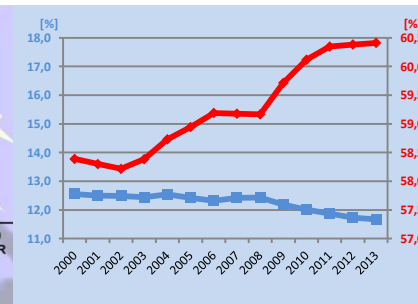
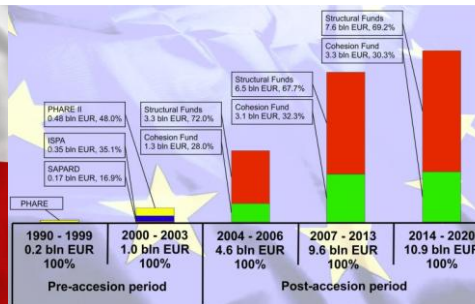


COHESION POLICY IN POLAND ASSUMPTIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION



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INSTITUTE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AND SPATIAL MANAGEMENT



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

and covers three periods: **2004-2006**, **2007-2013**, and **2014-2020** (with the 'mid-term' for the year 2016 in the last case).

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



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INTRODUCTION, GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION



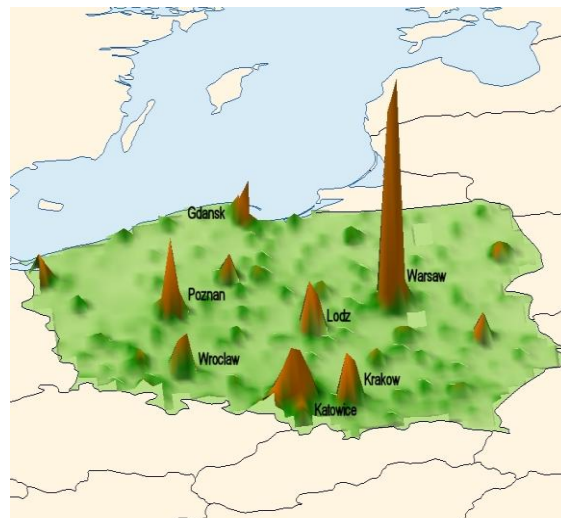


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INTRODUCTION

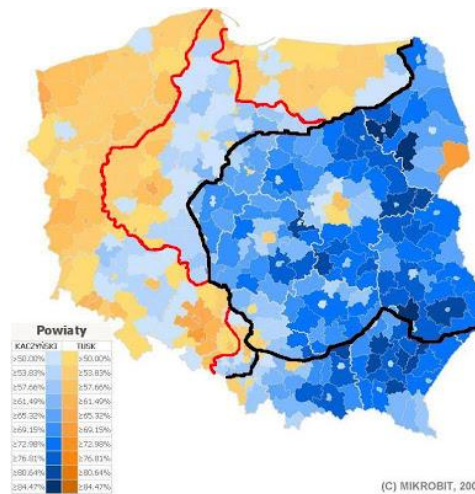


Poland is a country of large and historically determined **internal development differences** which, after the economic transformation, remain or even increase in the conditions of growing convergence at the state level.



Source: World Bank Reports

Presidential Elections 2005

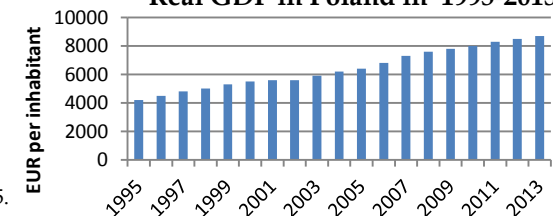


Source: Mikrobot, 2005; PKW 2005, PKW 2015, EUROSTAT, 2015.

Presidential Elections 2015



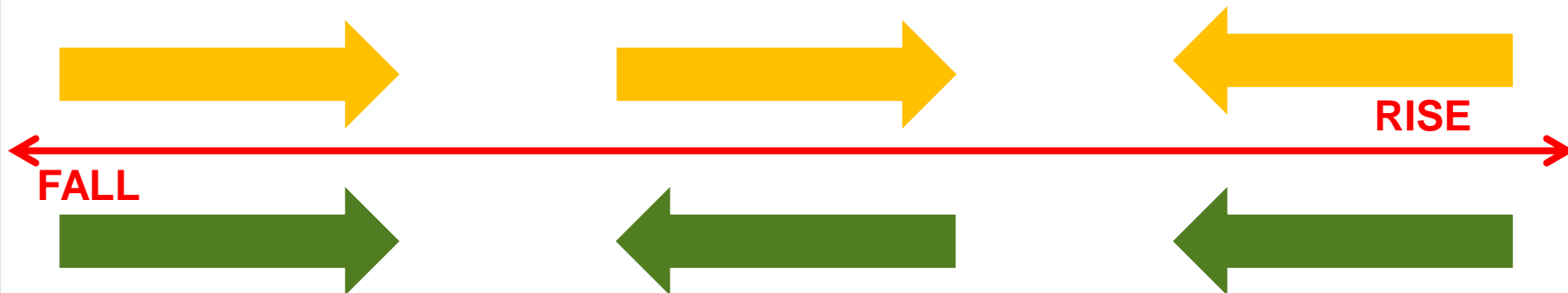
Real GDP in Poland in 1995-2013



Thus, of great importance is **regional development, a development policy** and the effectiveness of its intervention.

INTRODUCTION

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.

INTRODUCTION

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 ceased 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).

	Old/classic paradigm	New/modern paradigm
Conceptual basis	Industrial location theories, key factors are regional attributes e.g. production costs, availability of workers	Learning region theories, key factors are regional capabilities e.g. innovative milieu, clusters, networks
Aim(s) Objectives	Equity through balanced regional development	Increased competitiveness and equity e.g. entrepreneurship, innovation
General policy framework	Compensating temporarily for location disadvantages of lagging regions, responding to shocks (e.g. industrial decline) --> reactive to problems	Tapping underutilised potential in all regions enhancing regional competitiveness through regional and strategic programming (e.g. smart specialization strategies) --> proactive for potential
Sphere of action	Sectoral approach with a limited set of sectors --> narrow (economic/industrial policies)	Integrated and comprehensive development projects with wider policy coverage --> broad (integrated development projects)
Spatial orientation	Targeted at lagging regions, within administrative areas	All-region focus, with orientation towards functional economic areas
Approach	One-size-fits-all approach	Context-specific approach (place-based approach)
Focus	Exogenous investments and transfers	Endogenous local assets and knowledge
Instruments	Incentive scheme with subsidies and state aid, with focus on hard infrastructure and business aid (often to individual firms)	Development programme with mixed investments for soft and hard capital e.g. business environment, labour market, infrastructure
Actors Organisation	Top down policy development by central government	Collective policy development by different levels of government and various stakeholders (public, private, NGOs)
Evaluation /Outcomes	Ex post evaluation, measurable outcomes	Ex ante, interim, ex post evaluation with difficulties to measure outcomes

Source: OECD, 2008.

A new paradigm of the regional policy seeks to achieve **the current objectives of socio-economic development** as effectively as possible.

ECONOMIC COHESION

SOCIAL COHESION

TERRITORIAL COHESION

COHESION

COMPETITIVENESS

EFFICIENCY

CONVERGENCE

DIVERGENCE

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).

COMPENSATORY
MODEL

POLAR-DIFFUSION
MODEL



SECTOR MODEL

PLACE-BASED
MODEL

Source: The archives of the European Commission and Gazeta Wyborcza



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GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION



11th Slovak-Czech-Polish Seminar
"Flows, Spaces and Societies in Central Europe"
June 14th-16th, 2017

www.amu.edu.pl

www.igsegp.amu.edu.pl



UNIwersYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU

GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION

DEVELOPMENT STAGES OF NATIONAL REGIONAL POLICY IN POLAND



GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION

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.
- other reforms of the EU regional policy and the identification of *Community Strategic Guidelines* (2006) and *Common Strategic Framework* in legislative packages by the EU (2012) determining the changes in the implementation of cohesion policy in the financial perspective of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020.

Source: Churski, 2006; 2008, 2016



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GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION

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



GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION

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.

PHARE → Programmes → Sub-programmes → Objectives

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**.

TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE 34.0%	EDUCATION RESEARCH 16.0%	RESTRUCTURIZATION OF ENTERPRISES 14.0%	AGRICULTURE 12.0%
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Source: Kozak, 1998; Churski, 2000; 2004.

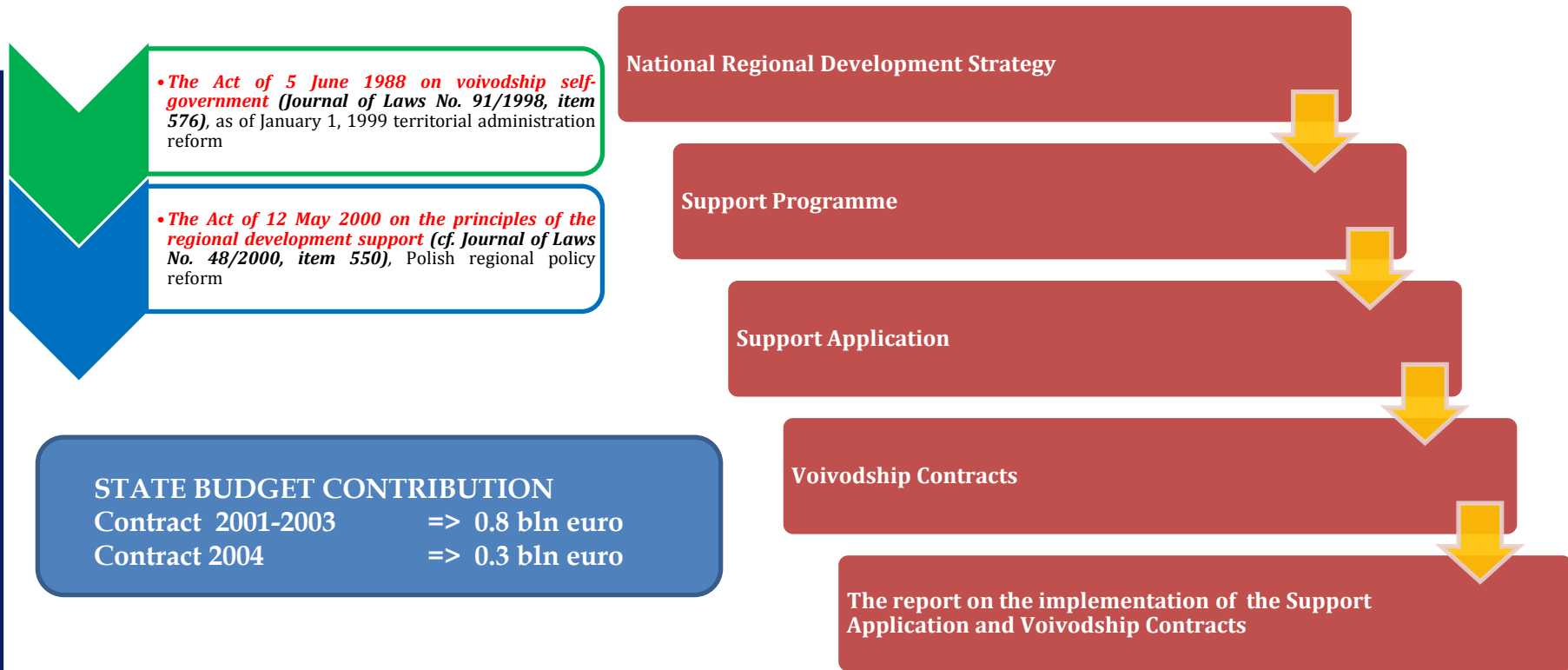


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GENESIS AND SYSTEMATIZATION

PRE-ACCESSION REGIONAL POLICY IN POLAND

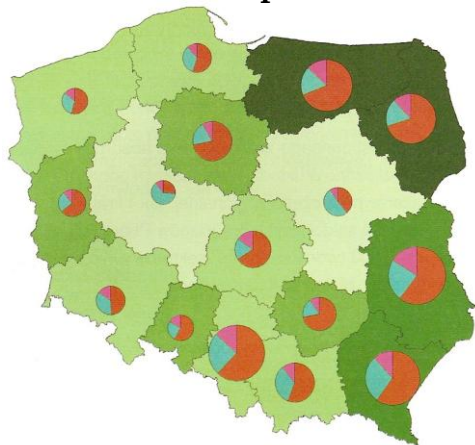
First Polish model of regional policy



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.

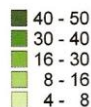
PHARE II implementation



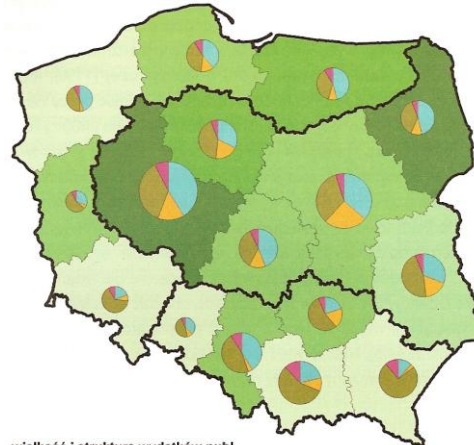
środki wydatkowane ogółem
i ich struktura według komponentów
[euro]



środki wydatkowane/os. [euro]
średnia dla Polski = 16 euro/os.



