thinking. But it is totally wrong to assume that futurological and prognostic activities are dead once for all.

Slowly a new more modest futurology is emerging again to look into the mystery of the XXI century.

I would like to quote the introduction to a recent Japanese publication, which expressed exactly this point of view⁴¹.

Our ears have already started to listen for the footsteps of the 21st century. Japan's economic society has so far gone through various vicissitudes. In the remaining two decades of the 20th century and the succeeding 21st century, what sort of economic society is in store for us?

Since the Meiji Era, the Japanese people have been exerting tremendous efforts for modernization with the common objective of catching up with the developed nations in the West. Fortunately, favored by propitious conditions both at home and abroad, Japan has achieved an economic advance without parallel in the world, now accounting for 10% of the world economy.

Nonetheless, a series of changes in both internal and external conditions for Japan as typified by a change in the international economic order with the United States as the core, limitations on natural resources and energy, and the progress of aging in society, is considered bound to have no small impact on the course of Japan's economic society in a long-term perspective as well.

On the other hand, as regards the direction of the course Japan should pursue, it has become difficult to follow the example of the developed nations as in the past. The situation is such that Japan must grope for a path of its own.

The coming years until the 21st century are believed to constitute a major turning point from a historical point of view.

Accordingly, it is considered imperative to take up the coming 20 years or so until the 21st century as a subject of study, to examine the direction of a change in Japan's economic society from a long-term point of view, to point out those problems which would emerge in the process of such a change and at the same time, to study what type of economic society Japan should seek to realize in the future, with a view to contributing to the formation of a consensus among the nation.

x x x

The nine debates are outlined in my paper as sources of inspiration in the discussions concerning the new regional development doctrine. It is not an accident that I propose to look for inspiration in the extended field of social sciences and not in the relatively narrow field of the old regional development doctrine. It is better to my mind to look for new building materials instead to try once more to digest the already known contributions in the field of regional development.

VI. Four comments on the construction of the new regional development doctrine

In order to start the discussion on the construction of this Doctrine, let me present the following four comments:

1. it is a doctrine of unbalanced development in short and medium time horizons. In long term perspective, the validity of "fundamental balance". in regional development must be recognized⁴²;

2. it is a doctrine of multi-dimensional development. We recognize that development is a multi-dimensional phenomenon - economic, political, social, environmental and cultural. However, we reject the idea of the so-called comprehensive regional development. This idea suggested that the different dimensions of development are equally important irrespective of different context in time and space.

Therefore, we propose to accept the concept of multi-dimensional regional development in the following interpretation:

- a) there are many dimensions of development;
- b) in the interpretation of development or in planning of development in a given time and in a given space a selection of the important dimensions of development is necessary;
- c) the different dimensions of regional development must be seen in a hierarchical perspective including the distinction of leading and supplementary dimensions;

3. it is a doctrine seeing the processes of regional development as a field of forces, as a scene for actors⁴³ of unequal power, wealth, prestige and innovative capacity. In the processes of regional development, we see not only the market or more generally the economic relations, but also and sometimes preponderantly the power, prestige, social and cultural relations;

4. it is a doctrine recognizing the important role of conflict creation and conflict resolution in the processes of regional development⁴⁴.

To my mind, there are three phenomena which explain the substance and mechanisms of conflict in space:

1. the objective scarcity of space expressed both in quantitative and qualitative terms;
2. the inefficiency of the market mechanisms and inefficiency of the planning institutions;
3. the efficiency of different pressure groups fighting for the allocation of space.

VII. The fundamental methodological difficulty in the construction of metadisciplinary academic doctrines

It is relatively easy to build a monodisciplinary academic doctrine, for example in economics, sociology, geography or architecture.

We can quote the case of H.W. Richardson⁴⁵ and the elegant publications of this author building a regional development doctrine in the contexts of neoclassical economics. This is a very elegant regional development doctrine.

However the intellectual and methodological elegance of this doctrine is not solving the fundamental problem of the application of this doctrine in the explanation of the past and in the formulation of policy for the future.

Let me say once more we need a metadisciplinary⁴⁶ regional development doctrine explaining the fundamental dimension of development in an intellectual and methodological context located beyond (meta) the classical sphere of any conventional academic discipline.

