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TRENDS IN RESEARCH ON COMPREHENSIVE
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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I. Introduction ^{1/}

For the sake of clarity, let me present a few remarks defining the notion of comprehensive regional development.

A. The term regional will be used describing activities on the sub-national and super local levels. ^{2/} We can indicate some examples of situations which generate regional development activities.

Situation No.1 A given country is trying to use assets which could be generated by regional development in order to accelerate the rate of economic, social and cultural growth on a national scale. ^{3/} The characteristic features of this situation can be outlined in the following way:

(a) The implementation of interregional development schemes is promoted by the Central Government via a central planning or programming agency.

(b) The interregional development plan or programme is designed for the whole area of the country, in most cases within the framework of a general development plan or programme. In this case, the development programme of a given country is composed of three inter-related sets of programmes.

(i) The general programme

(ii) The sectoral programmes

(iii) The interregional programmes

^{1/} This is a thank you note to Dr. Donald V. McGranahan for the inducement to prepare this paper.

^{2/} The problem of definition and taxonomy of economic regions is considered by the Commission on Economic Regionalization of the International Geographical Union.

^{3/} N. Nekrasov, Soviet System of Regional Studies and The Principles of Construction of Inter-Zonal Model in the Conditions of the USSR, Soviet Association of Regional Science, Moscow, 1967; Edgar H. Hoover, Some Old and New Issues in Regional Development, International Economic Association, Conference on Backward Areas in Advanced Countries, August 29-- September 5, 1967; Walter Stöhr, The Definition of Regions in Relation to National and Regional Development in Latin America, First Inter-American Seminar on the Definition of Regions for Development Planning, Regional Geography Committee of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History in Canada, September 4-11, 1967.

(c) Interregional development in this case means the regional disaggregation of national, economic and social policies.

Situation No.2 The regional development activity is generated via the integration of local activities in order to solve problems on a regional scale that cannot be solved at a local level. A very good example in this field is supplied by the tendency to overcome the obstacles created by the traditional administrative divisions for urban development via the promotion of metropolitan planning and metropolitan government. ^{4/}

At the opposite end of the spectrum, we can indicate programmes promoting the modernization of agriculture on a regional scale. This is not only the problem of technical and managerial innovations in agricultural production and services, but also the problem of the changing of the quality of life to the population in rural areas and small towns. The idea of growth centres concentrating on new productive and infrastructural investment is applied very often in this context. ^{5/}

Situation No.3 In a given country, a special action for regional development is designed and implemented in order to accelerate the economic, social and cultural change in an underdeveloped or depressed region. Such an action can be performed within the framework of a general planning or programming machinery or via the establishment of a set of institutions which do not have a counterpart in the more developed regions of the country. The first case is represented by the experience of Czechoslovakia

^{4/} Compare Report of the Group of Experts on Metropolitan Planning and Development; Stockholm, 14-30 September 1961. European Seminar on Urban Development Policy and Planning, Warsaw, 19-29 September 1962.

^{5/} Compare Market Towns and Spatial Development in India, National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, October 1965.

(the development of Slovakia) and by the experience of France (the development of South-West France). The second case is represented by the experience of Italy (southern Italy) and Brazil (North-East Brazil).

Situation No.4 The regional development activity is started and implemented as a consequence of a sectoral investment decision. In this case, the primary motivation for regional development was created not by the regional but by the sectoral forces. Nevertheless, in contemporary conditions, in most cases, the sectoral unit is recognizing the necessity to design and implement a regional development plan which will establish the proper relations between the economic and non-economic activities and which will design a proper set of social and cultural institutions and investments.

The four situations are indicating that the majority of regional development activities can be explained as a conflict, dialogue and compromise of

- (a) national and local forces
- (b) sectoral and regional forces. ^{6/}

For the sake of clarity, we should accept the distinction between inter-regional and regional activities. In situation No.1, we have a typical interregional problem, the problem of arbitration between regions. ^{7/} In situation No.2, we do not face the problem of how to allocate the targets and means among regions, but how to solve a problem inside a region. So, situation No.1 is an example of interregional activities and situation No.2 of regional activities.

^{6/} See Partial and comprehensive solutions of the conflict of sectoral and regional approaches, pp. 68-74 of Criteria for Location of Industrial Plants (Changes and Problems), United Nations, New York, 1967.

^{7/} Compare page 123, J.R. Boudeville, Problems of Regional Economic Planning, Edinburgh University Press, 1966.

B. The term comprehensive will be used to indicate an integrated approach to regional development. This means that we are interested mainly in situations generating inter-sectoral problems in a given area, problems of the interrelations of industry and agriculture, of productive and infrastructure investment, and so on. This integrated approach means too a special interest for interrelations among different types of human activities - economic, social, cultural and recreational.

I have to stress that, to my mind, a comprehensive approach should not mean that we are simply interested in everything. In any comprehensive regional development, we have to see clearly a given set of priorities, we have to see which sectors are the propulsive forces in development, which types of human activity are most important in a given place at a given time.

C. The term development will be used in both quantitative and qualitative connotations. In other words, development means not only quantitative growth, the fact that the economic and social variables, such as population, production, consumption, are getting bigger, but also that we observe a qualitative change, the social and economic conditions are better than they have been in the past. ^{8/} We should too take into account the interdependency of social and economic factors in development, ^{9/} the welfare effect of economic growth and the productivity effect of social factors. ^{10/}

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^{8/} H. Perloff et al, Regions, Resources and Economic Growth, Baltimore, 1960.

^{9/} Jan Drewnowski, Social and Economic Factors in Development - Introductory considerations on their meaning, measurement and interdependence, Report No.3, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, February 1966.

^{10/} Compare page 121 in Social Change and Economic Growth, Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris 1967.