SAPARD implementation



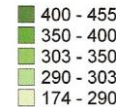
wielkość i struktura wydatków publ.
wg działań SAPARD [zł]



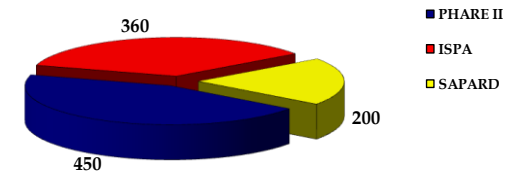
1. Poprawa przetwórstwa i marketingu art.rol. i ryb.
2. Inwestycje w gosp. rol.
3. Rozwój i poprawa inf. obszarów wiejskich
4. Różnicowanie dział. gosp. na obszarach wiejskich

□ megaregiony (według Programu SAPARD)

środki publ. na mieszk.
obszarów wiejsk. [zł/os.]



average annual
allocation **1 bln euro**



Źródło: Raport o rozwoju i polityce regionalnej..., 2007

ISPA => 69 projects



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



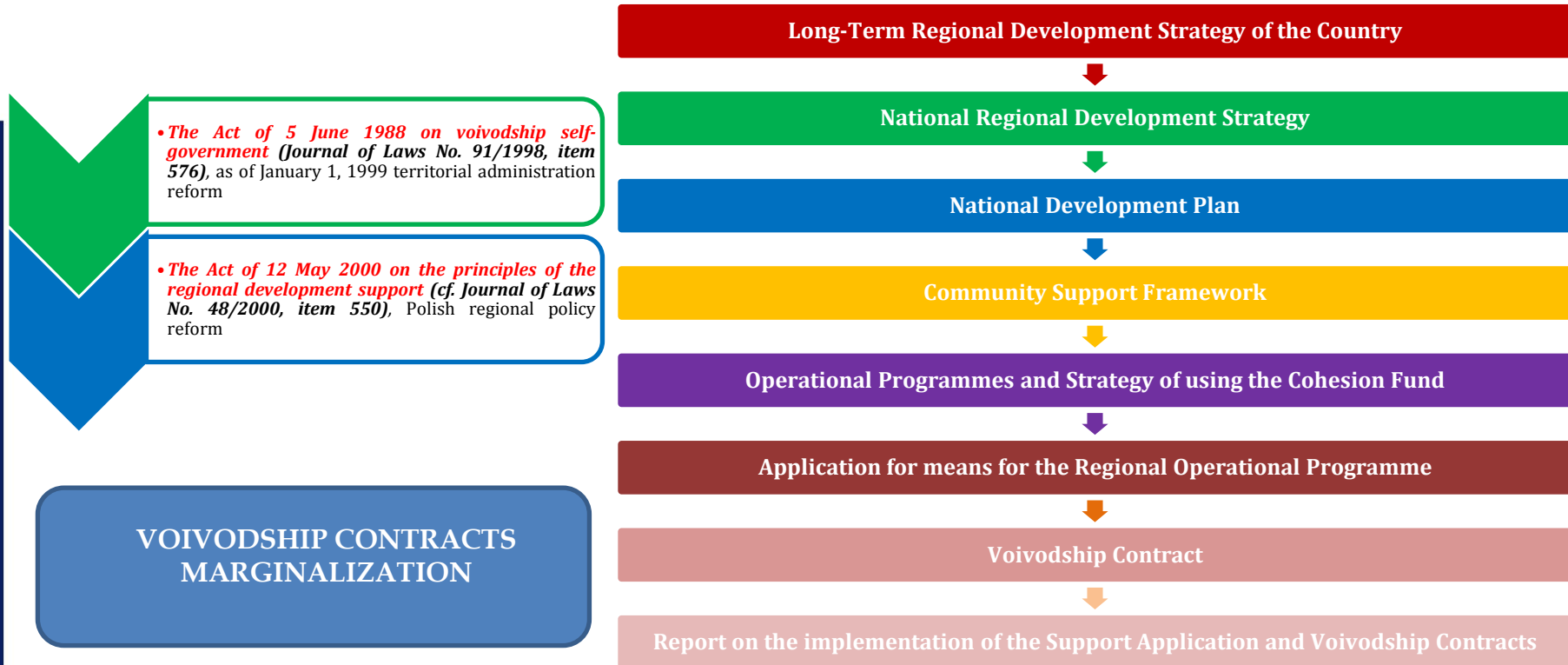
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EU Cohesion Policy in POLAND FIRST BUDGET 2000-2006 (2004-2006)





Second Polish regional policy model



Source: Churski, 2008



FIRST BUDGET 2000-2006 (2004-2006)

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.

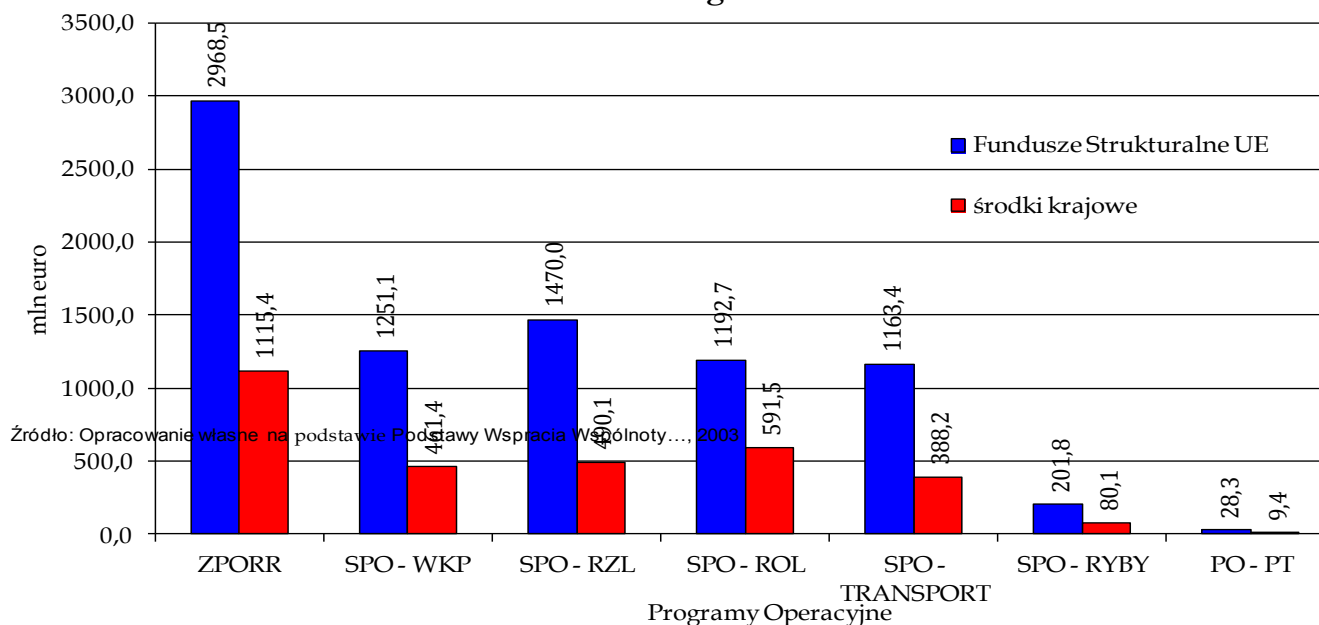
average annual allocation
4.8 bln euro



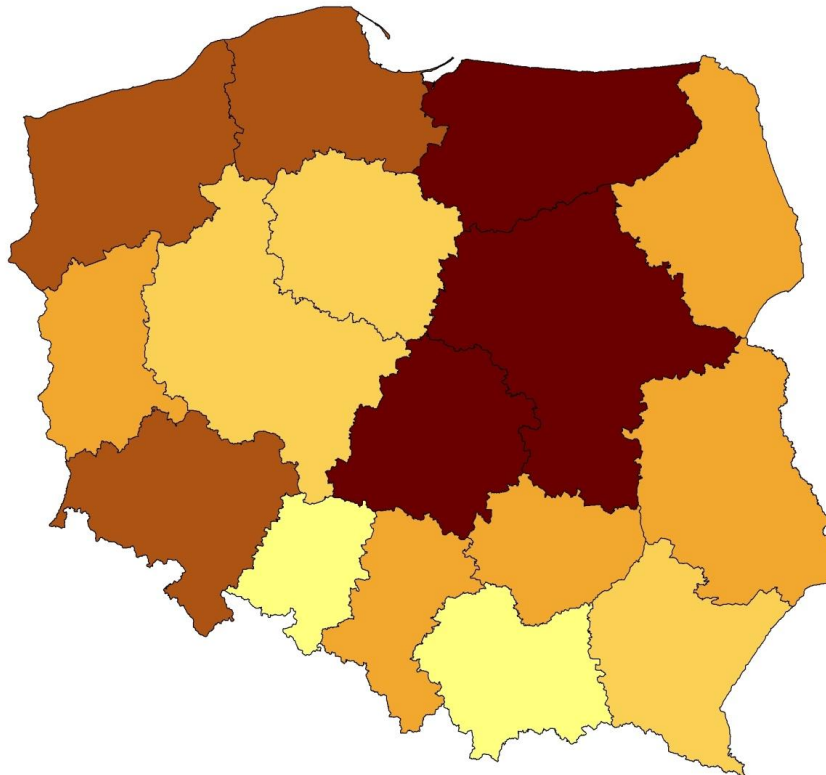
Narodowy Plan
Rozwoju 2004-2006



Indicative structure of public means within the National Development Plan/Community Support Network in Poland in 2004-2006 under Operational Programmes



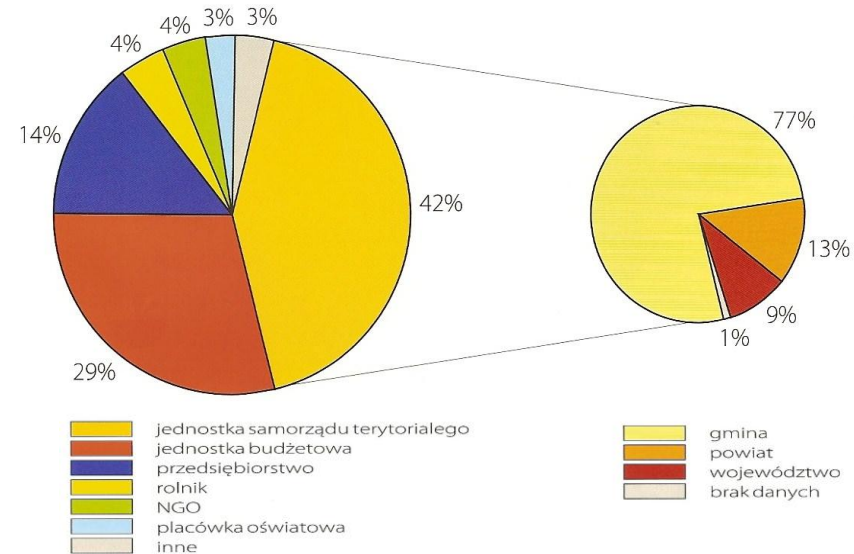
Effects of implementation of 2004-2006 perspective



Wartość projektów finansowanych ze środków UE
na 1 mieszkańca w latach 2004-2006 (w zł/osobę)



Source: own study on the basis of unpublished data MRR, 2012.



Source: Experience and regions opportunities..., 2008.