If our discussions will open this way of thought and action, we will be well remembered in the history of our field.

Footnotes

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Antoni Kukliński

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE FATE OF ONE ECOSOC RESOLUTION

Habent sua fata libelli. I think not only the fate of books can be studied but also the fate of those United Nations resolutions which have promoted the development of an important field of research and policy oriented activities.

It is worthwhile to note that twenty years ago, on May 11, 1965, in the framework of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations a resolution was formulated which is widely recognized as a foundation of a new United Nations Programme of Research and Training in Regional Development.

This resolution has started a United Nations Sturm and Drang Periode in the field of Regional Development¹.

This splendid and efficient decade is analyzed by G. Wen² in a paper published in 1975. The next decade 1976-1985 was much less dynamic. This is a mild statement since in practical terms very few traces of the 1965 innovations can be seen now in the United Nations.

In precise terms it is only one trace, the United Nations Center for Regional Development in Nagoya, Japan.

The information about the activity of this center is formulated in the following way³.

The United Nations Centre for Regional Development was set up in 1971 in pursuance of the terms of ECOSOC resolutions 1086C (XXXIX) and in 1141 (XLI) which called for global action to promote regional development, and resolution 1582 (L) that provided guidelines for its establishment. The principal aim of the UNCRD is to enhance the capabilities of the developing countries in subnational regional development planning. Towards this aim UNCRD organized training courses, promotes collaborative research on substantive issues in regional development, extends technical advisory services, serves as a

forum for exchange of experiences, and fosters exchange of experiences, and fosters exchange of documentation and information on regional development and planning.

The activities of UNCRD are organized under four inter-related programmes: research, training, advisory services, and information exchange. Some of the research activities are carried out at UNCRD while others, taking place through a network of institutions in developing countries, are initiated, coordinated, and often funded by UNCRD. The training activities consist of an international regional development planning course held each year in Nagoya, and a number of short-term country specific courses, sometimes having the character of on-the-job training. The courses are designed to provide the participants with ample opportunities for sharing of knowledge, skills, and experience concerning regional development. UNCRD's role as a centre for exchange of new ideas and experiences is fulfilled by its numerous periodic and ad hoc publications as well as by frequent workshops and seminars planners from various countries.

There is no doubt that the results of the UNCRD activity are just excellent and that both the United Nations and the Japanese government should be congratulated for the promotion of this very successful venture.

I think that the experience of the Nagoya Center should be studied with great attention.

Inter alia following questions should be answered:

1. To what extent the UNCRD was successful in promotion of empirical studies discovering new facts, new phenomena and new processes in the field of regional development.

2. To what extent the UNCRD was successful in promotion of new ideas and approaches in the field of explicit and implicit regional policies.

3. To what extent the UNCRD was successful in promotion of important innovations in the field of regional studies and especially in the attempts to formulated the new regional development doctrine responding to the needs of the next decades.

Naturally the list of questions can be reformulated and extended in different ways.

One additional question is particularly important. This is the question "if one United Nations Center even most excellent can embrace the field of regional development in global scale".

Let me say that both the spirit and letter of the original version of the United Nations Program of Research and Training in Regional Development expressed a very clear intention to establish about ten UN Centers in this field.

All UN documents and activities formulated and implemented in the years 1965-75 expressed the assumption that a global network of centers will be created. Maybe the following quotation from G. Wen paper⁴ will confirm this historical interpretation.

Benefitting from the findings of the exploratory missions and the results of the UNRISD studies, the Economic and Social Council in 1971 further defined regional development as a potential instrument within a country, particularly to:

- a) Induce rapid structural change and social reform, especially to achieve a broader distribution of returns from development among less privileged groups in society;
- b) Increase popular participation in setting development goals and in developmental decision-making and organizational processes;
- c) Create more effective institutional and administrative arrangement and operational approaches to carry out development plans;
- d) Achieve a better distribution of population and human activities and settlement through a more effective integration of urban and rural development;
- e) Include environmental considerations more effectively in development programmes.