Closing these introductory remarks, I would like to propose that the following three main fields of research on comprehensive regional development be considered:

- (a) Theories of regional development;
- (b) Regional development policies;
- (c) Information system for regional development.

II. Theories of Regional Development

(a) Present status

Theories of regional development explain the underlying conditions and factors which determine the shape of development within and between regions. Such theories are necessary for the general knowledge and insight into the existence and nature of regional problems. They are also necessary as background and foundations for the formulation of regional policies.

This statement cannot be applied to the studies of social aspects in regional development. The sociological publications have presented a micro analytical orientation and were only in exceptional cases concerned with macro sociological problems on a regional and national scale. This situation is one of the causes which explains the lack of integration of economic and social approaches to regional development.

(b) Trends of research

The first trend of research in this field can be outlined as the evaluation of different sets of generalizations, formulated as the result of the growing knowledge of the processes of regional development. A good example of such generalizations is supplied by Friedmann, ^{11/} who presented the following eight propositions:

^{11/} John Friedmann, Regional Development Policy - A Case Study of Venezuela, The M.I.T. Press, 1966, p. 38.

1. Regional economies are open to the outside world and subject to external influence.
2. Regional economic growth is externally induced.
3. Successful translation of export sector growth into growth of the residentiary sector depends on the sociopolitical structure of the region and the local distribution of income and patterns of expenditure.
4. Local leadership is decisive for successful adaptation to external change. Yet the quality of leadership depends on the region's past development experience.
5. Regional economic growth may be regarded, in part, as a problem in the location of firms.
6. Economic growth tends to occur in the matrix of urban regions. It is through this matrix that the evolving space economy is organized.
7. Flows of labor tend to exert an equilibrating force on the welfare effects of economic growth. But contradictory results may be obtained.
8. Where economic growth is sustained over long periods, its incidence works toward a progressive integration of the space economy."

I will not discuss in this context the validity of these generalizations, which are introduced only as one of the many possible examples. According to Friedmann ^{12/}

"The propositions represent an attempt to bring together in the study of a major social phenomenon a variety of different subject fields. Some aspects of this phenomenon are, indeed, best studied by economics, but the investigation of others will need to draw on expertise in sociology (propositions 3, 4, 7), political science (3,4), and geography (6, 8)."

I would be rather doubtful if the contribution of sociology to the formulation of these propositions is so important as suggested by Friedmann. As already stressed above, the sociological studies were in most cases representing the micro analytical approach, which is not able to supply generalizations explaining the mechanism of change at the regional and national levels. Therefore, according to my judgment, we can indicate a second trend of research - the promotion of macro sociological, regional and interregional studies. ^{13/}

If we achieve some important success in this field, the conditions for the promotion of the third trend of research will be created. This trend can be outlined as the integration of economic and social theories into a general theory of regional development. We have already an interesting contribution of Friedmann in this field, who presents an attempt to formulate a general theory of the development processes in a spatial setting. ^{14/} This is really an admirable intellectual venture, but I think it represents some affluence of generalizations. I have basic reservations concerning a theory which claims an application to the explanation of Soviet-American relations, the conflict of the Arab States and Israel, and the regional development of Chile. ^{15/}

^{13/} Compare: Janusz Ziolkowski, Sociological Problems of Regional Development, Proceedings of the First Scandinavian-Polish Regional Science Seminar, Committee for Space Economy and Regional Planning of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 1967.

^{14/} John Friedmann, A General Theory of Polarized Development, The Ford Foundation, Urban and Regional Development Advisory Program in Chile, June, 1967.

^{15/} John Friedmann, op.cit. pp. 13, 14 and 17.

Supplementing these three main trends of research, we could indicate two more specific topics, (a) the theory of regional development barriers,^{16/} and (b) the theory of poles of growth. The recent distinction between core regions^{17/} and social development poles^{18/} is especially valuable from the point of view of integration of economic and social approaches to regional development.

III. Regional Development Policies

(a) Present status

The regional development policies^{19/} are designed and applied

^{16/} The study of economic, social and cultural barriers for regional development could be an excellent topic of inter-disciplinary research, integrating the efforts of economists, geographers and sociologists in this field.

^{17/} "Core regions are areas of concentrated and interdependent economic activity which have a large projected capacity for the steady expansion of production. Further, they are areas whose economies will have an important influence over the development of dependent regions." John Friedmann, The Strategy of Deliberate Urbanization, Universidad Catolica de Chile, Comite Interdisciplinario de Desarrollo Urbano.

^{18/} "Social development poles are analogous to core regions but refer to a social rather than an economic role. They are areas of concentrated population settlement--more often, but not necessarily, cities--that have a demonstrated high capacity for inducing social development." John Friedmann, op.cit., page 14.

^{19/} Compare the following remarks by Harvey S. Perloff and Felipe Pazos on the interrelations of regional policies on a national and super-national scale:

"We, thus, use the same name to label policy concerned with multi-national regions - e.g. Western Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, Central America - and the policy that deals with sub-national areas - e.g. the South of Italy, the South of the United States, the Northeast of Brazil, the Guayana region in Venezuela. This practice of giving a common label to two different phenomena tends to create confusion but, at the same time, the joint study of multi-national and sub-national regions gives us a better understanding of the factors affecting the productivity, welfare and growth of geographical areas when they are separated by customs, tariffs and currencies and when they are not.

...One of the most important obstacles faced in multi-national integration is the fear of the less developed nations that they will not be able to stand the competition of their more developed partners and will, therefore, become depressed sub-regions within the newly created free trade areas or common market. In order to overcome this fear, we should have more knowledge than we have at present about the

in a growing number of countries representing different social systems and levels of economic development. ^{20/} In the comparative evaluation of this experience, the following criteria may be helpful.

1. The aims of regional development policies

- (i) Economic aims: The productivity and economic growth.
- (ii) Social aims: Welfare, equity and social justice.

