

TERITORIJALNI KAPITAL KAO FAKTOR EKONOMSKOG RASTA I KONKURENTNOSTI REGIONA

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Apstrakt

U radu se u svetlu promene značaja faktora ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona, sa materijalnih na kognitivne sadržaje, sagledava kategorija teritorijalnog kapitala i opisuju njegovi najvažniji elementi. Pošlo se od stava da posmatrani region može ostvarivati ekonomski rast i unapređivati tržišnu konkurentnost isključivo pod uslovom stavljanja raspoloživog teritorijalnog kapitala u funkciju uvećanja bruto domaćeg proizvoda i podizanja životnog standarda stanovništva posmatranog područja. Nadalje, u radu se eksplicira logika piramidalnog, cilindričnog i modela „stabla“ regionalne konkurentnosti u čijoj osnovi implicate dominiraju gradivni elementi kategorije teritorijalnog kapitala. Tretiranje elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala kao primarnih faktora ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona uslovilo je pojavu sadržajno izmenjenih regionalnih politika čiji je osnovni cilj jačanje vlastitih mogućnosti regiona.

Ključne reči: teritorijalni kapital, ekonomski rast regiona, konkurentnost regiona, politika regionalnog razvoja.

Uvod, cilj i korišćena metodologija

Polazište daleko najvećeg broja istraživanja faktora ekonomskog rasta zemalja i regiona jeste podela na konvencionalne (egzogene) i savremene (endogene) teorije

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razvoja (Todaro & Smith, 2020). Ključni pokretači rasta zemalja i regiona u konvencionalnoj, odnosno neoklasičnoj ekonomskoj teoriji kao glavnom njihovom reprezentu, su uvećanje fizičkog kapitala, uvećanje ljudskog rada, kao i usavršavanje tehnologije (Solow, 1956; 1957). U slučajevima nepostojanja tehnoloških promena u dugom roku neminovno dolazi do izostajanja ekonomskog rasta zemalja i regiona (Baro, & Sala-i-Martin, 2004). Ovo zbog činjenice što u takvim okolnostima nije moguć rast ukupne produktivnosti faktora proizvodnje, odnosno nije realan rast ekonomske efikasnosti privrede u celini, a time razumljivo i njenih regionalnih delova (Dragutinović et al., 2015).

Osnove endogenih objašnjenja ekonomskog rasta dao je američki ekonomista, laureat Nobelove nagrade za 2000. godinu, Pol Romer (Romer, 1986; 1990). Važne doprinose u afirmaciji i širenju endogene analize ekonomskog rasta predstavljaju istraživanja Lukasa (Lucas, 1988), Grosmana i Helmana (Grossman & Helpman, 1991), Agiona i Hovita (Aghion & Howitt, 1992), kao i veliki broj drugih istraživača u ovoj oblasti. Endogena analiza faktora ekonomskog rasta zemalja i regiona označila je afirmaciju tzv. nematerijalnih pokretača privredne dinamike čija je osnovna odlika njihov visoki kognitivni sadržaj (Cvetanović et al., 2022). Kognitivni pristup, apostrofira važnost pokretača ekonomskog rasta koje privredni akteri posmatrane teritorije mogu pod određenim pretpostavkama aktivirati i usmeriti u pravcu povećanja vrednosti proizvodnje. Ovaj pristup u analizi faktora ekonomskog rasta podrazumeva investicionu senzibilnost ekonomskih subjekata, kao i njihovu sposobnost da kreativno i proaktivno u preduzetničkom smislu reaguju na ukazane poslovne mogućnosti.

Fenomen konkurentnosti regiona u ekonomskoj nauci počinje da se izučava početkom ovog veka (Kitson et al., 2004; 2008). Od tada do današnjih dana moguće je zapaziti kontinuirani rast interesovanja istraživača za sagledavanje suštine koncepta konkurentnosti regiona i posebno za prepoznavanje ključnih pokretača njegovog unapređenja. To je logična posledica afirmacije regiona kao teritorijalnih jedinica koje su iskazivale najveći dinamizam u iskorišćavanju resursa znanja i privlačenju novih investicija tokom prethodnih nekoliko decenija (Annoni & Dijkstra, 2017). Regionalna konkurentnost opisuje mogućnosti posmatranog područja da raspoložive resurse i sredstva u cilju takmičenja i napredovanja na nacionalnom i globalnom planu prilagođavanjem promenama na tim tržištima iskoristi na maksimalno efikasan način (Martin, 2004). Drugim rečima, „konkurentnost regiona govori o njegovoj sposobnosti da proizvodi dok je istovremeno izložen spoljnoj konkurenciji, uz relativno visoke nivoe dohotka i zaposlenosti” (Vuković, 2013). Praktično ovo znači da na području posmatranog regiona mogu funkcionisati izraženo konkurentna preduzeća, ali ukoliko ona stvaraju relativno nisku dodatnu vrednost po zaposlenom, nije moguće govoriti o njihovoj relativno visokoj tržišnoj konkurentnosti.

Savremena shvatanja konkurentnosti regiona označavaju promociju stava po kome fundamentalni faktor unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona predstavlja kategorija teritorijalnog kapitala. „Regionalna konkurentnost danas se, naročito, zasniva na kooperaciji, poverenju i osećajima pripadnosti i povezanosti relevantnih aktera (a to

znači usvajanje kognitivnog pristupa), a ne samo na raspolaganju kapitalom; na kreativnosti više nego na raspoloživosti radne snage; na prijemčivosti za nove poslovne ideje i organizaciona rešenja više nego na prisutnosti određenog broja malih i srednjih preduzeća; na povezivanju, kooperaciji i kvalitetnim odnosima više nego na dostupnosti; na lokalnom/regionalnom identitetu, efikasnosti i kvalitetu življenja” (Molnar, 2013: 49).

Početkom trećeg milenijuma došlo je do naglog rasta interesovanja istraživača za sagledavanje informaciono komunikacionih tehnologija u svojstvu pokretača unapređenja regionalne konkurentnosti, bazirane na fenomenu interneta i posledične pojave tzv. digitalne ekonomije i digitalnog društva. Stiče se utisak, međutim, da čak i u eri Interneta postizanje regionalne konkurentnosti putem novih IKT ostaje težak proces, opterećen mnogim preprekama i uskim grlima koja dugoročno gledajući rizikuju da povećaju regionalne nejednakosti. Dok su mnoga stara uska grla u usvajanju novih tehnologija iz osamdesetih godina prethodnog veka dobrim delom prevaziđena primenom novih tehnologija, u novonastalim uslovima poslovanja do izražaja su došle mnoge nove i suptilnije barijere u usvajanju i komercijalnoj primeni digitalnih tehnologija u eri Interneta i korišćenju njihovih mogućnosti od strane regionalnih aktera (Camagni & Cappello, 2005).

Karakter promena značaja faktora ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti zemalja i regiona u prikazan je na slici 1. Logična posledica izmenjenog pristupa u tretiranju osnovnih pokretača ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona je afirmacija sadržajno izmenjenih regionalnih politika, ne samo u ekonomski vodećim već i u zemljama u razvoju. Suprotno dominirajućim regionalnim politikama u vremenu koje se proteže od završetka Drugog svetskog rata do kasnih osamdesetih godina prethodnog veka naglašeno temeljenih na redistribuciji finansijskih sredstava sa privredno razvijenih na manje razvijene regione, u koncipiranju novih regionalnih politika nalaze se nastojanja njihovih kreatora da u što je moguće većem stepenu aktiviraju endogene potencijale regiona. Može se slobodno reći da se već na početku ovog veka u regionalnoj ekonomiji iskristalisalo mišljenje da endogena objašnjenja rasta predstavljaju nesumnjivo njihovo najznačajnije teorijsko ishodište (Vazquez-Barquero, 2002). Endogena objašnjenja ekonomskog rasta i razvoja i konkurentnosti regiona, pored ostalog, označila su punu afirmaciju koncepta teritorijalnog kapitala, izraza koji se prvi put sreće u materijalu o politici regionalnog razvoja zemalja OECD-a, objavljenom početkom ovog veka (OECD, 2001). Teritorijalni kapital obuhvata “skup faktora datog područja koji privlači investicije, odnosno koji ulaganja u datu oblast čini profitabilnijim, a prinose na ulaganja veće nego u drugim oblastima. U suštini, teritorijalni kapital je odrednica, koja zamenjuje ranije izraz *ukupni razvojni potencijal* posmatranog područja” (Vujošević, 2014: 28).

Slika 1: Promena značaja faktora ekonomskog rasta zemalja regiona



Adaptirano prema: Stimson et al, 2011: 215.

