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# NEOWEBERIAN STATE AS AN ANSWER TO URBAN SPRAWL PROBLEM IN POLAND

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this article is to show and emphasize selected development trends of urban areas, with a special emphasis on spatial development. An important element is also to underscore the likely consequences of urban development sprawl for the social, economic, environmental and cultural potential of these systems in Poland. Although the article is of a theoretical character, it is an attempt to answer questions about the causes of amorphous sprawl, as well as the sphere of influence of this phenomenon on the potential of urban centers. The article refers to the phenomenon of sprawling or relocating of the development of metropolitan centers from the city-core to a surrounding of a metropolitan center. In this article we will attempt to collect and analyze knowledge of this phenomenon, which should be regarded as insufficiently examined in the context of Polish settlement network, because of the small number of studies in this area.

**Keywords:** Dysfunctions of urban development, metropolis, metropolisation amorphous urban sprawl, sprawl of development, urban development policy.

**JEL codes:** R11

## Introduction

One of the most important contemporary spatial processes affecting the economic and social spheres is the so-called amorphous urban sprawl. Urban sprawl refers to uncontrolled by the authorities of a metropolitan center outflow of the potential from the city-core to its surrounding, which does not belong to the city in administrative sense. From the point of view of metropolitan authorities it is a negative phenomenon, weakening the quality potential of the center, including the financial one. Numerous examples from literature, as well as conducted studies

show that this concerns primarily urbanized areas with a strong quality potential (Böhm 2006). Speaking of degraded areas should be recalled that the case of Polish metropolitan areas has a fairly extensive literature (Lorens 2005). Metropolitan driving force is related to the mechanism of a free exchange of potential between metropolitan centers. This mechanism leads to the polarization of global space and to the creation of more and less privileged places in terms of development opportunities. The following rule may be observed: modern metropolitan centers are defined by the criteria of quality, which prove the presence of higher-order functions, contributing to the development. Metropolitan centers have the ability to create quality potential themselves. The potential created in different areas at first meets the needs of the local market, but it is rarely consumed completely by the metropolis. The so-called surplus capacity is created, which is subject to exchange with other, similar centers. This mechanism promotes direct links metropolis-metropolis. Thus created communication tunnels make metropolises “nodes” of movement of goods, services, information, capital and people, which boosts the development of large cities at the expense of non-metropolitan areas. However, even if it is not the intention of city authorities to develop their environment, there is involuntary and spontaneous diffusion of quality potential and growth of metropolitan areas importance. In the literature we find different opinions on the issue of the future of metropolitan areas. There are two main approaches based on the concepts of territorial development. In one, metropolitan area loses its importance while metropolitan centers develop dynamically; in accordance with the second opinion, metropolitan areas will create a more and more consistent relationship with metropolises.

It should be noted that the relationships between the metropolitan center and its surroundings are involuntary, natural and dynamic. This is due to the fact that metropolitan centers are less interested in cooperating with their surroundings, because these surroundings cannot offer metropolis anything valuable in exchange, and the intense process of exchange of goods, services, financial capital, information and people occurs between two similar, high-ranking units. In many cases, the distance from the city-core, or being more precise, time to reach the metropolitan center, determines a constant, natural influence of the metropolitan center on the surroundings. So far, this impact was associated with reviving the immediate metropolitan surroundings (functional surroundings), or with the drainage of a potential from peripheral areas of regions. This means that a functional hinterland uses city-core resources, but this relationship is not mutual. A mayor of a metropolis city whether they like it or not, must accept the fact that the development potential of a city inadvertently sprawls on its surroundings, causing an increase in the importance of a metropolitan area. The additional problem comes from the fact that probably there is no real spatial development policy in Poland with a proper tools, subjects with driving forces (Pyszkowski 2001).

