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MAZOVIA QUO VADIS? INSPIRATIONS FROM AND COMMENTS TO THE “DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR THE MAZOWIECKIE VOIVODESHIP”

Bruno Amoroso

ABSTRACT

The article is an attempt of evaluation of the development strategy of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship from the perspective of international experience in development strategies building and formulation of development policies. There are methodological remarks in the first parts of the article presented. They concern an issue of the role of internal and external factors that influence development processes. The institutional framework for the strategy building is described, pointing out roles of administrative bodies of different levels and partners involved in the process of shaping strategic documents. Regional development paradigm evolution is presented in historical context with emphasis on the impact of globalization on the European integration. Then transformation of welfare system existing in both Eastern and Western Europe in the period of 1950-1970 is described. The article contains also critical remarks on how industrialization processes influenced regional development of European countries. Experience related to dual mode development and marginalization of neglected areas is outlined and discussed. In the part of the article devoted specifically to the Mazovia region its development strategy is reviewed and evaluated from the perspective of international experience and development policies of European Union.

A fair and useful overview

The Document *“Development Strategy for the Mazowieckie Voivodeship”* provides essential basic information with a useful overview of the region, and the *“Introductory paper”* of Antony Kukliński points out the necessary methodological orientation that make us able to start a debate about the proposed aims and means, their coherence, the “internal” and external” factors influencing them, and their sustainability.

Aims and means are clearly stated in the “strategy” paper. There is a general awareness about strengths and lacks in the current situation and achieved results in terms of production, services, infrastructures, living conditions, territorial unbalances, etc.. As well as obstacles and opportunities are properly recalled. A fair and useful overview, where the chosen developmental approach is aware of the complexity of the socioeconomic systems in questions and their pluralism into the prevailing standardised norms and behaviours.

However, the attention given to the “internal” and “external” factors influencing development seems to assume them as *objective* factors and constrains and not, at least partially, the results

of political choices or choices imposed on political behaviour. They are described in the document in too general terms and not analysed in their positive and negative impacts. A more selective critical consideration would have expressed a greater reservation about their influence and better articulated the need of specific policy to govern them.

Furthermore, there are factors and constraints that are not labelled as such and therefore they remain outside the proposed view and the policy perception. To the factors belong culture, social behaviour rooted in history and traditions, the multicultural foundation of the communities, market traditions; to the constraints belong the level of commodification in production and services, the role of finance in the economy, individualism and consumerism brought forward by the prevailing form of modernity.

The coherence of aims and means ought to be evaluated taking into account the various levels of government (local, regional, national, European and international) and sectors of activities (agriculture, manufacturing, population, territorial planning, urbanization, etc.). The interaction among them at the various levels requires great concern about the policy measures and the administrative implementation, the actors to involve and their participation.

Due to the today prevailing competitive behaviour and the private/individual consumption culture, the objective of cohesion (national and European), synergic participation among local-regional and national production systems and institutions, fairness and solidarity in distribution cannot be taken for granted.

Finally, the aim of sustainability deserves more attention because the today prevailing trends in market and politics privileges a short sighted approach that scarcely include the medium-long term in the evaluation of the results. Trends in markets behaviour are moving from “profit oriented” to “for-profit oriented”, where the latter emphasises the short-term speculative character of the so-called investments. Trends in politics and institutional behaviours make difficult to engage in medium term programmes and planning due to the volatility of the political parties and to the short term election periods. Furthermore sustainability of the overall plan must include social, political, environment and culture phenomena that up to now are subjected to segmented criteria of governance.

Old paradigms and new scenario

Well aware that: “history is the politics of the past, and today policies are the history of the future”, some lessons can be learned for previous experiences. Various evaluation attempts have been made in recent decades about what since the beginning of the European integration process has been qualified as “internal cohesion” and, further on, the two reference points of the European strategy: internal social cohesion and economic cooperation in the wider Europe.

These overall objectives were reformulated and shaped by the 1988 reform of the structural funds, and by the greater emphasis given by Jacques Delors to EU cohesion policy aiming to reduce disparity in economic opportunity and welfare among regions. This new orientation concerned also the model of governance applied by the EU, that was extended to include

a number of new institutional actors (regions), local institutions and civil society organizations [Hoghe 1996].

