COHESION POLICY IN POLAND
ASSUMPTIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION

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Poland, one of the new member states of the European Union, has the largest area and the greatest population number in this group. This means relatively most serious challenges connected with the spatial scale of differences in development and differences in its determinants. As a consequence, on entering the EU, Poland became a sort of a 'laboratory' of the European cohesion policy.

The 'experiment' concerns:

• the efficiency of the implementation of the Community's regional policy at the national level in the conditions of a post-socialist state
• the effectiveness of this policy in a large member state, internally diversified at regional and sub-regional levels
The goal of this analysis is to present the state of and changes in the assumptions of the cohesion policy in Poland and its implementation progress.

The analysis refers to three basic aspects:

• **transfer of the EU cohesion policy assumptions** to the national regional policy
• **extent of and spatial differences in the intervention** of the EU cohesion policy
• **changes in the level of socio-economic development** and the convergence effects obtained as a result of the development intervention received


A spatial range of the analysis embraces the national and regional level but in some cases the problem concerns a local level too.
INTRODUCTION, GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

Poland is a country of large and historically determined internal development differences which, after the economic transformation, remain or even increase in the conditions of growing convergence at the state level.

Thus, of great importance is regional development, a development policy and the effectiveness of its intervention.
Regional development involves both dynamic processes occurring as a result of specific conditions and factors which generate the character, direction and pace of socio-economic changes and deliberately targeted changes which lead to the implementation of tasks indicated in the regional policy through determinants and growth-oriented factors.

Regional policy is a targeted action intended to improve conditions and activate the regional development objectives.
Search for a more effective impact directed towards the improvement of conditions and the activation of regional development objectives leads to the search for a new paradigm of regional policy.

Since the 1980s economists and regionalists have been searching for new approaches that would explain regional and local development processes. It can be attributed to the fact that traditional growth theories cessead to be useful in the analysis and explanation of the development processes of the 1980s and 1990s. This search led to the inclusion of economic geography works and theoretical approaches into the mainstream of economic research (Krugman 1991; 1995; Barca, McCann & Rodriguez-Pose, 2012; Capello & Nijkamp, 2009). In the explanation of development processes, the change in the paradigm is caused by the increased significance of human capital, innovations (endogenous growth theory), agglomeration of activity and proximity, which is considered not only in terms of physical proximity (new economic geography), and institutions (institutional economics). Moreover, thanks to the increasing globalization more attention has been paid to the meaning of both material and immaterial local resources which take part in building the capital of territories determining their competitive advantages (Capello & Nijkamp, 2009; Rodriguez-Pose & Crescenzi, 2008).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old/classic paradigm</th>
<th>New/modern paradigm</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual basis</td>
<td>Learning region theories, key factors are regional capabilities e.g. innovative milieux, clusters, networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim(s) Objectives</td>
<td>Increased competitiveness and equity e.g. entrepreneurship, innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General policy framework</td>
<td>Tapping underutilised potential in all regions enhancing regional competitiveness through regional and strategic programming (e.g. smart specialization strategies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sphere of action</td>
<td>Integrated and comprehensive development projects with wider policy coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial orientation</td>
<td>All-region focus, with orientation towards functional economic areas</td>
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<td>Approach</td>
<td>Context-specific approach (place-based approach)</td>
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<td>Focus</td>
<td>Endogenous local assets and knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>Development programme with mixed investments for soft and hard capital e.g. business environment, labour market, infrastructure</td>
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<td>Actors Organisation</td>
<td>Collective policy development by different levels of government and various stakeholders (public, private, NGOs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation/Outcomes</td>
<td>Ex ante, interim, ex post evaluation with difficulties to measure outcomes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD, 2008.
A new paradigm of the regional policy seeks to achieve the current objectives of socio-economic development as effectively as possible.
Intervention subject to the changing paradigm of a regional policy tests different impact models. It is the evidence of both ineffective action conducted so far and the very dynamically changing conditions (megatrends included).
GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION
DEVELOPMENT STAGES OF NATIONAL REGIONAL POLICY IN POLAND
The 1980s and 1990s

2000 – 2004 pre-accession period

• territorial and administrative reform of the country implemented in 1999.
• first model of the national regional policy during the accession negotiations with the European Union

2004 – 2006 first years in the EU

• Poland’s accession to the EU
• preparation of the national strategic document required by the EU: National Development Plan (NPR) as the basis to negotiate Community Support Framework (CSF) with the European Commission
• the adjustment of the Polish regional policy to the EU standards in order to create the possible access to the Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund.