## 1. Dysfunctions of an amorphous growth of settlement in Poland

Urban sprawl is a historical term, already in ancient times meaning loose or irregular low-intensity development, spreading without a spatial management plan on a larger scale (Bruegmann 2005: 18). Initially, a dispersed development surrounding cities (but also compact rural systems) was associated primarily with features burdensome for clusters or requiring a special location (forges, brickyards, tanneries, mills, havens). Examples of a division between a compact city and surroundings dispersed in spatial terms could already be seen in ancient times. For example, in a Greek “polis” there was a city “*asta*” and rural “*chora*” (Ostrowski 1996). In ancient Rome in turn, this was observed with the advent of – next to villages and farms – suburban and rural villas – *villa suburbana* and *villa rustica* (Böhm 2006: 22). Such a luxurious character of a suburban development is sometimes called exurbanisation (Bruegmann 2005) – in contrast to a suburbanization. In the Middle Ages we deal with, alternately, strengthening and weakening role of the city-core surroundings. At the beginning of the twentieth century, with the invention of a car, a new serious factor emerged, which promoted the development of a sub-urban area. This has led to a huge increase in the territorial scope of functional surroundings.

The phenomenon of urban sprawl was first observed in the United States. Large metropolitan centers on the east coast of the United States on satellite photographs shot at night appear not as points, but clusters of points around the bright nucleus. In the US, the knowledge on the phenomenon of urban sprawl is common; its causes and consequences are known. Urban sprawl is considered in American literature as a side-effect of legislation on urban development, of the availability of housing loans, *etc.*, but also as an inevitable stage in the development of urbanization. The view that urban sprawl is inevitable (“Inevitability Theory” of sprawl) is not uncommon. Urban sprawl is therefore seen as a natural process, resulting from societal (democratization, increasing openness of society, cultural pluralism) and economic changes (associated among others with the increase of wealth), at the same time not undergoing the formation through administrative decisions. However, how Lewyn recognizes, “Inevitability Theory” of sprawl is difficult to prove and maintain, because the comparison between US and European countries show that different urban policies lead to different spatial and socio-economic effects. In European countries the phenomenon of sprawl is much less common; Europeans walk, use the bicycle or public transport to a much greater extent than the people in North America. (Lewyn 2009: 88-89).

In parallel with critical analyzes of the sprawl phenomenon, the concepts of “new urbanism” – or rather “retrieved urbanity” previously lost in a modernist city, were born. Their origins date back to the work of Leon Krier from the late 70s. From this general postmodern direction, at the turn of the twenty-first century emerged the idea of smart sprawl, associated with smart growth. In this case it means designing a settlement area in a way that maintains the attractiveness of living in a “house with a garden,” and at the same time eliminates negative characteristics of territorial

dispersion. Among many works and projects, the pioneering works of Andreas Duany and Elizabeth Plater Zyberk in the United States are particularly notable (starting from 1991).

There is, however, a lack of similar in-depth analyses in Poland, and it must be remembered that both the rank and the function as well as the structure of metropolitan cities are quite different across continents, which makes it difficult to treat American cases in European conditions as fully reliable. But still, it is worth taking a closer look at the American experience in this matter. One of the most important documents illustrating the scale of the problem is a report entitled “Cost of sprawl” (See: Cost of Sprawl 1974). The basis to understand the researchers who posted the report on urban sprawl in the US is the sprawl index, based on four measurable indicators: density of development, variety of development, business structure that activates the power of centers in different parts of a city, and access to road networks. The report examines the relationship of means of transport to the socio-economic potential; it is concluded there that people living at greater distances from big cities tend to drive longer distances more frequently, they have more own cars and are at higher risk of fatal accidents. In regions where millions of extra miles are traveled in order to communicate with the city-core, there is a high level of extra emission from motor vehicles. In addition, studies have shown that in ten most extensive metropolitan areas, there is an average of 180 cars for every 100 households, and in less developed areas there are 162 cars per 100 households. Research shows that this is not simply a matter of greater or lower wealth, even in relation to income *per capita*. Households operating in functional surroundings are more likely to bear costs of additional vehicles in more extensive areas. Further analysis of the report shows that there is reduced willingness to use means of transport alternative to private cars for the purpose of entering the city-core. In the US, a growing part of the population living in the functional area discovers a wide range of problems, mainly related to air pollution, problems with getting to the city center (time, cost), a greater danger in traffic, as well as degradation of often picturesque areas. As the studies of urban sprawl in the US show, the problem for metropolitan centers is the fact that the local economy driving force is smaller. People living in metropolitan areas use less resources of the area related to the sphere of services, especially those basic ones. A service space on the outskirts of cities forms, aimed at servicing the residents of the functional environment. An increase in unemployment in the city-cores is also possible, due to the fact that companies moving to a periphery are willing to hire people from remote areas, who live closer to work and have lower financial requirements. The problem is a scale of the phenomenon, which can cause disturbances in the structure of the labor market. This in turn will have an impact on economic and social potential of the city.