Godine 2005. u Izveštaju Komisije evropskih zajednica ponovo se konstatuje da je u vlasništvu svakog regiona teritorijalni kapital, koji se razlikuje od istog u drugim područjima. Kao takav, teritorijalni kapital pruža mogućnosti određenim regionima da realizuju veće prinose na određena investiciona ulaganja u poređenju sa drugim oblicima ulaganja. Ovo iz razloga što upravo takve investicije podrazumevaju korišćenje teritorijalnog kapitala i sve druge prednosti regiona krajnje efikasno (Stimson, et. al., 2011).

Rezultati rada sa diskusijom

Elementi teritorijalnog kapitala kao faktora endogenog rasta regiona

U literaturi posvećenoj regionalnom razvoju mogu se sresti detaljnije podele elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala. Stimson i saradnici su mišljenja da kategoriju teritorijalnog kapitala čine: proizvodni, ljudski kapital, društveni, kreativni i ekološki kapital (Stimson et al., 2011: 10-11). Proizvodni (fizički) kapital čine proizvodna sredstva i infrastruktura. Ljudski kapital govori o kvalitetu radne snage sagledavane kao proizvodnog faktora. Društveni kapital regiona obuhvata interakcije svih aktera, uključujući i interakcije putem najrazličitijih mreža pomoću kojih komuniciraju preduzetnici i svi ostali ekonomski subjekti na regionalnom nivou. Kreativni kapital označava sposobnost ljudi da na kvalitetno izmenjene načine sagledavaju egzistirajuće probleme u društvenoj i privrednoj sveri života kao i da pristupe njihovom rešavanju na osmišljen i novi način. Konačno, ekološki kapital obuhvata sveukupnost uslova ne samo za rad, već i prilika za život na posmatranom region, što je razumljivo u funkciji uvećanja regionalnih potencijala za održivi razvoj.

Posebno vrednim i originalnim pristupom u tretiranju elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala predstavlja klasifikacija elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala u zavisnosti od kriterijuma dominantne svojine u kojima se oni nalaze, s jedne, njihove materijalnosti tj. opipljivosti, s druge strane, koju je dao Kamagni (Camagni, 2009: 123). Koristeći matricu „tri puta tri“ koja ima dimenzije konkurentnosti dobara u smislu vlasništva (javna, privatna i mešovita javna dobra) i opipljivosti (opipljiva, neopipljiva mešovita dobra) autor pravi razliku između tradicionalnih i inovativnih elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala. U grupu tradicionalnih elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala Kamagni nabroja: a) prirodni i infrastrukturni resursi, kao i ekološki kapital, b) osnovna sredstva u privatnoj svojini kao i javna dobra čije korišćenje podrazumeva plaćanje nadoknada, c) društveni kapital i d) ljudski kapital. U grupu inovativnih elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala autor navodi: a) vlasničke mreže, javna dobra izložena efektima zagušenja, kulturna baština, b) ekonomije aglomeracije, c) kooperacione mreže, d) relacioni kapital i e) privatne usluge specijalizovanih institucija i kompanija (Camagni, 2009: 123). Sledi kraća eksplikacija svih devet elemenata teritorijalnog kapitala.

Prirodni, infrastrukturni i ekološki resursi u javnom vlasništvu predstavljaju neizostavnu komponentu teritorijalnog kapitala kojim svaki region raspolaže. Njihovo korišćenje determinišu raspoloživost i kretanje cena, koje u značajnom stepenu određuju profitabilnost ekonomskih subjekata koji te resurse koriste.

Politika prirodnih resursa i životne sredine povećava ekonomske performanse direktno kroz poboljšanje uslova životne sredine. Ona takođe može indirektno podsticajno uticati na ekonomski rast i unapređenje konkurentnosti regiona delujući u pravcu rasta efikasnosti proizvodnje i povećanja ekološke koristi. Načelno, svrsishodna politika prirodnih resursa i životne sredine u krajnjoj instanci delovaće u pravcu povećanja raspoloživog kapitala i radne snage, povećanja produktivnosti i efikasnosti korišćenja resursa, stimulisanja inovativnosti ekonomskih aktera, kao i na rast opšteg nivoa blagostanje što će za rezultat imati ekonomski rast i unapređenje konkurentnosti regiona (Ignjatijević, et al., 2020:40).

Osnovna sredstva u privatnoj svojini kao i javna dobra čije korišćenje podrazumeva plaćanje nadoknada su po Kamagniju element teritorijalnog kapitala. Budući da je reč o mobilnim resursima u posmatranom prostoru, proizilazi da su aktivnosti usmerene u pravcu kreiranja stimulativnog ambijenta za privlačenje ovih resursa od posebne važnosti. U ovu grupu spadaju kapitalna dobra visokog kvaliteta ili dobra produkovana u lokalnoj sredini koja su poznata u širem okruženju. Tipičan primer ovih dobara su proizvodi kontrolisanog geografskog porekla. U ovu grupu spadaju i javna dobra za čiju upotrebu se plaćaju nadoknade.

Resursi koji se vezuju kategoriju *društvenog kapitala* „egzistiraju unutar mreže međudnosa pojedinaca i grupa u društvu. Akteri su utkani u kompleksnu mrežu odnosa – oni su članovi uže i šire porodice, pripadaju određenim religioznim ili jezičkim grupama, imaju etnički i rasni identitet i žive na određenom području. Svaki pojedinac ima svoje sopstveno mesto u društvu, a njegova pozicija u mreži društvenih

odnosa u znatnoj meri utiče na pristup različitim resursima” (Golubović, 2009: 65). Prizilazi da u regionima koje odlikuje visoka odgovornosti ekonomskih aktera postoje povoljni uslovi za razvoj prtnerskih odnosa između većine učesnika privrednog života, što omogućuje ispoljavanje različitih sinergetskih efekata u determinisanih rastom efikasnosti i kreativnosti regionalnih aktera (Osborne, 2007).

Ljudski kapital predstavlja “skup znanja, veština, kompetencija i sposobnosti otegovljenih u pojedincima i stečenih kroz obrazovanje, obuku, medicinsku negu i migracije” (Benos, Zotou, 2014: 669). Ljudski kapital je jedan od ključnih faktora privrednog rasta i razvoja, čiju ulogu posebno apostrofiraju modelima endogenog rasta (Romer, 1986; 1987; Cvetanović, Despotović, 2014: 1-17). Ljudski kapital na nivou pojedinih proizvodnih grana, preduzeća i pojedinaca na određenoj regionalnoj teritoriji. Ljudski kapital na nivou firme odnosi se na znanje i veštine koje imaju vrednost samo na nivou konkretnog preduzeća. Skup kompetencija koje ulaze u ovu kategoriju ljudskog kapitala značajne su samo za konkretno preduzeće jer mu pomažu u ostvarivanju konkurentske prednosti, dok se na druga preduzeća ne mogu preneti. Stoga je i uticaj ove vrste ljudskog kapitala na privredni rast i inovativnost ograničena. Ljudski kapital na nivou grane ima poreklo u praksi specifičnoj za konkretnu privrednu granu i može imati pozitivan uticaj na rast konkretne grane ukoliko postoji kvalitetna razmena znanja između glavnih učesnika u toj grani. Najzad, ljudski kapital na nivou pojedinca odnosi se na znanje primenljivo u većem broju grana i preduzeća. Ovaj vid ljudskog kapitala uključuje opšte menadžersko i preduzetničko iskustvo, akademsko obrazovanje i stručno usavršavanje. Ljudski kapital na nivou pojedinca utiče na ekonomske rezultate preduzeća, grane i privrede regiona i zemlje u celini (Dakhli, De Clercq, 2003).

Vlasničke mreže, javna dobra izložena efektima zagušenja i kulturna baština su inovativni elementi teritorijalnog kapitala. Mogu se nalaziti u privatnom i javnom vlasništvu. Nezavisno od njihovog vlasništva, postoje određeni limiti u njihovom korišćenju. U slučaju transporta, telekomunikacija i energetike prisutna je regulacija, što je u funkciji rasta sigurnosti snabdevanja, kao i zaštite potrošača od monopolskih cena. Što se tiče kulturne baštine, često je regulativa nedovoljna usled postojanja subjekata sklonih izbegavanju plaćanja nadoknada na ime korišćenja ovih resursa. Ovo čini svrsishodnm postojanje kooperativnog odnosa privatni vlasnici imaju sa predstavnicima javne vlasti kako bi na lokalnom nivou svi mogli da koriste pozitivne efekte postojanja ovih resursa.

