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METROPOLITAN-WIDE GOVERNANCE AND AN INNOVATION DISTRICT: SMART GROWTH REFORMS TO INCREASE ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS IN WARSAW, POLAND

1. INTRODUCTION

The Capital City of Warsaw, with a population of 1.7 million persons, seeks to be a dynamic urban center in Central and Eastern Europe. During World War II more than 80% of its buildings were destroyed¹. From this disastrous demolition, Warsaw continues to rebuild itself. Following the collapse of Soviet Communist rule in 1989, Poland began the transition to a market economy. The Warsaw metropolitan region now hosts the management of large international and domestic companies, and it accounts for 30% of Poland's imports and services and 16% of the country's exports².

International capital has helped finance Warsaw's transition from industry to knowledge-intensive services³. Warsaw attracts international capital that requires highly skilled personnel due to its high percentage of residents with university-level education and the development of both private and public academic institutions attracting 285,000 students⁴. The internationalization of Warsaw's economy, however, has resulted in uneven economic growth causing disparities within the region as to levels of education, livability conditions, wealth, and level of development.

¹ A. M. Tung, *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*, New York 2001, p. 82. The Nazis carried out a systematic destruction of Warsaw as punishment for the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944. D. Crowley, *People's Warsaw / Popular Warsaw*, *J. of Design Hist.* 1997, Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 206.

² See G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis – Successes and Missed Opportunities*, *Regional Sci. Pol'y & Prac.* 2012, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 27.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

Warsaw faces certain challenges in its desire to be a center of innovation and global player. As housing costs rose in Warsaw's central core, residents and new workers migrated to suburban areas surrounding the Capital City creating spatial disorder. The lack of metropolitan-wide planning and a viable transport system have also contributed to urban sprawl and environmental degradation. The serious deficiencies in the region's infrastructure have further exacerbated the region's quality of life issues.

This article argues that the Capital City of Warsaw cannot succeed in its quest to increase its competitiveness in a global economy based on knowledge-intensive services until public infrastructure and the Warsaw economy progress on an integrated, metropolitan-wide basis. Following the introduction in Part I, Part II describes the nature of global competitiveness and the policies adopted by the European Union (EU) and Poland to increase economic competitiveness. Part III describes the challenges faced by the Capital City in implementing these policies so as to become increasingly competitive in a global economy. The article presents both Warsaw's strengths and the challenges it faces in developing as a center of innovation that will spark new breakthroughs in science and technology. European Union funding is examined as a source of funding infrastructure and urban development in the Warsaw metropolitan area. In particular, the article examines how Warsaw could compete for Integrated Territorial funding by undertaking some of the institutional reforms required by EU regulations.

Part IV presents two suggestions to enable Warsaw to improve its standing as a hub for innovation and entrepreneurship. First, the article argues that metropolitan-wide governance would further spur the internationalization of the Warsaw metropolitan area by ensuring the implementation of spatial plans on a regional basis and the integration of disparate infrastructure investments throughout the region. The European Union's strategy for smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth compels an integrated approach to strategic investments, and the Capital City of Warsaw would be wise to make the institutional changes needed to meet the EU's new emphasis on an integrated approach to innovation and sustainable growth. The EU policy now affirms that economic growth is not a one-way street. Economic activity must be pursued in a manner that maximizes sustainable development and improves the quality of life of its inhabitants.

Second, the article urges Warsaw to examine the feasibility of creating a new city center that will increase connections between Warsaw's communities. This center could be formed as an Innovation District, modeled on Barcelona, Spain's Innovation District. Ideally, it would be created in the underdeveloped Praga area on the eastern bank of the Vistula River, which cuts through the City. Innovation and entrepreneurship are enhanced by the creation of a compact, attractive residential and business district that facilitates networking, a predominant feature of the high-tech, global economy. In an innovation district, businesses, retail enterprises, start-up companies, entrepreneurial firms, educational institutions,

and science-based industries exist side by side in close proximity to each other so as to share ideas and implement projects involving a range of expertise.

2. THE EUROPEAN UNION'S RESPONSE TO GLOBAL ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS

2.1. THE GLOBAL ECONOMY'S CHALLENGES

The world has become increasingly globalized, a phenomenon that results in the spreading of local practices, customs, ideas, and technology beyond their origin to all parts of the globe⁵. Globalization is a process that results in both homogeneity and heterogeneity: as practices and ideas travel from one place to another they create homogeneity, but through so-called local translation these practices are recast and adapted to their new environment creating diversity⁶. Thus, Warsaw, as a player on the global scene, will respond to new trends as a result of globalization, but it will incorporate them in a way that is unique to itself⁷.

New technological developments and the rapid globalization of the economy have disrupted many established business models. The advent of ridesharing services such as Uber and Lyft now compete with the regulated taxicab industry. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, the economy has been characterized as one that “worships speed, extols collaboration, rewards customization, demands differentiation, and champions integrated thinking”⁸. Technological innovations have automated jobs, increased productivity, and created a demand for highly skilled employees⁹.

The global economy has transformed how governments think about their future prosperity. The economy is no longer based on the productivity of individual nation states; instead, success is based upon greater interdependence among nations and regions throughout the world. Recognizing the interlinkage among European economies, the European Union believes that European competitiveness will succeed only if all of its 28 members pursue common goals¹⁰.

⁵ B. Czarniawska, *A Tale of Three Cities: Or the Glocalization of City Management*, Oxford 2002, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p.11.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 13–15.

⁸ B. Katz, J. Bradley, *The Metropolitan Revolution: How Cities and Metros Are Fixing our Broken Politics and Fragile Economy*, Washington D.C. 2013, p. 6.

⁹ M. Woolhouse, *Bringing It Home: As Cost Differences Shrink, Some Manufacturers Moving Jobs Back to US*, Boston Globe, July 27, 2015, p. B7.

¹⁰ European Commission, *Europe 2020: A European Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth* March 3, 2010, at <http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20-%20EN%20version.pdf>.

2.2. EUROPEAN UNION'S STRATEGIES TO INCREASE ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS

The European Commission has laid out long-range plans for strategic growth for each of its members to follow, including Poland. Its *Europe 2020* plan calls for three priorities to guide Europe:

1. Smart growth – developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation.
2. Sustainable growth – promoting a more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy.
3. Inclusive growth – fostering a high-employment economy delivering economic, social and territorial cohesion¹¹.

The first priority recognizes that the global economy runs on the discovery and use of knowledge in an innovative and creative manner. The second priority expresses the European Commission's top priority of achieving competitiveness in a global economy. Efficiency is expected to play a role in the pursuit of this goal, but the sustainability of the physical environment is not to be overlooked in the achievement of competitiveness. The EU now measures success by the degree to which its members have created a green environment that combats climate change and uses energy efficiently. The last priority of inclusive growth underscores the need to empower people to participate in the new economy through modernization, training, and social protection programs¹². The goal's purpose lies in the development of cohesion among disparate groups throughout the Union while managing change¹³.

Europe is not alone in basing its economic development plans on the pursuit of knowledge and innovation. "Innovation" has become a worldwide buzz word commonly found in strategic plans for future growth. Europe has embraced a culture of innovation¹⁴ and Poland as an EU member since 2004 has followed suit¹⁵. Warsaw's existing development strategy until 2020 states that a City goal is to develop a modern economy based on scientific research and knowledge¹⁶.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹⁵ See Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Poland, *An Integrated Approach to Development in Poland*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 20–21. Poland's present and future needs call for a development policy that will increase competitiveness of its economy through the creation and absorption of innovation, including the reinforcement of the research and development sector and its ties with business.

¹⁶ City of Warsaw, PL, *Complex Challenges Innovative Cities (4th Strategic Objective of the Development Strategy for the City of Warsaw until 2020)*, at <http://www.ccic-project.eu/partners/city-of-warsaw-poland/> (visited Sept. 11, 2015).

2.3. EUROPEAN INVESTMENT IN REGIONS TO ENHANCE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INNOVATION

The European Union has adopted a policy of making investments in all EU cities and regions to boost economic growth and improve the quality of life in Europe¹⁷. This investment, which comprises the largest portion of the EU budget, endorses European solidarity by directing the major portion of funding to EU's less developed regions. EU's resources for European regions are designed to help regions fulfill their economic potential by making funds available for such purposes as transport and communications infrastructures, environmental projects, support for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), the creation of more job opportunities, modernization of educational systems, and innovation enhancement¹⁸. Designed to be a catalyst for both economic competitiveness and a more inclusive society, EU's regional policy also obliges EU countries to help co-finance EU targeted investments¹⁹.