With the purpose of regional development thus defined, the Council also set the stage for the establishment of a global network of centres and for a more intensified effort in mobilizing and utilizing available resources to strengthen the capacity of member countries in adopting regional development as a strategy for achieving national goals.

In this context, the following proposals could be submitted for the considerations of the proper United Nations Agencies.

1. To prepare a comprehensive study "United Nations Programme of Research and Training in Regional Development. The Experiences of Two Decades. The Prospects for the Future".

2. To prepare a comprehensive study "The United Nations Center for Regional Development in Nagoya: Experiences and Prospects"⁵.

3. To prepare a comprehensive historical and prognostic study "The Global Network of United Nations Regional Development Centers: Old Assumption and New Prospects"⁴.

This three studies designed and implemented by the United Nations or by academic institutions in cooperation with the UN could create a background for a new ECOSOC resolution on Regional Development and for a new Sturm und Drang Periode in this field.

Footnotes

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LOCAL POLAND AND TERRITORIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT
UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE REFORM AND
RECONSTRUCTION OF SPACE ECONOMY
AN OUTLINE OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

THE OBJECTIVE

A study of the functioning of local systems (local economy, local communities, local authorities, ecological processes) in new system conditions; definition of the place and role of local systems in the programmes for reconstruction of space economy in Poland.

Evaluation of the potential of local systems as one of the factors in overcoming the crisis and giving new impetus to the processes of socio-economic development.

Identification of the desirable directions of perfecting the satisfying of social needs, mechanisms and instruments of state administration and economic management, and relations with the natural environment.

Determination of the present and desired relations between local and regional systems in the legal-institutional sphere and in economy.

The programme will be conducted from 1986 to 1990 with possible extension beyond that date.

The recent system changes in Poland (economic reform) regarding the authority of the local self-government (the law on People's Councils) and planning (the laws on planning and spatial planning) have created new grounds for the functioning of the state, the society and the economy.

The changes affected most the local level where social needs are being articulated, voiced and satisfied and where

the economic and natural processes directly influence local communities.

Giving fresh momentum to local systems should be viewed as one of the fundamental moves in restoring the state and reanimating the economy, stimulating social activeness, halting the degradation of the natural environment. These goals are being served int.al., by the reform of the system of People's Councils viewed as representatives of the territorial self-government, the economic reform and its essential part - the rearrangement of the shop-floor self-governments.

The functioning of local systems is by no means a new question facing the social and natural sciences alike. However, the research that has accumulated so far examined the reality as seen before the reforms and needs updating. Therefore, the projects proposed here are designed to provide new insights into the workings of local systems in new conditions, the economic crisis and efforts aimed at overcoming it.

The questions proposed for examination have an important international aspect both in the socialist and the capitalist countries. The conclusions could provide guidance for the streamlining of similar structure and local systems in other European socialist countries, while comparative studies of the functioning of local systems in Poland and other countries would facilitate the assessment of foreign experiences and their transformation to Polish conditions.

The Project is coordinated by:

- Prof. Antoni Kukliński, Coordinator, Director of the Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warszawa.

- Dr Grzegorz Gorzelak, Deputy-Coordinator, Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw.

- Dr Piotr Dutkiewicz, Deputy-Coordinator, Editor-in-Chief of project publications, Institute of Developing Countries, University of Warsaw, 02-089 Warszawa, ul, Żwirki i Wigury 93.

- Tomasz Potkański. M.A, Secretary of the project, Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw.

The Ministry of Science and High Education supervises the Project from the scientific, administrative and financial points of view.

Research project No 1: THE METHODOLOGY, ORGANIZATION AND
GUIDELINES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF SCIENTIFIC
RESEARCH.

Head: Prof. Antoni KUKLIŃSKI, Institute of Space Economy,
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kie Przedmieście 30, Poland

Subject	Supervisor and authors
1	2
Time and space in the social sciences and in socio-economic policy-making.	prof. Z. CHOJNICKI, Institute of Socio-Economic Geography and Space Planning, 61-701 Poznań, ul. Fredry 10, Poland.
The local factor as a problem of theory, methodology and application.	
The crisis and development: the spatial aspect (global, regional, local).	prof. B. KACPRZYŃSKI, Institute of Systems Research, 00-447 Warsaw, ul. Newelska 6 Poland.
Assessment of major achievements in Poland and abroad in interdisciplinary space research.	
The patterns of local community activity and determinants of change.	prof. A. TURSKA, The Faculty of Law and Administration. University of Warsaw, 00-325 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, Poland.
Methodology of research on the uniformization and differentiation of local administration in Poland and in Europe.	prof. W. KAWALEC, Editor-in-Chief, "Rada Narodowa-Gospodarka-Administracja" 03-411 Warsaw, Al. Jerozolimskie 30, Poland.