Since, many events have affected the forms and the functioning of European societies and markets. I will focus here on some of them that are relevant to our efforts to understand and apply development strategies to specific areas and regions: 1. The shift of the paradigm that influence the behaviour of market economies and institution in the context of European integration and globalization; 2. The transformation of the welfare systems, squeezed between the new neoliberal policy orientation and the rise of new type of social and political actors; 3. Experiences of industrialisation and regional development in European countries; 4. Experiences of dualism and marginalization in Europe.

1. *Globalization and European Integration*

The effects of globalization on the process of European integration can be assayed in relation to both the limits it has placed on this process since 1989, exacerbating the existing regional and social disparity within EU, and the ongoing attempts to force Europe's development into the Eurocentric strait-jacket, thereby turning it into a tame instrument of triadization of the world's economy [Amoroso 1998].

The European Union was born after the Second World War II and the very core idea was the reorganization of economies and European societies in order to create synergies and cooperation about the use of national resources, a new type of cooperative production and labour distribution, and a welfare system able to radically change the "unequal distribution of income and wealth" among the European people.

Since the 1970s, we have seen a rhetorical reaffirmation of these objectives, alongside with the introduction of new objective such as European competitiveness, privatization of the public systems and services, and increasing inequality and poverty. These orientations are reflected in the recent EU documents, where Eurocentric and polycentric approaches are stated side by side.

The recent elaboration about territorial planning in the EU gives place for a polycentric European model where emphasis is put on synergies instead of competition, social cohesion instead of inequality [ESPD 1999]. The reading of EU documents and policy provides the opportunity to select among these conflicting approaches, well aware that they are reflected within each state and regions.

2. *The transformation of the welfare systems*

During some decades (1950s-1970s) the European countries have enjoyed various types of welfare systems (in the East as well in the West) by which the state was the main provider of public services (education, health, social policies, etc). The new policies of privation and neoliberalism since the 1970s have gradually modified and in some cases put an end to these functions, and originated the rise of new actors.

Business activities have entered some of these sectors (privatization), but at the same time there has been and increasing mobilization of political, economic and social actors

that have developed new forms and organization of public services (social cooperatives in Italy, social enterprises in some other countries, civil society organization in general).

These trends have produced a greater attention for local and regional development together with the decentralization of the institutional power centres. It is the vast area of the social economy squeezed between the new policy orientation created by neoliberalism and the rise of a new type of social and political actors.

These phenomena should receive attention in determining objectives and policies for the *Mozowieckie Voivodeship*.

3. Experiences of industrialisation and regional development in European countries

The topic has received attention during the time and therefore, while planning and implementing new regional scenarios, we can learn from these lessons and experiences. National and regional development in Europe provide a number of regional “take off” examples, often described as “miracles”.

They have taken place within specific sectors of production (IT, electronic, etc.) and consumer waves (in distribution, retail and leisure activities), and along financial flows determined by international/European funds and aid with short term profit considerations, scarcely interested in sustainability, accessibility and distribution aspects without which all talks about cohesion remain empty words.

Generally speaking the “miracles” (the Italian one in the sixties, and the Irish and Island one in recent time) have been short termed and characterized by high social and environmental costs. Countries affected by “miracles” had high level of economic dualism within their national market at the beginning of the process and this situation was not improved at the end of it.

Of course, we could state that the failure of the miracles was due to specific weakness of their national and/or institutional national systems. But this interpretation is not sustained by the evidences. Italy is the country of failures in the process of industrialization and industrial modernization but, at the same time, provides various examples of “good practices” in regional development and specialization in manufacturing, in agriculture, and in the social economy as well.

The well-known long standing tradition of the Italian “industrial districts”, the successful development of the “social cooperatives” during the last forty years and the following innovation of “social enterprises” demonstrates that other patterns are also possible. The line of thought to be followed is not the one of “best example” and “models” to be transferred, but the one of understanding the reasons behind these innovative changes and implement policies that make them to create the required changes.