The European Union's Regional Policy is also referred to as Cohesion Policy because it seeks to create cohesion on an economic, social, and territorial basis²⁰. In broader terms, the EU's investments in boosting regional economic competitiveness and green economic growth are designed to result in regional economic growth and a better quality of life²¹. The achievement of territorial cohesion will connect regions to capitalize on their territorial strengths and to tackle common challenges, thus benefitting Europe as a whole²².

As the EU's main investment policy²³, the Cohesion Policy provides for funding in all European regions and cities in support of attaining the Europe 2020 strategy goals²⁴. All projects that receive funding must be aligned with the delivery of *Europe 2020* growth goals²⁵. Although the Cohesion Policy seeks to reduce disparities among EU Regions²⁶, it was revamped in 2013 to focus much more

¹⁷ European Commission, *The European Union Explained: Regional Policy: Making Europe's Regions and Cities More Competitive, Fostering Growth and Creating Jobs* 1 (updated Nov. 2014), at http://europa.eu/pol/pdf/flipbook/en/regional_policy_en.pdf (visited July 31, 2015).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ European Commission, *An Introduction to EU Cohesion Policy 2014–2020*, June 2014, at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/basic/basic_2014_en.pdf (visited Sept. 11, 2015).

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ See European Commission, *The European Union Explained...*, p. 10.

²⁶ European Commission, *Investing in Regions: The Reformed EU Cohesion Policy 2014–2020*, at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/presentations/2014/investing-in-regions-the-reformed-eu-cohesion-policy-2014-2020 (visited Sept. 11, 2015).

strategically on increasing growth in all territories within the European Union²⁷. Because too often in the past countries spent Cohesion funds in an ad hoc fashion without strategic oversight, the new focus highlights the importance of improving how money is spent²⁸. Half of the funds are invested in less developed regions, of which Poland is a major beneficiary²⁹. In 2005, Poland's GDP per capita ranked it among the bottom five EU Member States³⁰.

Emphasizing performance guided investments, the EU has set eleven thematic objectives to spearhead growth under its Cohesion Policy for the period 2014–2020:

1. Strengthening research, technological development and innovation.
2. Enhancing access to, and use and quality of, information and communication technologies.
3. Enhancing the competitiveness of SMEs.
4. Supporting the shift towards a low-carbon economy.
5. Promoting climate change adaptation, risk prevention and management.
6. Preserving and protecting the environment and promoting resource efficiency.
7. Promoting sustainable transport and improving network infrastructures.
8. Promoting sustainable and quality employment and supporting labor mobility.
9. Promoting social inclusion, combating poverty and any discrimination.
10. Investing in education, training and lifelong learning.
11. Improving the efficiency of public administration³¹.

To carry out its Regional Policy in support of economic growth, the EU has created three funds, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), and the Cohesion Fund³². Investments in the ERDF fund until 2020 support all eleven goals, but the first four goals constitute the Fund's priorities:

- 1) innovation and research;
- 2) information and communication technologies;
- 3) the competitiveness of SMEs; and
- 4) efforts to boost a low-carbon economy³³.

²⁷ H. Mahony, *EU Cohesion Policy: 'No More Business as Usual'*, EU Observer, Oct. 22, 2013, at <https://euobserver.com/regions/121470> (visited July 31, 2015).

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ European Commission, *Investing in Regions...*, p. 13. Poland's allocation is over 75 billion euros. *Ibidem*, p. 14.

³⁰ Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Poland, *Regional Policy in Poland*, September 9, 2011, at http://esponontheroad.eu/dane/web_espon_library_files/671/pl_regional_policy.pdf (visited July 29, 2015).

³¹ European Commission, *An Introduction to EU Cohesion...*

³² See European Commission, *Investing in Regions...*, p. 11.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 13; European Commission, *An Introduction to EU Cohesion...*

The ESF Fund also supports goals one through four, but its main priorities are goals eight through eleven that focus on social inclusion, poverty and discrimination, needed investments in education, training and lifelong learning, and public administration efficiency³⁴. The Cohesion Fund supports the previously mentioned goal eleven, public administration improvement, and goals four through seven relating to energy efficiency, climate change management, environmental protection, resource efficiency, development of a sustainable transport system, and network infrastructures improvement³⁵.

The ERDF fund has a sustainable urban development focus, and over half of ERDF funds between 2014 and 2020 are targeted for urban areas³⁶. ERDF funding “invests in growth-enhancing sectors to foster competitiveness and create jobs in all EU regions and cities”³⁷. This ERDF funding also promotes European territorial cooperation including joint transport infrastructure, innovation and communication networks, and the linking of urban and rural areas³⁸.

The ESF fund finances training programs to enhance worker employability, provides aid to marginalized communities to spur their integration into the broader society, and invests in the efficiency of public administrations and services³⁹. The Cohesion Fund invests in transport networks and proposed solutions to environmental challenges in EU countries that have a GDP lower than 90% of the average of EU’s 28 countries⁴⁰. Central and Eastern European countries and Greece, Cyprus, Malta, and Portugal are the primary beneficiaries of the Cohesion Fund⁴¹. The Cohesion Fund promotes green economic growth and seeks to make investments that will improve regional connectivity and accessibility, thereby reducing economic and social disparities⁴². More specifically, it funds climate change adaptation, the water supply and waste sectors, the urban environment, and energy efficiency projects⁴³.

Poland’s drive to increase economic competitiveness can be assisted by Cohesion Policy funding. For the period 2014–2020, 351.8 billion euros have been budgeted to focus on the above eleven thematic objectives⁴⁴. Urban innovation actions, of which Warsaw could be a participant, are budgeted at 0.4 billion euros⁴⁵. The Cohesion Policy calls for three authorities to oversee funding: a managing author-

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ European Commission, *The European Union Explained...*, p. 7.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ European Commission, *An Introduction to EU Cohesion...*

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ European Commission, *An Introduction to EU Cohesion...*

⁴⁵ European Commission, *Investing in Regions...*, p. 13.

ity to implement and monitor programs, a certification body to verify expenditures, and an auditing body for each operational program to ensure efficiency in the managing and monitoring system⁴⁶. In Poland, the Ministry of Infrastructure and Development serves as the managing authority⁴⁷.

2.4. THE INTEGRATED APPROACH TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The European Union's main investment policies prompt regions and cities throughout the Union "to support job creation, business competitiveness, economic growth, sustainable development, and improve citizens' quality of life"⁴⁸. Great emphasis is placed upon urban development in view of the fact that over two thirds of Europe's population live in cities and towns⁴⁹. Given the focus in *Europe 2020* on the three disparate growth goals – smart, sustainable, and inclusive – the Commission favors an integrated approach that ensures that cities excel in all three areas⁵⁰. It believes that to achieve sustainable urban development, a bundle of integrated measures are needed⁵¹. Integrated urban development calls for a cohesive approach to both urban strengths and challenges; strengths encompass economic activity, innovation, education and culture; challenges include urban sprawl, congestion, climate changes, and poverty⁵². The development of strong partnerships form an indispensable element of an integrated approach to regional development⁵³.

The next round of EU Cohesion Policy investments will implement two territorial delivery modes that have been branded as Integrated Territorial Development (ITI) and Community Led Local Development (CLLD)⁵⁴. Both methodologies are

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁴⁷ European Commission, *Managing Authorities, Regional Policy InfoRegio*, at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/managing-authorities/?search=1&keywords=&periodId=3&countryCode=PL&typeId=ALL (visited Sept. 11, 2015).

⁴⁸ European Commission, *The EU's Main Investment Policy*, at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/what/investment-policy/ (visited July 28, 2015).

⁴⁹ European Commission, *Urban Development, Regional Policy InfoRegio*, at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/themes/urban-development/ (visited Oct. 2, 2015).

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁵¹ Z. Szokolai, *Integrated Territorial Development and their Application to ETC in the Cohesion Policy 2014–2020*, at http://admin.interact-eu.net/downloads/5035/Presentation_Territorial_development_instruments_EU_Commission.pdf (visited July 29, 2015).