## 2. The essence of the urban sprawl phenomenon

Urban sprawl results on one side from the exuberant, market processes, but also from controllable activities (processes), consisting primarily in creating conditions

by communes located in the metropolitan area to attract external capital. Also important is the fact that the decisions taken by entities (units) on leaving a metropolis to function in the metropolitan area can be both conscious, rational, market, as well as unconscious and non-market. It depends on the reasons favoring the decision on moving to a metropolitan surrounding. Motives and expectations are in turn related to the characteristics of entities and individuals deciding on a change of place of residence or investment. The most conscious and rational in this matter are naturally entrepreneurs, whose business is, simply speaking, to maximize their financial benefits and minimize costs. The location of headquarters or agencies of international companies in office infrastructure of a central part of a metropolitan center is a matter of business profitability and prestige. This trend has persisted since the mid-twentieth century, changing slightly its strength and direction: service and office infrastructure of a metropolis for some becomes too expensive, for others too small- hence there is a tendency for relocation of headquarters to a specially designated sites on the outskirts of a metropolis, or outside its borders, while remaining in the immediate vicinity. Among other things, this resulted in a breakdown of spatial cohesion of metropolises and growing importance of metropolitan areas.

It can therefore be concluded that reasonable steps taken by entrepreneurs are a field for local community governments located around the city-core, to demonstrate their skill and creativity. From a certain perspective, the decision to transfer the seat of your company to a metropolitan area contains a hidden concern for reducing the operating costs of a company; it is however important that this will not be at the expense of the quality of its products or services, as well as restrictions on the activities from the point of view of production capacity and access to external markets. Therefore, rural communities compete with each other, creating conditions to attract external capital.

Formal and legal conditions are different elements. They can be treated either as reasons, or as results of urban sprawl. Spatial planning is one of the key elements of the phenomenon of urban sprawl, and at the same time it is a component contiguous to the formal and legal aspects. In Poland, public administration by their planning work has created an oversupply of land for housing development – if one compares the above figures with the turnover on the market of building plots in 2010, the expected time for sale of resources (supply – demand) is 911 years for development areas included in local plans, while in studies it is 3278 years; it must be taken into consideration that the supply of building land is in fact even higher, as also other land is subject to transfers – in 2010, 113 land development conditions decisions were issued (where the entire single-family housing in Poland in 2010 was approx. 65 thousand new homes). It is estimated that the commitments of communes resulting from the adopted local plans, in connection with the necessary buyout of land for public roads, amount to approx. PLN 130 billion in all the communes of the country.

The presented data show that the spatial planning system is not intended for an ordered in time and space realization of development according to social needs (Zachariasz 2013). Under new conditions of planning, assuming the lack of obligatory local plan as the basis for public investments, a loophole was created, where public

administration does not have the possibility to accomplish spatial intentions in areas where there was no local plans in force. Thus, there was the need to introduce legal instruments allowing for the implementation of public investments, and the need to protect land and space of the state that needed this protection- which does not have to be associated with the creation of comprehensive regulations for the development of settlements (especially for new development). Planning system, comprising numerous and incompatible elements, is ineffective. The problem lies in general, ambiguous provisions, favoring the activities of developers (*e.g.* land development conditions decisions used on a large scale instead of local development plans). A developer earns more if public control is weak and laws vague; they often decide on the creation of infrastructure in a chaotic, inefficient way, from the spatial planning point of view. In addition, for example, the creation of new residential infrastructure in a relatively inexpensive place lacking infrastructure, creates the need for bearing additional costs that are inefficient, doubling an existing network of roads, schools, specialized health centers, or communal infrastructure- elements that should be ensured by authorities of the local level.