Ekonomije aglomeracija se odnose na koristi koje kompanije dobijaju kao rezultat koncentracije na datom geografskom prostoru bilo da se imaju u vidu investitori, dobavljači ili krajnji potrošači. Ekonomije aglomeracije sastoje se od dobiti koju kompanije ostvaruju lociranjem blizu sebe. To je posledica veće dostupnosti različitim resursima (materijalnim i nematerijalnim), čime se deluje na rast efikasnosti. Kada se dve ili više kompanija nalaze u istoj oblasti, one mogu da dele resurse i znanje. Time su one u prilici da povećaju efikasnost svojih poslovnih aktivnosti na bazi ostvarivanja sinergetskih efekata u čijem se ishodištu nalazi smanjenje izdataka prevoza, mogućnost šireg pristupa ekonomskih agenatata bogatoj

lepezi roba i usluga. Efekti aglomeracije takođe se mogu ogledati u promovisanju poslovnih i strateških saveza između poslovnih subjekata koji funkcionišu na posmatranom geografskom prostoru, izgradnji infrastrukturnih sistema koji unapređuju usluge u oblastima zdravstvene zaštite i obrazovanja. Efekti aglomeracije dolaze do punog izražaja u pogledu difuzije znanja među ekonomskim subjektima, a koji su najdirektnije povezani sa mrežnim efektima. Ova pojava se dešava kada je, što je veći broj potrošača, veća vrednost ili korisnost robe ili usluge kupcu. Jednostavnije rečeno, u svim situacijama delovanja većeg broja preduzeća na posmatranoj teritoriji, postoji objektivna mogućnost deljenja resursa znanja i postizanja ekonomskih benefita po tom osnovu.

Najčešći oblik *kooperativnih mreža* su različite forme javno privatnih partnerstava (JPP). Na regionalnom nivou koncept JPP u oblastima koje zahtevaju manje investicija poput linijskog prevoza putnika, izgradnje i održavanja sistema javnog osvetljenja, izgradnje i održavanja kanalizacione mreže, proizvodnje i distribucije toplotne i električne energije i grejanje na biomasu, upravljanje čvrstim otpadom kao i usluge parkiranja. Veoma je bitno da postoje primeri dobre prakse kako bi oni bili osnov za dalji razvoj i korišćenje JPP u ostalim tipovima projekata i regionima u kojima do sada nisu primenjivani. Ne sme se pak zaboraviti da je svaki projekat JPP specifičan i da svaki region ima svoje posebne potrebe prilikom njihove implementacije.

Privatne usluge specijalizovanih institucija i kompanija na regionalnom nivou obuhvataju isoruke brojnih usluga lokalnim partnerima, uključujući i usluge čiji su sadržaji specijalizovana tehnološka znanja, aktivnosti promocije i lobiranja itd. Posebno mesto i značaj u ovom kontekstu pripada preduzetničkim univerzitetima sa sedištem na posmatranom lokalitetu. Partnerski odnos univerziteta sa privatnim sektorom, u pogledu obrazovanja budućih kadrova zahtevane specijalnosti, saradnje u oblasti istraživanja i razvoja novih proizvoda, iznalaženja efikasnijih metoda komercijalne valorizacije znanja u inovacija i tome slično, samo su neke od brojnih oblika usluga specijalizovanih institucija i kompanija na regionalnom nivou.

Relacioni kapital prezentuje bilateralne i multilateralne konekcije lokalnih aktera unutar i van vlastite teritorije. Kao inovativnu komponentu teritorijalnog kapitala moguće ga je poistovetiti sa procesima stvaranja integrisanih proizvodnih sistema (lanaca snabdevanja) na nivou regionalnih teritorijalnih jedinica, i šire sa lokalnom kulturom, procesom učenja itd.

Relacioni kapital deluje u pravcu rasta efikasnosti u procesima odlučivanja budući da predstavlja svojevrsnu garanciju ispunjenja prezetih ugovornih obaveza. Stabilne relacije među poslovnim partnerima podrazumevaju niže troškove praćenja i realizacije ugovorom preuzetih obaveza od strane poslovnih partnera.

Faktori i modeli unapređenja regionalne konkurentnosti temeljeni na uvažavanju značaja teritorijalnog kapitala

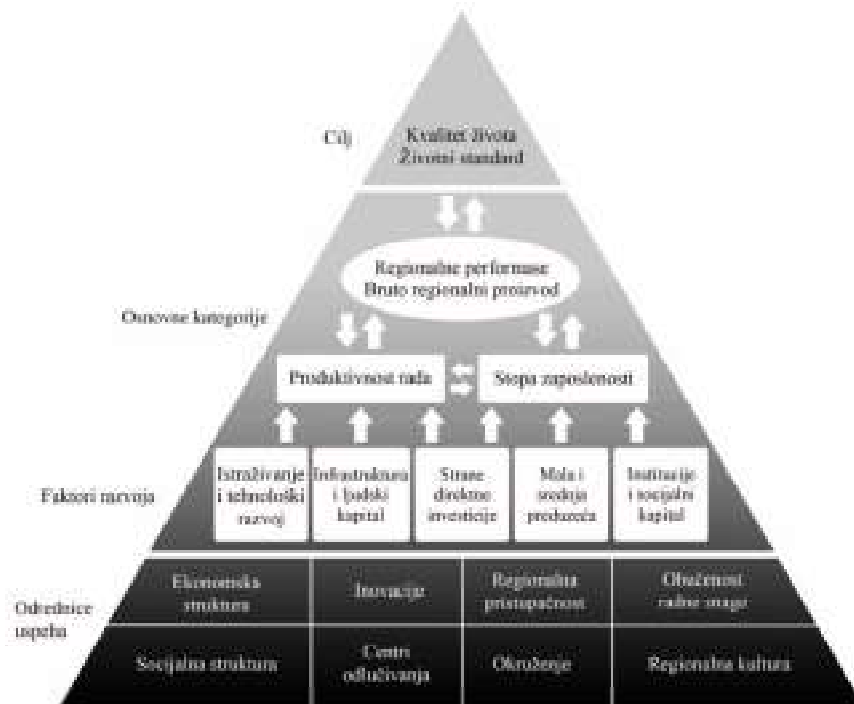
U literaturi posvećenoj teoriji i politici regionalnog razvoja prisutni su različiti pristupi identifikaciji ključnih faktora konkurentnosti regiona. Načelno, moguće je praviti distinkciju između statičkih i dinamičkih determinanti konkurentnosti regiona (Ručinska & Ručinsky 2007). Prvi su izvor statičke konkurentnosti regiona i odnose se na prirodno-geografske uslove konkretnog prostora, odnosno njegovog geografskog položaja, raspoloživosti neobnovljivih i obnovljivih prirodnih i energetskih resursa ili istorijskog i kulturnog nasleđa. Suprotno njima, dinamičke determinante konkurentnosti regiona se stiču vremenom, što znači da se na njih može delovati odgovarajućom ekonomskom i regionalnom politikom. Takođe, na njihovo dizajniranje, mogu uticati firme ili regionalne institucije. Moguće je zapaziti da u globalu tzv. konvencionalni elementi teritorijalnog kapitala reprezentuju statičke faktore regionalne konkurentnosti, dok se suprotno, inovacioni elementi teritorijalnog kapitala nalaze u osnovi dinamičkog aspekta konkurentnosti regiona. Unapređenje regionalne konkurentnosti u savremenim uslovima dominantno se baziraju na kooperaciji, poverenju i osećajima pripadnosti i povezanosti relevantnih aktera, kreativnosti radne snage, prijemčivosti za nove poslovne ideje i organizaciona rešenja, povezivanju, kooperaciji i kvalitetnim odnosima, regionalnom identitetu, efikasnosti i kvalitetu življenja (Molnar, 2009: 49). Lengiel navodi sledećih sedam faktora regionalne konkurentnosti: ekonomska struktura, inovacije, regionalna pristupačnost, obučenost radne snage, socijalna struktura, centri odlučivanja, regionalni identitet (Lengyel, 2004). Cvetanović i saradnici ističu sledeće determinante unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona: mogućnost strukturnih transformacija privrede, posebno na bazi rastućeg učešća oblasti koje se odlikuju visokom dodatnom vrednošću i koje ispoljavaju izrazite multiplikativne efekte na ostale privredne sektore; visoki udeo usluga koje obiluju visokim dodatim vrednostima (istraživanje i razvoj, univerzitetsko obrazovanje, softverske usluge); proizvodnja bazirana na komercijalizaciji znanja u inovacione sadržaje, decentralizacija sistema odlučivanja; brojna i uspešna srednja klasa, uspešna politika razvoja gradova i lokalnih samouprava; kvalitetni regionalni menadžment i njegova puna posvećenost očuvanju životne sredine; dostignuti nivo poslovne umreženosti ekonomskih aktera posmatranog sektora“ (Cvetanović et al., 2020: 258). Vredan pomena je i pristup koji faktore unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona identifikuje činiocima koji govore o kvalitetu ljudskog kapitala, inovacionoj osposobljenosti, povezanosti poslovnih subjekata i preduzetništvu (Ecorys, 2007).