⁵² European Commission, *Urban Development...*

⁵³ European Commission, *Integrated Sustainable Urban Development: Cohesion Policy 2014–2020*, March 2014, at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/2014/urban_en.pdf.

⁵⁴ P. Ramsden, *New Programmes for Integrated Territorial Development: ITI and CLLD at a Glance*, Urbact Blog, April 23, 2014, at <http://www.blog.urbact.eu/2014/04/new-programmes-for-integrated-territorial-development-iti-and-clld-at-a-glance/>.

driven by partnerships, but ITI, led by public sector actors, is more likely to be top down whereas CLLD, multi-sector in nature (public, private, and civil society actors), is always bottom up⁵⁵. Many CLLDs, which are neighborhood based, may exist in one city, but an ITI is created to address larger city areas such as large-scale regeneration zones⁵⁶. The key elements of an ITI have been described as

- a designated territory with an integrated (multi-sectorial) territorial development strategy to serve as the basis for the implementation of the ITI; the strategy underpinning the ITI should be a single cohesive strategy; and
- an arrangement that draws on funds from at least two different priority axes or programs and ensures that these funds are used in an integrated manner.

The ITI territorial delivery mechanism can be beneficial to Warsaw because it enables the implementation of a territorial strategy in an integrated manner – funding can be drawn from different programs to address the challenges and needs of a specific geographical area⁵⁷. It could be established for a distinct part of Warsaw, the Warsaw metropolitan area, or a region encompassing Warsaw and surrounding towns⁵⁸. Part of an ITI package can also be delivered through the CLLD approach⁵⁹.

The utilization of ITI and CLLD as delivery mechanisms will incorporate more local input than the administration of past EU funding. The ITI model contemplates “possible delegation of the management to intermediate bodies, including local authorities”⁶⁰. For the 5% of ERDF funding that has been allocated for ITI projects, management has been delegated to cities, in contrast to little involvement of cities in the 2007–2013 funding⁶¹. CLLD investments are to be both designed and implemented by local community groups with no public sector or interest group to exercise more than 49 per cent of voting rights⁶². Warsaw stands to be benefitted by the urban dimension in the Cohesion Policy for 2014–2020⁶³, and it should incorporate these integrated approaches in its investment strategies to ensure and maximize EU funding.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ See *ibidem*.

⁵⁸ See *ibidem*, pp. 11–13.

⁵⁹ See *ibidem*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Z. Szokolai, *Integrated Territorial Development...*

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ See B. Crome, *The Urban Dimension in the Cohesion Policy 2014–2020*, European Commission, 30 January 2014, at http://www.eib.org/attachments/general/events/2014_01_30_csi_europe_crome_en.pdf.

2.5. POLAND'S REGIONAL POLICY IN SUPPORT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Following the *Europe 2020 Strategy*, Poland's Regional Policy (Policy) emphasizes competitiveness, cohesion, and efficiency; more specifically, its main objectives are:

- 1) support for regional competitive growth;
- 2) territorial cohesion preventing the marginalization of problem areas; and
- 3) the efficient implementation of development measures⁶⁴.

The new Policy reflects the EU's emphasis upon more localized, integrated development. Polish regional policy has gone from a model based on central management to one adhering to an integrated policy coordinated on multi-levels of governance⁶⁵. Recognized as the hubs of economic, social, scientific, and cultural activity, urban centers are viewed to be of key significance because they influence the development of the entire region in which they are located⁶⁶.

This new Polish regional development policy greatly benefits Warsaw and other metropolitan areas that will become more important actors in the development process. At the beginning of the transformation towards a market economy in the 1990s, hesitancy existed to conduct active regional policy, which was seen as distorting conditions of competition in a market economy⁶⁷. Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 enabled Poland to use Cohesion Policy funds, thereby paving the way for a more decentralized development management system at regional levels of government to monitor and manage projects so funded⁶⁸.

3. CHALLENGES TO WARSAW'S QUEST TO DEVELOP AS A CENTER OF INNOVATION

3.1. WARSAW AS A MUNICIPALITY AND ECONOMIC LEADER

Poland, which is slightly smaller than the state of New Mexico in the United States⁶⁹, with a population of 38.5 million (2007), is defined by its constitution as

⁶⁴ Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Poland, *Regional Policy...*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁶⁹ NationMaster, *Country vs Country: Poland and United States Compared: Geography Stats*, at <http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/compare/Poland/United-States/Geography> (visited Aug. 13, 2015).

a republic⁷⁰. During the Soviet socialist era following World War II, power was centralized. In January 1999, a new national administrative structure was instituted that created central, regional, and local levels of government, a structure that provides opportunities for economic and democratic development at all levels of governance⁷¹. Sixteen voivodeships provide regional governance while 2479 local governments called gminas (sometimes referred to as boroughs or communes) have been created; at the county level, 379 powiats provide public services⁷².

The Local Government Act (Act of 8 March 1990) granted self-governance to Poland's gminas. Local government is constituted by residents living within its territory in the form of either direct democracy or a republican form of government with elected officials⁷³. Under this decentralization, "organs of local government enjoy legally established autonomy and independence, being merely subject to supervision administered on the state's behalf"⁷⁴.

At the gmina level, the commune council serves as the legislative body and a city mayor (cities over 100,000) performs executive functions⁷⁵. The Local Government Act specifies the basic public services a commune must perform; optional tasks may also be performed to the extent that the municipality possesses the financial resources to fund them⁷⁶. In addition, to these internal tasks, a commune performs tasks that are delegated to it by central authorities, which provide the funding for them. A commune may also undertake entrusted tasks that "are fulfilled through an agreement or contract with central authorities or other local government entities"⁷⁷. Thus, although Warsaw lacks leverage over other municipalities within its metropolitan region, it has the option to seek cooperative agreements or form contracts with them to accomplish metropolitan-wide public service objectives.

⁷⁰ P. Swianiewicz, *Republic of Poland, UCLG Country Profiles I*, United Cities and Local Governments, at http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/gold/Upload/country_profile/Poland.pdf (visited Aug. 4, 2015). Poland covers an area of 312,679 square kilometers.

⁷¹ European Commission, *1999 Regular Report, from the Commission on Poland's Progress Towards Accession*, October 13, 1999, at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/poland_en.pdf (visited Aug. 4, 2015).

⁷² See Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Poland, *Regional Policy...*, p. 5; European Commission, *1999 Regular Report...*, p. 13. For a more detailed description of the functions performed by a voivodeship, powiat, and gmina, see J. Wróblewska-Jachna, *Emergence of Urban Governance – After the Accession to the EU – in Poland: The Case of Old Industrial Cities in the Upper Silesia Industry Agglomeration*, (in:) F. Eckardt, I. Elander (eds.), *Urban Governance in Europe*, Berlin 2009, pp. 321–322.

⁷³ See E. Sękowska-Grodzicka, *The Local Government in Poland*, (in:) K. A. Wojtaszczyk (ed.), *Poland: Government and Politics*, Warsaw 1997, p. 140.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ A. Milewska, M. Józwiak, *Organization and Changes of Local Government Finance System in View of Implementation of Participatory Budgeting*, *Oeconomia* 2014, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 126.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 126–27.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 127.

The Capital City of Warsaw was created by Warsaw's merger with ten suburban municipalities⁷⁸. The Act on the Political System of the Capital City of Warsaw of March 15, 2002 granted city status to the Capital City of Warsaw as a gmina and also gave it the rights of a powiat⁷⁹. The Capital City stands on a formal equal status to the municipalities surrounding it, not an elevated one, because it is just an ordinary municipality vested with rights and duties common to the approximately 2,500 other such units of local government in Poland⁸⁰.

Warsaw enjoys a number of advantages that strengthen its position as an economic powerhouse. Both the capital of Poland and the largest city in the Voivodeship of Mazovia, it holds a predominant position over other Polish cities in terms of the size of its economic base⁸¹. The Warsaw metropolitan area possesses a national reputation for research, academic activity, and specialization in high-rate services, such as finance and real estate⁸². It attracts high quality labor and small and medium-sized enterprises⁸³. Poland's Ministry of Regional Development projects that the future of the Mazovia region lies in strengthening Warsaw's position in the global network of metropolitan centers and the further internationalization of its economy⁸⁴. The development of cooperative activities between the science and business fields is viewed as vital to further the innovativeness of the Warsaw regional economy⁸⁵.

