Józef KOMOROWSKI

INTERNATIONALISATION – A MODERN PATH OF DEVELOPMENT FOR EUROPEAN CITIES

1. Internationality of cities as a current research problem

Problems of big cities became interesting for researchers at the beginning of the eighties when one could observe the effects of rapid changes in American and European metropolises caused, among other, by the growth of economic freedom on international markets and also by changes in the field of technology, transport and telecommunications.

On the one hand, the rapid qualitative development of cities was supported by the growing space for economic activity in Europe and in the world. This was also due to the growth and globalisation of trade exchange between European and non-European countries. Competition inceased significantly particularly in the three-polar political-economic system of USA-Japan-Europe. Many researchers are of the opinion that this fact played an essential role in the dynamic promotion of big cities in the world (Bonneville, Buisson 1991, Hirst, Thompson 1992). On the other hand, the phenomena connected with economic and social promotion of big cities were accompanied by a decentralization of power and an increase in local governments' authority. The decentralised German model was a particularly encouraging example in this respect.

From the outset of the eighties one can observe, particularly in the EU countries, the growth of cooperation as well as a multi-sector exchange between cities at the national and international levels. City authorities quickly recognized opportunities in the policy of internationalisation and in supporting this trend of development.

The year 1992, when the European Union opened its internal market creating additional incentives for competition, modernisation, flow of development factors,

higher quality of services and infrastructure, marked a breakthrough in the competition between cities, particularly in Western Europe and in the intensification of the processes of internationalisation.

By the early eighties in France, for example, competition between cities became a general procedure already when decentralisation of the state power was initiated. Laws and regulations on the transfer of power from the centre to the regions and cities were formulated in the years 1982-1983. From that time there have been many changes in the dynamics of development of the French cities (Gaudin 1993).

These new impulses, occurring not only in France, went in two directions which were, and still are, accompanied by the idea of the internationality of cities as one of the ways leading to their success. The first direction is competition (in the economic and cultural sense) and in the selection of strategies on how to create the most favourable image of a city. The second direction is a tendency to a maximum differentiation of the economic and employment structures of the city, among others, through creating conditions for starting different forms of activity in the city. In some cases one can note a definite tendency to maximise differentiation within the main function of the city, e.g. trade-services (Barcelona, Milan, Karlsruhe, Miluza, La Coruña) . A higher share of the third sector in the economic structure of the city, including the growing significance of international directive functions fulfilled by some city institutions and enterprises, clearly confirms the further progress of internationalisation of cities (Gaudin 1993). Conversely, cities which are struggling with limited differentiation of their functions and economic structure are at present not very attractive to investors (e.g. Cardiff, Bristol, Charleroi, Liège, St.Etienne, Valenciennes and others).

Studying the process of internationalisation of cities is a very suggestive method and the one which explains very adequately the current development of cities in short time intervals. The result is an understanding of the conditions and the opportunities of participating in the process of internationalisation but also a chance to observe to what extend a city gets involved in this process and how it compares to other cities. Such studies result in numerous practical conclusions for the development of a strategy for the city and its surrounding regions. These conclusions may concern, among others, the following areas:

– modern, open city management,

– improvement of open world-friendly internal infrastructure (i.e. quality of business park, financial incentives, internal air connections , offer of space for different activities, large scope of services development support),

– international activity in the field of external infrastructure (i.e. international transportation links, telecommunication facilities, hotels, congress organisation infrastructure),

– activties aimed at developing intellectual potential.

When analysing the phenomenon of internationalisation of cities we must take into account the fact that a city is a complex dynamic system constantly transforming its structure. The aim of these transformations is to increase the economic effectiveness of the city and thus to generate higher and higher surplus value. Its transformed structure allows the city to gradually adapt to and perform new functions thanks to which it becomes more dynamic, uses its local potential more efficiently and attracts external resources more effectively (Domański 1995).

The transformations lead to the increased importance and success of the city on the international scene. These processes show clear synergic features and the city becomes more and more attractive and thus able to compete with other cities.

When the city opens toward external contacts, economic entities mobilise around a certain path of development. They change their attitudes to ones which are expected to have higher utility, and therefore greater effectiveness. Specific sectors of city's economy interact more intensively and aim at creating a certain model. These interactions form changing configurations of the city economy (Domański 1995). One of these configurations may have as its objective international links which provide wider opportunities for development.