2007 – 2013 and 2014 – 2020 first full time periods of functioning in the EU financial perspective

• a new model of the national regional policy (development policy)
• changes in the model of the national regional policy (development policy) after the government changed in 2015.

Source: Churski, 2006; 2008, 2016
REGIONAL POLICY IN POLAND IN THE 1980s AND 1990s
Systematization of the Polish regional policy in the 1980s and 1990s

**before 1989**

Regional policy in Poland was limited to the activities which were in line with **ideological and political priorities**. They were based mainly on **sector programmes and centralized regional policy** created and implemented by KC PZPR (the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party), i.e. interregionally. During the economic recession of the 1980s and after the unsuccessful attempts to reform the socialist economy, **regional policy was altogether abandoned**.

**1990-1995**

In the initial period of the transformation the liberal assumption that the **market economy and its mechanisms would solve all economic problems** was adopted. The market economy was to ensure a proper distribution of resources. The result was the regional divergence of development.

**1995-1999**

Poland’s preparation for the accession negotiations and the need to break the deepening regional divergence of development prompted the authorities to **prepare a new model of the Polish regional policy**.

*Source: Churski, 2006*
Despite the lack of internal activities, the Polish regional policy of the 1990s was supported by the EU PHARE programme aimed at the associated countries and those intending to be associated with the EU.

Out of over 50 programmes implemented within PHARE in Poland, the most important for the regional development process were PHARE-STRUDER and PHARE-CBC.

In 1990-1999 the PHARE programme aid intended for Poland amounted to 2 bln euro, which was 27% of the total budget of this programme and resulted in the average annual allocation of 200 million euro.

GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION

PRE-ACCESSION REGIONAL POLICY IN POLAND
First Polish model of regional policy


STATE BUDGET CONTRIBUTION
Contract 2001-2003 => 0.8 bln euro
Contract 2004 => 0.3 bln euro

National Regional Development Strategy
Support Programme
Support Application
Voivodship Contracts
The report on the implementation of the Support Application and Voivodship Contracts

Source: Churski, 2008
In the pre-accession period (2000-2004) a new Polish regional policy was supported by the EU pre-accession programmes: PHARE II, SAPARD and ISPA. Their implementation was independent of the national development policy.

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**PHARE II implementation**

**SAPARD implementation**

**average annual allocation 1 bln euro**

**Source:** Report on development and regional policy... 2007

**Źródła:** Raport o rozwoju i polityce regionalnej..., 2007

**ISPA => 69 projects**
EU Cohesion Policy in POLAND
Second Polish regional policy model


- The Act of 12 May 2000 on the principles of the regional development support (cf. Journal of Laws No. 48/2000, item 550), Polish regional policy reform

Long-Term Regional Development Strategy of the Country

National Regional Development Strategy

National Development Plan

Community Support Framework

Operational Programmes and Strategy of using the Cohesion Fund

Application for means for the Regional Operational Programme

Voivodship Contract

Report on the implementation of the Support Application and Voivodship Contracts

Source: Churski, 2008
In the first period of the Polish membership in the EU the National Development Plan/Community Support Framework 2004-2006, which was implemented by means of Operational Programmes and their Complements, was a basis for the absorption of Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund.

Total budget of this programme exceeded 19 bln euro, of which 12 bln euro (63.2%) came from Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund.

The national regional policy was entirely geared towards the maximization of the absorption of the EU means.

The amount of funds was more important than the structure of their spending.

average annual allocation
4.8 bln euro
Indicative structure of public means within the National Development Plan/Community Support Network in Poland in 2004-2006 under Operational Programmes.
Effects of implementation of 2004-2006 perspective

Source: Experience and regions opportunities..., 2008.
Effects of implementation of 2004-2006 perspective

Source: own study on the basis of MRR, 2012.
Effects of implementation of 2004-2006 perspective

Proportion of active poviats in a voivodship

Proportion of active communes in a voivodship

Source: Experience and region opportunities..., 2008.
EU COHESION POLICY in POLAND
FIRST FULL BUDGET 2007-2013
NEW Polish regional policy model

- The Act of 7 November 2008 on changes of certain laws in connection with the implementation of Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund, which entered into force on 20 December 2008 (Journal of Laws 2008 No. 216, item 1370).