2. The main problems which should be solved by the RDP

In most cases these problems are formulated as problems of

- (i) development, under-development or depression;
- (ii) over-congestion or de-population.

In the first case we have one of three situations:

- (i) The rapid rate of growth generated by large scale sectoral investment decisions which creates problems in the given regions;
- (ii) under-development, when a region is not able to integrate into the national industrial and urban expansion, e.g., Southern Italy;

19/cont. extent to which this fear is justified; the circumstances under which it could materialize; and the policies that should be applied to prevent or offset its materialization. The answer to these questions could be found in the study of the origin and evolution of depressed areas within national economies and the policies applied to bring them up to the national level of productivity and income. In this paper, we will not intend to find these answers, but only to explore some of the ways which might lead to them." Economic Policy Problems in Sub-National and Multi-National Regions, Ekistics, Vol. 23, No. 139, June 1967.

20/ Compare Problems of Regional Economic Planning and Development in Europe and the United States, Economic Bulletin for Europe, Vol. 17, No.2, November 1965, United Nations, New York; Criteria for Location of Industrial Plants (Changes and Problems), United Nations, New York, 1967.

(iii) depression, when a region is facing problems of structural transformation, e.g., Southern Belgium.

The second case is represented by the over-congestion of some metropolitan areas and de-population of frontier or marginal regions.

3. The scope of RDP

- (i) Comprehensive policies, taking into account the whole sphere of economic, social and cultural activities;
- (ii) Partial policies, which try to solve only one set of problems.

4. The time horizon of RDP

One can distinguish between short-term and long-term policies. The latter is the more important.

5. Instruments applied in RDP

One can distinguish the following types of instruments:

- (i) Comprehensive planning or programming;
- (ii) Financial inducement and restriction;
- (iii) Administrative measures.

In all cases, a distinction between positive and negative measures is valid.

(b) Trends of research

The first trend of research is the promotion of studies which will extend our knowledge and abilities for the selection of a proper set of goals for a regional development, reflecting correctly the political, social and economic conditions of a given country in a given time. The process of goal setting is very complicated and a difficult one, especially since the goals of regional development are, in most cases, a consequence of the general vision of the perspective political, social, cultural

and economic transformations, which are recognized as optimal for the future development of the given society. This is a very promising field of research, where macro sociological and macro economic thinking will find one of the best applications. Among the many conflicting situations which can be discussed in this context, the conflict of national growth and interregional equalization is the most important. ^{21/} The practical experience of the reconciliation of this conflict in countries of different

21/ Compare the following statement by H.S. Perloff and F. Pazos:

"The problem of extreme regional differentials in production and income among regions. It is important that we get to know much more than we do about the circumstance under which regional differentials can play a stimulating role à la Hirschmann and the circumstances under which extreme differentials can serve as a block to economic and social progress. This is as difficult as it is important. Mismanagement here can be extremely costly. Thus, an effort to solve the problems of extremely depressed regions under certain circumstances may divert national capital from much more productive outlets and prevent economic growth. A number of countries around the world who in the past felt that they must concentrate a good bit of investment in their more depressed regions, for example, Yugoslavia and Poland, have backed away from such a position rather drastically. This happened when they discovered that such a policy imposed a severe drain on limited national resources without itself bringing about new sources of growth." *Ekistics*, June 1967, p.363. One should add that Poland is not the best example in this case. Poland really never implemented a big scale special policy for the rapid growth of underdeveloped regions. See Andrzej Wróbel, Stanislaw M. Zawadzki: Location Policy and the Regional Efficiency of Investments, City and Regional Planning in Poland. Edited by Jack C. Fisher, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

size, social systems and levels of development should be studied more carefully. ^{22/}

The second trend can be outlined as the study of the processes which promote regional development. The critical element in this field is the proper choice of

(i) methods, techniques and models applied ^{23/} in the design and implementation of interregional and regional development policies, programmes and plans;

(ii) the proper choice of strategies which should be applied for the promotion of regional development. Two examples can be quoted. The first, the strategy of balanced versus the strategy of unbalanced growth. ^{24/} Second, the strategy of

^{22/} Compare the following statement by K. Secomski:

"As a rule, in each country the existing situation in the field of the distribution of the productive forces will always cause some reservations. Only perspective planning of the economic development allows the introduction of the required changes in regional proportions, thus achieving some additional economic advantages. At the same time, it is true that inter-regional differences as regards the level of industrialization, intensification of agriculture, uneven distribution of communications, deficiencies of settlement network, differences in the living standards of individual regions, etc. - may only be reduced step by step after implementation of several stages of economic policy.

"...The aforesaid problem is really extremely complex. Differences in the trends of development of the particular regions, the necessity for bringing about a proper distribution of tasks, considering the problems of individual rate of growth of each region in view of the premises of the overall social interest, lead to the formulation of highly complex decisions in the long-run economic plans seeking an optimum for the whole country". Problem międzynarodowego i międzyregionalnego podziału pracy na tle teorii rozmieszczenia sił wytwórczych. (International and interregional division of labour from the point of view of the distribution of productive forces). *Ekonomista* 1964, No.4, p. 735.

^{23/} J. Tinbergen, A Method of Regional Planning, Workshop on Regional Development Programming, 5-7 October 1967, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. G. Detkov, Interregional Multisectoral Model of Economic Growth in non Linear Production Functions, Soviet Association of Regional Science, Moscow, 1967.

