

Antoni Kukliński

**STUDIES ON SPACE ECONOMY IN POLAND,
EXPERIENCES OF THE DECADE 1975—1985**

SPACE ECONOMY AND REGIONAL STUDIES

In 1977, a paper was published (Kukliński 1977b) expressing the point of view that in our academic and planning language we use the term „space economy” in the following contexts: as the economy of distance, as the problem of land use, as the utilization of natural resources, as regional economy, as the problem of the spatial organization of socio-economic development, and as the problem of *aménagement du territoire* (territorial organization).

A comprehensive analysis of publications dealing with the problems of space economy, which were published during the past decade (Kukliński 1979; *Badania* 1978; *Klasik* 1983; *Malisz* 1978; *Problematyka* 1980; Kukliński 1976a), leads to the attempts to define 3 paradigms dominating in the consecutive historical periods. Paradigm I in the years 1918—1950, Paradigm II in the years 1950—1980 and Paradigm III — which started to emerge in the middle of the seventies.

Paradigm I. This was the paradigm of regional studies shaped by the experiences of Poland in the years 1918—1939 and by the experiences of the People’s Poland of the post-War II reconstruction period. In the methodological perspective that paradigm was deeply integrated with the experience of the Western Countries. The fundamental ideas prevailing in those regional studies have, however, demonstrated broad understanding for the basic needs of the society, the economy and the state.

Paradigm II. The decade of the fifties is the period of the abandonment of paradigm I and the time of the creation of paradigm II. The sixties were the time of the flourishing of paradigm II. This paradigm created extensive empirical and methodological studies on space economy in Poland. The seventies—contrary to all appearances—are already the beginning of the decline of this paradigm.

Paradigm III. In this paper, the hypothesis is put forward that the years 1975—1990 are the period of the gradual abandonment of paradigm II and the time of the slow and difficult growth of paradigm III.

The question if and when the turning point in the dominating position took place or will take place is a very difficult question in the situation when the foundations of objective thinking are overshadowed by different emotions that try to prolong the life of paradigm II and to create barriers to the development of paradigm III.

It is interesting to note that at present we have the situation of a *sui generis* coexistence of both paradigms.

One could also note that the followers of paradigm II are not directly engaged in a written argument attacking the main publications of paradigm III, and particularly the twelve volumes of the *Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland*.

In this paper I would like to present some of the new trends of empirical studies and some new methodological approaches which have emerged in Polish Regional Studies after 1975 as the vehicles carrying the development of paradigm III.

In 1975 I presented the first public criticism of paradigm II. At the same time, I formulated some suggestions concerning the new approaches in the development of Polish Regional Studies.

NEW EMPIRICAL TRENDS IN THE STUDIES ON SPACE ECONOMY IN POLAND

It seems to me that in the decade 1975—1985 the following six relatively new trends of empirical studies have emerged in this field: investment trend, ecological trend, social trend, crisis trend, local trend and European trend.

Investment trend. In recent years a unique set of investment data was compiled (Mykaj 1984). The data cover all 49 provinces of the 1975 administrative division of the country and are expressed in constant prices of 1971. The set covers all the years from 1961 to 1980. A few examples of the application of those materials are also presented in other publications (Kukliński 1980).

Especially important in this context is the investment documentation of the hypothesis that Poland was, in the years 1961—1980, a classical case where the processes of regional development were disturbed by the conflict between the processes of accelerated industrialization and those of delayed urbanization.

Ecological trend. Within the framework of the *Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland*, the team of Stefan Kozłowski has created a breakthrough in empirical studies on the ecological foundations of Polish space economy (Kozłowski 1983, 1985).

The Polish society must understand that the problem of water and air is much more important than that of food prices. Nobody is dying of hunger reasons in Poland. There is, however, some indirect evidence that in some regions in Poland the increased mortality, and particularly infant mortality, is somehow related to the very high level of air and water pollution.

Social trend. It is not an accident that in the decade 1975—1985 a strong trend on social problems in space economy has emerged in both Poland and abroad (Kukliński 1977a). In this context the publications of J. Kolipiński (1978), Z. Pióro (1982) and B. Jałowicki (1982) should be mentioned.