Razvijen je veći broj modela regionalne konkurentnosti, među kojima se svojim značajem izdvajaju: a) piramidalni model (Pyramid model of regional competitiveness), b) cilindrični model, odnosno model šesira (Regional competitiveness hat model) i c) „model stabla“ (Regional competitiveness tree model).

Piramidalni model identifikuje međusobno povezane faktore regionalne konkurentnosti. koji profilisu ostvareni nivo ekonomskog blagostanja, nivo

produktivnosti rada i dinamiku zapošljavanja. Budući da model pruža korisne informacije o održivosti regionalnih ekonomija mnogi autori se obilato njime rukovode proučavajući fenomen regionalne konkurentnosti (Sinabell et al., 2011).

Slika 2: Piramidalni model regionalne konkurentnosti

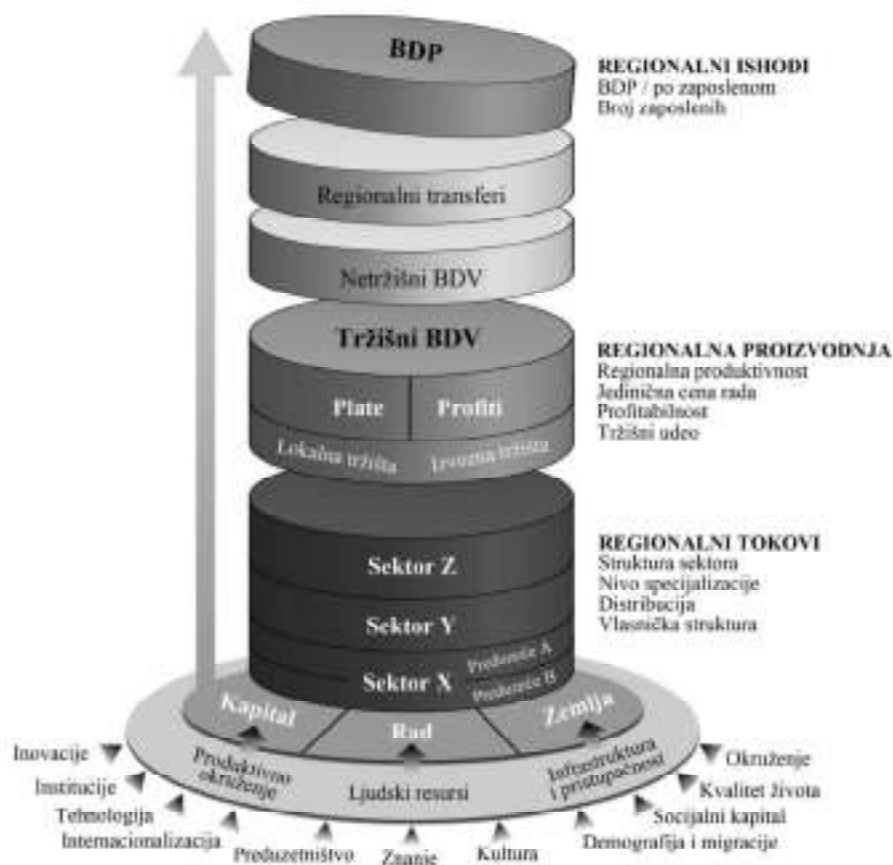


Adaptirano prema: Lengyel, 2004: 336.

Polazište modela je grupisanje faktora ekonomskog blagostanja, produktivnosti i zaposlenosti na regionalnom nivou. Na slici 2. jasno se vide navedeni nivoi i pokazatelji regionalne konkurentnosti. Korišćenje ovog modela je najzastupljenije u sagledavanju konkurentnosti regiona državama srednje Evrope.

Model cilindra promovisan je od strane Evropske komisije 2004. Godine (Martin, 2003). Odrednice konkurentnosti poput inovacija, institucija, tehnologije, preduzetništva, internacionalizacije, društvenog kapitala, infrastrukture, znanja, kulture, demografije i migracija, kao i kvaliteta geografske lokacije čine osnovu cilindra. Drugi prsten cilindra reprezentuju regionalni autputi: produktivnost regiona, jedinična cena rada, profitabilnost, tržišni udeo regiona. U trećem prstenu nalaze se regionalni ishodi: BDP po radniku, broj zaposlenih (Slika 3).

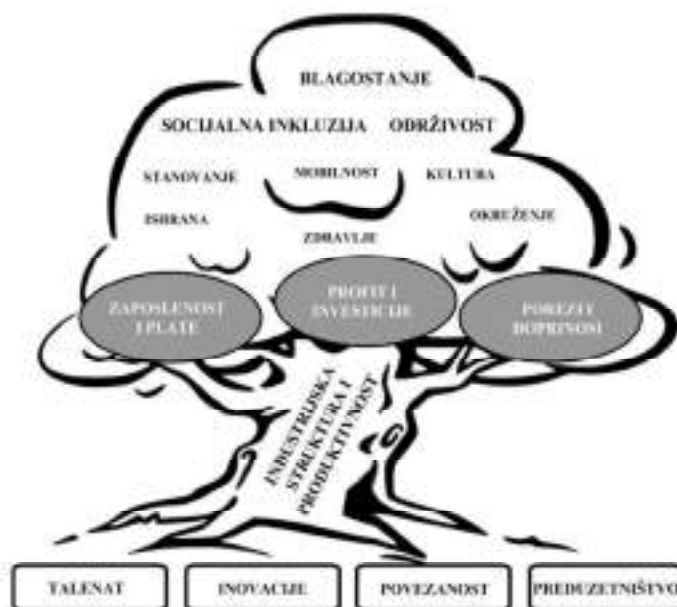
Slika 3: Model cilindra regionalne konkurentnosti



Adaptirano prema: Martin, 2004: 42.

Model stabla regionalne konkurentnosti koncipiran je od strane holandskih naučnika iz konsultantske kuće ECORYS. Ovaj model razvijen je kako bi ilustrirao vezu između kompleksnih faktora koji utiču na konkurentnost i pozitivnih rezultata, kao što su socijalna inkluzija, blagostanje i održivost. Model konkretizuje sledeće faktore konkurentnosti: talenat, inovacije, povezanost i preduzetništvo (koren stabla), industrijska struktura i produktivnost (debla stabla) kao podrška za ostvarivanje konkurentnosti i dobijanje rezultata: zaposlenost i plate, profiti i investicije, porezi i doprinosi - grane stabla (slika 4). Organska priroda stabla ističe ciklični karakter pojma konkurentnosti. Kvalitet zemljišta i efikasno funkcionisanje sistema korena, debla i grana određuje snagu stabla i kapacitet plodova. To je dinamičan proces, s obzirom da se plodnost zemljišta delimično određuje i po meri u kojoj se revitalizuje plodom sa drveta. Koristeći ovu metaforu, model je zamišljen kao stablo regionalne konkurentnosti (ECORYS, 2003).

Slika 4: Model „stabla“ regionalne konkurentnosti



Adaptirano prema: ECORYS Competitiveness Programme:

<http://www.ecorys.com/competitiveness>

Pažljivim posmatranjem faktora regionalne konkurentnosti u predhodno navedenim modelskim pristupima uočljivo je da je uglavnom reč o konvencionalnim i inovativnim elementima teritorijalnog kapitala. Dakle, analizirani modeli regionalne konkurentnosti u svom teorijskom polazištu imaju koncept teritorijalnog kapitala.

Poruke kreatorima politike regionalnog razvoja

Tretiranje teritorijalnog kapitala, odnosno regionalnih resursa kao primarnog faktora ekonomskog rasta i konkurentnosti regiona dovelo je do pojave sadržajno izmenjenih regionalnih politika čija je suština privlačenje investitora podsticajnim merama u cilju dinamiziranja ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona. Prioritet novih regionalnih politika je jačanje vlastitih mogućnosti regiona. Ove politike se izričito oslanjaju na načelima kooperacije, poverenja, kao i umreženosti ekonomskih subjekata na sagledavanom regionalnom prostoru. One u fokusu imaju povezanost i saradnju relevantnih aktera. Pritom, ne sme se ni jednog momenta izgubiti iz vida činjenica da su fizičke predispozicije regiona nesumnjivo značajne za transformaciju resursa kojima sagledavani region raspolaže u teritorijalni kapital. Međutim, intenziviranje ekonomskog rasta i unapređenje konkurentnosti regiona u savremenim uslovima privređivanja umnogome je funkcija umešnosti regionalnih aktera da raspoloživi teritorijalni kapital stave u funkciju ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti

regiona, odnosno stave u funkciju ekonomskog i društvenog prosperiteta posmatranog područja (Camagni i Cappelo, 2013).