FURTHER MARGINALIZATION OF VOIVODSHIP CONTRACTS

Source: Churski, 2008

Long-Term Development Strategy of the Country

Medium-Term Development Strategy of the Country

Other Development Strategies
e.g. National Regional Development Strategy, Supraregional Strategy, Voivodship Development Strategy

National Cohesion Strategy

Operational Programmes e.g. National Operational Programme, Regional Operational Programmes

Development Programmes e.g. Voivodship Programmes, Multi-Annual Programmes

Voivodship Contracts

Monitoring, reporting, effectiveness evaluation
Indicative structure of National Cohesion Strategy (NSRO) means 2007-2013 under the operational programmes Objective 1 Convergence

**Programy Operacyjne**

- **PO - IŚ**: 27800
- **RPO**: 15900
- **PO - KP**: 9700
- **PO - IG**: 8300
- **PO - RPW**: 2300
- **PO - PT**: 500

**Źródło:** Opracowanie własne, na podstawie Narodowej Strategii Spójności..., 2006.

**Contribution of funds implemented in regions 37%**
Effects of implementation of 2007-2013 perspective

**FIRST FULL BUDGET 2007-2013**

**Source:** own study on the basis of Bazy SIMIK, 2016.

+ nationwide projects: 32 mld zł

+ nationwide projects: 831 zł/os.
Effects of implementation of 2007-2013 perspective

http://www.owsg.pl

11th Slovak-Czech-Polish Seminar
"Flows, Spaces and Societies in Central Europe"
June 14th-16th, 2017
EU COHESION POLICY in POLAND
CURRENT (LAST ?) BUDGET 2014-2020
CURRENT Polish regional policy model

- The Act of 24 January 2014 on the change of the Act on the development policy principles and certain other laws, which entered into force on 8 April 2014 (Journal of Laws 2014, item 379)

NEW TERRITORIAL CONTRACT

COMMON STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

- COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2020 (25.09.2012) and Other Development Strategies
  - increase in economic competitiveness
  - improvement of social and territorial cohesion
  - increase in the country's effectiveness and efficiency

PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT

OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES

FUNCTIONAL AREAS

STRATEGIC INTERVENTION AREAS

INTEGRATED TERRITORIAL INVESTMENT

DEVELOPMENT MANAGED BY A LOCAL COMMUNITY

TERRITORIAL CONTRACT

Source: Churski, 2016
CURRENT Polish regional policy model

- The Act of 24 January 2014 on the change of the Act on the development policy principles and certain other laws, which entered into force on 8 April 2014 (Journal of Laws 2014, item 379)

NEW TERRITORIAL CONTRACT

- PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT
  OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES

- FUNCTIONAL AREAS
- STRATEGIC INTERVENTION AREAS
- INTEGRATED TERRITORIAL INVESTMENT
  DEVELOPMENT MANAGED BY A LOCAL COMMUNITY
- TERRITORIAL CONTRACT

COMMON STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT

MINISTERSTWO
ROZWÓJU

Plan na rzecz
Odpowiedzialnego Rozwoju

Polaka będzie wielkie albo nie będzie jej wása.
Hans Pfitzner

CURRENT BUDGET 2014-2020

źródło: Churski, 2016
CURRENT regional policy model in Poland

"We want to adopt wise, expansive policy, especially in specialized sectors such as aircraft, automotive, rail or shipbuilding. We can see a great chance there and we want to create opportunities for the development of these sectors of industry."

Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Development, Mateusz Morawiecki

"Responsible Development Plan" (also called "Morawiecki’s plan", after its originator) is a strategy of sustainable economic growth of our country for the next 25 years, presented on February 15, 2016 and adopted in the form of Responsible Development Strategy on February 14, 2017.

The plan was based on five pillars:

- reindustrialization
- development of Polish companies
- intelligent investments
- accessibility of the capital for development
- foreign expansion.

BUDGET declared: 1.4 trillion złotys

- 480 bln zł European funds
- 80 bln zł banks, investment funds
- 230 bln zł investment funds of enterprises
- 370 bln zł BGK (state-owned bank + public entities)

POLISH DEVELOPMENT FUND
Długookresowa Strategia Rozwoju Kraju

Średniookresowa Strategia Rozwoju Kraju

Koncepcja Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju

MINISTERSTWO ROZWOJU
Plan na rzecz Odpowiedzialnego Rozwoju

Polska będzie wielka albo nie będzie jej wcale.
Józef Piłsudski

CURRENT BUDGET 2014-2020

POLISH DEVELOPMENT POLICY
EU COHESION政策
在波兰
平均年平均分配
10.9（12.2）十亿欧元

欧盟共同战略框架
伙伴协定
成员国

成员国或地区

运营计划
欧盟基金

2007-2013年
2014-2020年

基础设施和环境
智能发展

创新经济

地区计划

人本资本

区域发展

知识教育发展

欧洲边境援助

��-tech支援

波兰东部

EU COHESION POLICY in POLAND
average annual allocation 10.9 (12.2) billion euro
INDICATIVE ALLOCATION OF FUNDS
IN THE OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF THE PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT SYSTEM (mln euro)