^{24/} O. Hirschmann, Strategy of Economic Development, New Haven, 1953.

concentrated versus dispersed growth. The evaluation of these two strategies is, in most cases, associated with the application of the idea of poles of growth in interregional planning, and the idea of growth centres in regional planning. A very important underestimated element in this policy is the multiplier effect in regional development. The mechanism of economic, social and cultural multiplier effects and their positive and negative implications is a very important tool for the improvement of the efficiency and flexibility of regional development policies and programmes. 25/

The successful promotion of regional development is impossible without the proper choice of a participation pattern which is optimal for the given region in the given time. The participation of the politician, the professional planner and

25/ Compare the following statement by Jane Hauser and Paul F. Lazarsfeld:

"Obviously, the differences between the centralized planning of a national economy and the sectional planning of some specific functions is quite great. But certain problems in planification are common to socialist as well as to capitalist countries. One such problem is this: plans never work out the way they have been conceived originally; they always have unanticipated consequences. Either resistances develop from sources which one has overlooked; or side effects come about which may require as much attention as the original goal.

Attention to these unanticipated consequences and their correction is the task of the sociologist and the social psychologist as compared to the economist who sets the ultimate goal." Sociological Aspects of Planning - A progress report on a case-study, Social Sciences Information, Vol.II -I, January 1963, International Social Science Council. Comment on the last statement of this quotation: One could argue that the sociologist is to perform a very important role in the goal setting process - a more important role than the economist.

so-called average citizens in all stages of the promotion of regional development is, in most cases, a condition sine qua non of the success in this field. We should promote studies analyzing the sociology of interregional and regional policy-making, programming and planning.

The third trend of research can be outlined as the promotion of studies which would solve the problem of time horizon in different regional policies, programmes and plans. We agree that regional development is, by definition, a long-term problem, but the question remains open, how long the long-term should be? This discussion is an element of a more general controversy of the time horizon of overall economic and social perspective programmes and projections. I do not think that it is possible to analyze this problem in this paper in any detail. I will mention only the recent Soviet scheme for the distribution of productive forces for the years 1971 - 1980.^{26/} I think that the 10 years time horizon has many important advantages. It is long enough for the implementation of important changes in interregional and regional development, and it is short enough to keep the whole thinking and planning in realistic terms, especially from the point of view of a correct evaluation of the consequences of technological progress.

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Committee for the Research of Productive Forces - Methodical Problems in the Preparation of the General Scheme for the Distribution of Productive Forces of the USSR in 1971 - 1980, Moscow, 1966.

The fourth trend of research which we are trying to outline are studies evaluating the efficiency of inter-regional and regional policies, programmes and plans. I am convinced that we need a much more sophisticated approach in this field than the usual practice of comparing the targets and results of regional development policies.

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IV. Information Systems for Regional Development

(a) Present status

One of the basic obstacles for the development and implementation of regional policies is the low level of regional statistics and other types of regional information, not only in the developing countries but also in many developed countries. There are two basic aspects of this situation;

- (i) the quantitative aspect; the limited amount of regional data, and
- (ii) the qualitative aspect; the existing information is scattered and disintegrated. It is not an element in a well designed system of regional information suitable for development policies and research.

Naturally, there are exceptions of some countries which are trying to build up a modern information system for regional development.

But, this is not the only one possible approach in this field. We can analyze the whole system of interregional and regional policy-making, programming and planning as a system of transmissions and exchange of information. This approach was formulated a few years ago in relation to the overall system of economic and social

planning. ^{27/}

In a recent study, we find an inducement to outline a third approach to the problem discussed here. ^{28/} The objective process of regional development can be interpreted in terms of quantitative and qualitative information flows between the national, regional and local authorities, and between the organizations, enterprises and households.

In this way, we can formulate three approaches to the problem of information systems as discussed in the paper:

- (i) Information system for regional development
- (ii) The system of interregional and regional programming and planning as an information system
- (iii) The objective process of regional development in terms of information flows.

(b) Trends of research

The remarks describing the present status in the field of information systems are, to my mind, suggesting very clearly the necessity to promote three trends of research in this field:

- (1) The analysis of the content and scope of information systems for regional development, planning and research. This is first of all an important problem of regional statistics. ^{29/}

^{27/} Józef Pajestka, A System of Planning Information, Ekonomista, No.2, 1964, Warsaw.

^{28/} John Friedmann, op.cit.

^{29/} Compare: Wincenty Kawalec, Regional Statistics for Planning Requirements, Statistical Commission and Economic Commission for Europe, Conference of European Statisticians, 18-29 September 1967.

(ii) The analysis of interregional and regional planning systems as systems of transmission and exchange of information.

I am convinced that these studies would contribute to the improvement of interregional and regional planning institutions and decision-making processes.

(iii) The empirical studies analyzing the objective reality of regional development in terms of an exchange of information and in terms of transmission of information and innovation.^{30/} Studies of this type should be promoted as inter-disciplinary studies, integrating the efforts of economists, sociologists, geographers and psychologists to extend our knowledge of the process of regional development, interpreted as a process of transmission and exchange of information.

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V. Conclusions

In the concluding remarks, I would like to raise the problem of the applicability of the experience of the developed countries in the developing countries in the field of regional development. I share rather the optimistic view that some well selected experiences of the developed countries can be applied in Latin America, Asia or Africa.^{31/} Naturally,

^{30/} Compare the approach of T. Hägerstrand, Aspects of the Spatial Structure of Social Communication and the Diffusion of Information, paper presented during the Regional Science Congress in Cracow 1965.

^{31/} Compare: Criteria for Location of Industrial Plants (Changes and Problems) and Mieczysław Falkowski, Contribution Socialiste à l'Étude de la Croissance Économique des Pays en voie de Développement, Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, Warsaw, 1966.

it is easy to say "some well selected experiences", it is much more difficult to indicate the specific type of experience or the specific case, but, this is just the subject for an interesting and valuable international discussion. I would say only that the developed countries are in reality applying two approaches in attempts to transmit the experiences in the field of regional development:

(i) The first approach is stressing the success in regional development, saying, more or less, look how well we have solved our regional problems;

(ii) The second approach is stressing the obstacles and difficulties in regional development, the examples of mistakes and mismanagement in this field.