The study of B. Jałowicki — „The Strategy of industrialization in relation to the process of urbanization” (in Polish) — is a good example of empirical sociological analysis, discussing the fundamental problems of Polish space economy. It is also a very neuralgic point in the conflict of paradigms II and III.

Crisis trend. In 1981, I wrote (Kukliński 1981): „We face the question of whether or not the Polish crisis has a geographic aspect — in other words, do we face the problem of the spatial differentiation of the causes of the crisis and of its consequences? In Polish regional studies we used to rely on the following assumptions up to now:

(a) our research interest focuses on positive phenomena, such as growth development, cooperation, etc.; we failed to see, or preferred not to see, adverse phenomena, such as those of regress and conflict which were becoming conspicuous in many domains of our life, including the sphere of space economy in the broad sense;

(b) in view of the fairly persistent nature of the studied spatial structures and patterns, our research interest concentrates on long-run presentations. Not unjustly we used to assume that within the framework of comparative statics, or of pseudodynamic studies, it would do if we just compared changes in spatial structures over five- or ten-year intervals, and that the spatial surveys studies should be associated with census years.

In setting out to study the geography of the Polish crisis we must discard both these assumptions. Our studies should comprise both phe-

nomena of development and of regress in the varying short-run patterns of single years or even of months”.

The idea of the geography of the Polish crisis was incorporated in the methodology of the *Diagnosis* and in the methodology of my research team.

Now a new volume edited by A. Zagozdzon and B. Jałowiecki is being prepared, under the title „The Factors Generating the Crisis of the Polish Space”.

Local trend. In 1984, I published a short paper (Kukliński 1984c), in which the following idea was presented: „I am sure that the reconstruction of the economy, society and the state in the eighties will create a new image of local economy, local society and local government in Poland. The renaissance and development of Local Poland in the perspective of the next fifteen or maybe fifty years is based on the following sources of change: the first source is the contemporary technological revolution generating quite new approaches to the advantages of large and small scale, the second source is the reconstruction and modernization of agriculture in Poland and particularly the reconstruction of private individual farms, the third source is the housing problem, the fourth source is the development of a modern and efficient local government in Poland, the fifth source are the possibilities incorporated in the mechanism of the creation and diffusion of innovations.

In the beginning of 1985 a new topical team was created to analyse the theme of local Poland and territorial self-government under the conditions of the reform.

European trend. In our academic and planning activity we often accept the irrational convention that the problems of Polish space can be analysed as a phenomenon somehow isolated from the European context.

In 1976, a first attempt to break this convention was made by the publication of a volume on *Planning of Regional Development in European Countries* (Kukliński 1976).

Unfortunately, the stream of comparative studies on the European experiences in the field of space economy has not been developed with due force in the years 1975—1985.

An important stimulus for this change was generated by two conferences that took place in Poland in 1984.

The first conference was organised by the United Nations University in Tokyo and by the Central School of Planning and Statistics in War-

saw. It was the Conference on „Human and Social Development in Europe within Interregional and Global Perspectives”.

The second conference was organised by the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies of the University of Warsaw, under the title: “The Regional Dynamics of Socio-economic Change — Experiences and Prospects in Europe and Latin America” (Kuklinski 1948b).

NEW METHODOLOGICAL CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES IN POLISH REGIONAL STUDIES

It is well known in the history of science and culture that the processes of the creation of new paradigms incorporate, *inter alia*, deep changes in the set of fundamental concepts applied in the given discipline or interdisciplinary field. We can thus formulate a question whether the vocabularies in 1975 and 1985 are identical. The answer is very clear. In 1975, the Polish Regional Studies used the vocabulary of Paradigm II. In 1985, the Polish Regional Studies are evidently bilingual.

It is worthwhile to compare from this point of view two publications of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Kukliński 1984a; Malisz 1984).

The following seven concepts can be indicated as a starting point for our discussion in this field, that is to say: the concept of strong and weak regions; the concept of spatial organization of socio-economic development; the concept of the “Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland”; the concept of conflicts of Polish space; the concept of the processes that determine the space economy in Poland; the concept of the social production of space; the concept of the reconstruction of Polish space economy.