In Poland, one of the reasons for the development of urban sprawl is therefore spatial chaos caused by the lack of control and coordination of development planning. It results mainly from the lack of a good law and of a kind of a social culture, a tradition of space management in Poland since Middle Ages. Functional and urban chaos of cities and rising prices of real estate's cause the weakening of the potential of the city-core power, together with reinforcing suburban areas which have potential (coordination problems with socio-economic, spatial and financial planning in cities with county rights). Urban sprawl may be an example of rational behavior of a part of population, who choose to live in a cheaper property in a metropolitan area (an element of the price of a property, next to the margin of a developer, prices of labor and building materials, is the price of land- and it is cheaper than in the administrative boundaries of a metropolitan center), at the expense of *e.g.* more space or a lower loan.

A phenomenon of amorphous development of suburban space also applies to citizens of metropolitan centers. Decisions made by individuals are mostly rational, but sometimes not fully conscious. People affected by the phenomenon of urban sprawl can be divided into the following groups: rich city dwellers looking for peace and quiet, young people of a metropolis "working their way up", seeking housing "on credit", as well as those arriving from non-urbanized areas, willing to use of the resources of the metropolis.

Urban sprawl means also covering large spaces, often of high landscape values, with buildings, often unified, not necessarily suited to local traditions, to the type of landscape, etc. The spread of a city means the formation of unplanned, often chaotic structures "bloating" the city. Urban sprawl is closely linked with the development of personal communication, the building of hypermarkets and shopping malls on the outskirts, as well as with the processes of suburbanization. This phenomenon is almost always associated with the lack of coherence, interruption of the continuity of development, creation of areas with different intensity of use without centers and characteristic features (Gruen 1965).

For functional development of surroundings many capital-intensive investments are needed, which would improve the quality of the life of residents of metropolis' surroundings. They are indispensable in a situation of uncontrolled urban development environment (e.g. development of health care, education establishments, etc.).

### 3. Urban sprawl and the development of the Polish economy

Analyzing migration in Poland between a metropolis and its environment, and the development of the housing sector, one can notice an increase in the significance of metropolitan areas. According to the Central Statistical Office, in 2011, 3.5% less houses was commissioned in Poland than in the previous years. In the cities 79.9 thousand houses were commissioned, which is over 9% less than in 2010, and on non-urban areas – 51 thousand residents compared to 49.7 thousand in the previous year (Zaniewska *et al.* 2005 and later).

The phenomenon of amorphous development of suburban area is a negative one from the perspective of authorities of the city-core. One can talk about a number of dysfunctions: economic, spatial, social, cultural, environmental, or financial. They are linked to each other, and form a self-reinforced syndrome of disadvantageous features. They may cause defective development in all three areas (economy, social life, urban space). Due to the outflow of people, who often make decisions to change the place of residence, as well as business premises, financial capabilities of city authorities shrink. In addition, the phenomenon of urban sprawl fosters chaotic building both in the core area, as well as the in metropolitan area, due to its spontaneous nature.

In addition to the economic and spatial dysfunctions described above, it is worth adding the social, formal and legal aspects. Analyzing social dysfunctions, one should note the relationship between the phenomenon of urban sprawl and defective civil society. In large urban areas there is a great sense of anonymity and hence a low quality of social capital. The point here is about a sense of local patriotism, pride and a sense of belonging to a micro-local community, as well as a sense of responsibility for one's neighborhood. Lack of these feelings is common, hence the lack of a sense of responsibility for their neighborhood and community. In big cities in Poland there are dysfunctions associated with the process of building a local identity – the disappearance of a coherent “reference framework” for a community, lack of (loss of) space (places) defined as common. There are other issues that fits this frailty: first of all dysfunctions in the provision of quality of life at the level of psychological, social, aesthetic, intellectual needs. The need for familiarity, for the feeling of being “at home”, for establishing and maintaining social contacts (neighborhood, social), for aesthetic satisfaction from contacts with the environment, etc. They are much more difficult to be met in the case of amorphous growth of the city.