Osnovni cilj takve politike je jačanje proizvodnih kapaciteta regiona. Ovo posebno dolazi do izražaja kada se sagledava mesto inovacija kao pokretača ekonomskog rasta regiona. Imajući u vidu upravo tu činjenicu ne mali broj analitičara u razmatranju politika unapređenja regionalne konkurentnosti decidno ukazuje na značaj postojanja regionalnih inovacionih sistema.

Jedna od nosećih analitičkih kategorija u istraživanjima najvažnijih faktora ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona nesumnjivo pripada konceptu teritorijalnog kapitala. Zbog te činjenice od esencijalne važnosti je razumeti da se ekonomski rast i konkurentnost regiona u savremenim uslovima privređivanja temelje na mogućnostima koji postoje unutar regiona. U tom svetlu, od presudnog značaja su kapaciteti regiona da prihvate nove forme organizacije biznisa i usvoje progresivne oblike poslovanja. Dakle, neophodan je multidisciplinarni pristup ekonomskom rastu i imperativu kontinuiranog unapređenja regionalne konkurentnosti, interdisciplinarni pristup regionalnom razvoju, što podrazumeva jačanje ukupnih endogenih potencijala regiona i ispoljavanje preduzetničke inicijative regionalnih učesnika. Kognitivni pristup u sagledavanju ključnih pokretača ekonomskog rasta regiona apostrofira važnost faktora koji su specifični konkretnom regionu i koji, kao takvi, omogućuju svim regionalnim subjektima da iskažu vlastite mogućnosti ispoljavajući visoku senzibilnost kreativnog vlastitog reagovanja na eksterne podsticaje.

Regionalna konkurentnost se u ovom veku dominantno temelji na partnerstvu, poverenju i umreženosti ekonomskih subjekata, što upućuje na usvajanje kognitivnog pristupa prilikom sagledavanja faktora unapređenja konkurentnosti. Kognitivni pristup u sagledavanju ključnih determinanti regionalne konkurentnosti podrazumeva ispoljavanje visoke kreativnosti raspoloživog ljudskog kapitala, prihvatanje kvalitetnih poslovnih ideja i organizacionih rešenja, ispoljavanje regionalnog identiteta. Drugim rečima, visok nivo teritorijalnog kapitala u regionalnim okvirima obezbeđuje ekonomsku efikasnost i unapređenje konkurentnosti kao važnoj premisi postizanja zadovoljavajućeg stepena blagostanja stanovništva.

Logična posledica izmenjenog pristupa u tretiranju faktora ekonomskog rasta regiona u smislu afirmacije kategorije teritorijalnog kapitala je pojava novih generacija politika regionalnog razvoja, ne samo u ekonomski vodećim već i u zemljama u razvoju. Za razliku od politika regionalnog razvoja koje su dominantno računale sa redistribucijom finansijskih sredstava sa ekonomski naprednijih na manje razvijene regione, u osnovi novih regionalnih razvojnih politika su nastojanja jačanja endogenih potencijala regiona, odnosno aktiviranja komponenti teritorijalnog kapitala. U ovom kontekstu, regioni koji žele da povećaju dobrobit svojih stanovnika i poboljšaju njihovu poziciju u odnosu na konkurentne moraju da na efikasan način odgovore izazovima koji prati proces stvaranja stimulativnih uslova za dolazak investitora. Ukoliko to ne učine, njihov konkurentski položaj će se pogoršati na duže staze, što bi

dovelo do situacije pod kojom bi se nivo njihovog blagostanja smanjio, barem u relativnom pogledu.

Zaključak

Jedna od nosećih analitičkih kategorija u istraživanjima najvažnijih faktora ekonomskog rasta i unapređenja konkurentnosti regiona nesumnjivo pripada konceptu teritorijalnog kapitala. Zbog te činjenice od esencijalne važnosti je razumeti da se ekonomski rast i konkurentnost regiona u savremenim uslovima privređivanja temelje na mogućnostima koji postoje unutar regiona. U tom svetlu, od esencijalnog značaja za pokretanje ekonomskog rasta i unapređenje konkurentnosti regiona su sposobnosti regionalnih aktera da prihvate savremene oblike organizacije poslovanja i metode proizvodnje koji se temelje dominantno na korišćenju faktora koji obiluju kognitivnim sadržajima. Drugim rečima, neophodan je multidisciplinarni pristup sagledavanju ekonomskog rasta i imperativa kontinuiranog unapređenja regionalne konkurentnosti, što podrazumeva jačanje ukupnih endogenih potencijala regiona i ispoljavanje preduzetničke inicijative regionalnih učesnika. Kognitivni pristup u sagledavanju ključnih pokretača ekonomskog rasta regiona apostrofira važnost faktora koji su specifični konkretnom.

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TERRITORIAL CAPITAL AS A FACTOR OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND COMPETITIVENESS OF THE REGION

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Slobodan Cvetanović⁴⁰*

Abstract

In the light of the change in the importance of factors of economic growth and improving the competitiveness of the region, from material to cognitive content, the paper looks at the category of territorial capital and describes its most important elements. territorial capital in the function of increasing the gross domestic product and raising the standard of living of the population of the observed area. Furthermore, the paper explicates the logic of the pyramidal, cylindrical and "tree" model of regional competitiveness, the basis of which is implicitly dominated by the building elements of the category of territorial capital. Treating elements of territorial capital as primary factors of economic growth and improving the competitiveness of the region caused the appearance of substantively changed regional policies whose main goal is to strengthen the region's own capabilities.

Keywords: territorial capital, regional economic growth, regional competitiveness, regional development policy.

Introduction, objective and methodology used

The starting point of by far the largest number of researches into economic growth factors of countries and regions is the division into conventional (exogenous) and modern (endogenous) theories of development (Todaro & Smith, 2020). The key drivers of the growth of countries and regions in the conventional, i.e. neoclassical economic theory as their main representative, are the increase of physical capital, the increase of human labor, as well as the improvement of technology (Solow, 1956; 1957). In cases of non-existence of technological changes in the long term, there is inevitably a lack of economic growth in countries and regions (Baro, & Sala-i-Martin,

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2004). This is due to the fact that in such circumstances it is not possible to increase the total productivity of production factors, that is, there is no realistic increase in the economic efficiency of the economy as a whole, and thus understandably also its regional parts (Dragutinović et al., 2015).

The foundations of endogenous explanations of economic growth were provided by the American economist, laureate of the 2000 Nobel Prize, Paul Romer (Romer, 1986; 1990). Research by Lucas (Lucas, 1988), Grossman and Helpman (Grossman & Helpman, 1991), Aghion and Howitt (Aghion & Howitt, 1992), as well as a large number of other researchers in this field, have made important contributions to the affirmation and expansion of the endogenous analysis of economic growth.. Endogenous analysis a factor economy of the city of Moscow countries and regions marked the affirmation of the so-called non-material drivers of economic dynamics whose basic feature is their high cognitive content (Cvetanović et al., 2022) The cognitive approach emphasizes the importance of drivers of economic growth that the economic actors of the observed territory can, under certain assumptions, activate and direct in the direction of increasing the value of production. This approach in the analysis of economic growth factors implies the investment sensitivity of economic subjects, as well as their ability to react creatively and proactively in an entrepreneurial sense to indicated business opportunities.

The phenomenon of regional competitiveness in economic science began to be studied at the beginning of this century (Kitson et al., 2004: 2008). From then until today, it is possible to observe the continuous growth of interest of researchers in understanding the essence of the concept of competitiveness of the region and especially in recognizing the key drivers of its improvement. It is a logical consequence of the affirmation of regions as territorial units that have shown the greatest dynamism in utilizing knowledge resources and attracting new investments during the past few decades (Annoni & Dijkstra, 2017). Regional competitiveness describes the possibilities of the observed area to use the available resources and funds in order to compete and progress on the national and global level by adapting to changes in those markets in a maximally efficient way (Martin, 2004). In other words, " the competitiveness of the region speaks of its ability to produce while being simultaneously exposed to external competition, with relatively high levels of income and employment" (Vuković, 2013). Practically, this means that highly competitive companies can operate in the observed region, but if they create a relatively low added value per employee, it is not possible to speak of their relatively high market competitiveness.