1	2
Methodological and practical questions of the integration of research tools for the investigation of local Poland.	dr G. GORZELAK. Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.
International comparative studies: theory, methodology, practice.	
Concepts of the reconstruction of space economy: methodology, practice and application.	prof. A. KUKLIŃSKI, Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30 Poland.
Methodological and organizational questions of cooperation with practice.	
Coordination of the project, technical equipment, publications.	

Research project No 2: POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE FUNCTIONING
OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Head: prof. Leszek GILEJKO, Research Institute for Working
Class Problems, Academy of Social Sciences.

Subject	Supervisor and authors
1	2
<p>Contradictions, conflicts and antagonisms: interests in local socio-political systems in Poland (1980-1985).</p>	<p>dr J.P. GIEORGICA Academy of Social Sciences, 00-559 Warsaw, ul. Chopina 1, Poland.</p>
<p>The work analyzes and presents conclusions on local conflicts in Poland (1980-1985). The problems are discussed in a territorial aspect and in economic systems of industrial plants.</p>	
<p>The role of local authorities in coordinating the interests and supervision of socio-economic development in micro-regions.</p>	<p>dr K. CIUMAN, dr K. IWANICKA, dr T. KUDŁACZ, Economic Academy, Kraków, ul. Rakowicka 27, Poland.</p>
<p>This subject involves field studies to provide data for an assessment of effectiveness of political and administrative bodies.</p>	
<p>Local communities (with particular stress on the working class) and the reforms of economic and political systems.</p>	<p>prof. L. GILEJKO, Academy of Social Sciences, 00-559 Warsaw ul. Chopina 1, Poland.</p>

1	2
Field studies of attitudes in local communities, classes and social strata from different areas and the change in the system of state authority, economy and management.	
Components of the system of social consultation and the local authorities and state administration.	prof. J. SIKORSKI, Polish Management Institute, 02-067 Warsaw, ul. Wawelska 56, Poland.
Discussion on theoretical and political ways of consulting the political decisions and administrative solutions in local systems. Two conferences are envisioned in connection with the planned law.	
Activists, interests groups and elites in the enterprise and in local authority.	dr J.P. GIEORGICA, Academy of Social Sciences, 00-559 Warsaw, ul. Chopina 1 Poland.
A sociological profile of a local activist and informal groups and systems.	prof. J. WÓDZ, dr J. SZUMLICZ, Silesian Research Institute, Katowice, ul. Graniczna 32, Poland.
Within the framework of this subject there will be national and international conferences in cooperation with party institutes from Hungary.	

1	2
Articulation of social needs and interests in local systems.	prof. P. DOBROWOLSKI, Institute of Political Sciences and Journalism, Silesian University, 40-007 Katowice, ul, Ban- kora 11, Poland.

Research project No 3: THE FUNCTIONING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES
AND TERRITORIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Head: prof. Karol SOBCZAK, Faculty of Management, University
of Warsaw, and also Polish Management Institute,
02-067 Warsaw, ul. Wawelska 56, Poland.

Subject	Supervisor and authors
1	2
The components of the system of social consultation in the operations of the People's Councils and various forms of social self-government.	prof. K. SOBCZAK, Polish Management Institute, 02-067 Warsaw, ul. Wawelska 56, Poland
Work on theoretical and practical ways of consult- ing solutions with regard to the planned law.	
The People's Councils as the fundamental organs of ter- ritorial and social self- government.	
Attempt at defining the position of People's Councils in the system of self-government.	
The execution of admini- stration by local bodies.	
The analysis of the legal state and the real situation in different spheres of life	
The role of the "centre" in the activity of local authorities.	