The above mentioned mobilisation of the city's economic entities around certain goals is currently stimulated by marketing activities of city authorities who perceive the advantages of the city as having market values which, as such, are subject to promotional activities aimed at offering them to investors in the most favourable way. These activities formed the bases for the development of city marketing as an important and practical method of promoting cities (Komorowski 1993).

In this sense city marketing has given a new impulse to the process of internationalisation of cities. The city is like a locomotive of growth fed by internal and external sources which, along with its growing dynamics, become increasingly interdependent and start to create links and receive feedback of different force which leads to the strengthening of the city as an international centre. The growing networks of links between European cities and also between those outside Europe, lead to geopolitically significant processes of integration, at the same time strengthening the geopolitical stability of the given region. On the other hand, processes of internationality strengthen economic security of cities due to the diversification of their economies resulting not only from internal sources but also from their external links.

However, due to factors such as the rapid growth of mobility of capital generating different kinds of links between external and internal sources of the cities, the general distinction between the external and the internal becomes increasingly unclear. The image of these links is more and more complicated (Olds 1995).

Apart from the city's own values, its dynamics are influenced by the values of other cities accessible from a given city. Therefore, one can state that in

accordance with the physical law of potential, internal values and accessible external values make up the localisation potential of a city (Domański 1995). This potential could be, among others, expressed by a synthetic indicator – a measure of the internationality of a city.

The new geopolitical circumstances which emerged in Europe during the 1980/ 1990s were most strongly felt by capitals of European countries and by other big cities performing significant, international, directve functions (e.g. Paris, London, Brussels, Frankfurt am der Menn, Milan, Turino, Montpelier and others). These are the centres of the greatest opportunities resulting from many different historical and modern factors. They are also areas where many cultural, technological and consumption models have become similar (Dijking 1993).

Research on the internationality of a city, opportunities and advantages from its development towards performing international functions is significant, not only from the cognitive but also from the practical point of view. The city performing international functions or intending to localise in its area the biggest possible number of institutions and economic activities of a dynamic nature has an important position in the system of cities. It also plays a fundamental role in the development of the adjacent regions. Such a city concentrates and continuously attracts new international economic factors. Internationality triggers forces and processes which soon exceed the city boundaries and influence further space.

If we assume that a better infrastructure and quality of live are today the most important and direct symptoms of a city's success, it can be stated that the process of internationalisation of cities is one of its accompanying effects. On the other hand, a consistent tendency to improve numerous parameters of the city is a force which improves the living standard of the city's inhabitants (Sallez 1993).

Among numerous studies on internationalisation of cities, worth mentioning are the first comprehensive studies carried out in the USA. After the mid-eighties these studies were led by the N.I.C.E. (New International Cities Era) programme covering a comparative analysis of the chosen indicators of 33 American and European cities. The results of these studies made it possible to reveal a frequently surprising state and dynamic of internal and international links between the analysed cities (Soldatos 1989, Fry 1989).

These studies were a starting point to working out a typology of cities with respect to their internationality. They were also a basis for further research, e.g. in France. The studies by Soldatos (1989) rendered, first of all, several fundamental results, out of which the most important are:

- identification of the so-called strategic criteria to define the profile of an international city
- identification of a new generation of international cities
- determination and characteristics of two types of cities of international profile, i.e. an international city-space (of a passive type) and an international

"actor" city (of an active type) continuously creating its own internationality. It can be said that the first type is a city of the state of internationality and the second type is a city of the process.

– distinction between basic, the frequently undistinguished international features and the international function of a city

– a more detailed definition of an international city performing directive functions.

Soldatos defined the criteria of internationalisation corresponding to the profile of modern international cities. These general criteria make it possible to search for and formulate adequate measures of internationalisation necessary for empirical research. According to Soldatos, a modern international city is characterised by (Soldatos 1990):

– geographical location facilitating the city's opening to the world,

– concentrated factors of production from abroad (foreign investments), foreign manpower and trade-service links with foreign countries,

– the presence of seats of foreign and international institutions, e.g. firms, banks, socio-economic institutions, cultural and scientific institutions, international organisations, international schools, universities, consulates and other diplomatic, trade and tourist institutions,