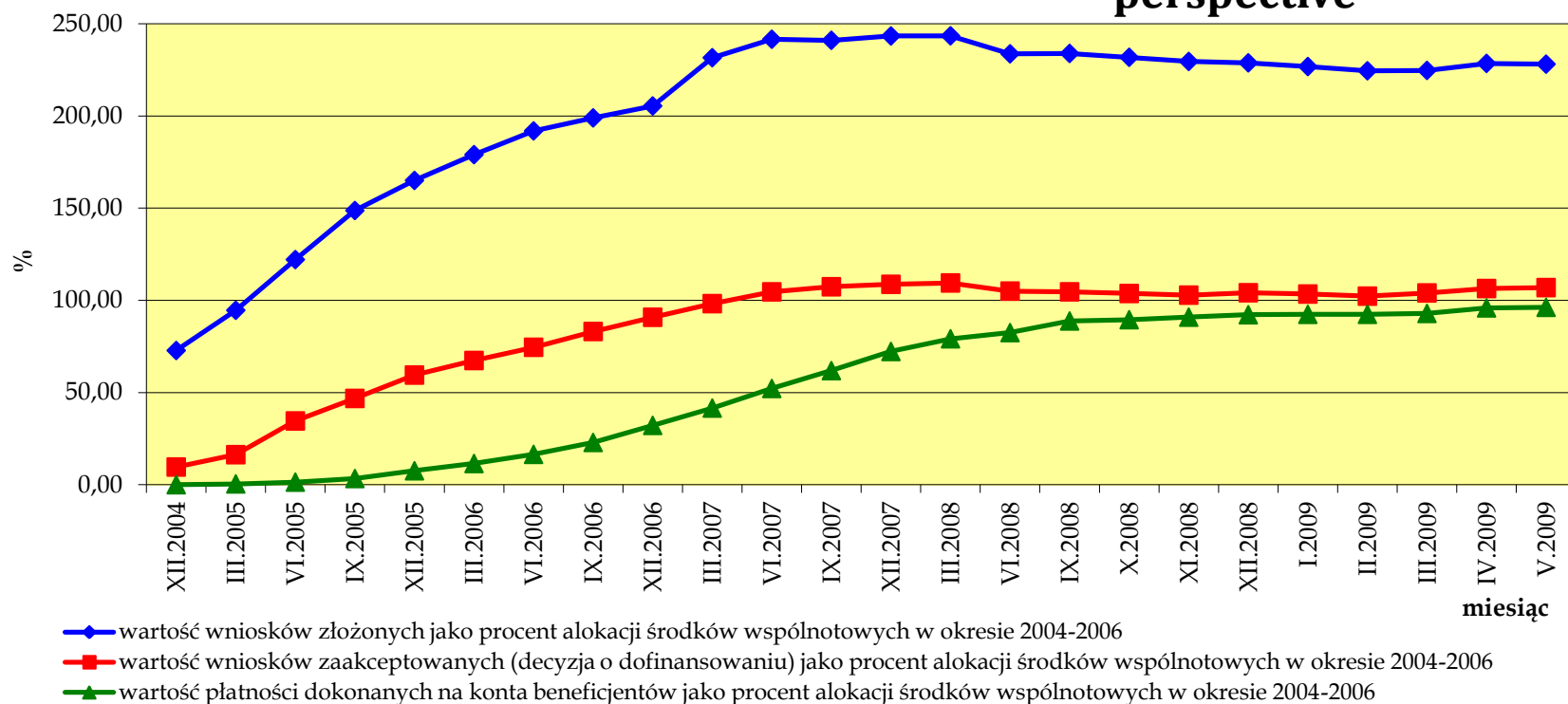


Narodowy Plan
Rozwoju 2004-2006



Narodowy Plan
Rozwoju 2004-2006

Effects of implementation of 2004-2006 perspective

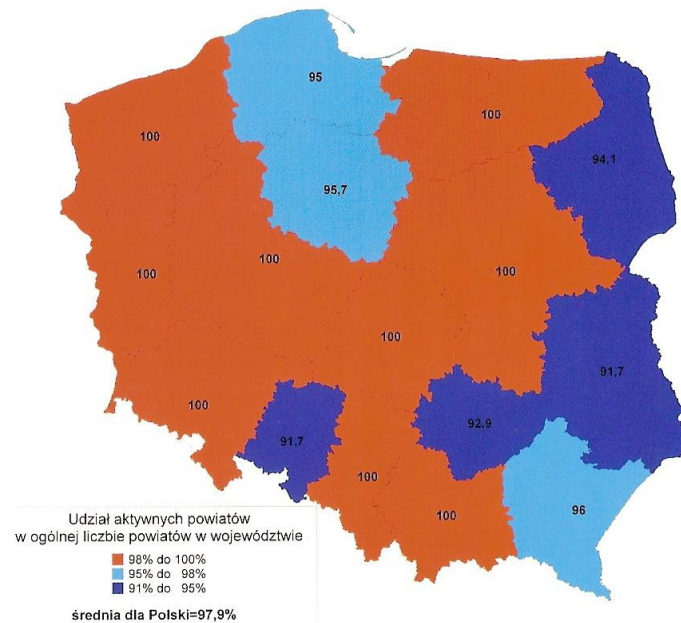


Source: own study on the basis of MRR, 2012.

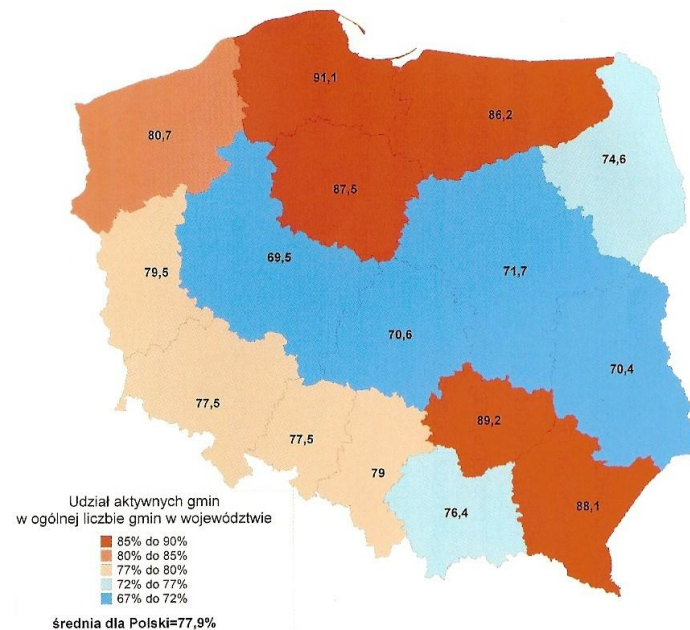


Effects of implementation of 2004-2006 perspective

Proportion of active poviats
in a voivodship



Proportion of active communes
in a voivodship



Source: Experience and region opportunities..., 2008.



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EU COHESION POLICY in POLAND FIRST FULL BUDGET 2007-2013



NEW Polish regional policy model

- *The Act of 6 December on the development policy principles*, which entered into force on 26 December 2006 (*Journal of Laws* No. 227/2006, item 1658).

- *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).

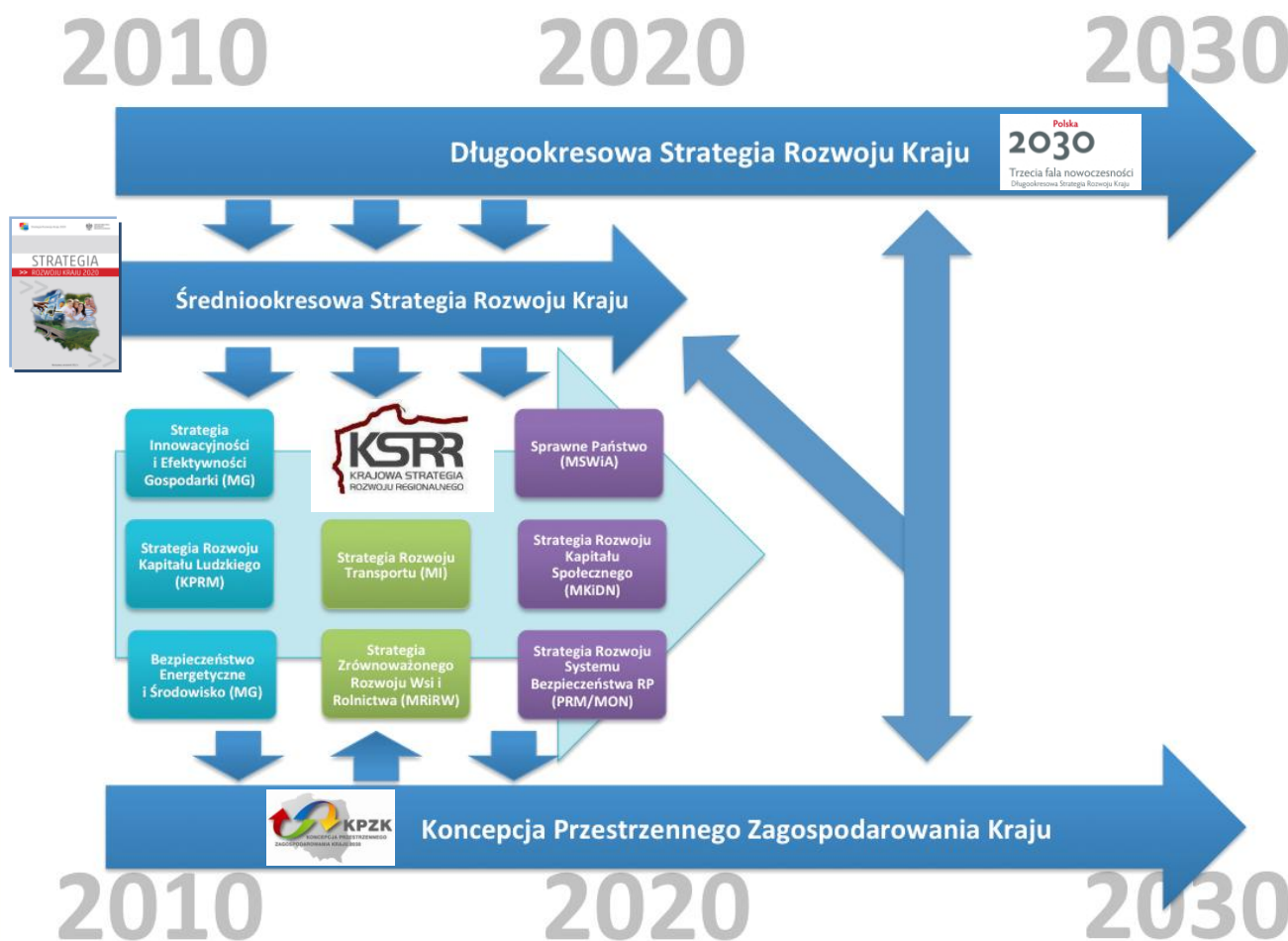
FURTHER MARGINALIZATION
OF VOIVODSHIP CONTRACTS



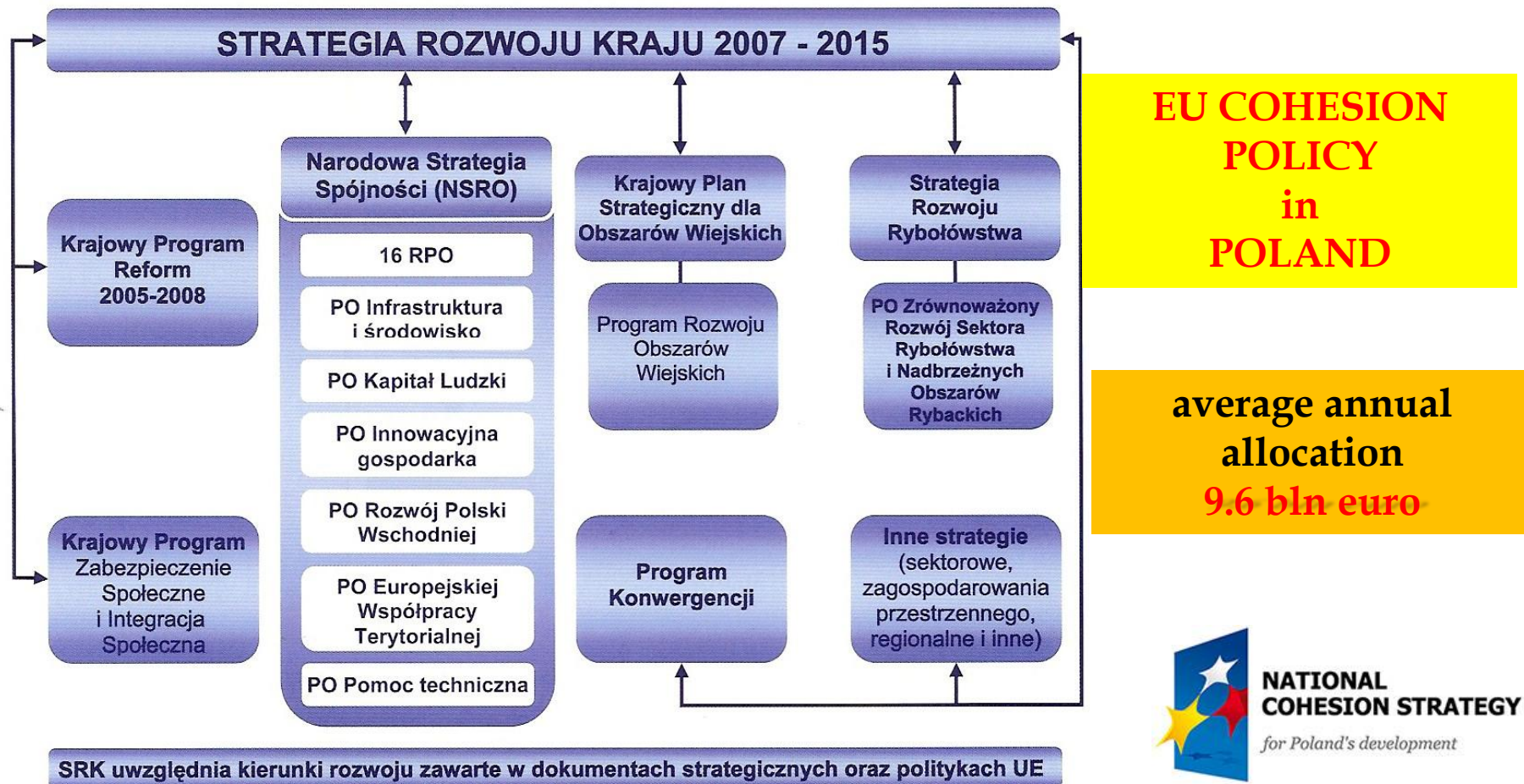
**NATIONAL
COHESION STRATEGY**
for Poland's development