All these innovative patterns show that they have been nourished by some very specific historical determinants, by a crowding up process from local markets and productions systems, by the strengthening and local and regional levels of their cooperative attitude and their reliance on local communities.

4. Experiences of dualism and marginalization in Europe

Dualism is a phenomena mentioned in the documents we are discussing here and some new thoughts and considerations have to be developed. The prevailing orientation is the one that identify dualism by the use of economic indicators and therefore imply that it can be overcome by changing them with the help of specific sector policies.

In my opinion dualism express the existence of differences among areas and social groups, but these differences are due to diversities in cultural, social and institutional behaviours that not necessarily ought to produce "inequalities". These diversities might give rise to new and different patterns of development or, when constrained by a development model alien to them, to social exclusion and marginalization.

A number of current theories on dualism confuse "diversities" with "inequalities", and this is the result of the application of standard model deducted in certain areas to countries and regions that do not fit into these classifications. Paradoxically it can be stated that "dualism" (in term of inequalities) is not the product of missing modernisation but the outcome of its success.

A regional development strategy for Mazowieckie Voivodeship

A regional development strategy emphasises in most cases the need of innovation. But the aim of innovation is not necessarily to do more and better than other state or regions are doing, but can also mean to do it in a different way in coherence with own aims and means. Here some points of reflections for further elaborations:

I. Cohesion and convergence are not the same. The need of a common objective

When we follow the EU regional strategies, we are talking about cohesion among diversities to be maintained and valorised. In this case innovation is not needed for to achieve more and better in competition with what other are doing, but to achieve more and better of what we are doing in cooperation with the others. This require a common frame, a common objective based on shared values. In western European countries this has been the content of the "social pact", that gave rise to the specific form of organization called "welfare state". The same objective was reflected at European level in the concept of the "European social model" used as main distinction from other society organizations, such as the US, based on a liberal model (capitalistic market model).

The crisis of welfare states in Europe since the '80s has put on the agenda the problem of a new organization form, searched by neoliberals in direction of a "minimal state" as administrator of a market oriented society and by other forces in the transformation of the welfare state into a welfare society. The content of a new social pact, to be agreed in the context of the new institutional and economic structures ("post-democracy" the former and "post-fordism" the latter), has been identified in the project for the "common good" to create new form of citizens participation, new decentralized institutional frames and to reconcile market and community life at the community premises.

Therefore the new market economy – public, private and cooperative – has received a number of definitions trying to catch up its new quality: social economy, economy of solidarity, associative economy, etc. .

The crucial point is to overcome the traditional division stated in the welfare state between capitalist market and state, based on the externalization of social costs and the functional division between state (administration) and capitalist market (production), with a new system where the two functions are reconciled within the communities.

The reasons behind the need of innovations in the regions are various and recalled in the *Development Strategy* document. There is a need to re-dislocate the various areas and sectors of the country economy in its internal, European and international markets. However, in our specific case under observation, the regions endogenous growth in the national context, with a relatively modern economic articulated structure and infrastructure, population growth due to immigration and a dynamic job market, is already producing imbalances that undermine its future perspectives.

The *Document* shows great awareness about opportunities as well as constraints and obstacles. Some of them are due to old unsolved problems (civic and educational infrastructures), other to the persistence of geographic and political barriers (problems of institutions and representation) that hinder a proper participation of local communities and markets, and to the newly created obstacles due to the segmentation of interests in a context of poorly developed national cohesion.

Three questions are at stake, as pointed out in the *Document*: *first* the chosen model of development for the all society, qualified as “polycentric” and “social”; *second*, the creation of an economic structure and infrastructure able to sustain the chosen model while providing jobs, goods and services to the citizens; *third*, the appropriate use of resources. The general outcome of the overall system labelled as “*Cohesive Mazovia*”, should be its sustainability “to be implemented by the development in three priority areas: society, economy, territory” [Strategy 2006, 17, 20].