– export of factors of production of its economic institutions, e.g. enterprises, banks, etc. and also social, cultural and scientific institutions which have their branches, departments and agencies abroad,

– the presence of well-developed system of socio–economic links (e.g. tourism, telecommunications),

– a service sector partly oriented toward the servicing of international links (convention halls, hotels, international schools, free profession offices receiving orders from abroad e.g. lawyers' offices, international arbitration, auditors' offices, and the like),

– the presence of seats of mass media of international range and significance,

– the regular presence of all types of international events (conferences, exhibitions, fairs, festivals, sports events),

– the presence of the so-called city para-diplomacy e.g. maintaing bilateral contacts with other cities abroad resulting in many undertakings of international character and participation in international associations of cities, and the like,

– the presence of inhabitants of different ethnic structure.

Many of the above mentioned criteria of internationality of cities are of indirect and secondary character, i.e. on the one hand facilitating the city's international functions or resulting from the cities status as such. However, according to Soldatos there are two most significant factors of a city's internationality which are of direct and overwhelming character and influence the functioning of the other factors. These are: the presence of large firms and international organisations

and the presence of headquarters of large international firms or branches of these headquarters (e.g. European divisions of American firms and the like). The functioning of these factors must be supported by a well-organised network of strategic services maintaining the international character of the city. The strategic factors of internationality include: finance, insurance, auditing, legal, consulting services, communication services (transport and telecommunications), public relations, advertising, publishing, construction services, services connected with management, research, health, hotels and education.

Research carried out by C. Rozenblat and D. Pumain (1993) underlines the existence of one more, extremely important factor of a city's internationality, i.e. easy access (transport links) and availability of hotel accomodation. The authors draw a conclusion which is very important for the city management. They are of the opinion that the more accessible the cities are, the more likely it is that foreign investment as well as foreign subsidiaries and headquarters will be located there, thus strengthening the international functions of the city.

The French research into the problem of city internationalisation viewed as a certain state and into the processes of internationalisation of the city centres was more extensively undertaken at the turn of 1980/1990s under the circumstances mentioned earlier. Marc Bonneville(Bonneville 1991) and his team analysed 22 cities, basing on the empirical material coming from specially prepared questionnaires sent to authorities of the chosen cities, universities, chambers of commerce and planning institutions. Conceptionally, however, this research was partly based on the American experience, mainly on the N.I.C.E. Programme (Soldatos 1989).

The French research went in two directions. The first one was oriented towards the analysis of selected European cities thus called an international trend. Following the selection and comparison of data and the elimination of the cities whose data were incomplete, the analysis encompassed 10 cities in the European Union.

On the basis of data concerning features of city internationalisation such as:

– concentration of economic activity ensuring and regulating international links (i.e. number of foreign banks, foreign insurance comapnies, the number of employees in the banks and insurance companies),

– internationality and specialisation of a city's economic base (data determining the city's export/import relations),

– air transport links and,

– number of fairs and international exhibitions

the research made it possible to positively verify two fundamental theses:

a) economic internationalisation may be characteristic of the cities which are not capitals, traditionally regarded as fundamental concentrations of such activities,

b) certain social and professional groups, different in particular cities, are the main carriers of the internationalisation process.

At the same time the researchers in France analysed internationalisation of French cities (domestic trend). The university in Lyon carried out (paralelly to the previously mentioned studies) research on the example of three cities from Rhône-Alpes region (Grenoble, Lyon, St.Etienne) concentrating mainly on statistics concerning the sector structure of employment, the professional structure of the population, professional activity according to job category and also according to the origin of the employed (Bonneville 1992).

More extensive studies on internationalisation of French cities were led by the Institute of Urban Economy in Paris (Nexialis 1990) presenting a very detailed analysis on the example of 32 cities excluding Paris. Finally, the studies covered 13 indicators which were divided into two groups, i.e. those of exclusively economic nature and those of cultural character plus services connected with tourism.

Each of the ultimately accepted indicators contained a combination of the value of many series of statistical data reduced to the relative form. On the basis of a multi–criteria analysis the researchers classified the French cities, attributing to each of them an adequate number of points conneced with the values of particular criteria.

These studies provide a wide view on how advanced French cities are in the process of internationalisation, basing not only on the data obtained from the questionnaires but also on the information from data banks of important French economic journals (L' Expansion and L'Entreprise).