Often the problem of metropolitan center is the “narcissistic” attitude of city authorities, which is in fact a way of thinking, involving a glorification of their tangible and intangible assets and a non-objective estimation of their efforts to create conditions for development of a socio-economic potential. Negligence of

city authorities stemming from this aspect, are often the cause of a loss of a part of potential. Legal solutions, including ways of their functioning in practice, as well as bad functioning of local authorities, lack of effectiveness in spatial planning and problems associated with social participation in decision-making and a deficiency of social sensitivity for signs of a lack of spatial order are some of the key issues to strengthen the urban sprawl phenomenon. The relationship between spatial order and social order is too rarely noticed.

It should also be noted that we operate in a closed system: entrepreneurship is the engine of local development. The basis for the development of entrepreneurship are human and cultural resources with a well-fitting infrastructure of appropriate quality, supply of knowledge and innovation, quality of public services, environment, space, as well as the condition of public finances. It is obvious that these phenomena coexist. The outflow of businesses and people outside the city means lower receipts from personal income tax and corporate income tax to city coffers. In addition, the outflow of companies has its “snowball effect”, which comprises of making conscious decisions under the influence of decisions taken by competition, *e.g.* due to the weakening of the prestige of a place.

One of the general reasons for the inability to stop the phenomenon of urban sprawl is the fact that there is a growing number of various ways to use the space. The lack of action for the rational use and organization of space will lead to an increased number of actors consuming space and of conflicting interests, to a growing number of “collisions” in terms of expectations and real forms of utilization of space. Different perceptions of space give birth to “collisions” on social, spatial and economic grounds. One of the symptoms of a lack of organization of space is urban sprawl. In this context, the specificity of Polish urban sprawl is an oversupply of developed land (designated in the study of conditions and directions of spatial development of communes and local spatial development plans) in the absence of sufficient regulation of land use planning. This creates an enormous disparity between the demand resulting from the country’s population (approx. 40 million), and supply reports referred to the needs of urban planning at the level of 300 million inhabitants. This in turn poses a threat of intensifying the existing chaos, which already creates a number of dysfunctions.

Solutions from several years ago are not relevant to the needs and challenges. The hegemony of communes makes it difficult, and sometimes impossible to establish effective governance mechanisms. Public interest is lost in municipal business. Functioning of a network of links does not necessarily imply co-operation, however; it affects the cost of economic, social and spatial plans and projects implemented.

It should also be noted that access to land as a common good is, in principle, inviolable. There is no interpretation of what the common good or public interest is, in the context of interests of a commune or *e.g.* of a developer. It may therefore be assumed that there is a lack of guidance as to what the right of ownership is, what is its position towards the right of use, and how does this compare to higher values: harmonization of space, structuring of morphological and functional space. The reason for this is too liberal and general law in the field of spatial planning, which, firstly, allows for interpretations of its provisions, and secondly allows for *e.g.* the

issuance of building permit decisions predominantly on the basis of the so-called “land development conditions decision” and not local development plans, which may be a corruption tool.

Sprawl phenomenon is common and has a tendency to expand, especially considering that the main cause of the modern urban sprawl is the development of automotive equipment. As already mentioned, it is not about stopping this phenomenon, but about the possibility of controlling it. In the US and Western Europe we are talking about “smart sprawl” that would counteract negative spatial, economic and social consequences of the phenomenon. A financial inefficiency associated with the need for municipal infrastructure multiplication because of a poor use of space is the primary negative economic phenomenon. In the context of social phenomena we are talking about the occurrence primarily of socio-cultural differences – of segmentation of Polish society at suburbs; different needs and expectations with respect to the indigenous people of suburbs (demanding attitude, enterprising, the pursuit of co-participation); a greater sense of anonymity with all its consequences.

Certainly in Poland one should seek systemic solutions to combat the uncontrolled proliferation of suburban space, especially that complete leveling of the urban sprawl phenomenon is impossible. Clarification of law provisions and the introduction of more restrictive provisions which would prevent unpermitted development. The latter is a name that can be attributed to decision-making at the request of developers to build housing estates, apartment buildings, commercial and service centers in places that devastate landscape, impairing morphological structure and exposing municipal budget to unnecessary expenses.