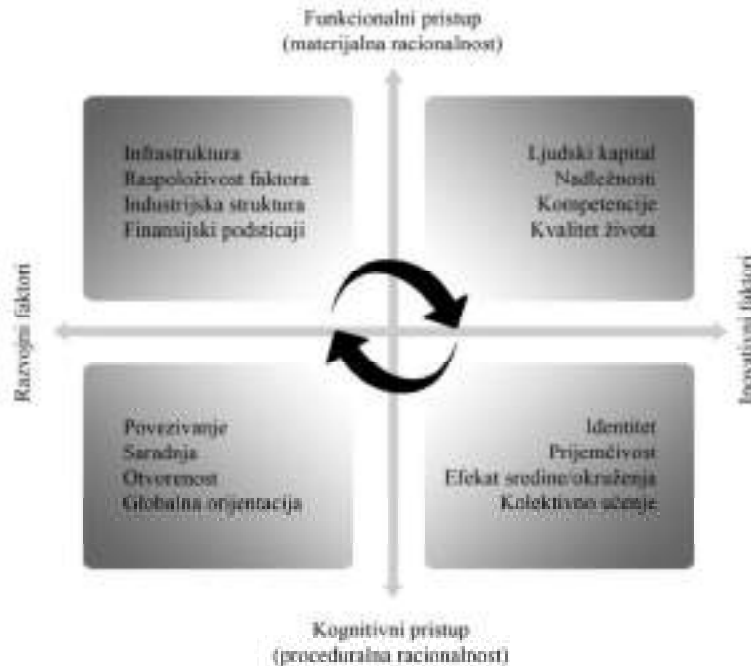
Contemporary understandings of the competitiveness of the region mean the promotion of the position according to which the fundamental factor of improving the competitiveness of the region is represented by the category of territorial capital. "Regional competitiveness today, in particular, is based on cooperation, trust and feelings of belonging and connectedness of relevant actors (which means the adoption of a cognitive approach), and not only on the availability of capital; on creativity more than on the availability of manpower; on receptivity to new business ideas and

organizational solutions more than on the presence of a certain number of small and medium-sized enterprises; on connection, cooperation and quality relations more than on availability; on local/regional identity, efficiency and quality of life" (Molnar, 2013: 49).

At the beginning of the third millennium, there was a sudden increase in the interest of researchers in looking at information and communication technologies as a driving force for the improvement of regional competitiveness, based on the phenomenon of the Internet and the consequent emergence of the so-called digital economy and digital society. One gets the impression, however, that even in the Internet era, achieving regional competitiveness through new ICTs remains a difficult process, burdened with many obstacles and bottlenecks that, in the long run, risk increasing regional inequalities. While many of the old bottlenecks in the adoption of new technologies from the 1980s have largely been overcome by the application of new technologies, in the newly emerging business conditions, many new and more subtle barriers to the adoption and commercial application of digital technologies in the Internet era and their use have come to the fore. opportunities by regional actors (Camagni & Cappelo, 2005).

The nature of changes in the importance of factors of economic growth and improving the competitiveness of countries and regions is shown in Figure 1. The logical consequence of the changed approach in treating the basic drivers of economic growth and improving the competitiveness of the region is the affirmation of substantively changed regional policies, not only in economically leading countries but also in developing countries.. Contrary to the dominant regional policies in time who is stretches from the brush finish The second one of the world rate to late ones the eighties year the previous one century emphatically based on the redistribution financial funds with economic developed on the less developed regions, in conception new ones regional politics they find efforts theirs creator what is that is they will be able to already am degree activate endogenous potentials of the region. He can free words already on at the beginning this one century in regional economy crystallized thinking that endogenous explanations of growth are undoubtedly their most significant theoretical origin (Vazquez-Barquero, 2002). Endogenous explanations economic growth and development and competitiveness region, besides among other things, marked are full affirmation concept territorial capital, expression which one First the road he will be happy in material about regional development policy of the OECD countries, published at the beginning of this century (OECD, 2001). Territorial capital includes " a set of factors in the area that is attractive for investment, i.e. the capital and makes that area more profitable, and the yield of his investment in other areas is greater. In essence, the territorial capital is a determinant, which replaces the earlier expression *total development potential* of the observed area" (Vujošević, 2014: 28).

Figure 1: Changes in the importance of economic growth factors in the countries of the region



Adapted from: Stimson et al, 2011: 215.

In 2005, the Report of the Commission of the European Communities stated again that each region owns territorial capital, which differs from the same in other areas. As such, territorial capital provides opportunities for certain regions to realize higher returns on certain investment investments compared to other forms of investment. This is because precisely such investments imply the use of territorial capital and all other advantages of the region extremely efficiently (Stimson, et. al., 2011).

Results of work with discussion

Elements of territorial capital as a factor of endogenous growth of the region

In the literature devoted to regional development, one can find more detailed divisions of the elements of territorial capital. Stimson et al. are of the opinion that the category of territorial capital consists of: production, human capital, social, creative and ecological capital (Stimson et al., 2011: 10-11). Production (physical) capital consists of production assets and infrastructure. Human capital refers to the quality of the labor force seen as a production factor. The social capital of the region includes the interactions of all actors, including interactions through the most diverse networks through which entrepreneurs and all other economic subjects at the regional level

communicate. Creative capital means the ability of people to look at the existing problems in the social and economic sphere of life in a qualitatively changed way, as well as to approach their solution in a designed and new way. Finally, ecological capital includes the totality of conditions not only for work, but also opportunities for life in the observed region, which is understandable in the function of increasing the regional potential for sustainable development.

A particularly valuable and original approach in treating elements of territorial capital is the classification of elements of territorial capital depending on the criteria of the dominant property in which they are located, on the one hand, their materiality, i.e. tangibility, on the other hand, given by Camagni (Camagni, 2009: 123). Using the "three by three" matrix, which has the dimensions of competitiveness of goods in terms of ownership (public, private and mixed public goods) and tangibility (tangible, intangible mixed goods), the author makes a distinction between traditional and innovative elements of territorial capital. In the group of traditional elements of territorial capital, Kamagni lists: a) natural and infrastructural resources, as well as ecological capital, b) basic assets in private ownership as well as public goods, the use of which implies the payment of compensations, c) social capital and d) human capital. In the group of innovative elements of territorial capital, the author states: a) ownership networks, public goods exposed to the effects of congestion, cultural heritage, b) economies of agglomeration, c) cooperation networks, d) relational capital and e) private services of specialized institutions and companies (Camagni, 2009: 123). The following is a brief explanation of all nine elements of territorial capital.

Natural, infrastructural and environmental resources in public ownership represent an indispensable component of the territorial capital that every region has. Their use is determined by availability and price movements, which to a significant degree determine the profitability of economic entities that use these resources.

Natural resource and environmental policy increases economic performance directly through improving environmental conditions. It can also indirectly stimulate economic growth and improve the competitiveness of the region by acting in the direction of increasing production efficiency and increasing environmental benefits. In principle, an expedient policy of natural resources and the environment will ultimately act in the direction of increasing available capital and labor, increasing productivity and efficiency of resource use, stimulating the innovation of economic actors, as well as increasing the general level of well-being, which will result in economic growth and improvement competitiveness of the region (Ignjatijević, et al., 2020:40).

Basic assets in private property as well as public goods, the use of which implies the payment of compensations, are, according to Camagni, an element of territorial capital. Since we are talking about mobile resources in the observed area, it follows that the activities aimed at creating a stimulating environment for attracting these resources are of particular importance. This group includes capital goods of high

quality or goods produced in the local environment that are known in the wider environment. A typical example of these goods are products of controlled geographical origin. This group also includes public goods for the use of which compensations are paid.

Resources related to the category of social capital "exist within the network of interrelationships of individuals and groups in society. Actors are woven into a complex network of relationships - they are members of immediate and extended families, belong to certain religious or linguistic groups, have ethnic and racial identity and live in a certain area. Each individual has his own place in society, and his position in the network of social relations significantly influences access to various resources" (Golubović, 2009: 65). It appears that in regions characterized by high responsibilities of economic actors, there are favorable conditions for the development of partnership relations between the majority of participants in economic life, which enables the manifestation of various synergistic effects determined by the growth of efficiency and creativity of regional actors (Osborne, 2007).