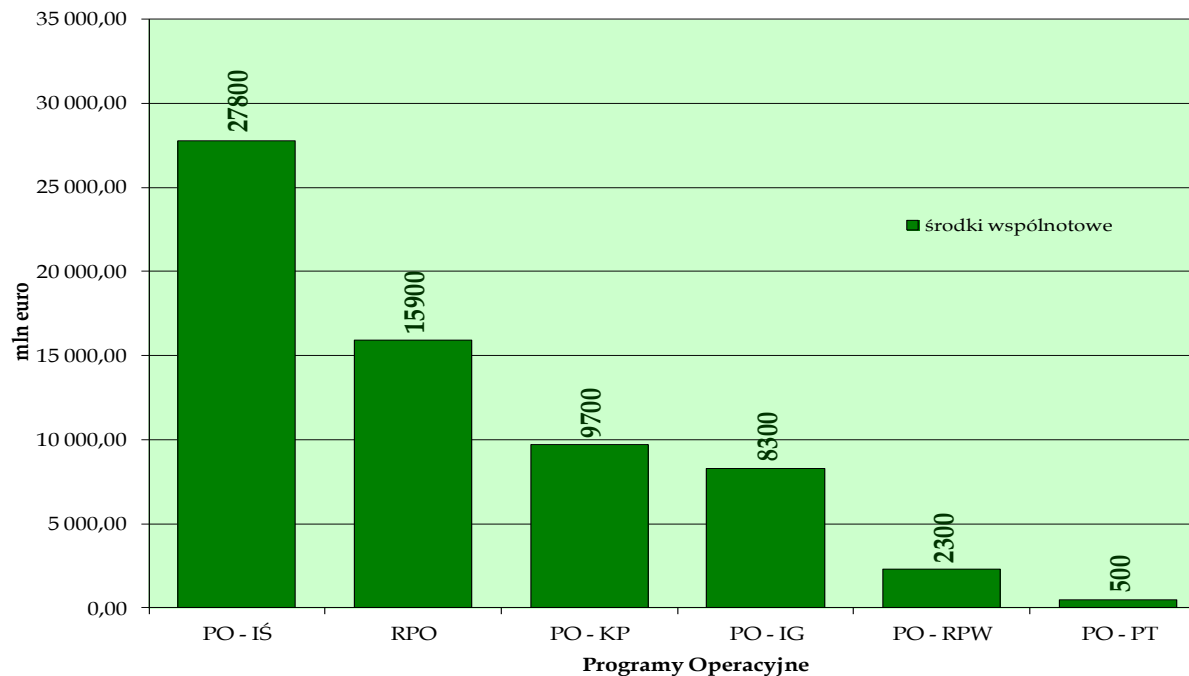
Source: Churski, 2008



**POLISH
DEVELOPMENT
POLICY**



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



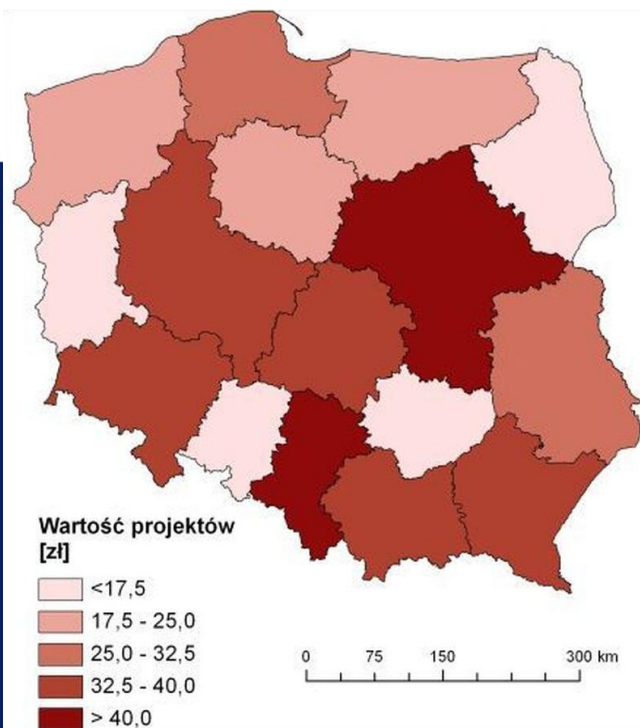
contribution of funds
implemented in
regions
37%



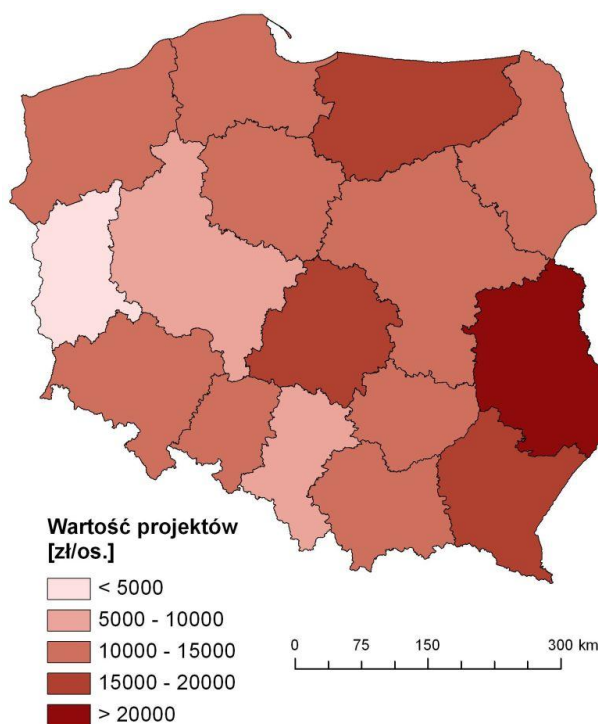
**NATIONAL
COHESION STRATEGY**
for Poland's development

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

Effects of implementation of 2007-2013 perspective



+ nationwide projects: 32 mld zł



+ nationwide projects: 831 zł/os.

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

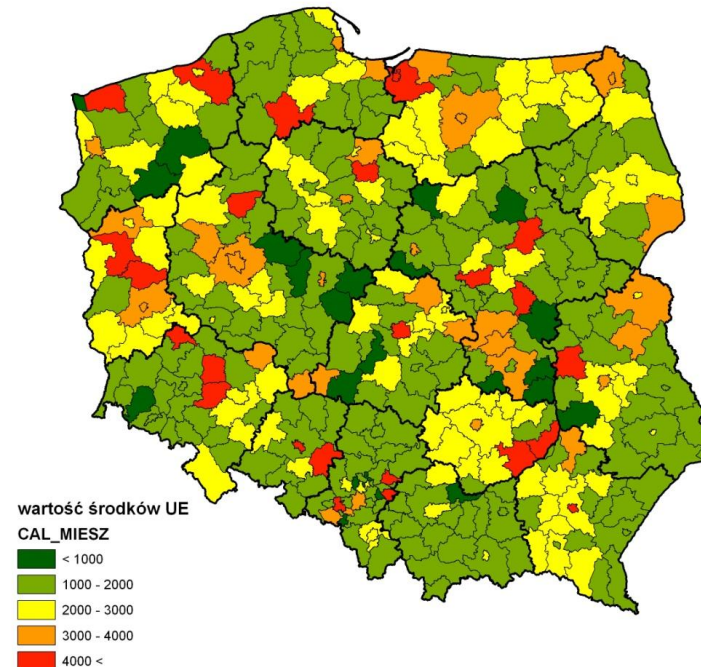
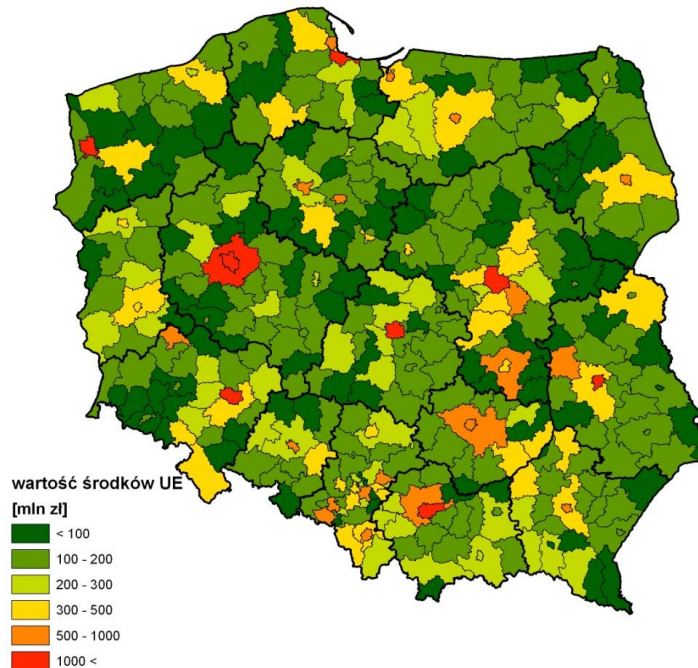


**NATIONAL
COHESION STRATEGY**
for Poland's development

Effects of implementation of 2007-2013 perspective

WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE OGÓŁEM W ZŁ

WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE OGÓŁEM W ZŁ/MIESZKAŃCA



ROZWÓJ SPOŁECZNO-GOSPODARZY A KSZTAŁTOWANIE SIĘ
OBSZARÓW WZROSTU I OBSZARÓW STAGNACJI GOSPODARZEJ

Projekt badawczy nr N N306 791940 finansowany ze środków Narodowego Centrum Nauki

<http://www.owsq.pl>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE
PATTERN OF GROWTH AND STAGNATION AREAS

Research project no N N306 791940 financed by the National Science Centre

Population and settlement

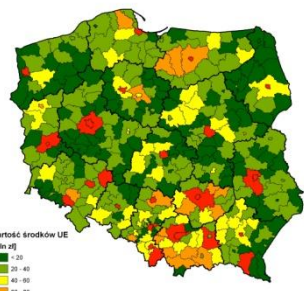
Labour market and economic structure

Technical infrastructure and spatial accessibility

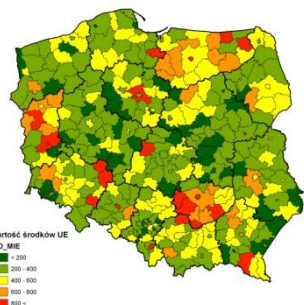
Financial situation and level of wealth

Innovative economy and business environment

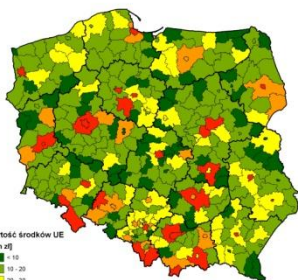
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE LIO W ZL



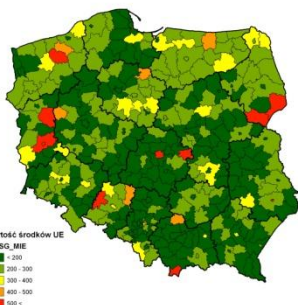
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE LIO W ZL/MIESZKAŃCA



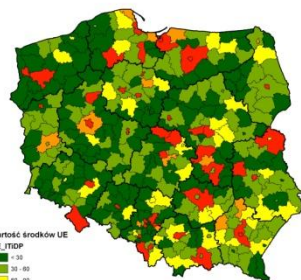
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE RPIS W ZL



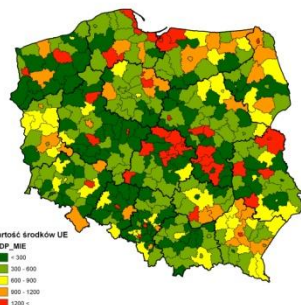
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE RPIS W ZL/MIESZKAŃCA



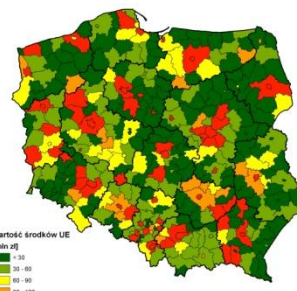
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE ITDP W ZL



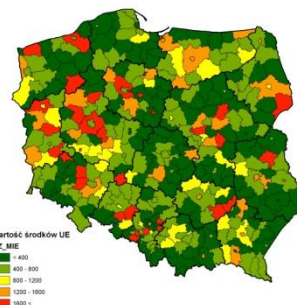
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE ITDP W ZL/MIESZKAŃCA



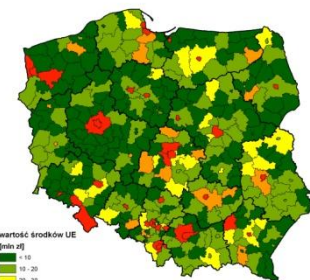
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE PZ W ZL



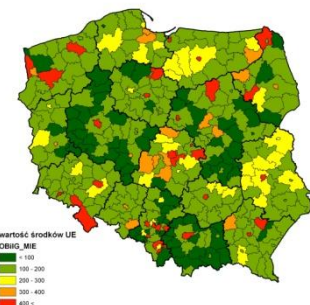
WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE PZ W ZL/MIESZKAŃCA



WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE OBIG W ZL



WARTOŚĆ ŚRODKÓW UE OBIG W ZL/MIESZKAŃCA



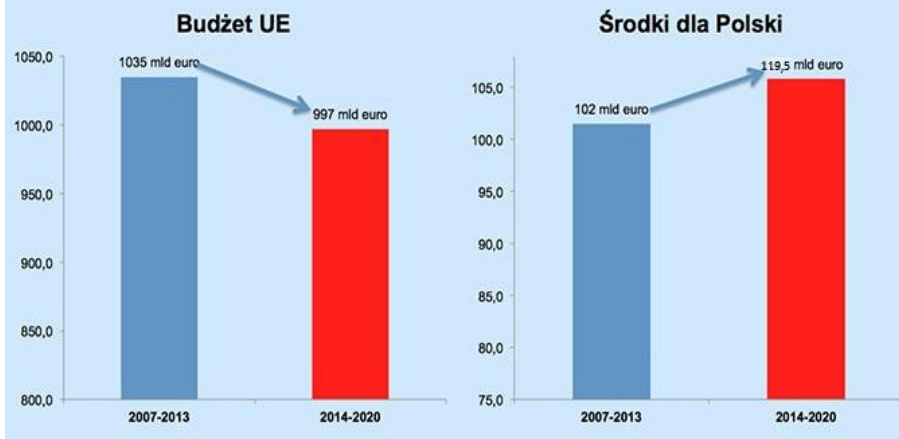


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EU COHESION POLICY in POLAND CURRENT (LAST ?) BUDGET 2014-2020