An important contribution to the research on European cities, their position depending on the functions performed (i.e. international functions) was made by D. Pumain and T. Saint–Julien who determined the position of cities in Europe analysing subsequently their hierarchy and dynamics of changes within the currently performed functions. Their research referred to the main challenges of the new situation in which modern European cities found themselves (1991).

Also R.Brunet in a well–known report for the DATAR analyses along with co–workers the West–European cities with a population of over 200.000 inhabitants on the basis of the accepted 16 indicators, offering an interesting classification and typology of cities according to their functions and international position (Brunet 1989). The authors note, that the European economic space is shaped with respect to a network of cities and is still being organised around big city centres, particularly those whose significance and international functions are growing. Moreover, they are of the opinion that the decisions of investors whom the cities want to attract are based (apart from a few cases) on narrower or wider knowledge of the specificity of cities, on their advantages (values) including those of international character, and not on their position in the hierarchy of functions which they perform in a given country. Therefore, R. Brunet did not take into account the administrative functions of the cities in his classification.

2. Internationalisation of cities – a state or a process ?

The question whether internationalisation of cities is a state or a process begins with a concept of generally differentiating its two types, i.e. passive and active internationality. The first type can be, in a way, given to the city by its history, exceptional location, or the unique character of its historical monuments. The second type of internationalisation involves cities which gradually, thanks to their activity acquire international character, creating in their structures economic-political organisms of decision-making character of different spatial range. The first type of internationality of cities concerns the so-called cities-spaces (Soldatos 1989, Pumain 1991) i.e. cities where international functions are maintained or accepted and not emited (exported) in a passive way resulting from a specific historical-spatial situation. An example of such a city is Venice. The second type of international cities are cities-actors which are distinguished by definite dynamic values favouring the development of international functions. These are innovative cities which through their economic structures/intellectual potential etc. create progress. These cities aim at achieving a greater and greater potential of institutions and services supporting and developing key international functions (large financial institutions, multinational firms, headquarters of international organisations, telecommunication junctions, teleports, boards and production base of high technology industries, international transport junctions, etc.). To this group of cities belong London, Brussels, Milan, Frankfurt, Paris, Berlin and others).

When we analyse the state of a city's economy and its infrastructure of international character, we can regard this problem either as a starting point for the analysis or as a target point, keeping in mind that we have to deal with a phenomenon which by nature is not in a state of inertia.

The initial state takes into account all these symptoms of internationality which have already occurred in the city and which had a certain level of the accepted measures. These can be properties characteristic of the city, e.g. acquired in the past or new features coming from the outside or induced by the primary properties.

Obtaining a full picture of facts concerning internationality and not only the possibilities of internationality is of great significance for practical activities which aim at improvement of economic situation and higher competitiveness of the city.

The target point, as the second approach to the internationalisation of cities, practically means setting a path to the development of defined factors of internationality towards a target which would be the change of the starting point indicators and achievement of a greater effectiveness of the city. The target point is therefore a state continuously moving along with the changing technological and administrative-organisational opportunities to attain it. Thus the target state im-

plies a process subject to numerous conditions and modulations which can be different as regards a country, a continent or the globe. Therefore, the processes of internationalisation of cities, e.g. American and European cities, measured with similar measures, takes a different course, they have a different forces and speeds, from shifts within the main factors and subjects of this process. Even within Europe itself big cities had differentiated opportunities to rapidly join the process of internationalisation, due to their location in large or small countries. For example, French, British and German cities faced more difficult conditions for internationalisation, unlike the cities from smaller countries, such as Belgium or the Netherlands, where international links materialised much quicker (Bonneville 1991)].

Internationality of a city is a rather static concept expressing a degree (a certain state) of its integration with the network of international exchange. On the other hand, internationalisation is a process reflecting the opening of local economic factors (local potential) to international contacts and links.

Such a distinction of the above mentioned concepts implies the need to accept a partly different approach to empirical data, research methods and to the interpretation of results.

In the first case we have the material for static comparisons of cities, their ranking according to the degree of their international character, analysis of the structures of cities according to the main elements defining this character, and the like.