Human capital represents "a set of knowledge, skills, competences and abilities embodied in individuals and acquired through education, training, medical care and migration" (Benos, Zotou, 2014: 669). Human capital is one of the key factors of economic growth and development, the role of which is particularly emphasized by models of endogenous growth (Romer, 1986; 1987; Cvetanović, Despotović, 2014: 1-17). Human capital at the level of individual production branches, companies and individuals in a certain regional territory. Firm-level human capital refers to knowledge and skills that have value only at the level of a specific firm. The set of competencies included in this category of human capital are significant only for a specific company because they help it achieve a competitive advantage, while they cannot be transferred to other companies. Therefore, the impact of this type of human capital on economic growth and innovation is limited. Human capital at the branch level has its origins in practice specific to a specific economic branch and can have a positive impact on the growth of a specific branch if there is a quality exchange of knowledge between the main participants in that branch. Finally, human capital at the individual level refers to knowledge applicable in a larger number of branches and companies. This type of human capital includes general managerial and entrepreneurial experience, academic education and professional training. Human capital at the individual level affects the economic results of companies, branches and the economy of the region and the country as a whole (Dakhli, De Clercq, 2003).

Ownership networks, public goods exposed to congestion effects and cultural heritage are innovative elements of territorial capital. They can be in private or public ownership. Regardless of their ownership, there are certain limits to their use. In the case of transport, telecommunications and energy, there is regulation, which is a function of increasing security of supply, as well as protecting consumers from monopoly prices. As far as cultural heritage is concerned, regulation is often insufficient due to the existence of subjects inclined to avoid paying compensations

for the use of these resources. This makes it expedient to have a cooperative relationship between private owners and representatives of the public authorities so that everyone can benefit from the positive effects of the existence of these resources at the local level.

Agglomeration economies refer to the benefits that companies receive as a result of concentration in a given geographic area, whether they are investors, suppliers or end consumers. Agglomeration economies consist of the profits that companies make by locating close to each other. It is a consequence of greater availability of different resources (material and immaterial), which affects the growth of efficiency. When two or more companies are located in the same area, they can share resources and knowledge. This gives them the opportunity to increase the efficiency of their business activities based on the realization of synergistic effects, the origin of which is the reduction of transportation expenses, the possibility of wider access of economic agents to a rich variety of goods and services. The effects of agglomeration can also be reflected in the promotion of business and strategic alliances between business entities operating in the observed geographic area, the construction of infrastructural systems that improve services in the areas of health care and education. The effects of agglomeration come to full expression in terms of the diffusion of knowledge among economic subjects, which are most directly related to network effects. This phenomenon occurs when the greater the number of consumers, the greater the value or utility of the good or service to the customer. Simply put, in all situations where a large number of companies operate in the observed territory, there is an objective possibility of sharing knowledge resources and achieving economic benefits on that basis.

The most common form of cooperative networks are various forms of public-private partnerships (PPP). At the regional level, the concept of PPP in areas that require less investment such as line passenger transportation, construction and maintenance of public lighting systems, construction and maintenance of sewage networks, production and distribution of heat and electricity and biomass heating, solid waste management and parking services. It is very important that there are examples of good practice in order for them to be the basis for further development and use of PPP in other types of projects and regions where they have not been applied so far. It must not be forgotten that each PPP project is specific and that each region has its own special needs during their implementation.

Private services of specialized institutions and companies at the regional level include the delivery of numerous services to local partners, including services whose contents are specialized technological knowledge, promotion and lobbying activities, etc. A special place and importance in this context belongs to entrepreneurial universities based in the observed locality. The university's partnership with the private sector, regarding the education of future personnel in the required specialty, cooperation in the field of research and development of new products, finding more efficient methods of commercial valorization of knowledge in innovation, and the like, are just

some of the numerous forms of services provided by specialized institutions and companies at the regional level..

Relational capital presents bilateral and multilateral connections of local actors inside and outside their own territory. As an innovative component of territorial capital, it can be identified with the processes of creating integrated production systems (supply chains) at the level of regional territorial units, and more widely with local culture, the learning process, etc.

Relational capital acts in the direction of increasing efficiency in decision-making processes, since it represents a kind of guarantee of the fulfillment of contractual obligations. Stable relations between business partners imply lower costs of monitoring and realization of contractual obligations by business partners.

Factors and models of improving regional competitiveness based on the appreciation of the importance of territorial capital

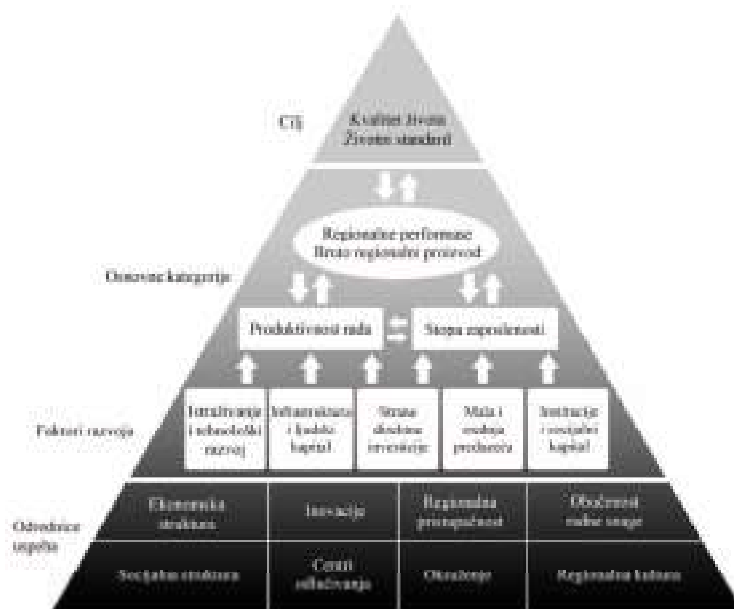
In the literature devoted to the theory and policy of regional development, there are different approaches to the identification of the key factors of regional competitiveness. In principle, it is possible to distinguish between static and dynamic determinants of regional competitiveness (Ručinska & Ručinsky 2007). The first are the source of the region's static competitive advantage and refer to the natural-geographical conditions of the specific area, i.e., its geographical position, availability of non-renewable and renewable natural and energy resources or historical and cultural heritage. Contrary to them, the dynamic determinants of regional competitiveness are acquired over time, which means that they can be influenced by appropriate economic and regional policies. Also, their design can be influenced by companies or regional institutions. It is possible to notice that in the global so-called conventional elements of territorial capital represent static factors of regional competitiveness, while on the contrary, innovative elements of territorial capital are at the basis of the dynamic aspect of regional competitiveness. The improvement of regional competitiveness in modern conditions is predominantly based on cooperation, trust and feelings of belonging and connectedness of relevant actors, creativity of the workforce, receptivity to new business ideas and organizational solutions, connection, cooperation and quality relations, regional identity, efficiency and quality of life (Molnar, 2009: 49). Lengyel lists the following seven factors of regional competitiveness: economic structure, innovation, regional accessibility, workforce training, social structure, decision-making centers, regional identity (Lengyel, 2004). Cvetanović and colleagues emphasize the following determinants of improving the competitiveness of the region: the possibility of structural transformations of the economy, especially on the basis of the growing participation of areas characterized by high added value and which exhibit pronounced multiplier effects on other economic sectors; a high proportion of services with high added value (research and development, university education, software services); production based on the commercialization of knowledge into innovative content, decentralization of the decision-making system; numerous and successful middle

class, successful policy of development of cities and local self-governments; quality and regional management and its full commitment to the preservation of the environment; reached the level of business networking of the economic actors of the observed sector " (Cvetanović et al., 2020: 258). It is also worth mentioning the approach that identifies the factors of improving the competitiveness of the region with factors that speak about the quality of human capital, innovation capacity, the connection of business entities and entrepreneurship (Ecorys, 2007).

It is already alive the number of competing models, among which highlighted: a) pyramid model of regional competitiveness, b) cylindrical model, i.e., regional competitiveness hat model and c) " tree model " (Regional competitiveness tree model).

Pyramidal model identifies between each other connected factors regional competitiveness. which one profiles of schools accomplished level economic welfare, level productivity work and dynamics employment. will be model supply useful information about sustainability regional economy many authors abundantly with him managers studying phenomenon regional competitiveness (Sinabell et al., 2011).