Budżet UE a środki dla Polski



Polska największym beneficjentem budżetu UE 2014-20



28.02.2015 Warszaw

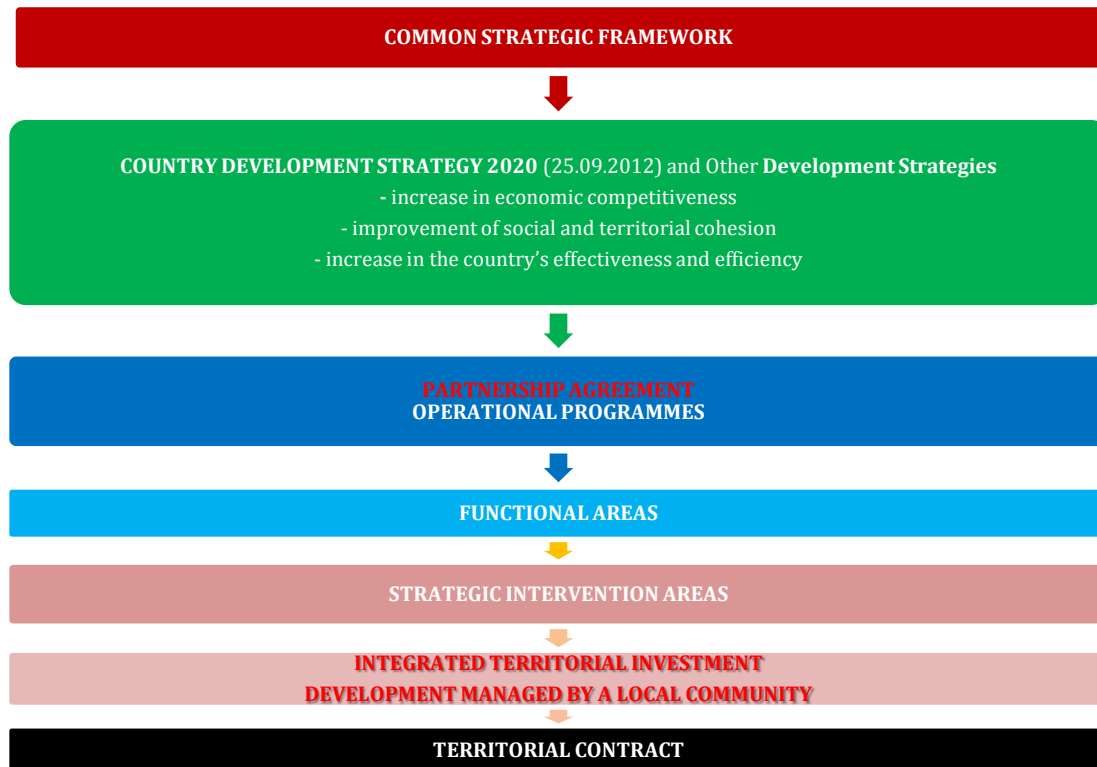
Środki ze Wspólnej Polityki Rolnej dla Polski



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

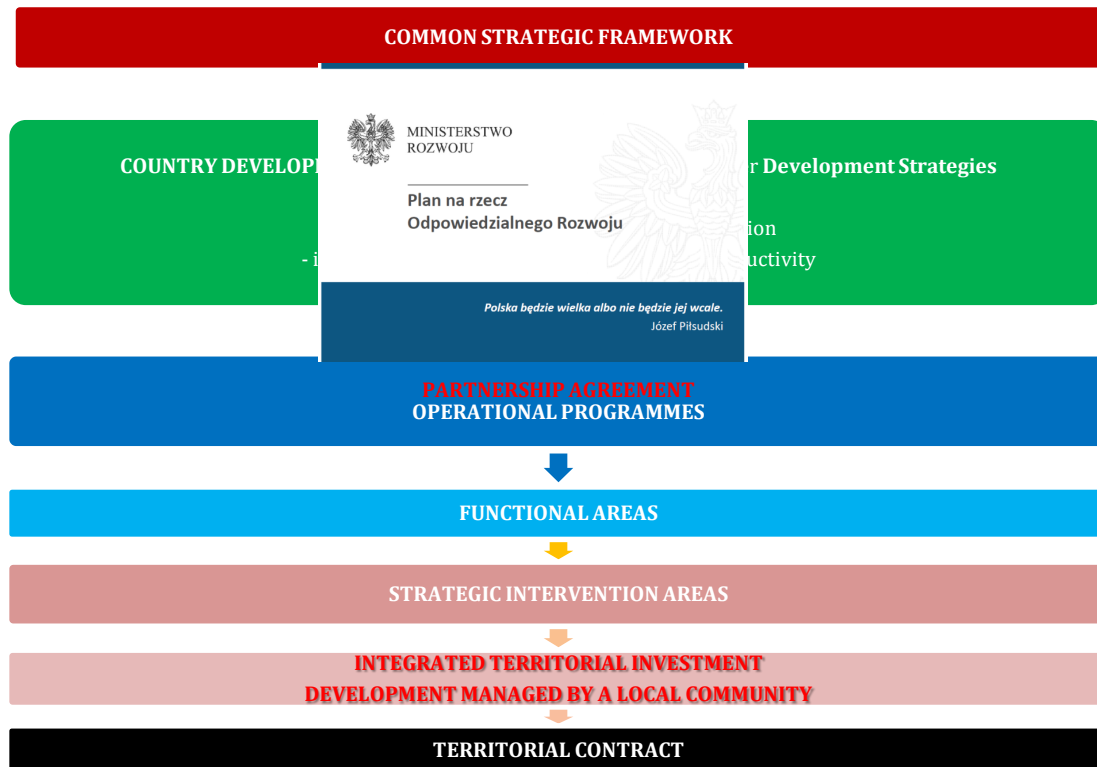


Source: Churski, 2016

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



Źródło: Churski, 2016

CURRENT regional policy model in Poland



FOR
FORUM
OBYWATELSKIEGO
ROZWOJU

A comment by FOR: Morawiecki's plan surpassed Gierek's Five-Year Plan...

INSTYTUT
SOBIESKIEGO

A Chance for polarized and divided 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**.

BUDGET declared: 1.4 trillion zlotys

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

The plan was based on five pillars:

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

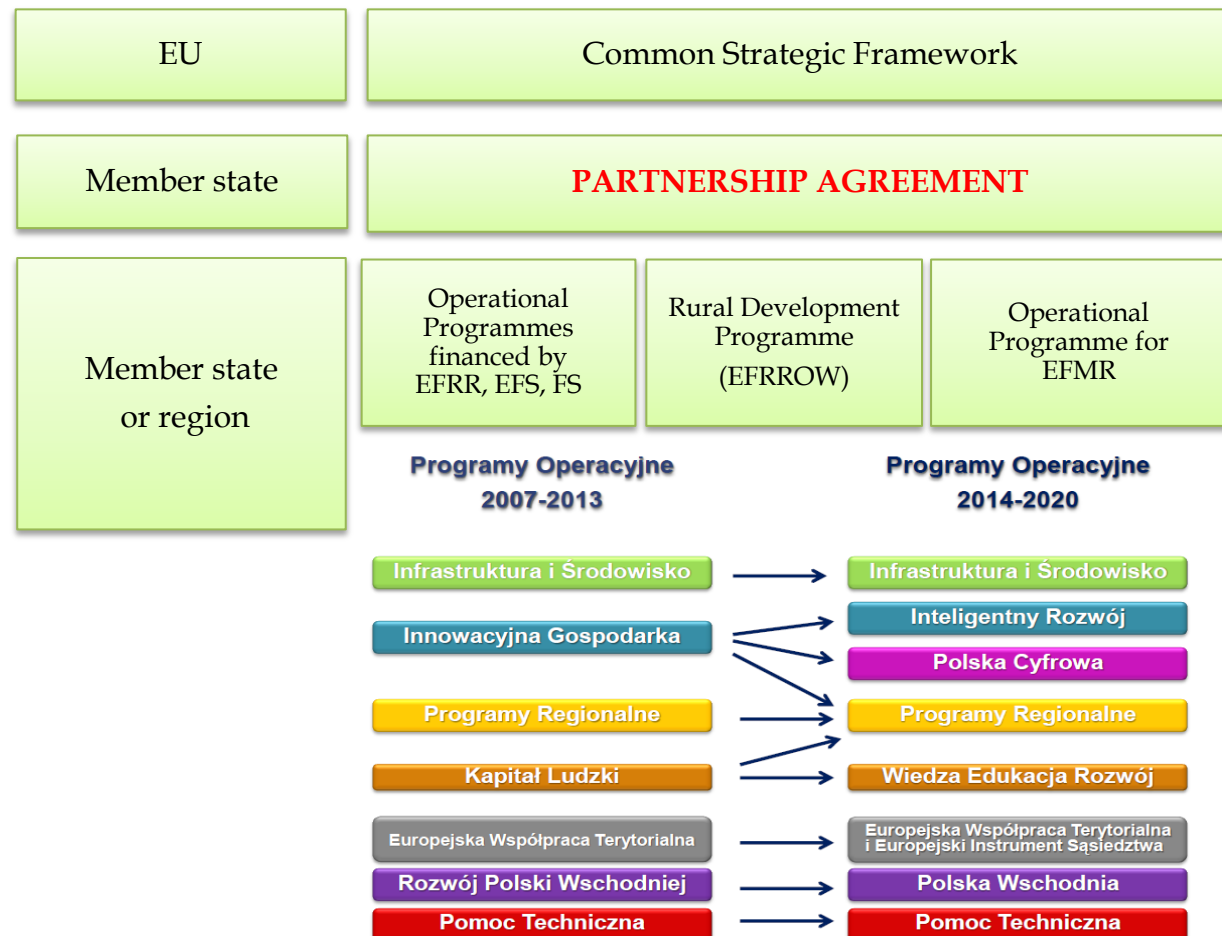
2010 2020 2030



POLISH
DEVELOPMENT
POLICY

Polska będzie wielka albo nie będzie jej wcale.
Józef Piłsudski



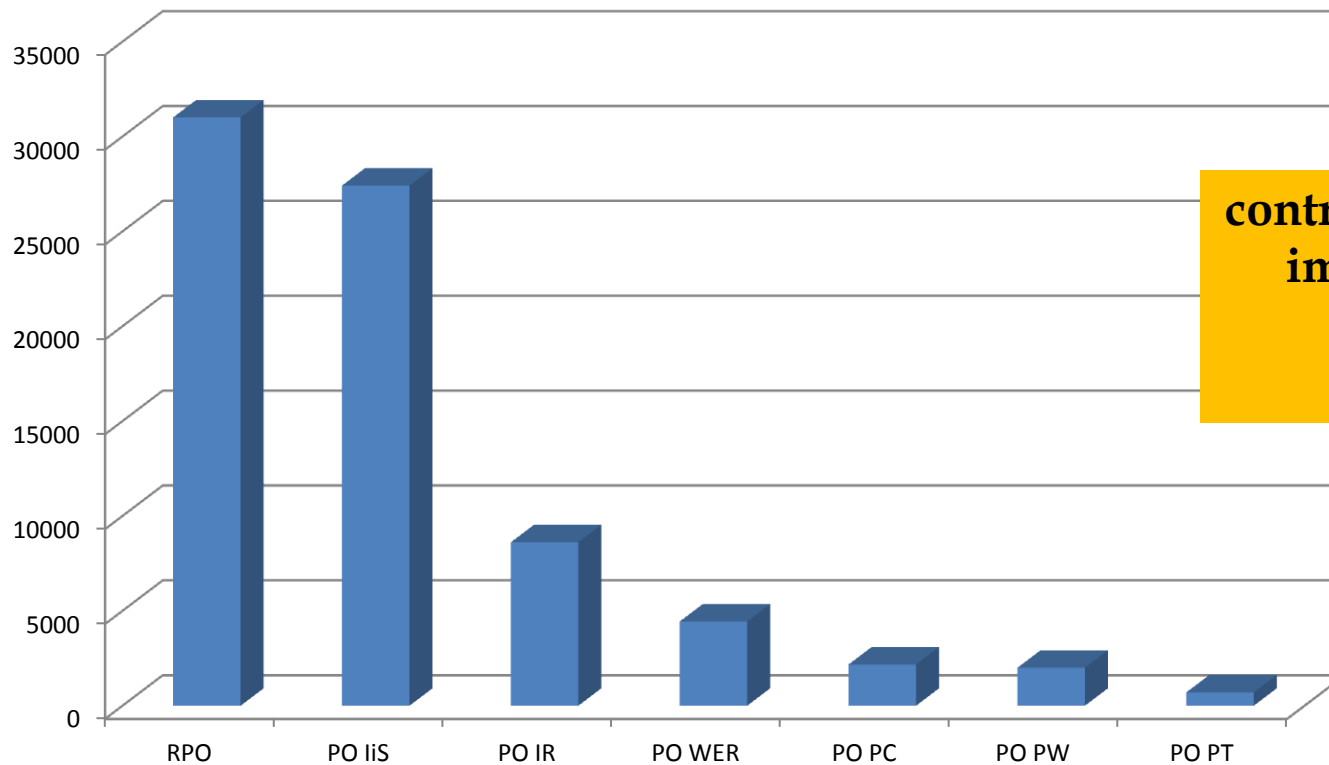


**EU COHESION
POLICY
in
POLAND**

**average annual
allocation
10.9 (12.2) bln euro**



**INDICATIVE ALLOCATION OF FUNDS
IN THE OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF THE PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT SYSTEM (mln euro)**