The change in social attitude involving the building in a harmonized, symmetrical way making effective use of an available space, leaving no “empty boxes” of no functional role. The perception by local authorities of advantages and disadvantages resulting from the increasing number of inhabitants of individual communes: in addition to a greater tax revenue, this entails the need to involve more financial resources for the implementation of own community tasks; a particularly important element also seems to be a cost of community public utilities, which, inter alia, consist of municipal infrastructure construction costs, which in turn are significantly higher if we are dealing with ineffective management of space. On the basis of the above point, a further reflection arises: there is a need for integrated management of territorial development, which take into account the interests of a larger area than a commune, which will end the competitive behavior of “snatching” the potential by one commune from another, and creating more liberal solutions to attract new businesses and residents without an analysis of economic, spatial and social consequences for a commune. Actions integrating a city-core and communes included in the functional area are particularly desirable.

#### 4. Neoweberian state in relation to amorphous growth of settlement in Poland

One of the most important reactions on dysfunctions regarding amorphous growth of settlement apart the changes the law frameworks is adequate Policy understood as the reaction of public administration at different levels to prevent the unfavorable phenomenons. One of the solutions is the public management paradigm relies on „less democracy” assumption. Strict, clear and impassable rules of spatial policy requires different attitude of public administration than it is in New Public Management and Governance paradigms.

Neoweberian state is a paradigm primarily concerned state structures, or public administration at central level. This does not however mean, that the adoption of the dominant previous public managing models (New Public Management, Governance) remain without consequences for the local administration, including the metropolitan centers. Metropolitan centers are unusually complex organisms, in which a variety of phenomena determines the need for various behaviors guarantee the execution of public tasks, the use of resources for development, program development, create quotes for improving the quality of life of residents, tourists and businesses, as well as ensuring the implementation of a number of other projects that reference the endogenous potential of the city. This also applies to spatial order. It is therefore clear that the city authorities operate in a legal, transparent and equitable (not omitting any of the social groups living in the city-metropolis) with respect to the recipients of public services, have a number of procedures for enrolling in a widely understood concept of bureaucratization of public administration. Acting in conditions of unlimited needs and limited resources, authorities metropolis are trying to compete effectively among themselves for resources (already cited above: entrepreneurs, residents, tourists, knowledge capital, residents of functional area), using the line with the private sector tools to attract potential. Almost every Polish metropolis (regardless of the criteria adopted to distinguish them), we can see the activities of a participatory, promoting co-operation, co-decision and a policy aimed at social mobilization, building civil society and help in the creation of community leaders. Neoweberian state although naturally contradicts some of the assumptions of the idea of co-governing, founded on the rule to strengthen the role of public administration in the process of governance and the principles of legality, appropriateness, economy and reliability of public administration activities, but at the same time use the benefits of previous paradigms of public management.

Raising location attractiveness of territories is one of the key tasks of local authorities, regardless of their resources and barriers to development. Conscious, rational and efficient operation of local government affect not only their own tasks, the implementation of which is an inalienable responsibility of municipalities, counties and regional self-government, but also improve the competitiveness of its territory. Local authorities are obliged to use all the opportunities that will raise territorial competitiveness. This is due to the fact that the local compete for finite resources under any needed. The emergence of a new way of thinking about the role of government in building a competitive advantage, ensuring the collective needs of

citizens and enforce the law is spontaneous and natural consequence of progress and changing conditions. With regard to urban sprawl a question of autocratic attitude of the local government administration needed to maintain harmony between the potential functional and morphological, counteracting the phenomenon of erosion of the tax, and inefficiencies due to financial necessity multipliers infrastructure.

Characteristics approach of the Neoweberian state in public management is undertaken by the public administration analysis of the functioning of all market players in terms of legality, the active involvement of the public administration in the process of building a competitive advantage with a much greater degree of policy autocratic, as well as activities aimed at exposing the most important features and benefits the ideal model of bureaucracy: impersonal public administration, equal to citizens and hierarchical internally; focused primarily on compliance with the law, objective and controllable. Neoweberian state model is therefore a model of public management, in which the first dealing with above average role of government in shaping the rules of the functioning of economies and, secondly, more important than efficiency are: equal access to public services and equality before the law, and transparency (the transparency of the administration). In theory, so we can understand Neoweberian state model of public management as a proactive public administration of a control, order, in the provision of public services, or for the creation of socio-economic development, spatial or cultural, although the attractiveness of location or effectiveness public administration were the classical model of bureaucracy perfect little interest to the public administration.