Warsaw and the Mazovia region of which it is a part clearly want to join the growing number of cities known for innovation and entrepreneurial activity. In comparison to other Polish regions, the Voivodeship of Mazovia accounts for the highest share of total Polish GDP⁸⁶, generating over one fifth of Poland's

⁷⁸ See B. Czarniawska, *A Tale of Three Cities...*, p. 20.

⁷⁹ The Capital City of Warsaw, *The Spatial Policy of Warsaw*, Warsaw 2007, at https://architektura.um.warszawa.pl/sites/default/files/files/PP_studium_ang_lekki.pdf (visited Sept. 26, 2015). Expenditures made by powiats fund the following types of activities: education, social welfare, public security, transport, health protection, central and local administration, culture and the arts, agriculture, forestry, and tourism. M. Wójcik, *The Powiat (County) Local Government Public Administration Reform Implementation Experience in Poland in 1999, Final Report of the "Supporting and Monitoring of the Local Government Reform in Poland" Project*, Training Center of the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy in Szczecin, Szczecin 2000.

⁸⁰ G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, p. 43.

⁸¹ See D. Sokolowski, *The Economic Base of the Major Cities in Poland in the Political and Economic Restructuring Period*, (in:) L. Parker (ed.), *European Economic and Political Developments* 2011.

⁸² Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Poland, *Regional Policy...*, p. 25.

⁸³ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ J. Walendowski, *Regional Innovation Report (Mazovia)*, Regional Innovation Monitor, Technopolis Group, April 11, 2012, at https://ec.europa.eu/growth/tools-databases/regional-innovation-monitor/sites/default/files/report/mazovia_region_rim_report_120412.pdf (visited Aug. 5, 2015).

GDP⁸⁷. Mazovia has developed a regional strategy that calls for increased investments in research and development; emphasis on increasing the number of high-tech industries, including biotechnology, biomedicine, and nanotechnology among others; and the pursuit of innovative manufacturing enterprises⁸⁸. The article next addresses how Mazovia and Warsaw can create the foundation for the realization of these goals.

3.2. FRAMEWORK FOR INNOVATION CENTERS

Leading authorities have mapped out the ingredients for success in the post-industrial economy, now dominated by talent and technology. Europe's drive for smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth depends upon the success of businesses to generate, access, and use knowledge, technologies, and innovations. Innovation has been defined as "the implementation of new developments into economic practice: new or significantly improved solutions in respect of a product (goods and services), a process, marketing or an organization"⁸⁹. Among several initiatives, the *Europe 2020 Strategy* calls for an "Innovation Union to improve framework conditions and access to finance for research and innovation so as to ensure that innovative ideas can be turned into products and services that create growth and jobs"⁹⁰.

The achievement of an innovation ecosystem involves a complex set of new challenges for nations and cities. In the past, cities could provide basic public services, leaving the economy for the most part in the hands of private firms and individuals. Certain innovation centers developed, but they were usually isolated corporate corridors accessible only by car, such as California's Silicon Valley, and not focused on quality of life issues or integrated with housing and recreation⁹¹.

An economy based on knowledge and innovation, however, requires cities to be active participants in laying the foundation for a culture of innovation to thrive. Success stems from the ability to work collaboratively with networks of public, private, and civic leaders across administrative boundaries to align actions

⁸⁷ J.-M. Rousseau, *Smart Mazovia Starting Pushing a Green Wave within Central Europe*, (in:) *Mazowsze Studia Regionalne*, Warsaw 2009.

⁸⁸ See European Commission, *Regional Development Strategy of the Voivodeship of Mazovia until 2030*, 2013, at <https://ec.europa.eu/growth/tools-databases/regional-innovation-monitor/policy-document/regional-development-strategy-voivodeship-mazovia-until-2030> (visited Aug. 5, 2015).

⁸⁹ M. Grochowski, *The Creative Sector – An Instrument to Strengthen the Economic Base for Urban Development*, (in:) I. Kołodkiewicz, J. Cieślak (eds.), *Shaping Local Business Communities: The International Conference "Entrepreneurial Cities" Proceedings*, Warsaw 2014.

⁹⁰ European Commission, *Europe 2020...*, p. 3. *The Europe 2020 Strategy* states that "Europe can succeed if it acts collectively, as a Union".

⁹¹ B. Katz, J. Wagner, *The Rise of Innovation Districts: A New Geography of Innovation in America*, Washington D.C., May 2014, p. 6.

around a common economic strategy⁹². Coalition building energizes innovative problem solving and willingness to seize opportunities. To compete globally cities must have the capacity to coordinate cross-jurisdictional matters such as the economy, transportation, and the environment so as to avoid duplication of effort and other inefficiencies⁹³. Networking European cities now “design and deliver key economy shaping investments and initiatives”⁹⁴.

The public sector must also assure an environment rich with education and culture that will stimulate innovators and entrepreneurs. The city’s role should become one of a facilitator and active player in a network in which entrepreneurs, start-up firms, educational institutions, medical campuses, inventors, and researchers interact with each other to produce employment opportunities and economic growth. The necessity for a local region or government to become an integral actor in economic growth has led the European Union to prescribe an “integrated” approach to economic development⁹⁵.

Culture-based creativity also has been claimed to be a necessary condition to generate and introduce innovations in varied economic sectors⁹⁶. Culture impacts economic performance by generating internal and external demand for innovation – it is a tool for transmitting values, mobilizing social groups, and honing competencies necessary to participate in public life and the workplace⁹⁷. A climate that fosters creativity and change supports the production and introduction of new ideas and products⁹⁸.

In order to create an environment in which entrepreneurs and creative people thrive, cities must excel in providing the physical spaces and infrastructure that meets creative sector needs. They must ensure the existence of necessary infrastructure and spatial designs that will provide opportunities for interaction and brainstorming. The new class of innovative workers like to network in close proximity, and they demand both working and living space that optimize their productivity. Young talented workers like to congregate in vibrant urban neighborhoods that provide housing, outdoor recreational opportunities, and viable transport systems⁹⁹.

⁹² OECD, *Local Economic Leadership*, Paris 2015, p. 10, at <http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/OECD-LEED-Local-Economic-Leadership.pdf> (visited Sept. 26, 2015).

⁹³ See B. Katz, L. Noring, *Europe for Cities*, Washington D.C., Aug. 17, 2015, p. 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁵ See European Commission, *Urban Development...*, p. 1.

⁹⁶ M. Grochowski, *The Creative Sector...*, p. 17.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁸ L. Kaliszczak, *The Development of A Favorable Climate for Entrepreneurship at the Local Level*, (in:) I. Koładkiewicz, J. Cieślak (eds.), *Shaping Local Business Communities: The International Conference “Entrepreneurial Cities” Proceedings*, Warsaw 2014, p. 86.

⁹⁹ B. Katz, J. Vey, J. Wagner, *One Year After: Observations on the Rise of Innovation Districts*, Washington D.C., June 24, 2015, p. 1.

Further, the cities' institutional structure must be one that supports, advances, and stimulates a net-worked economy based on knowledge and innovation. The attitudes of local authorities definitely impact entrepreneurship, which is culturally determined¹⁰⁰. Many authorities believe that a metropolitan-wide regional institutional structure best serves economic productivity due to the regional scale of today's economy¹⁰¹. The development of global cities transforms them into becoming an integral part of the region of which they are a part¹⁰².

3.3. WARSAW SHORTCOMINGS FOR INNOVATION

Warsaw faces a number of challenges in building a knowledge driven economy that generates innovation. It has been criticized for a deficiency in both long-term strategic policies and comprehensive innovation and science policies¹⁰³. In the post-communist transformation little enthusiasm existed for any activist regional policy; after Polish governmental decentralization in 1999 and EU accession in 2004, planning has come to be viewed more favorably¹⁰⁴. A Warsaw metropolitan area plan, however, has not been elaborated, and no metropolitan institutions competent in spatial planning presently exist¹⁰⁵. The Voivodeship of Mazovia, however, has defined a Warsaw metropolitan area and developed a spatial plan for the Mazovia region¹⁰⁶.