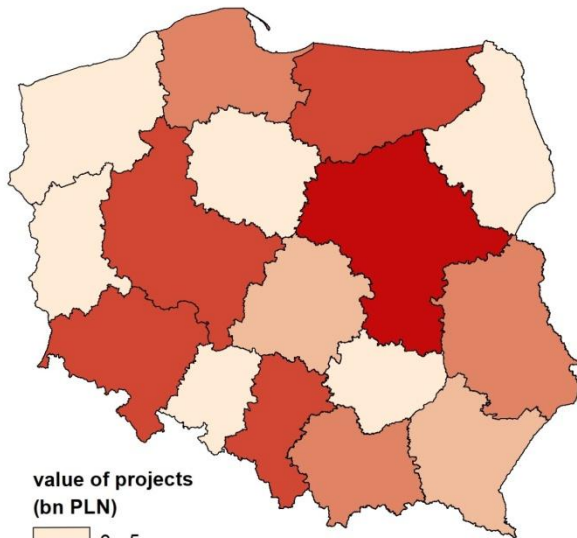
**contribution of funds
implemented in
regions
60%**



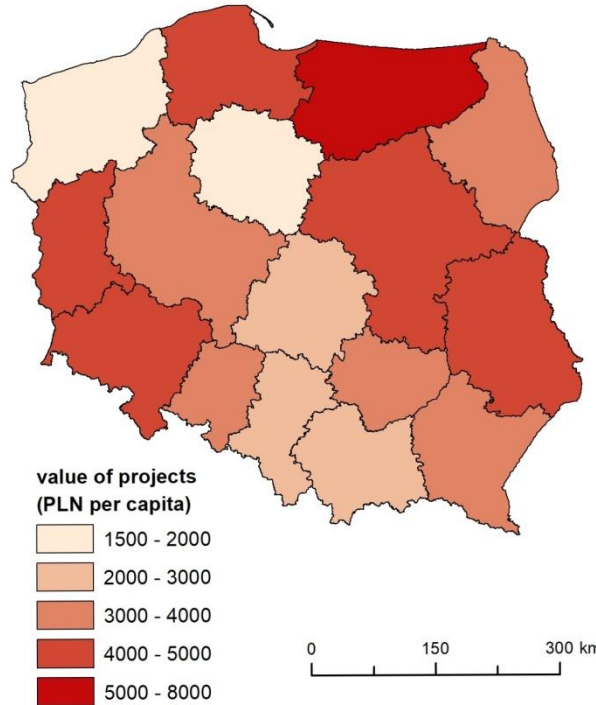
Source: own study on the basis of Partnership Agreement, 2014.

Effects of implementation of 2014-2020 perspective

mid-term December 2016



+ national level projects: 19,2 bn PLN



+ national level projects : 499 PLN per capita

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



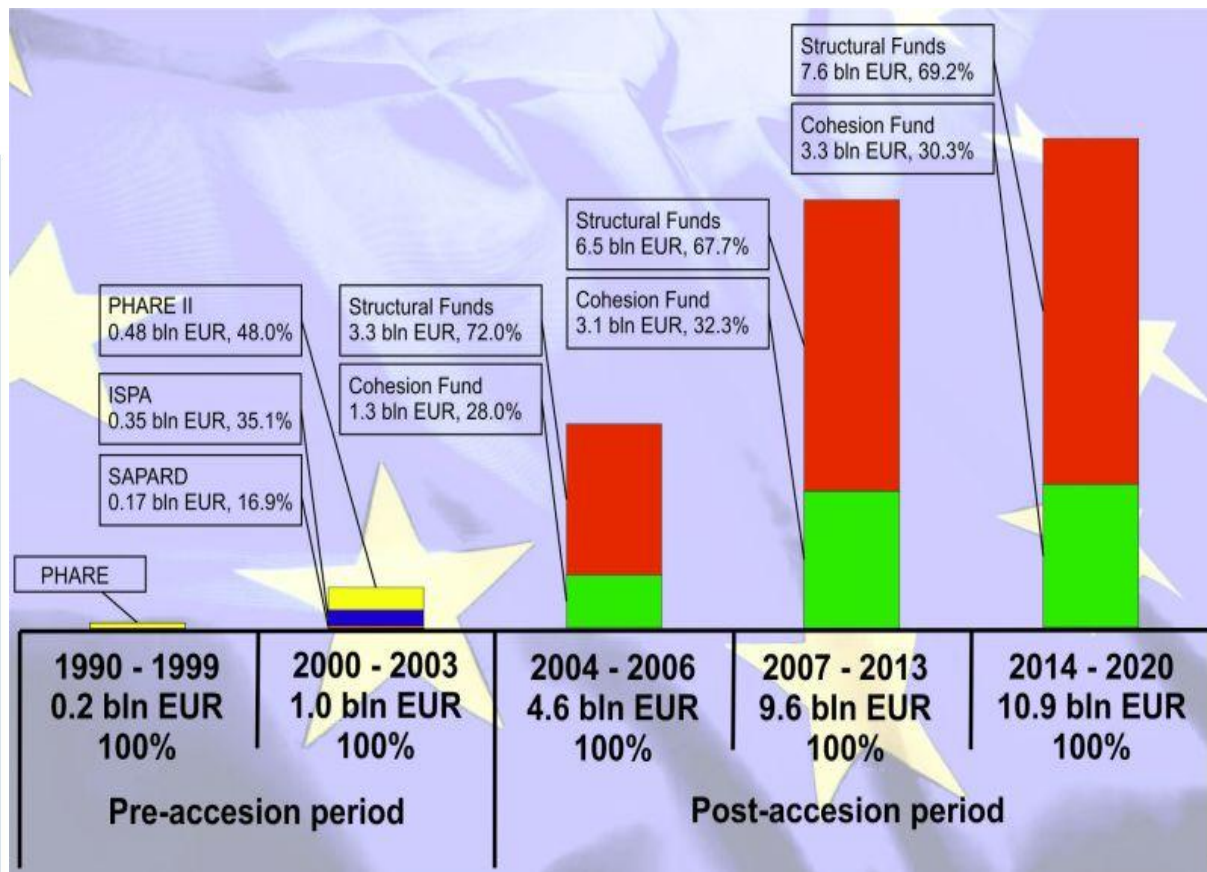


UNIwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

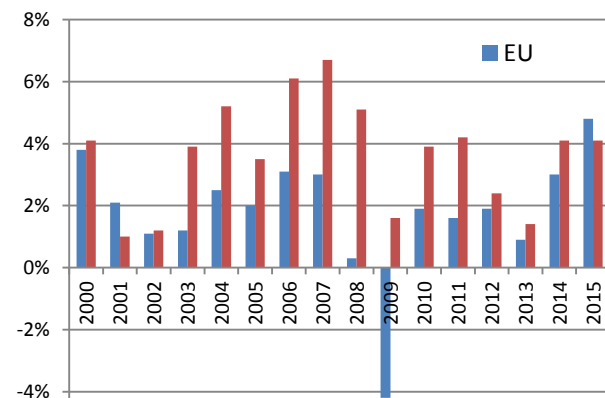


RISEING OUTLAYS

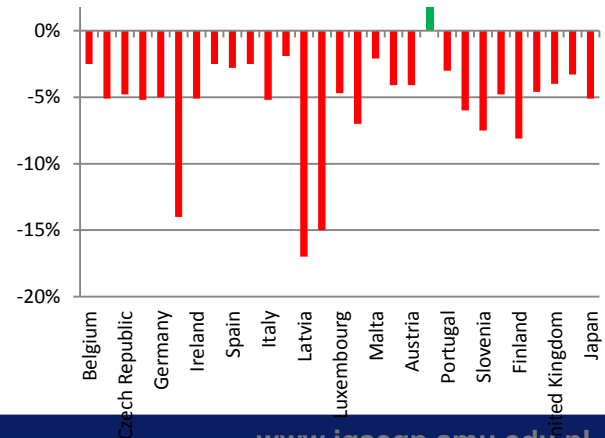


Source : Churski, 2016.

GDP changes in Poland and in the EU in 2000-2015



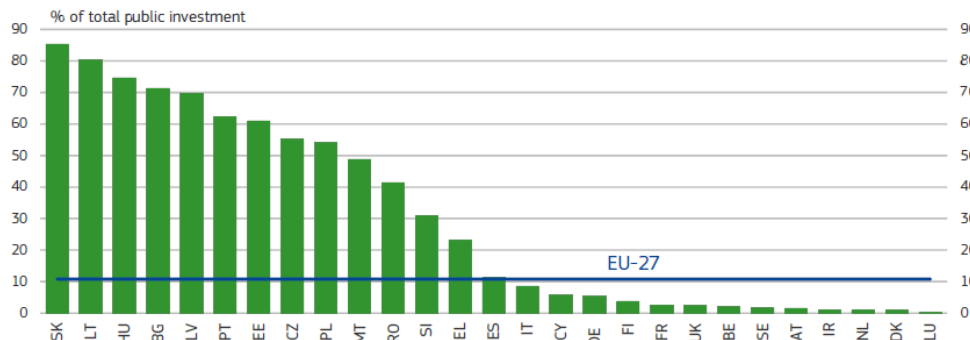
Real GDP Growth Rate - EU 27, USA, Japan (annual % change, 2009)



SUSTAINED BALANCE OF OUTLAYS

Share of cohesion policy means in the total outlays on Polish development policy is about **55%**.

Figure 4.23 Share of ERDF, ESF and Cohesion Fund allocations and national co-financing in total public investment, average 2011-2013

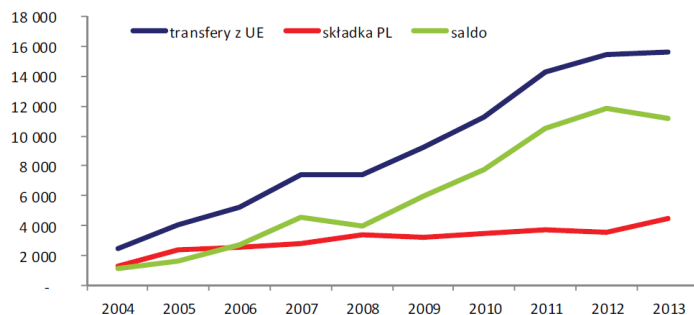


Source: Eurostat, DG REGIO

Source: Investment for jobs..., 2014.

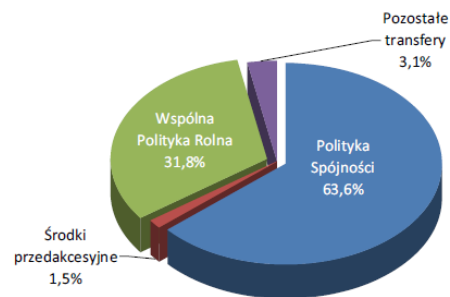


Wykres 1. Wysokość transferów z budżetu UE, składki i saldo w latach 2004-2013, mln euro

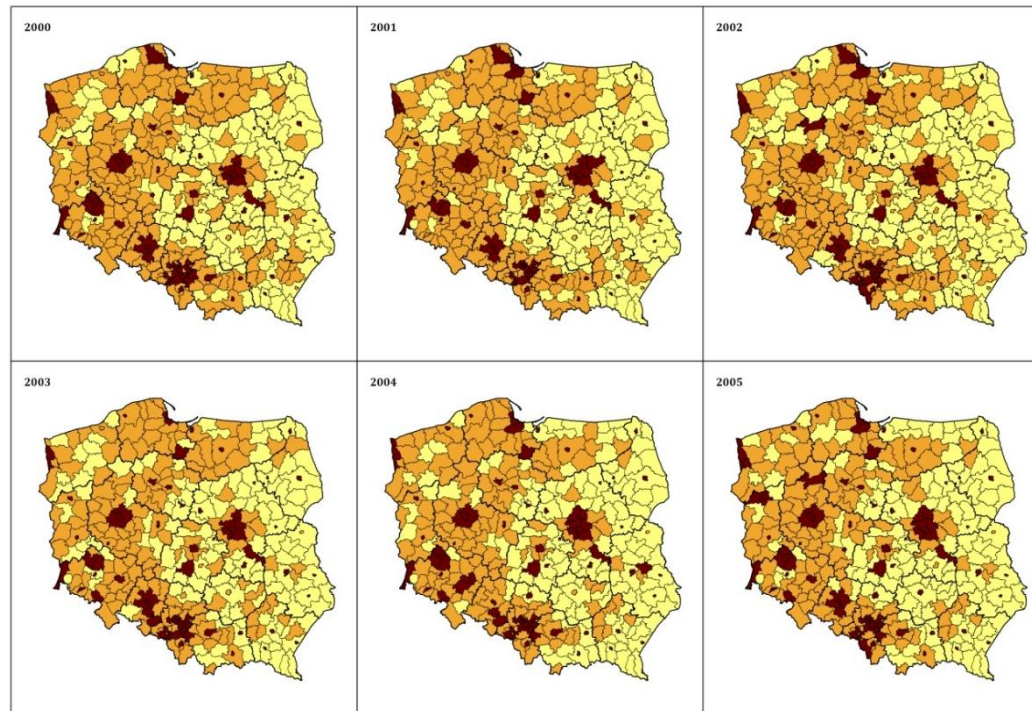


Source: The EU impact... 2014.