In the second case there is a need to analyse the phenomenon of internationality as a process. The possibility to analyse this in several time profiles makes it possible to observe, compare and evaluate the paths of internationality of the studied cities and periods of crisis. It also allows one to compare which structures composed of defined components of internationality proved to be the most effective and which cities they apply to. By means of the analysis supplemented by other criteria e.g. historical, economic, political, spatial or social, one can achieve a more complex picture of the analysed cities, representing the history of their developmental opportunities up to the current state which has significant practical values. This can facilitate a possibly comprehensive presentation of the city and allows the external investors to easily choose the investment target which is the city itself or its neighbourhood. This also allows the internal decision-makers to pay attention to the existing weak points in the competitive power or attractiveness of their city. These weak points would be expressed as a certain sum of the objectively existing components which can be subject to corrective measures.

Under the current progressive metropolisation and globalisation of the city economy the role of cities is constantly growing and acquiring a fundamental nature which frequently conditions progress. Today, a country which does not have a large metropolis, i.e. a city centre whose functional character exceeds the

national level, has difficulties in attracting economic activities of managerial, controlling or strategic character. Therefore, as can be expected, many of the restrictions which were anticipated and imposed on the development of large cities in the sixties and seventies were abandoned. This was due to completely new challenges and opportunities which appeared in the field of technology, telecommunications, transport, computer science and management.

Modern cities may be characterised by the fact that:

– they have increasingly equal conditions of development,

– they become more and more similar in their economic structure according to sectors, making for the development of the third sector,

– they develop stronger and stronger economic and spatial links – under open borders and an increasing number of different kinds of flows, the cities entered the path of ruthless competition,

– the fundamental path of the current development of big and medium size cities is the development of their infrastructure, mainly to attract high technology investment.

Taking into account the above mentioned general conditions of the modern development of big and medium size cities, one can assume that there exist several phases in which a city gains an international character.

Phase I "national" – in this phase cities of a given area or a country with a defined demographic and economic potential develop mainly on the basis of favourable endogenic values. These conditions include geographical factors, historical factors, a favourable policy of the state or regional authorities, improved infrastrcuture and development by means of endogenic forces of the city coming also from the values of its region. In this phase the city primarily develops the links at the regional or national level.

Phase II – the phase of internationalisation of cities – in this phase more and more strongly linked with technological, organisational and political progress, growth of contacts exceeding the boundaries of the country occurs. There appear synergic effects resulting from the multiplication of economic and cultural advantages originating from the new, more and more intensive international links between cities. The bigger these links, the bigger the potential absorption of innovations and the higher the endogenic values of cities. Here we have to deal with a clear process of internationalisation of cities at the level of the continent which is reflected by:

– convergence – similarity of forms, convergence of interests and economic factors, a concentration of different undertakings of international character, and the like,

– cummulating motivation of the inhabitants to make their city international. In a way this is a shift in people's mentality and aspirations to a higher level, more demanding but offering bigger advantages. These advantages are more widely understood not only by individuals but also by economic entities,

– the emergence of new institutions and undertakings of international character, growth of international links in the field of transport, telecommunications, culture, production technologies etc.

Effects can be measured by the simple growth in the values of appropriate measures which will be discussed further on.

Phase II concerns today the majority of European cities with a population over 200.000, if one takes into account the main symptoms of internationalisation discussed earlier (Brunet 1989). It should also be noted that these are cities of a very differentiated integration potential necessary for the process of internationalisation. This differentiation results from the existence and impact of many parameters belonging to those which define external values of the city and also its geographical conditions.

As concerns the city-region relations generally can occur three variations in the phase of internationalisation of cities:

a) a city subject to an intensive process of internationalisation may experience strong concentration in many respects, thus contributing to the draining of economic forces from the adjacent region and to developmental inequalities between the region and the city,

b) if strong internationalisation, is controlled to some degree by city and regional authorities, it may lead to an intensification of economic activities in the region which would be a better alternative than the first situation,

c) in the case of acute infrastructural differences between the city and the region, the processes of internationalisation are slower (in the case of non-capital cities) and concentrate in the city itself or in its nearest neighbourhood. The city seems then to become an island of the higher standard of living and more economic activities and links. This situation is favourable for the city only to some extend. However, in the course of time it may provoke a considerable rise in investment costs. In the long run this may definitely discourage investors, who will search elsewhere in the region or in another city of competitive values. These phenomena may be favourable only in the capital city which by nature concentrates and attracts international functions. For other types of cities these functions could prove disadvantageous in the long run.