Figure 2: Pyramid model of regional competitiveness

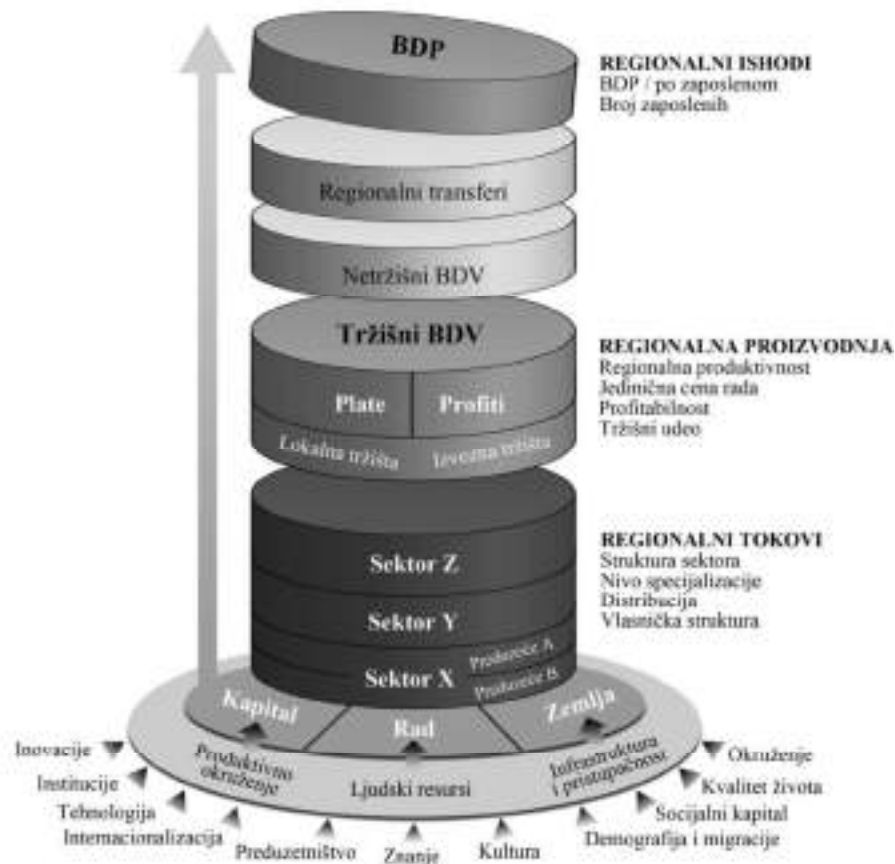


Adapted from: Lengyel, 2004: 336.

Starting the model is the grouping of its factors economic well - being, productives from a regional level. Figure 2 clearly shows the mentioned levels and indicators of regional competitiveness. The use of this model is most prevalent in the assessment of the competitiveness of the region to the countries of Central Europe.

The model of the cylinder is promoted by European Commission in 2004 (Martin, 2003). Determinants of travel innovation, institutions, technology, entrepreneurship, international analysis action, social capital, infra structure, knowledge, culture, demography and migration, and quality geographical cylinder. The second finger the cylinder is presented regional directions: Production region, unit price of work, profitability, market share of the region. In the third the finger is: GDP number of employees (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Cylinder model of regional competitiveness

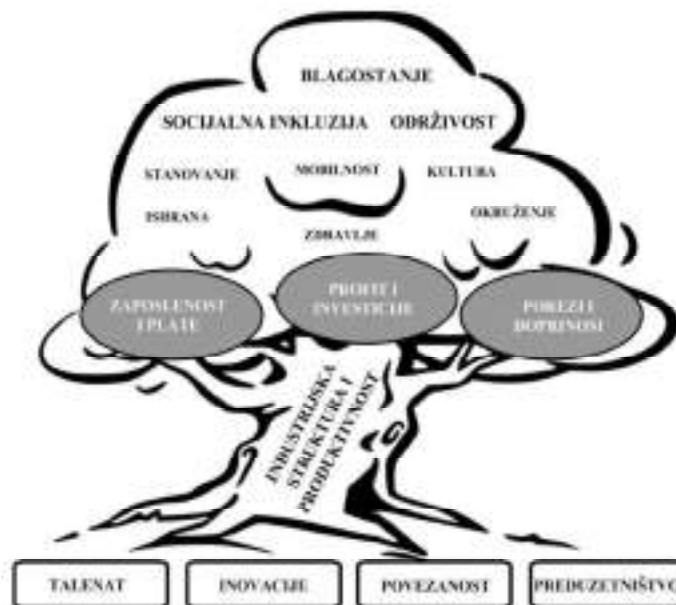


Adapted from: Martin, 2004: 42.

The tree model of regional competitiveness was conceived by Dutch scientists from the ECORYS consultancy. This model was developed to illustrate the link between the complex factors that influence competitiveness and positive outcomes, such as social inclusion, well-being and sustainability. The model specifies the following factors of competitiveness: talent, innovation, connectivity and entrepreneurship (root of the tree), industrial structure and productivity (trunk) as support for achieving competitiveness and obtaining results: employment and wages, profits and

investments, taxes and contributions - branches of the tree (picture 4). The organic nature of the tree emphasizes the cyclical nature of the concept of competitiveness. The quality of the soil and the efficient functioning of the root system, trunk and branches determine the strength of the tree and the capacity of the fruits. It is a dynamic process, considering that the fertility of the soil is partly determined by the extent to which it is revitalized by the fruit from the tree. Using this metaphor, the model is conceived as a tree of regional competitiveness (ECORYS, 2003).

Figure 4: "S board" model of regional competitiveness



Adapted from: ECORYS Competitiveness Programme:

<http://www.ecorys.com/competitiveness>

By carefully observing the factors of regional competitiveness in the previously mentioned model approaches, it can be seen that it is mainly about conventional and innovative elements of territorial capital. Therefore, the analyzed models of regional competitiveness have the concept of territorial capital as their theoretical starting point.

Messages to regional development policy makers

The treatment of territorial capital, i.e. regional resources as the primary factor of economic growth and competitiveness of the region, led to the appearance of substantively changed regional policies, the essence of which is to attract investors with incentive measures aimed at dynamizing economic growth and improving the competitiveness of the region. The priority of the new regional policies is to strengthen the region's own capabilities. These policies are explicitly based on the

principles of cooperation, trust, and the networking of economic subjects in the considered regional area. They focus on the connection and cooperation of relevant actors. At the same time, one must not for a single moment lose sight of the fact that the physical predispositions of the region are undoubtedly significant for the transformation of the resources that the considered region disposes of territorial capital. However, the intensification of economic growth and the improvement of the competitiveness of the region in modern economic conditions is largely a function of the skill of regional actors in putting the available territorial capital in the function of economic growth and improving the competitiveness of the region, i.e. in the function of the economic and social prosperity of the observed area (Camagni and Cappelo, 2013).

The basic goal of such a policy is strengthening the production capacity of the region. This is a special way to express yourself when you look at the city as it unfolds. point of economic growth in the region. Take into account the fact that the administration does not have a small number of politic competition decisively points to the importance of the existence of regional systems.

One of the most common analytical categories in the research of the most important factors of economic growth and improving the competitiveness of the region undoubtedly belongs to the concept of rhetorical capital. Due to this fact, it is essential to understand that the economic growth and competitiveness of the region in modern economic conditions are based on the opportunities that exist within the region. In this light, the capacity of the region to accept new forms of business organization and adopt progressive forms of business is of crucial importance. Therefore, a multidisciplinary approach to economic growth and the imperative of continuous improvement of regional competitiveness is necessary, an interdisciplinary approach to regional development, which implies strengthening the overall endogenous potential of the region and manifesting entrepreneurial initiatives of regional participants. The cognitive approach in looking at the key drivers of economic growth of the region apostrophizes the importance of factors that are specific to the specific region and that, as such, enable all regional subjects to express their own possibilities by showing a high sensitivity of their own creative response to external stimuli.

In this century, regional competitiveness is dominantly based on partnership, trust and networking of economic subjects, which points to the adoption of a cognitive approach when understanding the factors of improving competitiveness. The cognitive approach in looking at the key determinants of regional competitiveness implies the manifestation of high creativity of the available human capital, the acceptance of quality business ideas and organizational solutions, the manifestation of regional identity. In other words, a high level of territorial capital in regional frameworks ensures economic efficiency and improvement of competitiveness as an important premise for achieving a satisfactory level of well-being of the population.

The logical consequence of the changed approach in treating the factors of economic growth of the region in terms of affirming the category of territorial capital is the emergence of new generations of regional development policies, not only in economically leading but also in developing countries. Unlike regional policies development who is are dominant computers with redistribution financial funds with economic more advanced on the less developed regions, in basis new ones regional developmental politics are efforts strengthening endogenous potential region, that is activation components territorial capital. In this M context, regions who want increase welfare of their own inhabitants and improve theirs position in relationship on the competitive they have to on the efficient on the act answers challenges which one follows process quarrels stimulating conditions For arrival investors. If that not they do, theirs competitive position get worse on the longer trails, what? would be brought to situations floor which would be level theirs welfare reduced, at least in relative view.

Conclusion

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