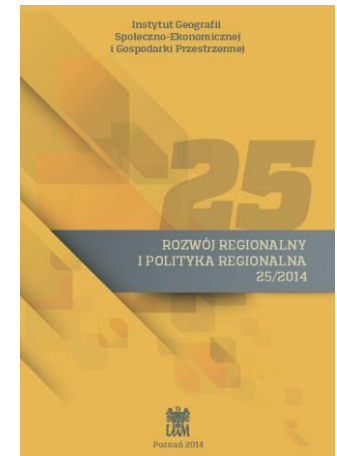
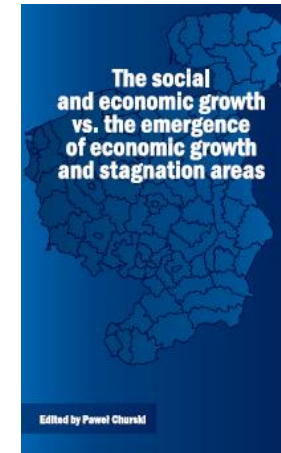
Wykres 2. Udział transferów na poszczególne obszary w transferach ogółem w latach 2004-2013



PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES



Source: growth and stagnation areas ..., 2014



ROZWÓJ SPOŁECZNO-GOSPODARCY A KSZTAŁTOWANIE SIĘ
OBSZARÓW WZROSTU I OBSZARÓW STAGNACJI GOSPODARCEJ

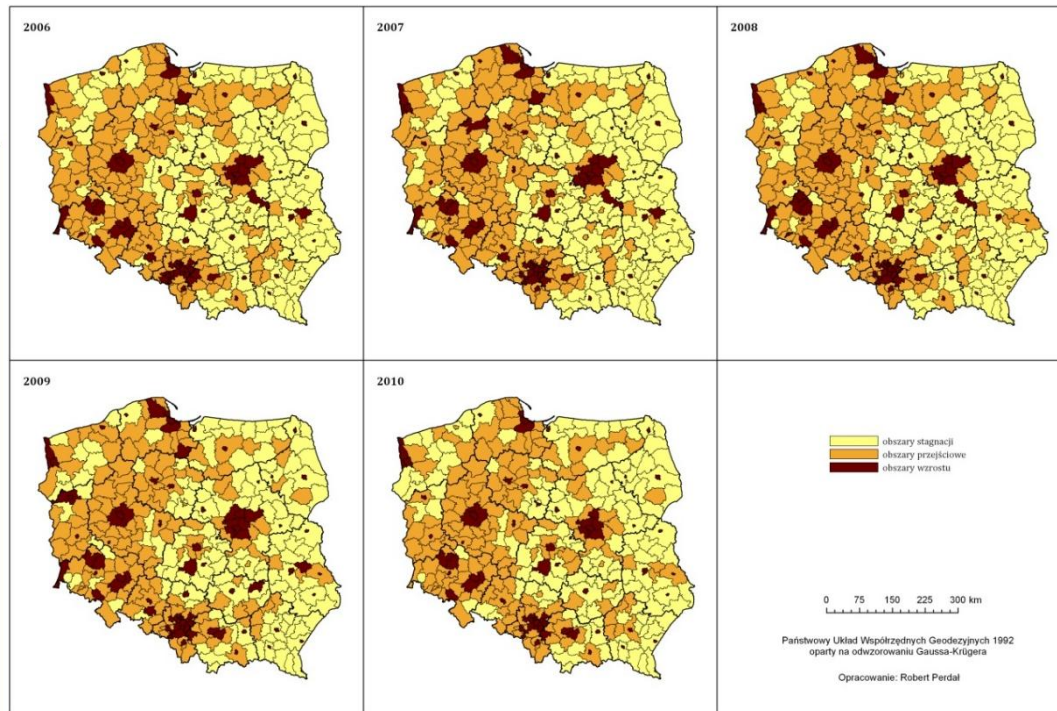
Projekt badawczy nr N N306 791940 finansowany ze środków Narodowego Centrum Nauki

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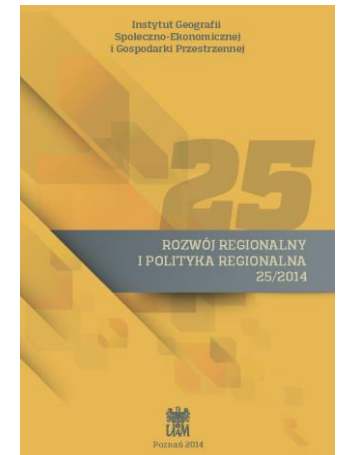
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE
PATTERN OF GROWTH AND STAGNATION AREAS

Research project no N N306 791940 financed by the National Science Centre

PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES



Source: Growth and stagnation areas..., 2014



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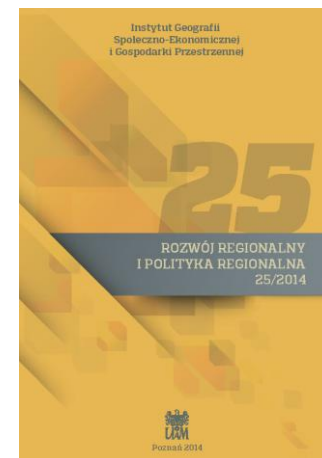
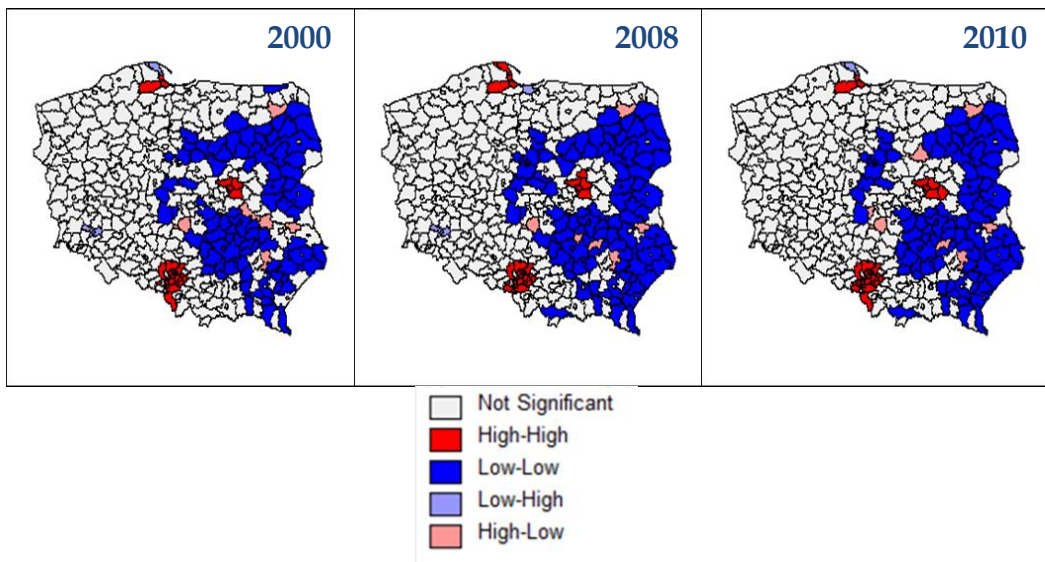
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SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE
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PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

Distribution of clusters of spatial dependence determined on the basis of LISA – local Moran's I statistic in the NUTS classification in 2000, 2008 and 2010.



Sources: Growth and stagnation areas ..., 2014

ROZWÓJ SPOŁECZNO-GOSPODARCZY A KSZTAŁTOWANIE SIĘ
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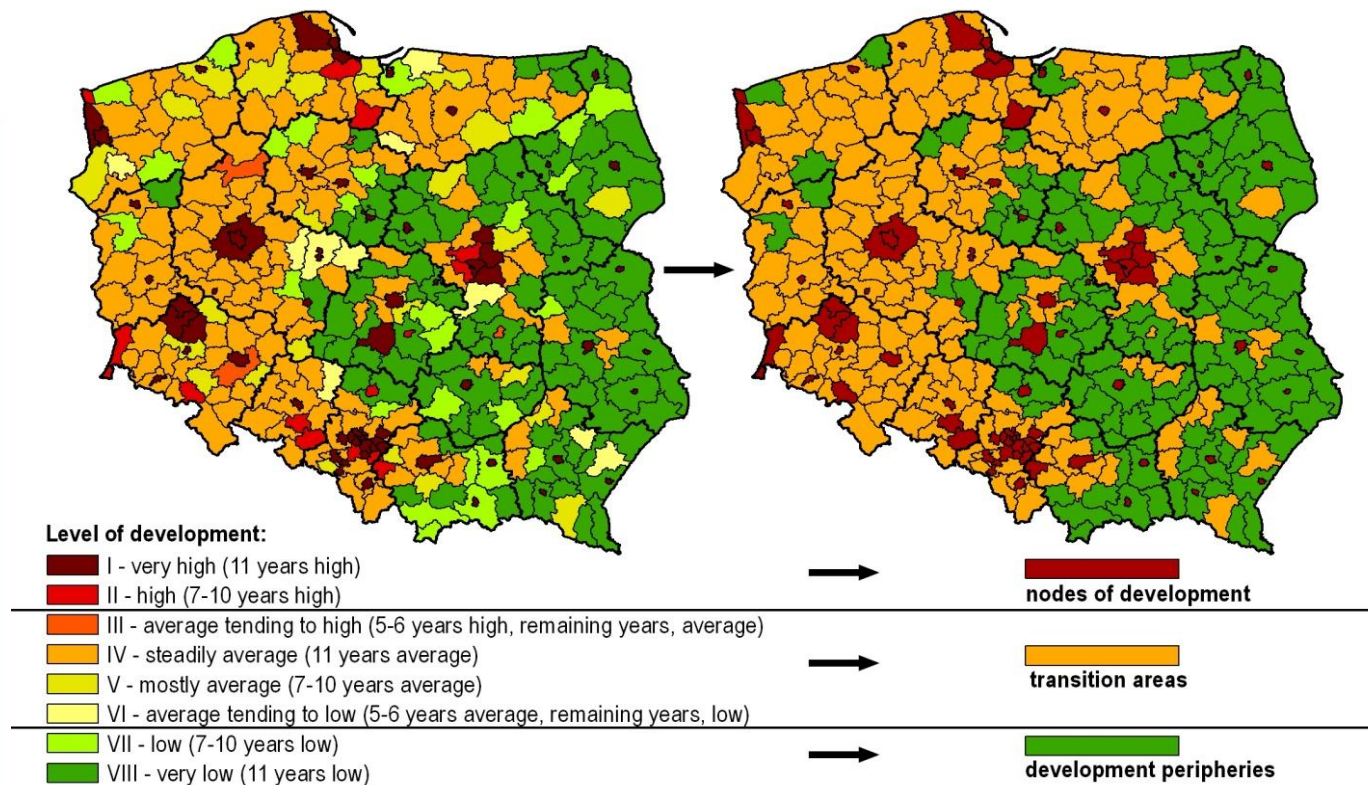
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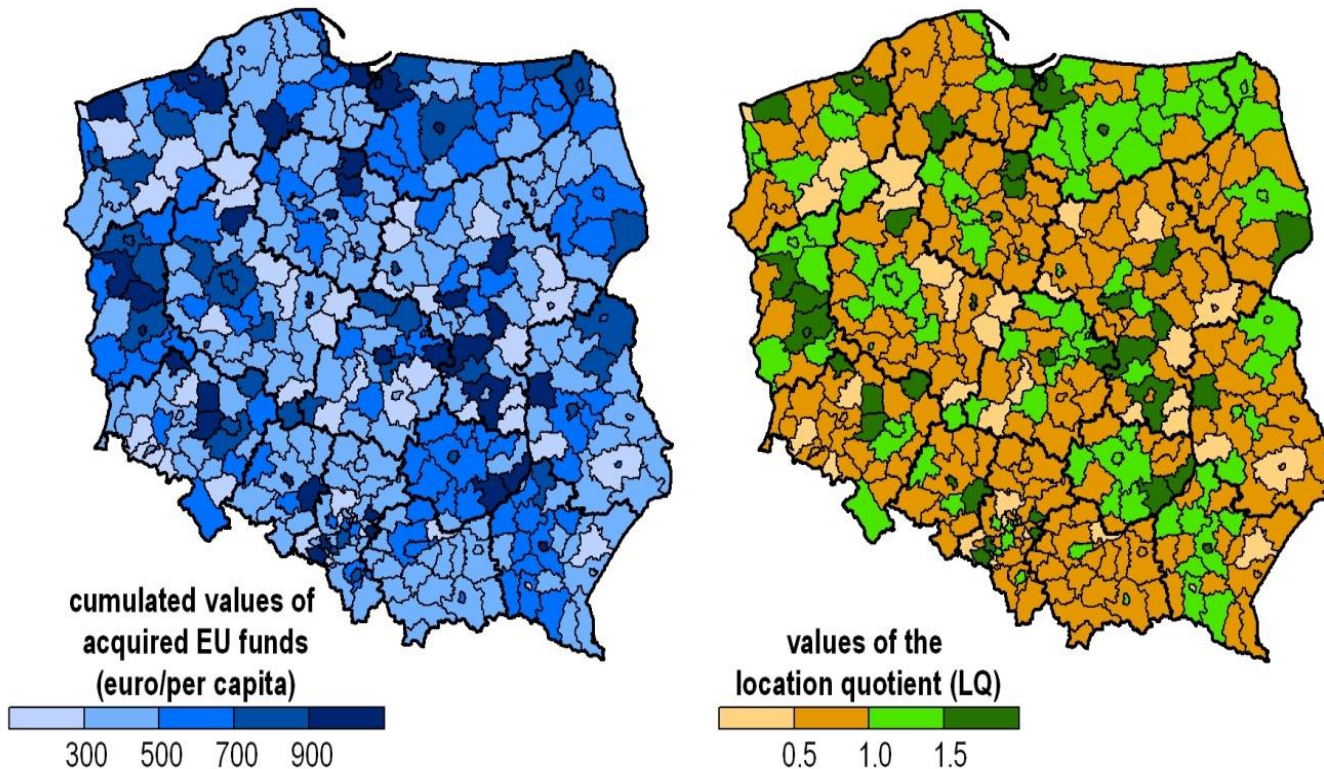
PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES



Source: Churski, Perdał, 2016.