Phase III – "globalisation of cities" – reflects a relatively new process. This phase in its intensive form covers only very few cities. Globalisation refers to two different phenomena (Olds 1995):

– the city's political, economic and social activities start to acquire a global range,

– growth in the variety of planes of mutual interaction and links between countries and societies occurs and leads to the establishment of an international society.

The economy and the societies become increasingly dependent on one another due to multiplication of different kinds of feedback. In this process a fundamental

role is played by the flow of thoughts, ideas, capital, people and information. However, it should be underlined that globalisation forces are unequal, non-homogeneous and create a complicated network of processes.

In Europe's global cities, the ones which concentrate directive political, economic and financial power of international character and range are cities like London, Paris and Frankfurt (Brunet 1989).

Based on R. Domański description of the main phenomena connected with the economic dynamics of the city (Domański 1995) it is possible to outline the course of the process of internationalisation of a city under modern economic and political conditions.

1) With increased competition, increased effectiveness of the urban economy becomes the city's strategic goal. Thanks to the transformation of its existing structures, the city acquires new abilities to fulfill the new functions and to improve old ones. The city becomes more dynamic due to favourable internal and external conditions. Adaptation phenomena in the fields which create the socio-economic and cultural sphere of the city appears much more clearly than before. The city adjusts to new technologies, consumers' needs, forms of trade, ways and intensity as well as quality of leisure time spent by its inhabitants etc. The new or improved ways of life and economic activity adapted by the city partly come from abroad and they may be an initial signal of the process of internationalisation.

2) More clearly than before one can notice changes and shifts in the factors influencing the city's general effectiveness.

Adaptation processes within the city lead to a significant selection of the hierarchy of factors decisive for its development (Domański 1995). This selection may be intensified under the impact of the processes of internationalisation of the city or a part of its economy.

3) After some time changes occur in the financial conditions of the functioning of particular sectors of urban economy. These changes usually lead to higher prices of land, real estate, services, transport, and other things. The city's image may change quickly and thereby attracting external investors, who may be renowned investors, banks, agencies or the board of a renowned company. This may serve to iniciate or accelerate the process of internationalisation which will be reflected in more or less rapid synergic phenomena, consisting in attracting new investors willing to place themselves in a "good neighbourhood" in order to creating a better image of a firm.

The conviction that firm may have better image when is located near the firm or firms of world-wide fame is more and more current. In this case it means not only the phisical (geographical) proximity but also suggests possible opportunities resulting from the cooperation with such firms.

4) As the result, city increasingly opens itself to the international links generating more and more surplus value which originates from its groving effective-

ness. The city improves its import-export activities, develops its innovative abilities and human intelectual potential as well. In this way the city creates basis for new technologies and activities which are being introduced into city's economy. At the same time the number of people having a similar international motivations raises. The city becomes more international due to the quantitative and qualitative changes of internationalisation's factors.

This aspect will be discussed in the next part of the paper.

3. Measures of internationalisation

This part of the article characterises measures which can represent both the current state of city's internationality and enable the evaluation of the internationalisation processes. There will also be a discussion of measures which indirectly reflect the city's striving for internationality, taking into account the possibilities of applying these measures to Polish cities.

There are many problems with measuring internationalisation, particularly when there is a need for a comparative analysis of cities at the national or international level. The difficulty lies mainly in different data sources, their incompleteness and different interpretations of concepts by different institutions. These limitations are shown by A.Bonneville and M.Buisson (1993), who ultimately selected for analysis 16 European metropolises. This analysis was based on initially very differentiated materials obtained from questionnaires sent to the authorities of the selected cities. The authors finally accepted 9 measures which seem to originate from the criteria of city internationalisation defined by Soldatos (1989) and discussed previously.

The analysis by Bonneville and Buisson (1991) and other researchers (Soldatos 1989, Brunet 1989,Rosenblatt 1993) confirms that the processes of internationalisation of cities concentrate around the third sector of economy. This means that the city's internationality is closely connected with the development of the tertiary sector and that this sector is the most appropriate economic environment for the development of internationalisation processes.

The measures accepted by Bonneville and Buisson can give rise to objections as to how much they reflect the phenomena of internationalisation. The authors, however, adopted an indirect approach to this process, realising that the empirical material collected in the course of their studies refers to the French cities (excluding Paris) which are not European metropolises.