Source: own study on the basis of Partnership Agreement, 2014.

contribution of funds implemented in regions 60%
CURRENT BUDGET 2014-2020

Effects of implementation of 2014-2020 perspective

mid-term December 2016

Source: Own compilation based on MAPA DOTACJI UE (2017)

+ national level projects: 19,2 bn PLN

+ national level projects: 499 PLN per capita

value of projects (bn PLN)

- 3 - 5
- 5 - 8
- 8 - 11
- 11 - 14
- 14 - 30

value of projects (PLN per capita)

- 1500 - 2000
- 2000 - 3000
- 3000 - 4000
- 4000 - 5000
- 5000 - 8000
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
11th Slovak-Czech-Polish Seminar
"Flows, Spaces and Societies in Central Europe"
June 14th-16th, 2017

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

RISING OUTLAYS

Source: Churski, 2016.
Share of cohesion policy means in the total outlays on Polish development policy is about 55%.
PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

Source: growth and stagnation areas …., 2014

http://www.owsg.pl
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

Source: Growth and stagnation areas…, 2014

http://www.owsg.pl
PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES


Sources: Growth and stagnation areas …, 2014

http://www.owsg.pl
PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

Level of development:
- I - very high (11 years high)
- II - high (7-10 years high)
- III - average tending to high (5-6 years high, remaining years, average)
- IV - steadily average (11 years average)
- V - mostly average (7-10 years average)
- VI - average tending to low (5-6 years average, remaining years, low)
- VII - low (7-10 years low)
- VIII - very low (11 years low)

nodes of development
transition areas
development peripheries

Source: Churski, Perdálo, 2016.
PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

Spatial distribution of cumulated values of EU funds per capita and values of the location quotient (LQ) by poviat in the 2004–2010 period.

Source: Churski, Perdal, 2016.
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

Source: Churski, 2016.
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUPPORT TRENDS
(by structure of spending)

DO 1999
- INFRASTRUKTURA TECHNICZNA
- KAPITAŁ LUDZKI
- ROZWÓJ PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI
- ROLNICTWO I ROZWÓJ OBSZARÓW WIEJSKICH
- OCHRONA ŚRODOWISKA

2000-2004
- INFRASTRUKTURA TECHNICZNA
- ROZWÓJ PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI
- ROLNICTWO I ROZWÓJ OBSZARÓW WIEJSKICH
- KAPITAŁ LUDZKI
- OCHRONA ŚRODOWISKA

2004-2006
- INFRASTRUKTURA TECHNICZNA
- ROZWÓJ PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI
- ROLNICTWO I ROZWÓJ OBSZARÓW WIEJSKICH
- KAPITAŁ LUDZKI

2007-2013
- INFRASTRUKTURA TECHNICZNA
- ROZWÓJ PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI
- OCHRONA ŚRODOWISKA
- KAPITAŁ LUDZKI
- INFRASTRUKTURA I KAPITAŁ SPOŁECZNY

Source: own study

SUPPORT TRENDS
(by structure of spending)
### SIZE AND STRUCTURE of Cohesion Policy intervention in the areas of development polarization in Poland in 2004-2010 (value of projects completed by December 31, 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT</th>
<th>POLAND TOTAL (bln zł)</th>
<th>AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT POLARIZATION (22% of all poviat) TOTAL (POLAND =100%)</th>
<th>POLAND per inhabitant</th>
<th>AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT POLARIZATION (22% of all poviat) per inhabitant (POLAND =100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population and settlement</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>5.4 bln zł (37%)</td>
<td>380 zł</td>
<td>368 zł (97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour market and economic structure</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.4 bln zł (40%)</td>
<td>224 zł</td>
<td>236 zł (105%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical infrastructure and spatial accessibility</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13 bln zł (50%)</td>
<td>696 zł</td>
<td>900 zł (130%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial situation and level of wealth</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12.1 bln zł (43%)</td>
<td>728 zł</td>
<td>829 zł (114%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative economy and business environment</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>5.5 bln zł (60%)</td>
<td>242 zł</td>
<td>375 zł (155%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>86.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>39.1 bln zł (45%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,271 zł</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,710 zł (119%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**http://www.owsg.pl**