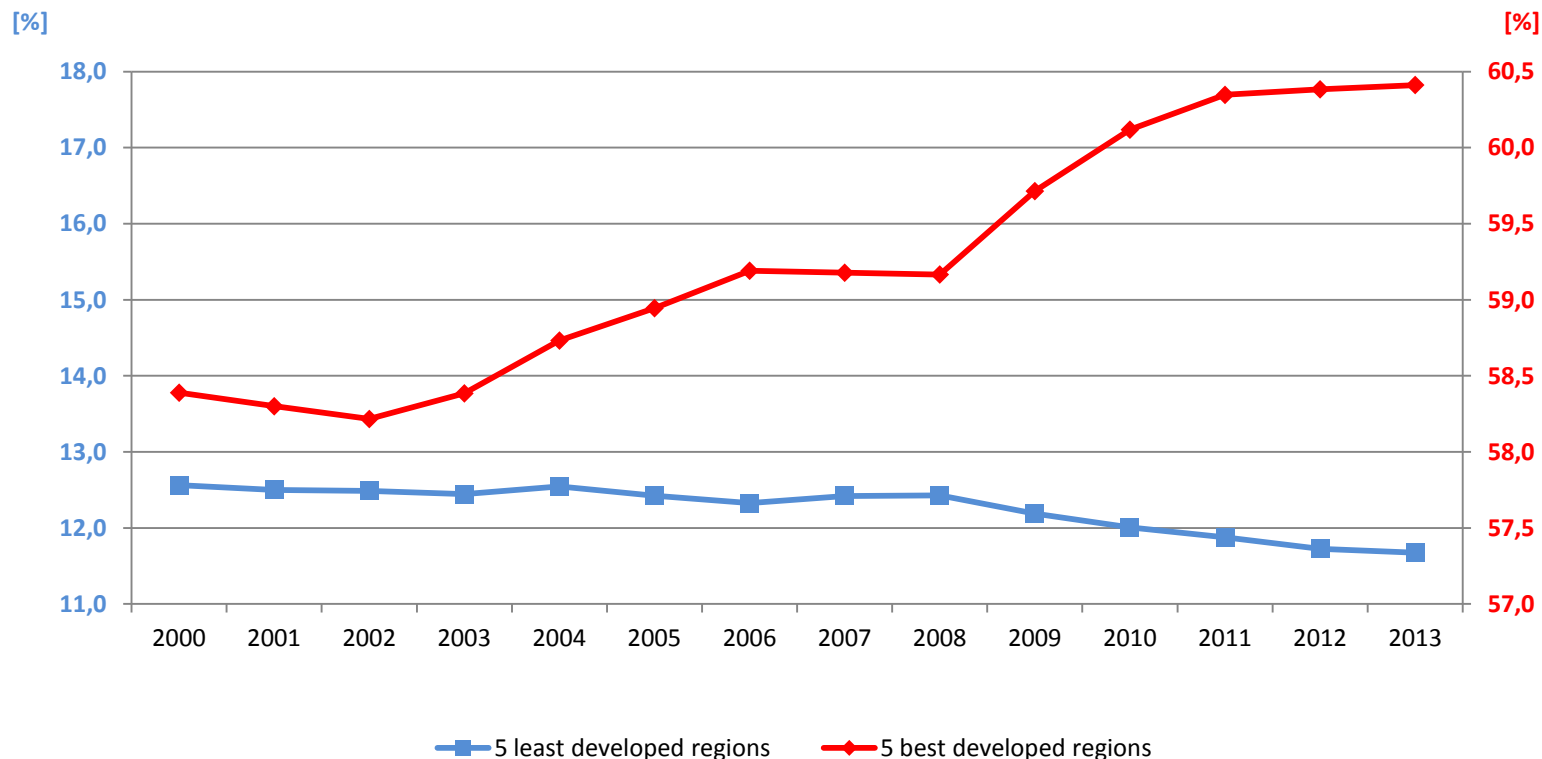
PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES

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



Source: Churski, Perdał, 2016.

PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES



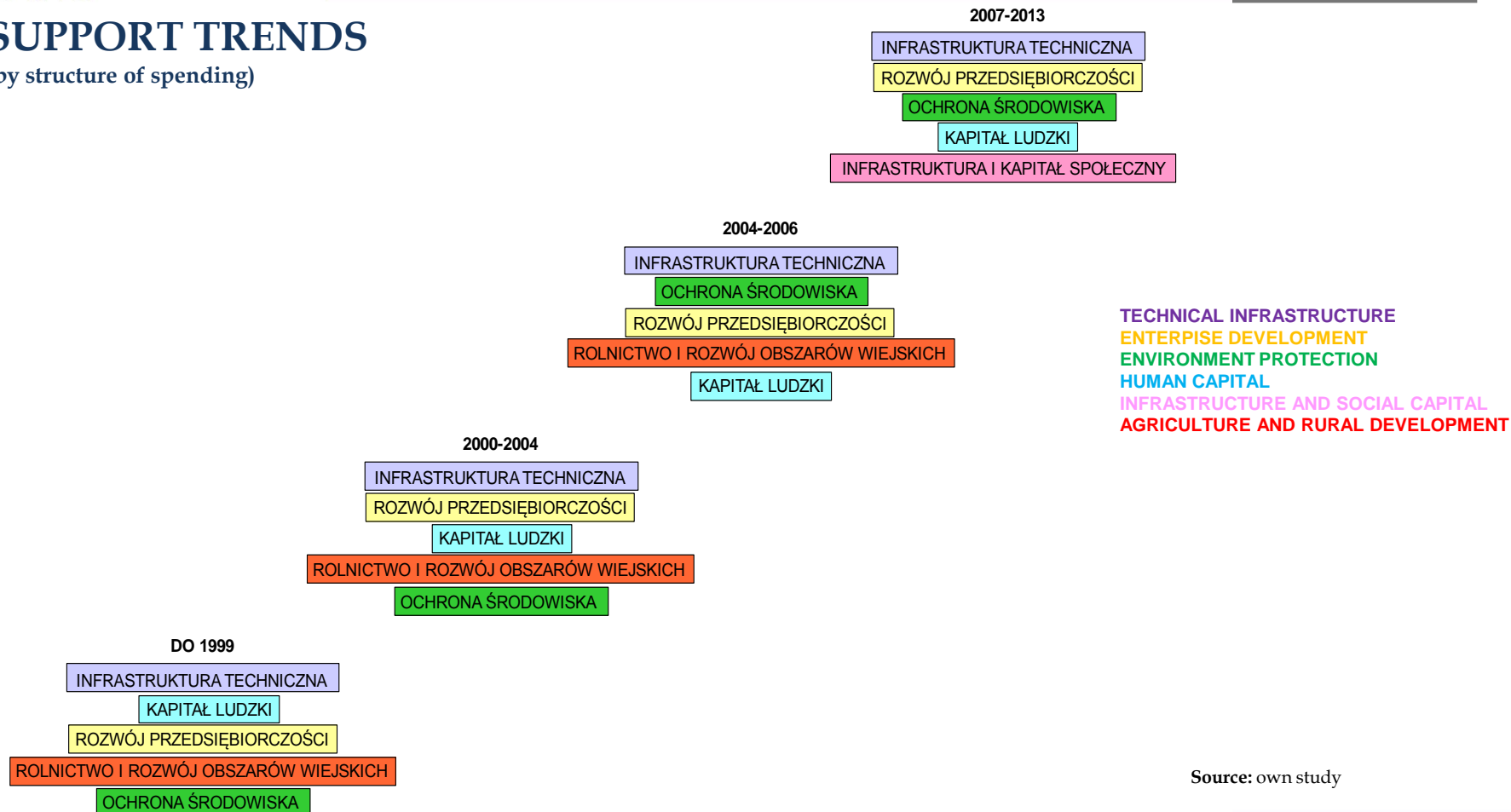
Source: Churski, 2016.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUPPORT TRENDS

(by structure of spending)

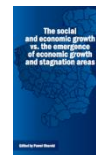


Source: own study

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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)

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



ROZWÓJ SPOŁECZNO-GOSPODARZY A KSZTAŁTOWANIE SIĘ
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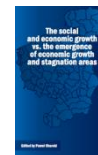
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE
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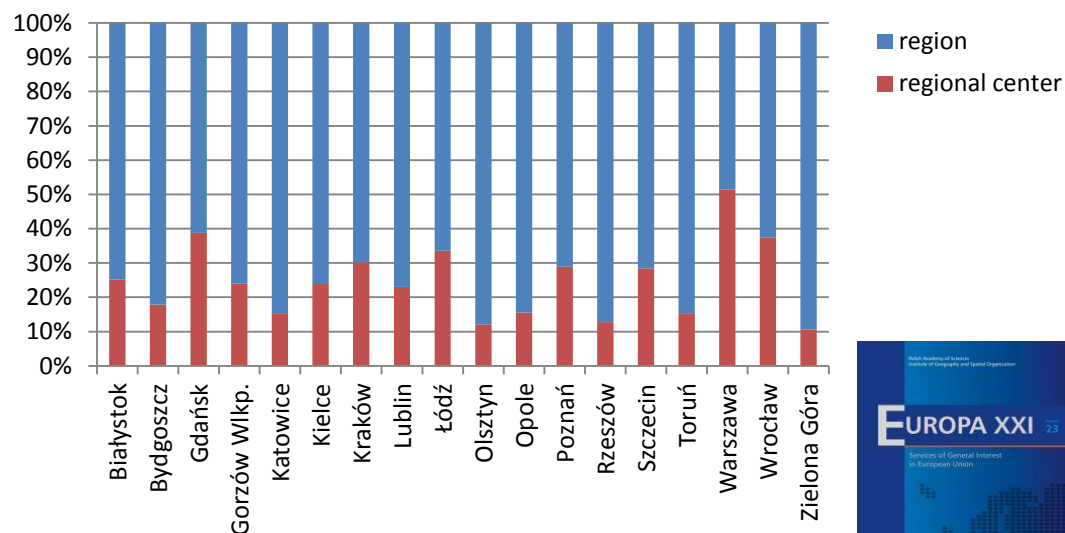
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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)

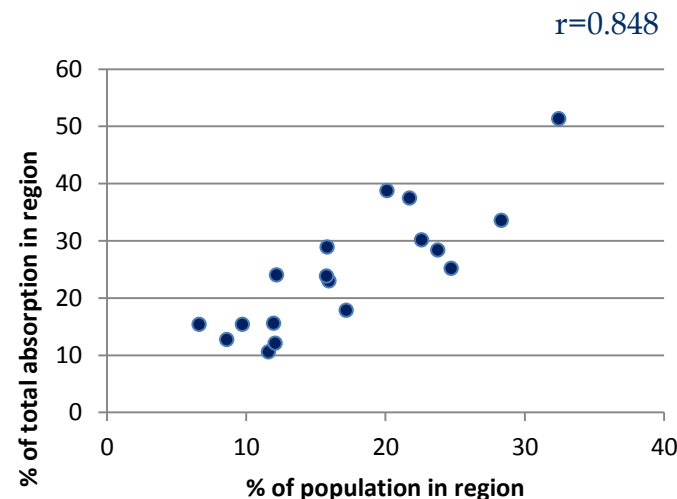
ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	POLAND TOTAL (bln zł)	AREAS OF STAGNATION (POLAND =100%)	POLAND per inhabitant	AREAS OF STAGNATION per inhabitant (POLAND =100%)
Population and settlement	14.5	3.63 bln zł (25%)	380 zł	406 zł (106%)
Labour market and economic structure	8.5	1.95 bln zł (22,9%)	224 zł	219 zł (97%)
Technical infrastructure and spatial accessibility	26	5.58 bln zł (21 %)	696 zł	624 zł (90 %)
Financial situation and level of wealth	27	4.71 bln zł (16,9%)	728 zł	527 zł (72%)
Innovative economy and business environment	9.2	1.38 bln zł (14,9%)	242 zł	154 zł (63%)
RAZEM	86.7	17.27 bln zł (19,9%)	2,271 zł	1,931 zł (85%)



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.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 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).



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 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 (Gorzelać, 2014).

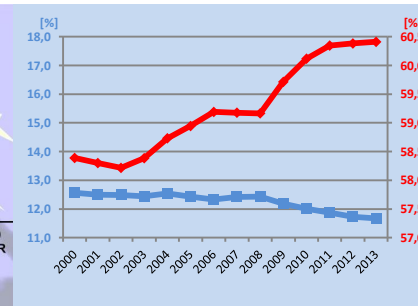
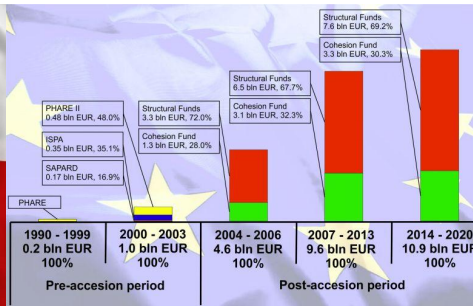


CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 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 !**



prof. UAM dr hab. Paweł Churski - chur@amu.edu.pl

INSTYTUT GEOGRAFII SPOŁECZNO-EKONOMICZNEJ I GOSPODARKI PRZESTRZENNEJ