Warsaw lacks any institutional governance structures on a metropolitan scale, making cooperative regional activities more difficult. Warsaw does cooperate on a case by case basis with municipalities within its metropolitan area¹⁰⁷. In the Lodz, Poznan, and Gdansk metropolitan areas, governance bodies have been established although they are largely associations of local governments that pro-

¹⁰⁰ L. Kaliszczak, *The Development of A Favorable Climate...*, p. 86.

¹⁰¹ See D. Mandelker, J. Welch Wegner, J. Griffith, K. Bond & C. Tyson, *State and Local Government in a Federal System*, New Providence N.J., U.S.A. 2014, p. 146.

¹⁰² See M. Osińska, *Hong Kong Was an Island. The Process of Creating a Global City*, (in:) I. Koładkiewicz, J. Cieślak (eds.), *Shaping Local Business Communities: The International Conference "Entrepreneurial Cities" Proceedings*, Warsaw 2014, p. 99.

¹⁰³ A. Kukliński, *Mazoviz Quo Vadis? The Panel of International Experts*, (in:) *Mazowsze Studia Regionalne*, Warsaw 2009, p. 88.

¹⁰⁴ See G. Blazyca, K. Heffner, E. Helińska-Hughes, *Poland – Can Regional Policy Meet the Challenge of Regional Problems?*, *Eur. Urb. & Regional Stud.* 2002, Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 263.

¹⁰⁵ H. Izdebski, *City Planning Versus Metropolitan Planning: Historical Experience on the Example of Warsaw*, June 17, 2015 (slide presentation at *Study Space VIII, Warsaw, A Weeklong Intensive Workshop Entitled Phoenix Cities: Urban Recovery and Resilience in the Wake of Conflict, Crisis and Disaster* held on June 15–19, 2015).

¹⁰⁶ See R. Ahrend, A. Schumann, *Approaches to Metropolitan Area Governance: A Country Overview*, OECD Regional Development Working Papers, No. 2014/03, Paris 2014, p. 15, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jz5j1q7s128-en> (visited Aug. 6, 2015).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*.

vide a forum for policy exchange¹⁰⁸. In the Upper Silesia Voivodeship, fourteen cities with county status, have formed a union, known as the Silesian Metropolis (Metropolia Silesia) to strengthen the area's economic competitiveness through such measures as the development of a common growth strategy¹⁰⁹. Although each of the fourteen cities is relatively small, together they form the largest Polish agglomeration in terms of population¹¹⁰. The Union manages roads and public transport; it also conducts economic research, enhances local education, and supports the development of the local workforce¹¹¹.

In addition to the lack of spatial plans that help ensure livable and workable space for the innovative/creative sector, Warsaw suffers from the effects of internationalization that have resulted in urban sprawl, high housing costs, and greater marginalization of the undeveloped areas surrounding Warsaw. Conflicts of interest between Warsaw and neighboring municipalities hinder the development of a regional identity that could spur greater economic growth and innovation¹¹². As Brookings Institution scholars contend, the vesting of power in hundreds of small urban European localities may have made sense in the past, but today it significantly undermines a metropolitan area's ability to compete globally¹¹³.

The insufficiency of metropolitan-wide infrastructure affects environmental sustainability and the quality of life in the Warsaw area. Although Warsaw has successfully constructed new metro rail lines and modernized its waste-water treatment plant, transportation deficiencies in mass transport and roadways continue to exist. A highway along the western bank of the Vistula River in Warsaw diminishes access to this waterway, and the failure to construct a ring road around the city core causes congestion and makes commutes more difficult.

A 2006 report examining 33 cities, ranked Warsaw near the bottom in terms of quality of life¹¹⁴. Although Warsaw has made a number of environmental improvements in the last 20 years, including the elimination of many industrial uses, inhabitants complain about noise and insufficient recreational space¹¹⁵.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ T. Kaczmarek, A. Ryder, *Top-Down and Bottom-Up Metropolitan Integration in Poland*, (in:) J. Buček, A. Ryder (eds.), *Governance in Transition*, Dordrecht, Netherlands 2015, p. 32; J. Wróblewska-Jachna, *Emergence of Urban Governance...*, p. 325.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹² See G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, pp. 36–37, 41.

¹¹³ B. Katz, L. Noring, *Europe for Cities...*

¹¹⁴ A. Bertaud, M. A. Bertaud, *The Spatial Development of Warsaw Metropolitan Area, Comments on "Warsaw Development Strategy until the Year 2010"*, World Bank June 11, 2000, revised Dec., 2000, p. 9, at http://alainbertaud.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/AB_Warsaw_Dec_2000.pdf (visited Aug. 24, 2015); G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, p. 37. The source of the ranking was the authors' own elaboration based on Cushman and Wakefield, 2008.

¹¹⁵ G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, p. 37.

In comparison to other cities, Warsaw's transportation coherence ranks low as well as its quality of telecommunications¹¹⁶.

4. METROPOLITAN-WIDE GOVERNANCE AND AN INNOVATION DISTRICT TO BOOST WARSAW'S ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS

4.1. CREATION OF A WARSAW METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

Many suggestions have been made as to how Warsaw can further develop itself as a center for innovation and technologically advanced enterprises¹¹⁷. This article proposes the creation of a metropolitan government for the Warsaw region that is empowered both to make and implement regional plans that could address urban sprawl, transportation deficiencies, and Warsaw's underdeveloped infrastructure. Until Warsaw improves transportation mobility and creates a green, sustainable environment, it will not be able to compete with other cities as an attractive center for the creative, innovative business sector.

Metropolitan areas are the major generators of GDP in a global economy, which consists of a network of metropolitan economies. The reason for the rise of metropolitan-based economies has been described as follows: "Metros dominate because they embody concentrations and agglomeration — networks of innovative firms, talented workers, risk-taking entrepreneurs, and supportive institutions and associations that cluster together in metropolitan areas and coproduce economic performance and progress. There is, in essence, no American (or Chinese or German or Brazilian) economy: rather, a national economy is a network of metropolitan economies"¹¹⁸.

To be competitive in such an economy, metropolitan cities need to be able to facilitate networks and create the conditions that will maximize innovation. These conditions, which include the provision of public infrastructure, a transportation system, communication technologies, housing, green space, and public space can be optimized, by a governmental institution with the power to guide

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ See e.g., M. Czerny, A. Czerny, *An Emerged New Centre of Warsaw, Poland*, (in:) L. Parker (ed.), *European Economic and Political Developments* 2011, pp. 172–173; G. Gorzelak, M. Smełkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, pp. 40–44; E. Korcelli-Olejniczak, *Berlin and Warsaw: In Search of a New Role in the European Urban System*, J. Hous. & Built Env't March 2007, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 64; T. Slawinski, *Innovative Metropolitan Strategy: A Challenge for Warsaw City Region*, Mazovian Office for Regional Planning in Warsaw, at http://www.eurometrex.org/Docs/Meetings/amsterdam_2008/Presentations/Tomasz_Slawinski_Metropolitan_Strategy_Warsaw.pdf (visited Aug. 7, 2015).

¹¹⁸ B. Katz, J. Bradley, *The Metropolitan Revolution...*, p. 1.

and coordinate them on a metropolitan-wide basis. Further, urban cities must seek out private parties, non-profit organizations, and other political, economic, and social actors to join them in building a milieu that will be attractive to investors, entrepreneurs, and the creative sector.

The creation of a Warsaw metropolitan government would most likely be difficult to achieve as it has been met with resistance in the past¹¹⁹. Nonetheless, strong advocacy has been made for passing a law in Poland to facilitate the implementation of regional policy and regional contracts¹²⁰. In the United States only two metropolitan regional entities have been created, the Portland Metropolitan Service District (Metro) and the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Council¹²¹. A strong history of local home rule in the United States and state constitutional structures that do not recognize general-purpose governments at the regional level present barriers to the creation of metropolitan governments there. Elsewhere, major cities are in the process of transforming themselves to become an integral part of the region – Hong Kong’s reach now includes the Pearl River Delta¹²². The Uusimaa Regional Council in the Helsinki-Uusimaa Region in Finland serves as both a strategic and land-use planner as well as a consensus builder for this metropolitan area, which, in terms of economic performance and innovation, has been ranked among the highest in Europe¹²³.