I am convinced that only the integration of these two approaches can supply an objective picture of the experiences of the developed countries in the field of regional development, a picture which will have a practical value for the developing countries.

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Antoni R. Kuklinski

Goals in Regional Policies and Objectives in Regional Planning

L. The Society of the Future and the Goals of Regional Policies

It would be a mistake to discuss the goals of regional policies and the objectives of regional planning as topics that are not integrated into the general stream of thinking about the future of a given society.^{1/} The answer to the question, how to define the goals of regional policy depends on the answers to questions of a much more general nature, such as; what type of society would we like to have in the future? what values will be accepted and promoted in this society? which pattern of consumption and leisure will be chosen as optimal? how will the basic problems of technological and institutional progress be solved? This model of the society of the future will reflect three types of expectations: a) forecastings (the extrapolation of past trends); b) projections (forecastings based on the assumption of a change in past trends, and the promotion of new trends via the implementation of consistent sets of economic and social policies); and c) predictions (expectations based on intuition and imagination). We know that in futurology, the role of intuition and imagination is quite important. In different fields, the time horizon of rational and scientific thinking about the future is limited in different ways.^{2/} For example, in field A, with our present knowledge, the time horizon of rational forecasting and projections may be twenty years, in field B twenty-five, in field C ten, and so on. Beyond these limitations, the strictly rational thinking is replaced by intuition and imagination. Therefore, in outlining a model of a society in the year 1985 or 2000, it has to be acknowledged that in the different elements of the model, different proportions between forecasting projections and predictions are reflected.

Regional planners should participate very actively in futurologic discussions. This would be an excellent opportunity to see the broad framework in which ideas concerning economic, social and cultural policies are generated, and, at the same time, it would provide the opportunity to integrate regional preferences into the general model of the society of the future.^{3/} In this way, regional preferences would be incorporated into the basic system of the values accepted in the model. A different situation can be envisaged when the model is designed without taking into account regional preferences. In this case,

regional problems are introduced not in the designing stage of the model but in the stage of its implementation, assuming only secondary importance as means in the implementation of non-regional goals.

In stressing the necessity for the participation of regional planners in futurologic discussions, it does not mean that this is the place where the goals of economic and social policies are defined. These goals are defined, as a rule, by the political system of a given country. Futurologic discussions can, in some instances, extend the range of choices that are seen by politicians, and only very rarely do they really influence the choice itself. Nevertheless, such discussions would present an excellent opportunity to integrate regional planners into the team of professions which are endeavouring to outline the different models of the society of the future.

II. The Processes of Goal Setting for Multi-Regional and Interregional Policies

During the past thirty or forty years, in a growing number of countries, three ideas started to dominate the economic and social policies; economic growth, full employment and social equality. I believe that these three ideas are the key factors in the processes of goal setting for regional policies. In discussing this topic, a distinction should be made between two types of those policies: Primo, multi-regional and interregional policies; secundo, mono-regional and intraregional policies. Interregional policies outline the spatial dimension of national policies. In this situation, the regional disaggregation of national policies, programmes and plans is the key problem. Let us consider how the goals of economic growth, full employment and social equality are interpreted in this case.

The first set of questions can be outlined as follows: How to maximize the contribution of regional development in achieving long-run, sustained economic growth of a given country; how to outline the role of each region in the implementation of the national goal; how to solve the problems of inter-regional allocation of investment. ^{4/} In solving these problems, the time horizon is a crucial factor. In the short-run, the goal of national growth will be achieved via the allocation of investments to the strong regions. In the long-run, the answer could be different; in the strong regions, the external economies could be replaced by external diseconomies, and in the weak regions, the initial barriers for growth could be eliminated. This topic, which is most important from the point of view of how to interpret national economic growth

as a goal for interregional policies, is discussed in a paper by T. Hermansen.^{5/} I think that this goal should be discussed in a dynamic way and tested in different time horizons.

The same generalization can be applied to the idea of full employment as a goal of interregional policies. It can be said that in many countries, the problem of full employment or the problem of how to diminish unemployment necessitated the designing of interregional policies. To-day, the problem is not so pressing as in the early thirties, but in all countries, the solution to some employment problems is included in the accepted set of goals for interregional policies. The discussion of the regional dimension of national employment policies is, in most cases, concentrated on the question - should people move to the jobs, or jobs to the people? I think that in this field, regional planners, as a rule, demonstrate a professional bias by stressing the necessity to move jobs to the people in order to diminish migration from weak to strong regions. In some instances, this may be a solution, but, in general, both people and jobs should be stimulated to move to each other.^{6/}

Perhaps the best example of interregional policies implementing the goal of full employment is applied in Sweden, where a consistent set of means were designed and implemented in order to stimulate both intersectorial and interregional adjustment processes, which are endeavouring to solve the employment problems in a society modernizing its social, economic and technological structure.^{7/}

The goal of social equality in interregional policies can be interpreted in two ways: First, how to improve the opportunities for political participation of the population living outside the capital city of a given country. This is especially valid for countries with a long tradition of centralized political systems, which generate an articulated interregional differentiation in the opportunity for political participation. The present changes in the political structure of France, with a definite improvement in the position of the regional governments and regional planning, are very good examples in this field. The second interpretation of the goal of social equity in interregional policies, is, in most cases, associated with the question of how to diminish interregional differences in per capita incomes, or to use a more general notion, in the level of living. In short-run national policies, this goal, is, as a rule, presented as a social goal, justifying the special assistance extended to

underdeveloped or depressed regions, accepting explicitly or implicitly the assumption that this is a sacrifice of economic growth on the national scale for social equality on the national scale. In such a situation, economic growth and social equality are conflicting goals in regional policies, but this conflict exists only if the short-run perspective is accepted. In the long-run, the situation might be quite different, as it is demonstrated in the paper by T. Hermansen. ^{8/}

In summarizing this part of my paper, I should like to stress the following points:

- 1) The process of goal setting for interregional policies is an integral part of the overall process, which generates social, economic and cultural policies in a given society. ^{9/}
- 2) In these processes and policies, three ideas are most important: economic growth, full employment and social equality.
- 3) As a rule, these ideas are accepted as goals of interregional policies.
- 4) This set of goals can be interpreted in a consistent way in long-run considerations. In short-run, this set of goals is very often inconsistent, and the goals of economic growth and social equality cannot be reconciled in this case.