The role of public administration in the process of creation is gaining more and more significance, despite the liberalization of economic processes. We are dealing with more and more powerful, polarized phenomena: on the one hand, thanks to the ubiquitous phenomena of globalization, metropolisation and networking of the economy, an increasing number, scope and nature of free market processes, detached from the influence of public administration. The number of daily transactions of sale of goods and services, exchange of financial transactions, the creation of knowledge and innovation, people migrating, have long exceeded the cognitive abilities of a single man. It should bear in mind that a considerable part of the process of free-market has long been a global dimension. This means, however, social and economic stratification of the world (the division into place highly privileged and strongly excluded), and therefore the need of public administration activities. We have to do sometimes even with the social expectations of public administration activities polegającymi not only on the implementation of public services or activities for planning, but also entering public administration entities in the role of regulator processes the free market and the arbitrator and initiator of measures to ensure public order, the deficit is one of the side effects of the dominance of free-market processes.

It is possible to agree with the opinion that Poland is in a period of severe crisis in area of spatial planning. The most serious problems in this area are: reconciliation the interests of different groups of residents and users of different areas as well as delivering the occasions to reconcile the different development goals, economic, social and environmental. (Radziejowski 2002: 20).

In Polish conditions, as indicated by Lisowski and Grochowski suburbanization is not stimulated by the development of transport networks, but rather for the game interests of the actors involved in the game for space – local authorities and investors. Unfortunately, the practices in municipalities are driven by short-term interests, parceling out land for construction sites is not related to a long-term plan, but rather the partial interests of individual investors. This leads to the creation of new built-up areas in random, without proper infrastructural facilities, without resources of land. (Lisowski & Grochowski 2008: 250).

## Summary

Neoweberian model of public management understood as an increase of the influence of public administration on broadly defined free market and spatial processes means increased activity of controllable processes at every level of their operation – although some literature mentions primarily about the central government in this case. At the central level the activity of the public administration is primarily to create an appropriate legal frameworks, system conditions which would be the starting point for the implementation of solutions at different levels of territorial organization of the territories. Extremely important is the way of thinking that depends on convincing the public authorities of the irreplaceable role of themselves in building a competitive advantage. This belief derives in turn from the way of thinking about the limited utility of excessive liberalization of laws and frailties public administration activities resulting from the policy of participatory. This therefore forms part of the way of thinking about neoweberian state as a model – as in the case of the other – produced as a result of the needs and functioning to some extent, however based on the previous or the preceding paradigms.

A remnant of the ideal model of bureaucracy is to return in the twenty-first century. For activities aimed at ensuring the precision of the law, as well as the tools necessary for their execution. For example, this refers to the internal activities of the public administration contributing to improve the readability of procedures, management of resources necessary to perform the public duties and to strengthen the efficiency of tasks. One of the typical activities specific to revise the plans for spatial planning, enriched with measures of implementation; improvement of legislation by creating and strengthening legislative offices; implementation of tasks aimed at strengthening the media about the activities of the public administration, their necessity, friendliness, professionalization and possible cooperation between the public and private sphere, NGOs and individuals.

With regard to the conclusions linking the phenomenon of urban sprawl with the paradigm of public management, it should be noted that this is a consequence of social, economic and spatial phenomena: the resources of space are not unlimited, nature loses its capacity for self-renewal and technological advances are not in a position to repair what has been broken (Parteka 2001).

In the context of the phenomenon of urban sprawl in Poland it is necessary to regain control over the space of suburb in Poland. There is impossible to stop the

phenomenon of urban sprawl, but you can try to control it. The controlled process of urban sprawl would be named “smart sprawl” and its foundation would be based on the idea of respect for the space so the morphological and functional point of view. The idea is to prevent damage to its space by scatterization of the landscape. The point spread – the most efficient use of space, creating compact, and if not possible – monofunctional or harmonious in terms of functionality. Born a can of two planes: a good law and human mentality (so far in Poland built “as who wants”), which change can occur only in the next generation.

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