Metropolitan governance raises the question frequently debated over which governmental functions should be left for local control. The devolution of power to the local level brings governmental decision making closer to the citizenry and enhances civic participation. Public choice advocates argue that greater efficiency in the delivery of services and the allocation of resources is achieved by giving citizens the opportunity to choose their residence among a variety of localities, thereby creating competition among them¹²⁴. Governments closer to the people should be better informed about their priorities. Community building around shared values should also occur more readily at the local level of governance. Certain municipal-type functions, however, may be performed more efficiently on a metropolitan basis, especially if their use or delivery requires crossing local

¹¹⁹ See R. Ahrend, A. Schumann, *Approaches to Metropolitan Area...*, p. 15.

¹²⁰ M. Wójcik, *The Powiat (County)...*, p. 83. “There is an urgent need to pass a law on regional policy, introducing partner ways to make and to implement that policy based on regional contracts. This requires, among other things, to provide regions with their own finance and assets, and transparent regulations concerning the access of all local authorities to national and European funds allocated to support regional and local development”. *Ibidem*.

¹²¹ See J. Griffith, *Regional Governance Reconsidered*, *J. Law & Pol.*, Fall 2005, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 530–532 (discussing regional functions of Portland Oregon’s Metro and the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council).

¹²² M. Osińska, *Hong Kong Was an Island...*, p. 99.

¹²³ See O. Pekka Hatanpää, *Development of the Uusimaa Region. Outlining the Region*, (in:) *Mazowsze Studia Regionalne*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 145, 148.

¹²⁴ See J. Wróblewska-Jachna, *Emergence of Urban Governance...*, p. 319.

jurisdictional boundary lines. The supply of water, for example, may have to come from a reservoir distant to a number of localities.

While a proposed Warsaw metropolitan government would coordinate and control certain metropolitan-wide functions, primarily regional growth management, regional land use, and transportation planning, many local governmental functions would continue to be performed at the gmina level. Portland Oregon's Metro, for example, provides regional oversight and services, but local governments, within the context of regional guidelines, develop comprehensive plans and enforce zoning regulations¹²⁵. Although a metropolitan government would assume region-wide functions, its scale of operations would be local rather than central. It would be operating on a smaller territorial scale than the Voivodeship of Mazovia. Possibly, this form of governance could result in greater local control than currently exists should it successfully bring municipalities together to take greater control of their own destinies.

After World War II Poland's Communist Party controlled the state's actions and gave rise to uniformity of power in which the state hierarchically controlled economic, political, and social relationships¹²⁶. Despite the 1989-1990 reforms that resulted in self-governance at the local level, tendencies toward Polish state centralization still remain¹²⁷. Increased governmental centralization has been attributed, in part, to globalization, which has strengthened supranational forms such as the European Union because the global economy cannot be contained within national boundary lines¹²⁸. EU funding, for example, can increase central state power by giving control over the expenditure of EU funds to national administrations. The forces of globalization have also triggered Polish mobilization efforts at the national level to attract transnational capital through centrally initiated negotiations, regulations, and licensing agreements¹²⁹.

The Voivodeship of Mazovia might oppose the creation of another regional level of governance that could diminish its powers. Poor collaboration has been cited as a source of tension between strong Polish cities and regional governments¹³⁰. Metropolitan governance, however, could conceivably result in greater cooperation between Mazovia and Warsaw metropolitan-area constituents because both entities would be charged with finding regional solutions; only the

¹²⁵ See D. Mandelker, J. Welch Wegner, J. Griffith, K. Bond & C. Tyson, *State and Local Government...*, pp. 158–159 (describing the institutional framework of Portland, Oregon's Metro).

¹²⁶ J. Regulska, *Governance or Self-governance in Poland? Benefits and Threats 20 Years Later*, Int'l. J. Pol. Culture & Soc. 2009, Vol. 22, pp. 538, 540.

¹²⁷ P. Kotka, *The Development of Local Self-government in Poland after the End of Socialism in 1989: from Centralism Towards Localism?*, (in:) K. A. Wojtaszczyk (ed.), *Poland: Government and Politics*, Warsaw 1997, p. 155.

¹²⁸ J. Regulska, *Governance or Self-governance in Poland?...*, p. 541.

¹²⁹ S. Shields, *Global Restructuring and the Polish State: Transition, Transformation, or Transnationalization?*, Rev. Int'l Pol. Econ. 2004, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 135, 144.

¹³⁰ G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, p. 43.

scale of the region would be different – Mazovia would be responsible for inter-regional planning on a province level whereas the Warsaw metropolitan regional body would oversee intra-regional functions and cooperation.

Under the 1990 reform legislation, Polish municipalities were given autonomy over their respective jurisdictions. Thus, municipalities lying beyond Warsaw's boundary lines do not have to accede to initiatives or regional plans that the Capital City might view as beneficial or instrumental to its future development as a center of innovation. Instead, the City must rely upon cooperative arrangements with the municipalities surrounding it. While such agreements may help to develop a regional identity or be beneficial to the region, they do not result in the efficiency or comprehensiveness needed to ensure economic competitiveness. The possibility exists that a party to such an agreement may refuse to perform it, making investment decisions less secure.

Warsaw's sustainable development strategy for its transportation system points out two major weaknesses in this system:

1. Lack of any institution managing and coordinating public transportation on an agglomeration level; and
2. Insufficient participation on the part of boroughs in the costs of maintaining suburban bus routes throughout Warsaw's suburban boroughs¹³¹.

This plan further notes that Warsaw is hindered by the absence of uniform legislation on public transportation and the difficulty it experiences in creating metropolitan associations¹³². The creation of a metropolitan-wide governance body with both land use and transportation powers would be needed to address these deficiencies adequately. Because land use classifications determine density, a viable transportation system cannot be devised without some control over land uses. Mass public transit, for example, becomes more cost effective in areas with greater density. Because metropolitan associations cannot always be readily formed among Warsaw and its suburban neighbors, a metropolitan regional body should be created to ensure the existence of a long-term, sustainable transportation network. In today's networked information economy, an urban center with a balkanized transportation environment cannot be competitive.

Well thought-out plans for building dispersal and spatial planning are essential to a viable transportation system. Warsaw understands that stimulating economic development depends upon rational spatial development¹³³. In the absence of metropolitan-wide planning, municipalities may make land use and transportation decisions that increase transportation demand. In order to meet sustainability

¹³¹ Capital City of Warsaw, *The Transportation System of Warsaw: Sustainable Development Strategy Up to the Year 2015 and Successive Years Including the Sustainable Development Plan for Warsaw's Public Mass Transit System: Synthesis*, Warsaw 2010, p. 26.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 27.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

goals of lowering carbon dioxide emissions, well provided public transportation needs to be available in areas where residences, businesses, and retail services are concentrated¹³⁴. The implementation of a centralized metropolitan transportation plan that increases mobility throughout the Warsaw metropolitan area would dramatically improve Warsaw's ability to ascend to a spot among Europe's centers of innovation.

Mass rail transportation must be available throughout the metropolitan Warsaw area in order for the Capital City to develop as an economic powerhouse. The quality of such a system "will define the efficiency of the functioning of the agglomeration (metropolitan area), especially its downtown area"¹³⁵. Should public transport not produce convenient and comfortable passage so as to encourage people to use it, greater automobile traffic will ensue causing environmental degradation and decreasing the quality of life within the City. Again, Warsaw plans show that the achievement of a more sustainable urban environment, less dependent upon the automobile, depends upon the creation of an institution to manage and coordinate public transportation within Warsaw's agglomeration area¹³⁶.

Given the number of transportation subsystems, including pedestrian walkways and bicycle lanes as well as roadways and public transportation, a high level of integration of these different transportation modes is of key importance¹³⁷. The Capital City must also be well linked externally to other Polish and European centers to meet the mobility demanded by current economic conditions. A complete system of ring routes to facilitate the bypassing of the downtown area and to connect Warsaw with Europe's road network must also be facilitated. A metropolitan government most likely will be able to accomplish this goal more efficiently than the present agglomeration. Such a government could more easily provide the spatial development plans that such integration and expansion will necessitate.