1	2
An analysis of the essence, scope and forms of influence.	prof. K. SOBCZAK, Polish Management Institute, 02-067 Warsaw, ul. Wawelska 56, Poland.
Barriers to the process of socializing the economic and spatial planning in the system of People's Councils and industrial firms.	
An analysis of the functioning of new formal-legal solutions related to the economic reform.	
Depreciation of fixed capital as a variable in the socio-economic policy in local systems.	
A diagnosis of remedies for communes and enterprises.	
The functioning of local and voivodship systems: Methods and realities.	prof. J. KOŁODZIEJSKI, Department of Spatial Planning, Gdańsk Polytechnic, 80-952 Gdańsk, ul. Majakowskiego 11/12 Poland.

Research project No 4: LOCAL COMMUNITY PROBLEMS.

Head: prof. Kazimierz SOWA, Faculty of Economics and Cooperatives, Central School of Planning and Statistics, Rzeszów, ul. Ćwiklińskiej 2 Poland.

Subject	Supervisor and authors
Perception of central institutions in power systems and local systems.	prof. D. MARKOWSKI, Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology, Higher Pedagogical School, 35-959 Rzeszów, ul. Rejtana 16a Poland.
Ethnic factor in the structure of local communities.	dr M. LATOSZEK, Gdańsk Scientific Society, 80-841 Gdańsk, ul. Grodzka 12, Poland.
Socio-economic determinants of informal economy in local systems.	prof. K. SOWA, Faculty of Economics and Cooperatives, Central School of Planning and Statistics, Rzeszów, ul. Ćwiklińskiej 2, Poland.
Cooperative self-government in the structure of local self-government.	Cooperative Research Institute 00-013 Warsaw, ul. Jasna 1, Poland.
Religious institutions in local communities.	prof. W. POWŁUCZUK, Institute of Religious Studies, Jagiellonian University, 31-004 Kraków, ul. Grodzka 52 Poland.
The role of Roman-Catholic parishes in the organization of social life on local level.	prof. F. ADAMSKI, Institute of Religious Studies, Jagiellonian University, 31-004 Kraków, ul. Grodzka 52 Poland.

Research project No 5: LOCAL ECONOMY.

Head: prof. Bohdan GRUCHMAN, Institute of Planning,
Economic Academy, 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlews-
kiego 146/150, Poland.

Subject	Supervisor and authors
1	2
Economic foundations of local development.	prof. B. GRUCHMAN, Institute of Planning, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Development planning for local economies.	prof. B. WINIARSKI, prof. W. BROSZKIEWICZ, Faculty of Economic Policies and Planning of National Economy, Economic Academy (Wrocław), 53-395 Wrocław, ul. Komandorska 118/120, Poland.
Economic-spatial conflict in local development: Sources, analysis and solutions.	dr E. GŁUGIEWICZ, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Functioning of local job market.	dr W. DYMARSKI, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
External effects and local living conditions.	dr T. MARKOWSKI and prof. J. REGULSKI, Institute of Regional Policies, University of Łódź, 80-214 Łódź, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. nr 29, Poland.

1	2
Budgetary and financial aspects of local economy.	prof. J. WIERZBICKI, Dr. E. DENEK, Institute of Finance, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Determinants of local activity and expansion of industry outside the competence of local authorities.	prof. Z. DĄBROWSKI, dr M. WRÓBLEWSKI, Institute of Planning, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Local determinants of innovations (research to be carried in 2-3 selected regions).	prof. B. GRUCHMAN, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Determinants of the development of small-scale industry (on the example of the Poznań voivodship).	prof. E. BITTNEROWA, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Local food complex.	prof. D. ŚNIEGOWSKA, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.
Local commodity markets and transport services.	dr E. GOŁEMBSKA, Institute of Space Economy, Economic Academy (Poznań), 60-967 Poznań, ul. Marchlewskiego 146/150, Poland.

1	2
The impact of tourism on local development.	prof. J. KRUCZAŁA, Institute of Planning and Regional Economics, Economic Academy (Kraków), 31-510 Kraków, ul. Racławicka 27, Poland.

Research project No 6: STUDIES ON LOCAL ISSUES.