III. The Processes of Goal Setting for Mono-Regional and Intraregional Policies

It sometimes happens that regional policies are designed within the framework of an autonomous or semi-autonomous process. The policies are designed for one region, taking into account the external relations of the region and its internal differentiation. Such policies are generated by social and political forces inside a region, sometimes in a definite contradiction to national policies which, according to the opinion of the society of the region, are detrimental to its development. Regional policies of this type might be regarded as a tool for some regional pressure groups that are trying to improve their bargaining power in the national political processes.

In most cases, the mono-regional policies are accepting the same goals as interregional policies - economic growth, full employment and social equality. The interpretation of the goals is different in strong and in weak regions. In a strong region, the goals are interpreted as justifying the expansion of the region's productive capacity, the absorption of the labour force migrating from the weak region, and the minimization of the transfer of skills and capital from the strong region to the underdeveloped or depressed areas of the

country. In a weak region, the same goals are interpreted in the opposite way.

I do not feel that mono-regional policies are a promising field in the society of the future. Sooner or later, these policies must be integrated at the national level. Naturally, in the process of the formulation of inter-regional policies, regional communities and pressure groups will and should play an important role. Good and realistic interregional policies are formulated only when proper consideration is given to all important national, regional and sectorial forces. ^{10/} Stressing the diminishing role of mono-regional policies, I would not apply this projection to intraregional policies, which are an attempt at solving at the regional level, problems that cannot be solved at the local level. From this point of view, intraregional policies can be defined as inter-local policies. There is some analogy between interregional policies within a nation or a group of nations and inter-local policies within a region. ^{11/} Naturally, the analogy should not be pushed too far by stressing the basic differences in the scale between the interregional and inter-local problems. The interpretation of the national, regional and local levels should always be considered in a dynamic setting, seeing the basic trend of the growing importance of the advantages of scale. The advantages are consistently shifting the functions and activities from the local to the regional and from the regional to the national level. ^{12/}

IV. Objectives in Interregional and Inter-local Policies

In this paper it is assumed that the goals for interregional and inter-local policies are generated within the political system of a given country. ^{13/} The planning institutions are transforming these goals into objectives - quantitative targets to be achieved within a given time. ^{14/} In this process of transformation, a vivid dialogue between the politician and the professional planner is very important. In the dialogue, two problems must be solved: 1) The consistency among a given set of objectives. The goals within the framework of the political processes need not necessarily be consistent but the objectives in regional planning must achieve consistency; 2) The feasibility of objectives. The proper relation between the targets of the plan and the means for its implementation. Here again, if we discuss the goals for regional policies within the framework of the general political process, the interpretation of feasibility is not so strict as in the framework of planning objectives. It should not be assumed that in each case the planner is formulating objectives

which are more modest than the goals. Sometimes the planner can indicate conditions of technological and institutional progress which are not seen by the politician, and justify a more optimistic view of the basic objectives of the plan. The development of futurology has given to the regional planner a new channel through which his experiences may be incorporated into the general stream of thinking about the society of the future.

V. Basic Weaknesses of Regional Planning

In considering some of the problems of regional planning, we should discuss the basic weaknesses of this activity. The first weakness is a definite low level of integration among regional policies and regional planning. The regional planning profession is not paying a sufficient amount of attention to the dialogue with the politician, especially those involved in the goal-setting process and in the process of plan implementation. It is quite clear that the understanding and participation in the political process is one of the conditions for success in the activities of regional planners.

The second weakness is the low level of elasticity of regional planners. In most cases, regional plans are designed as documents, presenting one set of solutions, one alternative in a very detailed way. Quite a few regional planners regard the amount of details incorporated into the regional plan as a measure of its perfection. If we add a big volume of statistical and cartographic annexes, then we are sometimes very close to achieving professional satisfaction. But, in fact, a regional plan should be a composition of several sets of alternative solutions, giving a number of choices in objectives, strategies and means of implementation. Regional planning should be first of all a method of imaginative and rational thinking about the regional dimension in the development of a given society. ^{15/} So, the mono-alternative, detailed and static approach should be replaced by a multi-alternative dynamic approach which would penetrate deeply into the general political, economic, social and cultural discussions in the given country.

The third weakness of regional planning is generated by the fact that the systems of regional information existing in most countries are still reflecting the situation when regional planning was represented by physical planning, characterized by a weak level of integration with the general social,

economic and cultural policies of the given country. So, the redesign of the regional information systems is an urgent necessity in order to eliminate one of the basic weaknesses of regional planning.^{16/}

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This note is not yet representing a logically or intellectually consistent set of ideas and conclusions.^{17/} It is only a modest invitation to the profession of regional planners to promote an international discussion on the goals for regional policies and objectives in regional planning.