Metropolitan governance could also make Warsaw a more attractive city for investment by enhancing environmental protection and spearheading quality infrastructure to ensure a clean water supply, sufficient energy resources, waste water treatment, and solid waste disposal in addition to transportation works¹³⁸. Top performance of all of these functions characterizes a center for innovation and entrepreneurship. Should such a metropolitan agency be vested with an independent source of raising revenue, such as the power to levy taxes or issue bonds, greater investment in infrastructure would be ensured. It has been pointed out that the Warsaw metropolitan area's future, including its spatial structure, will be determined by the interaction of market forces with three municipal tools –

¹³⁴ See *ibidem*, p. 30.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 39–40.

¹³⁸ See G. Gorzelak, M. Smętkowski, *Warsaw as a Metropolis...*, p. 43.

the administrative regulatory structure, infrastructure investments, and the local system of taxation¹³⁹.

In addition to its transportation sustainable transportation plan, Warsaw has approved a sustainable energy action plan that includes a goal to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 20% by 2020¹⁴⁰. Other sustainability measures include renewable energy investments and conservation of its green spaces, which constitute 25% of its territory¹⁴¹. Green space, however, is not evenly distributed throughout Warsaw's 18 districts, making it important to conserve and expand parks in dense urban areas. Should metropolitan-wide planning not be implemented or enforced, Warsaw will face increasing pressure to cede open space for development because it will be in competition from surrounding municipalities who may offer more attractive options to developers. Thus, Warsaw will most likely have to give up green space to encourage inner-city development that otherwise could move to suburban communities with more lax environmental protections in place.

A metropolitan structure, which would also be supported by individual municipal functions, is very much in keeping with the European Union's Cohesion Policy. In fact, Warsaw should be in the process of examining the kind of institutional structures that must be created or strengthened to ensure continued EU funding. The integrated approaches discussed in this article could be implemented much more positively in a metropolitan-wide manner because cohesion funding calls for multi-sector territorial approaches. The Polish Ministry of Regional Development, which manages EU funding, should be supportive of metropolitan governance that could facilitate the integrated approach to regional development supported by the EU. The Ministry recognizes that a new way of thinking has been instituted by *Poland's National Strategy of Regional Development* that calls for the enhancement of regional policy, public intervention mechanisms to support regional policy, and greater emphasis on spatial development in Poland¹⁴². It characterizes the paradigm for Poland's new regional policy as follows: "It departs from the traditional model of funds redistribution towards improving and using territorial potentials of all regions. It also departs from dispersed intervention towards more selective (concentrated) investments, and from highly centralized (top-down) governance, including the role of regional authorities in development processes' implementation"¹⁴³.

¹³⁹ See A. Bertaud, M. A. Bertaud, *The Spatial Development of Warsaw Metropolitan Area...*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ A. J. Sulkowski, *Integrated Sustainability Report 2013*, p. 4, at http://www.um.warszawa.pl/sites/default/files/warsaw_g4_integrated_sustainability_report_2013.pdf.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 4, 6.

¹⁴² Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Poland, *Regional Policy...*, p. 7.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*.

The Ministry acknowledges that the transformation towards a market economy resulted in the effective empowerment of gminas, but that necessary adjustments at the regional level of governance were not made¹⁴⁴. While voivodeships were created as regional bodies between the national government and local governments, the so-called interregional level, no mechanisms were established to effectuate intraregional policy, the policy of self-government conducted within a given region¹⁴⁵. The Ministry thus makes a strong argument for the creation of metropolitan-wide or other intraregional bodies to integrate and coordinate the activities of numerous gminas at the local level.

Should a full-scale democratically elected metropolitan government not be feasible in the Warsaw region, a mechanism to provide for the regional delivery of metropolitan-wide services in the metro area encompassing Warsaw and its surrounding municipalities should be sought. Regional District's legislation of the Province of British Columbia, Canada provides a model that could be adapted to Polish metropolitan regions. The British Columbia legislation provides for the incorporation of a regional district to provide services the regional district deems necessary or desirable in all or any part of its territorial jurisdiction once it obtains the consent of affected local governments lying within its territorial reach¹⁴⁶. By agreement, local governments can transfer their municipal services for delivery on a regional basis by the district. The district is governed by a regional board comprised of directors appointed by an affected municipal council from among its members¹⁴⁷.

4.2. CREATION OF AN INNOVATION DISTRICT IN WARSAW

Today a new urban model based on linkages between work and quality of life issues is emerging – the rise of the so-called “innovation district”¹⁴⁸. Some cities, such as Barcelona, Spain and Boston, Massachusetts, have created innovation districts to transform unproductive, underutilized urban areas into mixed-use hubs that enable workers to live and work in attractive accommodations with parks and other amenities. These districts are location specific showing the preferences of people engaged in technology and innovation to live in close proximity to each other for collaboration and idea sharing¹⁴⁹. Although all innovation districts possess economic, physical, and networking assets, their form and functions will vary according to the regional economy of which they are a part¹⁵⁰. They

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁶ J. Griffith, *Regional Governance...*, p. 533.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁸ B. Katz, J. Wagner, *The Rise of Innovation Districts...*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1–2.

¹⁵⁰ See *ibidem*, p. 2.

have been described as the “ultimate mash up of entrepreneurs and educational institutions, start-ups and schools, mixed-use development and medical innovations – all connected by transit, powered by clean energy, [and] wired for digital technology”¹⁵¹.

Innovation districts require regional planning that link them to other parts of the metro area through a well-functioning transport system. Such districts must be developed in a manner that respects historical heritage and incentivizes the use of information and communication technologies that will attract highly qualified workers. An innovation district also includes well-planned public amenities such as infrastructure, housing units for those who chose to live in the district, and a highly sustainable, livable environment that offers green and recreational space. The development of an innovation district would help fulfill the EU’s top priorities of boosting economic competitiveness while promoting sustainable living by opening up green space and reducing the need for automobile transport. It would be very much in keeping with the European Commission’s drive for integrated sustainable urban development as evidenced in this Commission statement: “[M] easures concerning physical urban renewal should be combined with measures promoting education, economic development, social inclusion and environmental protection”¹⁵².

The innovation district in Barcelona, Spain provides Warsaw with a useful model to explore¹⁵³. There, an under-utilized industrial area was converted into a smart city innovative sector. Barcelona’s innovation district, known as the 22@ Project, combined housing, work space, park space and public amenities in a compact area, close to the central city and served by public transit. Warsaw’s Praga district could be a good candidate for a similar project as it also contains under-utilized buildings and is situate close to Warsaw’s center and higher educational institutions. New metro transit lines connecting Praga to Warsaw’s mass transit system further support its desirability as an innovation center. As Praga is already undergoing some revitalization¹⁵⁴, a well-thought-out plan for the area as an innovation district would enhance its long-term development. Artists have flocked to Praga in recent years, and it enjoys a nightlife with many cafes¹⁵⁵, thus making it an urban enclave that would attract millennials.

Warsaw and its central district has been characterized as formed by “modern, impulsive development [that] causes the area in the center of the city to appear

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

¹⁵² European Commission, *Integrated Sustainable Urban Development...*

¹⁵³ See generally 22@ Barcelona, *State of Execution*, Barcelona, December 2009 (describing activities accomplished since the approval of the 22@ Barcelona project in 2001), at http://www.22barcelona.com/documentacio/Estat_execucio_2009_ang.pdf (visited July 30, 2015).

¹⁵⁴ See Polish Vodka Museum at Koneser, at <http://koneser.eu/en/news/polish-vodka-museum-at-koneser/> (visited July 2, 2015).

¹⁵⁵ *Warsaw Sightseeing*, at <http://www.inyourpocket.com/warsaw/sightseeing> (visited July 2, 2015).

chaotic from an aesthetic and spatial point of view¹⁵⁶. Multi-lane highways in the City's center cause pedestrian distress and gigantic, high-rise buildings without human-scale connections at the street level create an unwelcoming environment to a passer-by. Empty lots and boarded-up buildings can be seen in close proximity to towering office buildings and retail outlets. Commentators have pointed out that Warsaw needs to develop an attractive city center that promotes historical buildings, includes parks, and creates connections to the Vistula River¹⁵⁷.

It has been suggested that Praga terrain on the bank of the Vistula River opposite of Old Town should be redeveloped as a central Warsaw area¹⁵⁸. The modernization and revitalization of the Praga District's historic built environment would enhance Warsaw's reputation as a center for culture and the arts. Such redevelopment would also fulfill the quest of those who have urged the City to move its center towards the Vistula River. Warsaw's 2007 Spatial Policy also includes Praga's historical buildings as within the City's center¹⁵⁹. This article concurs in this recommendation that Praga be transformed as a new City center. Designating Praga also as an innovation district would help formalize its status as a significant City asset and provide greater recognition of an innovation center's unique features.