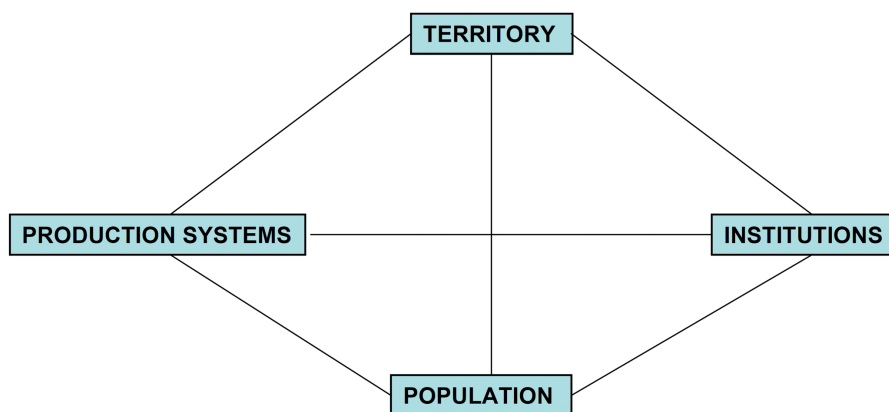
This approach seems in line with the recent elaborations sponsored by the European Council [Council 1008]. The resources at disposal for the welfare society project inspired by the common good are:

- a) values and principles
- b) laws and institutions
- c) production systems
- d) actors and practices

The recent trend toward the segmentation of common goods to be managed by international agencies (“governance”), reproduces the negative effects experienced with the public goods administered by the state, followed by communities’ and people’s de-responsabilization. Therefore the selection and the government of the common goods should re-establish the principle of sovereignty at community level *versus* the state as well as toward international institutions. This implies the introduction of new ownership and management forms based on high level of self-government and participation able to mobilize local communities and civil societies.

The economy cannot remain outside and independent from this system, as in the case of the welfare state built on the dualism between state and market. This dualism is today challenged on two sides. Globalization, on one side, by increasing privatization, transforms dualism into a unified system based on the principle and supremacy of finance and technology with the marginalization of increasing areas of society. On the other side, the common good provides an alternative answer to this problem and overcomes the dualism of the previous system by re-establishing the centrality of a community life based on its main components: territory, population, production systems and institutions (Fig. 1).