Geneva
October 1968

REFERENCES

- 1/ Compare the following papers: Bertrand de Jouvenel, On Ways of Thinking About Social Futures; Fred L. Polak, Towards the Goals of Goals; Józef Pajestka, The State and Approaches to Future Studies in the Socialist Countries, The World in 2000, Report of a JERC International Conference, Center Paper No.8, The Japan Economic Research Center, December 1967.
- 2/ Compare the comments of Czesław Bobrowski presented during the Conference on The Projection of the Future and the Model of Culture, held in Tarda, Poland, in 1967, Kultura i Społeczeństwo, No.4, 1967, pp. 110-114.
- 3/ Compare the comments of A. Kuklinski presented during the Tarda Conference, Kultura i Społeczeństwo, No.1, 1968, pp. 145-148.
- 4/ Compare the following statements by 1) K. Secomski:

"As a rule, in each country the existing situation in the field of the distribution of the productive forces will always cause some reservations. Only perspective planning of the economic development allows the introduction of the required changes in regional proportions, thus achieving some additional economic advantages. At the same time, it is true that inter-regional differences as regards the level of industrialization, intensification of agriculture, uneven distribution of communications, deficiencies of settlement network, differences in the living standards of individual regions, etc. - may only be reduced step by step after implementation of several stages of economic policy.

"...The aforesaid problem is really extremely complex. Differences in the trends of development of the particular regions, the necessity for bringing about a proper distribution of tasks, considering the problems of individual rate of growth of each region in view of the premises of the overall social interest, lead to the formulation of highly complex decisions in the long-run economic plans seeking an optimum for the whole country'." Problem międzynarodowego i międzyregionalnego podziału pracy na tle teorii rozmieszczenia sił wytwórczych. (International and interregional division of labour from the point of view of the distribution of productive forces). Ekonomista, 1964, No.4, p. 735.
- 2) P.J.O. Self:

"A general overview of the prospects of different regions can only be provided in the first place from the centre. A first step is to consider the implications of likely developments in the size and structure of the national economy for the fortunes of individual regions. This can be supplemented by studies of particular industries and services in terms of their regional implications.

This kind of analysis is inevitably tentative and fallible. But it does help to give a preliminary objective basis for judging what would happen to the regional distribution of economic activity if (a) government is merely "neutral", or (b) it continues only with its

4/ (cont.) "present policies, or (c) it applies new policies. Conversely, this analysis will help to show the feasibility of regional development targets, and a further stage can be the evaluation of different general measures for reaching them." Regional Planning in Britain: Analysis and Evaluation, Regional Studies, Vol.1, No.1, May 1967, Journal of the Regional Studies Association, Pergamon Press Ltd., Oxford, England.

5/ T. Hermansen, Interregional Allocation of Investments for Economic and Social Development - An Elementary Model Framework for Analysis, UNRISD, Geneva, December 1968.

6/ Compare the following statements by

1) E.M. Hoover:

"If manpower is scarce in some areas while jobs of similar types are scarce in other areas, the situation can presumably be improved either by moving some jobs or moving some people or both. Both kinds of adjustment do take place spontaneously, though not by any means to the extent that would be necessary to eliminate regional structural unemployment. Both can be assisted or impeded to some extent by public policies. The question of which policy should be emphasized is a perennial one, and was debated with particular heat a generation and more ago when the British Government was trying to decide what to do about certain depressed industrial areas.

"Worshippers of the false god of Place Prosperity are of course convinced that jobs should always be moved to people rather than the other way round. But no one else has seriously suggested that either policy should be followed to the exclusion of the other. It is in fact hard to think of any sound and effective attack on regionalized unemployment that does not stimulate both people and jobs to move to one another.

I have already stated the view that any such effective attack must involve special assistance to the less-employable groups, mainly in terms of education and vocational training. Such programs will make them more employable, either in their own areas and previous occupations or in other areas and occupations; and by the same token, will make them more of a manpower asset that may help to attract and expand employment in their areas. Another eminently appropriate policy aimed at making more effective use of our manpower resources in all regions is the development of better employment survey and exchange information: that is, telling people in depressed areas about job openings in more other places, and telling employers and industry locators in labor-shortage areas about available workers in more other places. Obviously this line of effort does involve making both labor and industry more mobile in their searches for one another.

"The danger is that this benefit may be thrown away by misguided efforts to curb migration---for example by training people only for the kinds of jobs that occur in their home areas, or by pension plans and employment agreements that discriminate against newcomers." Some Old and New Issues in Regional Development, International Economic Association, Conference on Backward Areas in Advanced Countries, August 29 - September 5, 1967.

6/ (cont.) 2) L.H. Klaassen:

"... a government policy designed to decrease regional differences in income and employment should aim at -

- Furthering the mobility of labor, for instance, by subsidizing the costs of moving and by supplying good housing facilities and other amenities in the expanding area.
- Furthering the mobility of capital (and keyworkers connected with it) toward lower cost regions by increasing cost differences between regions. This can be done by subsidizing directly or indirectly the industries locating or expanding in the areas to be developed.

The effectiveness of such a regional economic policy is measured by the total difference in national income with and without the policy. Since this procedure is a very complicated one and, moreover, no quantitative measurements of the reaction coefficients of workers and entrepreneurs are available, a number of measures are usually taken simultaneously and their effectiveness later assessed. Eventually, some changes in policy may be made on the basis of this new knowledge." Regional Policy in the Benelux Countries, Part 2, Area Redevelopment Policies in Britain & the Countries of the Common Market, Economic Redevelopment Research, U.S. Department of Commerce, Area Redevelopment Administration, January 1965.

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Compare the following statement by C. Canarp:

"Today, we would like to see in the labour market policy something more than a system for measures and assistance in case of unemployment. We regard an active labour market policy not only as part of the social policy but, perhaps to an even higher degree, as a supplement to and a necessary instrument of the economic policy, i.e. an economic policy aiming at the maintenance of full employment but also at a balanced economic development and rapid economic progress." Measures for Influencing the Location of Industry as an Instrument of an Active Labour Market Policy, Economic Commission for Europe, Third Meeting of Senior Economic Advisers, 2-6 November 1964.