They used measures which only partially express internationality indirectly and which were the only way to present the problem in their comparative studies.

As has been already mentioned, internationalisation of the city is a very complex phenomenon, even if treated only in terms of state or process. Such an approach implies certain defined measures. They can be both of common char-

acter, i.e. they can express phenomena in each of the analysed cities, and they can be of individual nature, when they refer to very differentiated cities as regards population (e.g. other measures used for metropolises and cities with from 200 -500 thousand inhabitants).

For example, direct or "classical" measures express the international character of each city regardless of its size, e.g. the number of international firms, the number of agencies or foreign firms' subsidiaries*, etc.

Indirect "special" measures, however, are used in the case of a set of cities whose comparison and analysis of internationality may prove difficult due to the lack of classical measures.

The outline and division of indirect and direct measures referring to internationality presented here is a research proposal in this field, with particular reference to the analysis of medium size Polish cities (table).

The list of measures indirectly or directly describing the internationality of cities can be extended, particularly the group of indirect measures whose links with internationality as a state or a process can be perceived differently also as regards the size of cities.

In case of Polish cities much attention should be paid to uniform indirect factors because the direct ones are not yet strong enough and they cannot be fully compared either to the analysed cities or to time profiles. Indirect measures reflect the city's potential for the initiation and the course of internationalisation. The measures presented in the specification correspond to the general criteria of internationality defined by Soldatos (1990) and discussed in the first part of the article.

---

* The number of agencies or foreign firm branches (whose headquartes are in another country) reflects meaning of foreign investments in a given city. It also refers to that part of the urban economy which is inextricably linked with external networks (external factors of development). The studies prove that both the geographical location and the size of cities seem to explain the intencity of links between branches of foreign firms in certain cities of Western Europe. C. Rosenblat and D. Pumain (1993) conclude that links and dependencies resulting from them (some cities receive more foreign firms than they locate their own in other cities) do not mean a difficult situation for these cities.

Cities can draw many advantages out of this imbalance.These benefits result from a better and closer integration within the European metropolitan system. The system of links and exchange of economic activities between agencies of foreign firms in different cities is difficult to interpret,as these links are usually indirect, and occur through intermediary firms controlling a series of firms in other cities in the same country.

Here we deal with cities intermediating in the process of control, links and interdependencies. Such an approach seems to make interpretation of the city's international character more real. This approach makes it possible to see and to determine the city's international features which are hidden in indirect, although wery important factors.

Measures of internationality of the city (measures of the city's openness to international links)

Group of measures	Indirect measures	Direct measures
I. Measures connected with the city's demographic potential	1. The number of inhabitants of the city, agglomeration and region and relations between the number of inhabitants 2. Age structure of the city's population including the per cent share of people in productive age (e.g. 24-44 years)	
II. Measures connected with the structure of employment and intellectual potential	3. Structure of employment according to economic sectors including of: – structure of employment in sector III – number of university students per 10 000 inhabitants	1. Number of institutions of higher education 2. Number of scientific research workers in the city's universities and research institutes
III. Measures connected with spatial accessibility	4. Number of international incoming and outgoing telephone connections	3. Number of international railway connections per day 4. Number of international air links per week (arrivals and departures) 5. Number of air connections within the country per week 6. Number of passengers in air transport (including foreigners) arrivals and departures (without transit) 6a. Number of ferry links (per week) in the case of ports

IV. Measures connected with urban economy, standard of living and tourism	5. Number of cooperation agreements between the city and abroad 6. Size of hotel accomodation	7. The ratio between the value of the city's exports and imports 8. Number of domestic and foreign financial institutions located in the city (banks, insurance companies) 9. Number of foreign firms and mixed companies in relation to the total number of firms registered in the city 10. Number of international fairs, displays and exhibitions of trade character 11. Number of exhibitions and other international events of cultural character 12. Number of international conferences congresses and conventions annualy held in the city 13. Number of foreigners staying in city hotels 14. Number of consulates and other state agencies as well as non-trade cultural representative offices 15. Number of concerts and other international cultural events

Comparison of the set of Polish cities in terms of internationality is interesting from the cognitive point of view, particularly when there is a possibility of comparison over time, even over-short periods. One can assume that the processes of internationalisation in Polish cities became clear and much more intensive in the period 1990-1996.