The implementation of an innovation district would not require the creation of a metropolitan Warsaw government, but it would be facilitated by metropolitan-wide planning so as to link the district with outlying areas through a coherent and coordinated land use planning and transportation system. An innovation district would require, however, spatial planning because its formative, essential elements, which include housing, retail space, office spaces, green space, and public infrastructure such as the Warsaw Metro, would have to be integrated and planned in a coordinated manner. The creation of such a district would require more governmental intervention than has occurred since Warsaw began the transformation towards a market economy.

Because some large-scale mixed use developments have already been undertaken in Warsaw¹⁶⁰, the City should be able to embrace and effectuate the type of planning and market interventions necessary to carry out a multi-year development project. Most likely the City would need to turn to public-private partnerships in order to gather the funding and resources necessary to complete an

¹⁵⁶ M. Czerny, A. Czerny, *An Emerged New Centre...*, p. 172.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁹ The Capital City of Warsaw, *The Spatial Policy...*, p. 5 (visited Aug. 31, 2015).

¹⁶⁰ See e.g., *Mixed Use Residential and Retail Development*, at <http://www.architecturenewsplus.com/project-images/27203> (visited Aug. 25, 2015); *South Park Mixed-Use Development*, at <http://www.epsteinglobal.com/case-studies/south-park-mixed-use-development> (visited Aug. 25, 2015); *Zlote Tarasy*, at <http://www.macegroup.com/projects/zlote-tarasy> (visited Aug. 25, 2015).

innovation district. Funding for such a district should attract EU cohesion funding as the approach calls for integrated development.

For long-term economic competitiveness Warsaw must have sufficient resources to finance its infrastructure. Poland's local governments generate revenues "through a mixture of (a) local taxes and other own-source revenues, (b) local shares in central taxes, and (c) central general-purpose and specific grants"¹⁶¹. Own-source revenues have been diminishing, and local taxes do not raise sufficient revenues to cover municipal needs, especially in larger cities¹⁶². Critics have suggested that Poland's public finance system needs various reforms, including authorization for the levy of ad valorem property taxes¹⁶³. Obviously, metropolitan governance could not be instituted without an adequate source of revenues to fund its operations, and the creation of an Innovation District would necessitate capital financing, most frequently raised through local government borrowing. Hopefully, Polish decentralization reforms will continue to be implemented so as to maximize the potential the Capital City has already demonstrated in modernizing itself and creating a culture of innovation.

5. CONCLUSION

Despite the terror and destruction of World War II, which was followed by authoritarian rule under a socialist regime, the Capital City of Warsaw has met success in reconstructing itself to attract international investment in a market economy. Because the global economy operates through a network of metropolitan regions throughout the world, Warsaw can achieve greater economic competitiveness through intra-regional integration with surrounding municipalities that together with the Capital City form the Warsaw metropolitan region. But Warsaw faces a number of challenges, some of which are rooted in its recent history, to achieve cohesion with other metropolitan localities not subject to its jurisdiction. Deficiencies in land-use and spatial planning, underdeveloped infrastructure, and a transportation system overly dependent upon the automobile, present major challenges to Warsaw and its metropolitan region.

This article argues that the creation of a metropolitan government could help address these barriers to Warsaw's optimum development. In a global economy that heralds innovation, entrepreneurship, and high-tech industries, the article

¹⁶¹ P. Swianiewicz, *Local Government Organization and Finance: Poland*, (in:) A. Shah (ed.), *Local Governance in Developing Countries*, World Bank 2006, p. 312, at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/PSGLP/Resources/LocalGovernanceinDeveloping.pdf> (visited Aug. 25, 2015).

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 314, 319, 324.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 320.

also suggests that Warsaw create an Innovation District, which could become its dominant city center. Other cities have created such districts to help build a physical, cultural, social, and economic environment that is conducive to discovery and innovation. Both of these suggestions neatly dovetail the strategies that the European Union has established for this decade. Thus, Warsaw should seriously examine these options that will increase its economic competitiveness and make it a good candidate for EU funding.

METROPOLITAN-WIDE GOVERNANCE AND AN INNOVATION DISTRICT: SMART GROWTH REFORMS TO INCREASE ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS IN WARSAW, POLAND

Summary

The Capital City of Warsaw, Poland faces several challenges in becoming a global city that thrives on innovation and high-tech, knowledge-based service industries. Almost totally destroyed during World War II, the City has reconstructed itself from scratch, but it lacks a good spatial design, and its underdeveloped infrastructure and transportation system remain problematic. Further, urban sprawl has enveloped Warsaw's metropolitan area, and the City has no authority outside of its jurisdictional boundary lines to address this issue unless it obtains cooperation from surrounding municipalities. This article contends that Warsaw cannot be economically competitive in the global economy unless it creates conditions conducive to innovation and sustainable growth. Because the world economy is one that revolves around net-worked regional communities, the article proposes the establishment of a Warsaw metropolitan-wide regional government. Investments that improve regional connectivity, accessibility, and economic competitiveness not only improve Warsaw's climate for innovation, but they also enhance its ability to receive European Union funding, which prioritizes integrated economic development that fosters sustainable and inclusive growth. The article also suggests that Warsaw develops a new city center, ideally in the Praga area, to become a showcase for exemplary urban design and sustainable techniques. Barcelona, Spain serves as an excellent model for such a center because its innovation district balances the urban elements necessary to create an environment in which the creative, entrepreneurial sector can work and live in close proximity, namely public amenities, public space, parks, housing, and infrastructure.

ZARZĄDZANIE OBSZARAMI METROPOLITARNYMI I DZIELNICE INNOWACJI: INTELIGENTNE REFORMY ROZWOJOWE ZAPEWNIĄCĄCE WZROST KONKURENCYJNOŚCI EKONOMICZNEJ W WARSZAWIE

Streszczenie

Miasto Stołeczne Warszawa ma ambicje, aby zostać światową metropolią, która rozwija się dzięki innowacjom i zaawansowanym technologiom. Miasto odbudowano z ruin po II wojnie światowej, ale wciąż brakuje mu dobrego zagospodarowania przestrzennego i problematyczna pozostaje kwestia nieodpowiedniej infrastruktury i systemu komunikacyjnego. Co więcej, niekontrolowany rozwój miasta poza jego granice administracyjne powoduje, że władze Warszawy nie mają kontroli nad całym obszarem metropolitalnym, chyba że dojdą do porozumienia z włodarzami okolicznych gmin. Niniejszy artykuł wskazuje, że Warszawa nie może być ekonomicznie konkurencyjnym miastem w skali światowej, dopóki nie stworzy się warunków sprzyjających innowacjom i zrównoważonemu rozwojowi. Autorka proponuje utworzenie samorządu regionalnego w Warszawie dla obszaru całej metropolii, z tego względu, że gospodarka światowa jest oparta właśnie na współpracy regionalnej. Inwestycje usprawniające łączność regionalną, dostępność i konkurencyjność gospodarczą nie tylko stwarzają lepszy klimat dla innowacji w Warszawie, ale także zwiększają jej zdolność do pozyskiwania funduszy z Unii Europejskiej, która określa priorytety zintegrowanego rozwoju gospodarczego sprzyjającego zrównoważonemu rozwojowi i inkluzyjnemu wzrostowi. Artykuł sugeruje również, że Warszawa wkrótce będzie miała nowe centrum, w rejonie Pragi, które stanie się przykładem dla urbanistyki i zrównoważonego rozwoju. Model rozwoju Barcelony to doskonały przykład do naśladowania dla wspomnianego centrum, ponieważ barcelońska dzielnica innowacji łączy w przestrzeni miejskiej elementy sektora kreatywnego i prywatnego, który może rozwijać się w bliskości publicznej infrastruktury, udogodnień, parków i mieszkań.

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KEYWORDS

innovation district, global economy, economic competitiveness, metropolitan governance, urban development, urban sprawl

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

obszary innowacyjne, gospodarka światowa, konkurencyjność gospodarcza, zarządzanie metropolitalne, rozwój urbanistyczny, zagospodarowanie zabudowy miejskiej