Head: prof. Bohdan JAŁOWIECKI, Institute of Space Economy,
University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw,
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.

Subject	Supervisor and authors
1	2
Local initiatives: inventory and anatomy.	prof. B. JAŁOWIECKI, Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.
Functioning of selected local systems.	
- Puławy - a local system and a dominating big city.	vacat
- Local systems in the Warsaw urban area.	vacat
- Szczyrk - a local system and tourist "invasion".	prof. J. WÓDZ, Institute of Sociology, Silesian University, 40-007 Katowice, ul. Bankowa 11, Poland.
- Poddębice - a local system and the change in the political and administrative status.	prof. W. PIOTROWSKI, Institute of Sociology, University of Łódź, 90-214 Łódź, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. no 41, Poland.
- Spontaneous processes in space management in local systems.	prof. A. ZAGOŹDŃON, Department of Regional Studies, University of Wrocław, 50-145 Wrocław, ul. Uniwersytecka 19/20, Poland.

1	2
Local culture.	
- Podhale: a cultural region.	Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.
- Local centres of musical activity	prof. I. PONIATOWSKA, Institute of Warsaw, 02-089 Warsaw, ul. Żwirki i Wigury 93, Poland.
- Old place complexes as local and national centres of culture.	Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.
- Local community: autonomy and freedom to advance interests.	dr I. HRYNIEWICZ, Institute of Socio-Economic Sciences, Polytechnics of Warsaw, Warsaw, ul. Noakowskiego 21, Poland.
- Local élites and the development programmes.	dr P. DUTKIEWICZ, Institute of the Developing Countries, University of Warsaw, 02-089 Warsaw, ul. Żwirki i Wigury 93, Poland.
Comparative studies of local communities in Latin America and Africa.	dr A. DEMBICZ, Institute of the Developing Countries, University of Warsaw, 02-089 Warsaw, ul. Żwirki i Wigury 93, Poland.

Research project No 7: SCENARIOS - EXPERIMENTS -
IMPLEMENTATION.

Head: prof. Stanisław M. KOMOROWSKI, Institute of Space
Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul.
Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.

Subject	Supervisor and authors
1	2
<p>New theoretical concepts in the research of local systems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contradictions, trends, conflicts as research categories in the analysis of local communities; outline. - Systems approach in the research of local systems. - Decomposition of local communities. - The methodology of relation: "problem area-commune". 	<p>prof. S.M. KOMOROWSKI, Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30 Poland.</p>
<p>Innovation and progress in the functioning of local systems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creative invention and the question of development "from below". - Local inventiveness as a stimulus of social progress. - Local inventiveness: surveys of selected local systems and international perspective. 	<p>prof. L. ZACHER, Department of Management Sciences the Polish Academy of Sciences, 00-330 Warsaw, Ul. Nowy Świat 72 (Staszic Palace), Poland.</p>

1	2
Theoretical assumptions of the development of settlement system and towns in centrally planned economy.	prof. J. REGULSKI, Institute of Regional Policies, University of Łódź, 90-214 Łódź, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. no 29, Poland.
Spatial-functional structure and territorial bonds (on the example of Piotrków voivodship).	prof. M. KOTER, Institute of Economic and Political Geography, University of Łódź, ul. Kościuszki 21, Poland.
Ecological problems in local dimension. - Ecological areas as problem areas, delimitation of natural spatial units. - Ecological barriers to local development. - Monographs of the natural environment of communes.	prof. A. RICHLING, Institute of Physical and Geographical Sciences, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30 Poland.
Natural environment and local communities in selected Third World countries.	prof. F. PLIT, Institute of the Developing Countries, University of Warsaw, 02-089 Warsaw, ul. Żwirki i Wigury 93, Poland.
Drafting of a working (model) scenario for a diagnosis of a commune.	prof. S.M. KOMOROWSKI, Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.

1	2
General approach to local systems in Poland on the basis of scenarios.	prof. S.M. KOMOROWSKI, Institute, of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 00-927 Warsaw, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, Poland.
An attempt at a prognostic analysis of a scenario (on the example of several typical communes).	
Analysis of a scenario for a voivodship on the basis of the analysis of selected communes (on the example of Płock voivodship).	

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