Such studies would make it possible to:

1) identify the Polish cities in which the process of internationalisation is taking place

2) identify whether different processes of internationalisation exist (or not) in the Polish cities i.e. what elements in these processes differ as regads the studied cities

3) investigate the extent of links which may occur between the city's economic success and the process of internationalisation

4) determine whether in the analysed period there were any condition favouring internationalisation of Polish cities, for instance, changes in the city's economy and employment oriented towards the service sector

5) work out the typology of the analysed Polish cities with exceed 100-150 thousand inhabitants in terms of the degree of internationalisation.

Conclusions

Summing up the considerations of this article, one can ask the question: what does the process of internationalisation of cities offer? The answer may be summarized in several points. Every single point may be a separate research problem requiring empirical verification and may also be a significant source of information for the city's decision makers.

1) The internationality of a city is a resource which can be better or worse exploited by the city. The effectiveness of this use depends on many factors,

2) the internationality of a city is a result of a specific type of development reflecting and creating success,

3) internationality stimulates new kinds of economic and cultural activities of the city inhabitants or strengthens the already existing ones,

4) through direct and indirect symptoms the process of city's internationalisation contributes to the growth of interest of international investors looking for convenient "international" locations. These are the locations whose infrastructure and services may ensure efficient operation at the international level,

5) internationalisation of the city stimulates the activity of domestic investors looking for location with access to international contacts and links,

6) the process of internationalisation skillfully managed by the city authorities may trigger new endogenic forces within the city's economy. Their development

and effectiveness contribute to the growth of surplus value generated in the city, and thus to the growth of economic effectiveness,

7) internationalisation processes contribute to the increasing city – region integration through multiplying links at different levels. This seems to be particularly significant and noticeable in the modern development of Europe beyond the borders of political-economic groups.

References

Bonneville M., Buisson M. A., Commercon N., Rousier N., Villes Européennes et internationalisation, Programme Rhône-Alpes. Recherches en Sciences Humaines, 1991.

Bonneville M., Buisson M. A., Rousier N., De internationalité à l'internationalisation des villes: Evolution d'une démarche de recherche, Colloque – Avancement de la recherche comparative sur les villes européennes, October 1993.

Dijking G. J., Windows to the World: The political future of European capitals, in: Capital Cities in Europe, vievs, worries and interrogations, Centrum voor Grootstedelik Onderzoek, Amsterdam 1993.

Domański R., Transformacja systemów miejskich w terminach synergetyki, Przegląd Geograficzny 1995, z. 1-2.

Hirst P., Thompson G., The problem of globalisation: International economic relations, national economic management and the formation of trading blocs, Economy and Society 1992, no. 21/4.

Olds K., Globalisation and the production of new urban spaces: Pacific Rim Megaproject in the late 20-th century, Environment and Planning 1995, vol. 27.

Fry E. H., Radebauk L. H., Soldatos P., The New International City Era: The global activities of North American Municipal Governments, Brigham Joung University 1989.

Soldatos P., The N.I.C.E. Project, Université de Montréal 1989.

Komorowski J., Marketing miejski i jego znaczenie we współczenym rozwoju miast, in: Prace z zakresu gospodarki przestrzennej, ed. **R. Domański**, Zeszyty Naukowe A.E., Seria I, z. 206, Poznań, 1993.

Sallez A., Les Villes, Lieux d'Europe. DATAR/Editions de l'Aube, Paris 1993.

Soldatos P., Colloque International sur: „Les villes Européennes: Stratégies et projects urbains", Collection Etudes et Travaux, no. 17, p. 38-52, Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg 6-8 juin 1990.

Nexialis C., L'Internationalité des villes francaises. Une approche multi-criteres, Institut de l'Economie Urbaine, Paris 1990.

Gaudin J. P., Les nouvelles politiques urbaines, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1993.

Pumain D., Saint-Julien T., La comparaison des villes européennes, Eqiupe P.A.R.I.S. CNRS, Paris 1991.

Brunet R., Les villes européennes, DATAR- La Documentation Francaise, Paris 1989.

Rosenblat C., Pumain D., The location of multinational firms in the European Urban System, Urban Studies 1993, vol. 30, no. 10, 1993.