**www.amu.edu.pl**
### Size and Structure of Cohesion Policy Intervention in the Areas of Development Stagnation in Poland in 2004-2010

(value of projects completed by December 31, 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of Socio-Economic Development</th>
<th>Poland Total (bln zł)</th>
<th>Areas of Stagnation (Poland =100%)</th>
<th>Poland per Inhabitant</th>
<th>Areas of Stagnation per Inhabitant (Poland =100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population and settlement</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>3.63 bln zł (25%)</td>
<td>380 zł</td>
<td>406 zł (106%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour market and economic structure</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.95 bln zł (22.9%)</td>
<td>224 zł</td>
<td>219 zł (97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical infrastructure and spatial accessibility</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.58 bln zł (21 %)</td>
<td>696 zł</td>
<td>624 zł (90 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial situation and level of wealth</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.71 bln zł (16,9%)</td>
<td>728 zł</td>
<td>527 zł (72%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative economy and business environment</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>1.38 bln zł (14,9%)</td>
<td>242 zł</td>
<td>154 zł (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Razem</strong></td>
<td><strong>86.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>17.27 bln zł (19,9%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,271 zł</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,931 zł (85%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conclusions and Recommendations
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Share of regional funds in the intervention value of Cohesion Policy in Poland in 2004-2014 (value of projects completed by December 31, 2014)

Share of regional funds in the absorption value in regions from 12 to 51%

Source: Churski, Perdał, Herodowicz, 2016.

http://www.owsg.pl
The EU's cohesion policy makes Poland a target of the largest transfers of the European public means among the member states, which justifies the opinion that Poland is the biggest laboratory of the European regional policy (Bockman, Eyal, 2002). While this intervention brings effects in the form of development convergence towards the EU states and regions, it fails to prevent the country's growing intra-regional differences (Churski, 2014).

The specificity of the territorial capital of individual Polish areas, largely determined by historical factors, accounts for differences in development processes and in the absorption of cohesion policy means supporting socio-economic convergence (Churski, 2014).

In Poland, most European means are absorbed in the areas of development concentration, including the biggest cities functioning as regional centres, which is in contradiction with the assumptions of the equalising model of the development policy, but enhances the efficiency of intervention as measured by the number of users of its products (Churski, Perdał, Herodowicz, 2016).
The increase in the concentration of the EU means on projects connected with the expansion and modernisation of physical infrastructure accompanied by a much more modest intervention in the remaining aspects of development (which follows from the specific economic deficits of the new member states) puts off the appearance of direct supply-related effects of intervention and increases the threat of an excessively high level of infrastructural investment (easy to build using the EU funds, but difficult to maintain later) (Rodríguez-Pose, 2013; McCann, Varga, 2015; Partridge, et. all, 2015).

The unsatisfactory effectiveness of the intervention of European means in Poland to date can be a consequence of the shift in time of their results, their wrong targeting, or the impossibility of their identification, given the limitations of the present monitoring and evaluation systems.

As a continuing beneficiary of the Community policies, including the cohesion policy, Poland should seek to enhance the efficiency of use of the means obtained by directing the intervention towards territorially specific and diversified needs (a place-based/people-based policy) and aiming to achieve permanent supply-related effects (Gorzelak, 2014).
Poland urgently needs the adaptation of the model of a national development policy to the post-2020 situation when at least five voivodeships will pass from the class of less developed areas to that of transition ones (>75% of the EU average of per capita GDP), and when the declining transfers of the European public means resulting from this situation will force the national development policy to be based on the majority of means coming from the state's budget:

- 15 – 17 bln euro less for Poland due to the increase in the development level (4 - 5 Polish regions NUTS 2 will pass from a less developed group to a transitory one (>75% GDP per capita);
- the number of less developed regions in Spain will increase by nine, in Greece by seven and in Italy by four;
- increasing interregional divergence will force the cohesion policy to be moved to the Mediterranean Basin (increased expenditure about 20-25 bln euro).

The concentrated attack and ongoing discussion on the future of the Community leads to the conclusion that the future of the cohesion policy depends on its change and it cannot be continued in the present theoretical and operational forms (Schneider, 2017).
COHESION POLICY IN POLAND
ASSUMPTIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION

Děkuji za pozornost!
Ďakujem za pozornosť!
Dziękuję za uwagę!

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INSTYTUT GEOGRAFII SPOŁECZNO-EKONOMICZNEJ I GOSPODARKI PRZESTRZENNEJ