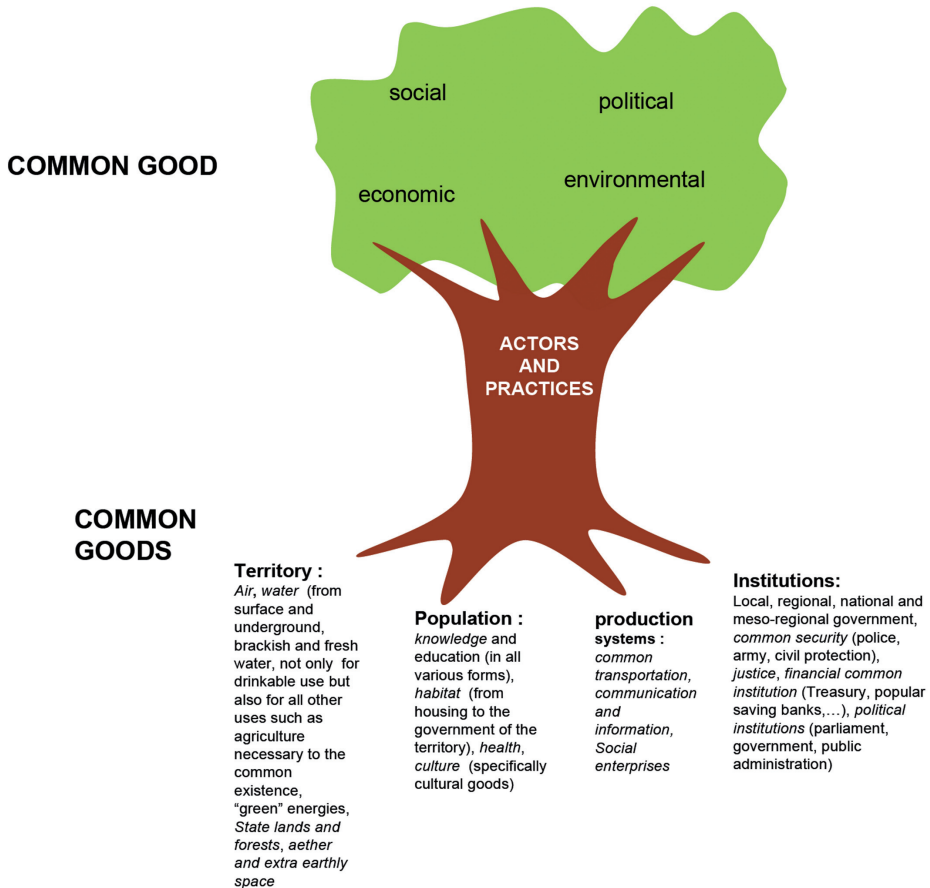
Fig. 1. The diamond of the community



The life of the communities inspired by the Common Good requires an overall cohesion and mobilization of all its components and resources. The common goods create the basis for its overall functioning and within each of its main factors: territory, production systems, population and institutions. The diamond represents the necessary structure built on its main pillars. Globalization is based on de-territorialized production systems, on nomadism of the population and on centralised institutions. The cells of welfare societies are the communities that demand within their respective boundaries the existence of own institutions that govern a specific territory, population and production systems (Fig. 2).

In all forms of social organization, the production system and the market can play an important role as an instrument of social and cultural exchange of experiences, and a place of meeting and elaboration. But this can take place only if a strong link among territory, population, production systems and institutions is maintained without the decline or disappearing of any of these factors. Therefore the central position given to the local dimension in designing the new boundaries of the community is not a choice of specialization within a bigger domain, but the privileged areas of reference to which the other dimensions – such as state, regions, international institutions – ought to be functionally related.

Fig. 2. The tree of the common good in welfare society



Source: Amoroso 2008

II. Habitat, space planning and infrastructure

The development of capital cities in most European countries has taken place at the cost of the wide network of smaller cities. Capital cities have so produced “unbearable costs” for their citizens, surrounding themselves with areas of social exclusion and desperation, while the smaller cities lost their own centrality and role in maintaining local development. Huge funds are being invested to make these increasing “great cities” to function, while transport technology would make affordable the construction of light system of public trans-

portation that would allow to maintain the decentralised urban structure. However, the problem is to reaffirm the idea –a very old and good idea of European tradition- that habitat is not a place you go to sleep, but a living place where most of the community functions take place.

The Development strategy outlined for the territorial planning for the *Mozowieckie Voivodeship*, clearly illustrates a settlement network including 85 cities with the capital Warsaw and 4 cities administrative districts, 37 cities as local centres of services and nine thousand villages [Strategy 2006, 12]. To maintain this territorial structure, together with the territorial diversification and distribution of production, services, etc., to create a European/Polish example of a polycentric regional/planning able to integrate the Warsaw capital city with a network of well organized provincial and local cities, would be a great Polish and European achievement.

III. *A balanced growth of the internal and external market*

It is a well established truth that a sound basis for the growth of the economy is a balanced relation between internal and external market. This does not only apply to the national market but also to the regional and local market. Many of the recent examples of success in local economies are based on the ability to revitalize traditional production activities and markets and bringing them into the wider markets.

It is not only matter of goods to be produced, but also of income and job to be created, and this can be supported by appropriate economic policies that do not limit themselves to create favourable environment only for big business enterprises.

Some of the topic to be dealt with here are mentioned in the *Document*, such as the need of improving the productivity of the agriculture sector. This can be today done taking into use the new-traditional forms of production highly appreciated by consumers, combining this sector with social and ecological responsible forms of tourism, avoiding the risk of a dangerous industrialization of both sector.

The sustainability of the villages and their economy requires also that investments in education and research are not generally oriented toward technology and innovation, but to the specific needs of these production systems and their environment. The *Document* point out the distorted orientation of R&D expenditures with: “a relatively weak cooperation between the R&D sector and the Mazovia’s economy” [Strategy 2006, 9]. When we discuss about the dramatic situation of employment in other European regions, such as Southern Italy, we face the situation of a competition among universities and technical institutions to acquire knowledge and specializations alien to the local needs and demands and inevitably promoting academic unemployment and brain-drain phenomena from other regions and countries.