Strong and weak regions. In 1976, my suggestion was (Kukliński 1976c) that the distinction between strong and weak regions should be the central element in all typologies of regions. Later on, three criteria of the distinction between strong and weak regions were formulated: the classical quantitative criterion; the criterion of economic efficiency and, more broadly, the general efficiency of human activities; the criterion of the quality of life in both individual and collective perspective.

We have to promote very active studies on strong and weak regions both in Poland and in other countries. This is naturally a particular case of a much broader social, political and economic problem — the problem of the role and performance, in the society and economy, of weak and strong persons, institutions and enterprises, including the motivations and preferences of those persons, institutions and enterprises.

Spatial organization of socio-economic development. In 1978, a study of S.M. Komorowski on *The Spatial Organization of Socio-economic Development* was published (Komorowski 1978). This is to a large extent a pioneering study trying to outline the channels of integration of four streams of fundamental and applied research, i.e.; the theory of organization; the system analysis; the space economy; the theory of socio-economic development.

Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland. In 1980, papers were published outlining the idea of diagnostic studies in the field of Polish space economy (Kukliński 1983). The idea was implemented in the years 1981—1983. The results of those diagnostic studies have been published in 12 volumes. The central element in this set of publications is *Bulletin* No. 123 of the Committee for Space Economy and Regional Planning of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Conflicts of Polish space. Within the framework of the Diagnosis, J. Kołodziejcki formulated in an original way, in 1982, the problems of studies on the conflicts in the field of Polish space economy²⁶. The study of J. Kołodziejcki is dealing with three problems, namely;

- (a) the analysis of the objective factors generating the situations of conflicts in the Polish space economy;
- (b) the typology of the situations of conflicts;
- (c) the fundamental conditions which have to be created in order to solve the conflicts emerging in the Polish space;

Decision-making processes. In 1984, the last study of the late Wojciech Pietraszewski was published (Pietraszewski 1984) in which he wrote that Poland faced the danger of an ecological catastrophe, deficit of water and energy, permanent housing hunger and decapitalization of technical infrastructure.

Yet more tragic is the state of human resources which could start the gigantic task to correct and improve this situation.

Social production of space. In 1984, B. Jałowiecki published a paper on the social production of space (Jałowiecki 1984). The paper includes methodological approach almost unknown in the main trends of Polish regional studies, but well-developed, for example, in France.

In the same spirit the problem is discussed by Cz. Gryko in a paper on axiological differentiation of social space (Gryko 1984).

Reconstruction of space economy in Poland. In the years 1983—1984,

I outlined the idea of reconstruction of space economy in Poland (Kukliński 1984b). This idea is at the same time an attempt to integrate the research, policy and action-oriented approaches in regional studies.

*

This paper is definitely not yet a synthesis of the experiences of our research in the field of space economy based on the way of thinking developed within III Paradigm. I hope, however, that this paper is a small step in this direction.

In the conditions of the co-existence of paradigms II and III we need at least two general evaluations of our achievements in the field of regional studies.

Naturally nobody can claim the monopoly of truth. After some years the history will declare its judgement who was representing the future-oriented approaches in Polish Regional Studies in the decade 1975—1985.

REFERENCES

- „Badania regionalne w Polsce. Doświadczenia i perspektywy”. 1978. [Regional Research in Poland. Experience and Perspectives], *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, No. 100.
- Gryko C., 1984. „Aksjologiczne zróżnicowanie przestrzeni społecznej” [Axiological Differentiation of Social Space], *Studia Filozoficzne*, No. 9.
- Jałowicki B., 1982. „Strategia uprzemysłowienia a proces urbanizacji” [Industrialization Strategy and Urbanization Process], *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, No. 119.
- Jałowicki B., 1984. „Społeczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni Zarys problematyki” [Social Creating of Space. An Outlining of Problems], *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, No. 125.
- Klasik A. (ed.), 1983. „Kierunki badań ekonomiczno-przestrzennych w Polsce Ludowej” [Trends in Economic-Spatial Research in People's Poland], *Studia KPZK PAN*, vol. LXXIX.
- Kolipiński J., 1978. „Człowiek-gospodarka-środowisko-przestrzeń” [Man-Economy-Environment-Space], *Studia KPZK PAN*, vol. LXIII.
- Komorowski S.M., 1978. „Przestrzenna organizacja rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego” [Spatial Organization of Socio-economic Development], *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, No. 98.
- Koziowski S., 1983. *Przyrodnicze uwarunkowania gospodarki przestrzennej Polski* [Natural Conditionings of Space Economy in Poland], Ossolineum.
- Koziowski S., 1985. „Gospodarka zasobami przyrody” [Natural Resources Management], *Studia KPZK PAN*, vol. LXXXV.
- Kukliński A., 1976a. „Polska szkoła planowania regionalnego na tle światowym” [Polish School of Regional Planning against the World Background], in:

- Kukliński, A. (ed.), *Planowanie rozwoju regionalnego w krajach europejskich*, [Regional Planning in European Countries], PWN, Warszawa.
- Kukliński A., 1976b, „Regiony silne i słabe w polityce społeczno-ekonomicznej” [Strong and Weak Regions in Socio-economic Policy], *Przegląd Geograficzny*, No. 3.
- Kukliński A., (ed.) 1976c. *Planowanie rozwoju regionalnego w krajach europejskich* [Regional Planning in European Countries], Warszawa.
- Kukliński A., (ed.) 1977a. *Social Issues in Regional Policy and Regional Planning*, Mouton, the Hague.
- Kukliński A., 1977b. „Problemy gospodarki przestrzennej” [Problems of Space Economy], *Przegląd Geograficzny*, No. 2.
- Kukliński A., 1979. „Studia regionalia—Quo vaditis.” *Przegląd Geograficzny*, No. 2.
- Kukliński A., 1981. „Geografia polskiego kryzysu” [Geography of Polish Crisis], *Życie Gospodarcze*, No. 44.
- Kukliński A., 1983. „Space Economy of Poland: Apparent and Real Problems”, in: Kukliński, A., Lambooy, J.G. (eds.), *Dilemmas in Regional Policy*, Regional Planning Series, vol. 12, Mouton, Amsterdam.
- Kukliński A., (ed.) 1984a. *Gospodarka przestrzenna Polski. Diagnoza i rekonstrukcja* [Space Economy of Poland. Diagnosis and Reconstruction], Ossolineum
- Kukliński A., 1984b. „Regional Approaches in European Studies” in: *New* in: Kukliński, A., Lambooy, J.G. (eds.), *Dilemmas in Regional Policy*, Association Yearbook, Finnpublishers.
- Kukliński A., 1984c. „Uśpiony potencjał” [The Latent Potential], *Życie Gospodarcze*, No. 13.
- Malisz B., (ed.) 1978. „40 lat planowania struktury przestrzennej Polski” [Forty Years of Spatial Structure Planning in Poland], *Studia KPZK PAN*, vol. LXIV.
- Malisz B., 1984. *Podstawy gospodarki i polityki przestrzennej* [The Foundations of Space Economy and Policy], Ossolineum.
- Mykaj A., 1984. „Gospodarka przestrzenna Polski w aspekcie wartości nakładów inwestycyjnych” [Space Economy of Poland in Face of the Value of Investment Expenditures], *Biuletyn Informacyjny Problemu Międzyresortowego „Podstawy przestrzennego zagospodarowania kraju”*, No. 46, Warszawa.
- Pietraszewski W., 1984. „Ocena procesów decyzyjnych determinujących gospodarkę przestrzenną Polski” [An Evaluation of Decision Processes Determining the Space Economy of Poland], in: Kukliński, A. 1984a. *Space Economy of Poland. Diagnosis and Reconstruction*, Ossolineum.
- Pióro Z. (ed.), 1982. *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo. Z badań ekologii społecznej* [Space and Society. Research on Social Ecology], KiW, Warszawa.
- “Problematyka metodologiczna dorobku badawczego Komitetu Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju PAN” 1980. [Methodological Problems of Research Output of the Committee of Country’s Space Economy of the Polish Academy of Sciences], *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, No. 107.