8/

T. Hermansen, op.cit.

9/

Compare the following statement by K. Mihailović:

"L'aspect régional de possède pas de buts particuliers; cependant les buts généraux doivent revêtir un aspect régional. Les buts généraux demeureront incomplets si l'on ne les considère pas leur dimension spatiale. L'essence du problème apparaît nettement dans le cas de l'équivalence, but unique qui est spécialement formulé dans le contexte de l'aspect régional du développement. L'équivalence n'est rien d'autre que l'aspect

9/ (cont.) régional du principe de l'égalité qui se rapporte aux groupes sociaux déterminés par régions. Le second aspect a trait à l'égalisation des conditions pour les différentes classes: ouvriers, paysans, intellectuels. Seuls les deux aspects en ensemble peuvent représenter l'égalité, et non pas chacun d'eux séparément.

Le principe de l'uniformité favorise l'examen de la relation entre les buts économiques et les autres objectifs. Il ne fait aucun doute que l'équivalence est motivée aussi bien par des raisons sociales que par des raisons économiques. Mais en cours de réalisation, les buts économiques reçoivent une priorité absolue qui recouvre d'ombre les aspects des valeurs culturelles, sociales et autres. En d'autres mots, il y a une désintégration des buts qui parfois provoque des collisions entre eux. Cependant, il n'est pas seulement question de l'équivalence, mais de toute la structure dans laquelle on discerne avant tout le côté économique. La transformation des buts plus largement posés en cours de réalisation, a agi avec le temps sur la formation des buts mêmes, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont été ramenés au développement de la production et à l'augmentation du rendement du travail." Certaines Questions Fondamentales du Développement Régional, Les Problèmes Spatiaux dans la Planification en Perspective, Comité de l'Aménagement du Territoire de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, Vol. XXVI, Warsaw 1968.

10/ Compare Section VI in Criteria for Location of Industrial Plants (Changes and Problems), Economic Commission for Europe, United Nations, New York, 1967.

11/ Compare the following distinction by E. Kalk and I.B.F. Kormoss:
"Regional Level

Regional level is being used in this article in the generic sense to indicate any level of government between local and central. While it is possible to divide the regional level into a number of sub-levels, we have preferred to limit this division to two categories:

1. The central-regional level - being the one closest to the central level - dividing the state into a limited number of rather large regions;
2. the local-regional level - closest to the 'original' local level - at which a large number of local authorities decide to cooperate or integrate.

The traditional middle-level of government, such as département, province, county, Bezirk, will usually be situated between the central-regional and the local-regional level. Since there are very few new forms of regional government based on this level, it will not be analysed in the present classification." Regional Planning in North-West Europe (Part 2), Studies in Comparative Local Government, International Union of Local Authorities, The Hague, Vol. 2, No. 1, summer 1968.

12/ Compare the comments on Regional and Superregional Economic Activity in the article by A. Kuklinski in the volume City and Regional Planning in Poland, edited by J.C. Fisher, New York, 1966, p. 403.

13/ Compare the following statement by H. Perloff:

"It is useful to distinguish between two aspects of the planning process: viewed in essentially political terms, it involves the setting of objectives, the making of choices from alternative means (or system designs) for achieving the objectives under existing constraints, and evaluation of results obtained (in substantive and political payoff coin); from the technical planning standpoint, that is, through the eyes of the technical regional planner, the key process elements can be said to involve information and analysis, regional designation, a planning and programming phase, and operations. The technical planner may relate himself to the political process in special ways. He may point to inconsistencies in multiple objectives where these appear and are particularly damaging, or suggest more operationally meaningful goals. In the offering of 'alternatives' he may be merely suggesting policies so unattractive as to make the preferred technical solution a natural choice politically. 'Evaluation,' if it exists at all, is likely to be resisted by the technical planner or used to demonstrate why more resources for the regional planning effort are required.

It is helpful to be aware of the two parallel sets of processes. Not only must there be recognition of the continuity of the planning process in both terms, including feedbacks, but also awareness of the very important lateral relationships between the two sets." Key Features of Regional Planning, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, May 1968.

14/ Compare the following distinction made by J. Drewnowski:

"Development policy is defined as a set of government activities designed to promote and direct development.

Development planning is a similar activity - with the additional characteristics that the aims are stated in the form of quantitative targets to be achieved within a prescribed time." Social and Economic Factors in Development - Introductory Considerations on their Meaning, Measurement and Interdependence, UNRISD, Geneva, Report No.3, February 1966.

15/ According to J. Friedmann:

"Regional planning seeks to advance social purposes through appropriate changes in the organization of activities in space." Regional Planning and Nation-Building: An Agenda for International Research, Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.16, No.1, October 1967, The University of Chicago Press.

16/ W. Kawalec, Regional Statistics for Planning Requirements, Statistical Commission and Economic Commission for Europe, Conference of European Statisticians, United Nations Regional Seminar on Statistical Requirements for Planning Economic and Social Development, Prague, 18 - 29 September 1967; T. Hermansen, Information Systems for Regional Development Control (Framework for a research project), UNRISD, Geneva, July 1968.

17/ One of the basic weaknesses of this note is the underestimation of the role of physical planners in this field. Personally, I think that this is a diminishing role. However, an opposite point of view - expressed by J. Newman - could be accepted as one of the basic starting points for our discussion.

"I think it is probably true to say that this significant evolution in European thinking on our subject has been due to the entry into the field of regional development in ever greater numbers of 'physical' as distinct from 'economic' planners. For the physical planners have brought with them an inevitable sensitivity to problems of spatial layout and human geography. It is because of this, indeed, that the appearance of the physical planners on the scene has been referred to by somebody as a 'Horse of Troy'. Called in simply to put the plans of the economists into effect, they immediately raise problems about 'man' and 'society' that go well beyond the limits of economics." J. Newman, New Dimensions in Regional Planning - A Case Study of Ireland An Foras Forbartha, Dublin, 1967.