IV. *Market, and various forms of enterprises*

As already stated the crisis of the welfare systems has reduced the role of the state as service provider for the people opening up the possibility that this area is overtaken from

private capitalist enterprises (for-profit company) with increased social unbalance to follow. However the decline of the state functions has given also rise to social enterprises (social cooperatives) and other no-profit organization trying to regain social control with these functions and implementing new forms of democratic participation.

A similar process is taking place within the economy. The capitalist enterprises have concentrated their activities on the most profitable areas (high-tech, finance, war technology, high value added products) leaving out the production of basic consumer goods. Therefore there are today important areas of the market economy open to the revitalization of the local markets.

The most recent development and innovation is the rise of social enterprises, beside the non-profit enterprises (cooperative and associations), that have the mission to concentrate their activities at the local/community level and re-linking the social-economic functions of their activities. Social enterprises can be private and cooperative, and can provide the basis for the re-qualification and strengthening of the great number of SMEs today at risk of extinction.

Poland has provided various examples in this direction and therefore has at disposal important instruments for the establishment of a polycentric development, where the solution to problems of long-term unemployment, social exclusion and marginalization for vulnerable groups (immigrants, long term unemployed, disables, ex-prisoners, etc.) is not searched by *ad hoc* solutions that increase marginalization, but by a process of reorganization of our production systems able to contain social inclusion.

The indications provided by the *Document* giving emphasis on “Regional identity” by the creation of regional markets and products ought to be sustained and reinforced within the general development strategy [Strategy 2006, 46].

V. Interegional and international cooperation

Any development strategy locally and regionally oriented does not underestimate the importance of being part of a process of internationalization. The Document in question gives rightly importance to this problem in term of interregional and mesoregional cooperation and networking. While the slogan of globalization is “from global to local”, promoting the adaptation of local communities to the needs of the dominant markets and interest groups, the slogan of the communities ought to be “from local to global”, trying to reproduce and support elsewhere the growth of local communities within their natural boundaries of regions and national states.

It is clear that we are talking about two quite different development strategies to be sustained and implemented by quite different political and economic actors. The risk of Poland and its regions is to be entirely absorbed by a competition with the “core” regions of the EU causing by this the marginalization of important part of its territory and population. Well knowing that this would imply the decline of its distinctive character and identity.

The future of Poland and its communities relays on good relations with all its neighbouring countries and with its ability to participate to growth of its and other new markets toward

East and South. To plan its future thinking only about the rich market of the West is what the Italian have done for decades with the dramatic results for most of its regions and even for those that succeeded in this process.

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STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł jest próbą oceny *Strategii Rozwoju Województwa Mazowieckiego* z perspektywy międzynarodowych doświadczeń w budowaniu strategii rozwoju i formułowaniu polityk, mających prowadzić do realizacji celów tejże strategii. W pierwszych częściach artykułu przedstawiono uwagi dotyczące kwestii metodologicznych w badaniach nad endo- i egzogenicznymi uwarunkowaniami rozwoju. Omówiono także wymiar instytucjonalny budowania i realizowania strategii rozwoju, określając różne role władz administracyjnych różnych szczebli oraz partnerów zaangażowanych w procesy kształtowania dokumentów strategicznych. Przedstawiono w ujęciu historycznym paradygmaty rozwoju regionalnego, zwracając uwagę na wpływ procesów globalizacji na integrację europejską. Omówiono transformacje systemów określanymi jako *welfare systems*, obecnych w latach 1950-1970 tak w Europie zachodniej, jak i wschodniej. W artykule opisano i krytycznie oceniono wpływ procesów industrializacji na rozwój regionalny krajów europejskich. Przedstawiono także doświadczenia wynikające z dualności rozwoju i marginalizacji obszarów zaniedbanych. W części poświęconej *Strategii Rozwoju Województwa Mazowieckiego* dokonano jej oceny na tle doświadczeń międzynarodowych i polityk rozwojowych Unii Europejskiej.

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