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### URBAN POLICY IN WARSAW AND LODZ AGGLOMERATIONS

Modern understanding of the notion "urban agglomeration" in Poland was finally created between 1972-75. This notion means the set of settlement units, in which as far as functional specialization of particular units is concerned, common interrelations in terms of intensive migrations of people, goods, services and information leading to social and economic integration, are being developed.

For the need of the country spatial planning up to 1990, after introduction of the new administrative division in 1975, 18 agglomerations were distinguished: these which were already existing and these in the process of formation.

Agglomerations already existing are these which in 1970 had at least one town with the population over 250,000. The other group were agglomerations which had at least one town over 100,000.

Urban agglomerations have now population of 47.9% of the total population of the country, 63.5% of urban population of the country, 60.9% of population employed in national industry and 89.7% employed in science and education. They concentrate huge productive potential and are main centres of technological progress. On the other hand, they are areas of big delays in the development of technical and social infrastructure and great concentration of environment pollution.

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### Warsaw Agglomeration

Warsaw agglomeration takes up 2% of the total area of the country. It is inhabited by 7% of the country's population and concentrates 8.9% of employment in the whole country. Dominating functions of Warsaw agglomeration are following:

- political, economic and administrative centre;
- scientific and cultural centre of national and international importance;
- modern centre of electro-machinery industry.

Supplementary functions:

- the area of intensive cultivation of fruit and vegetables;
- specialist health centre of national importance;
- national and international tourist centre.

Spatial development of Warsaw agglomeration is being developed and planned in sectors, i.e. 5 sectors radially developing round Warsaw: northern, northern-eastern, southern, southern-eastern, and western.

Warsaw agglomeration should develop on the basis of the quality factors of growth. The area of the main investment should be northern sector. Western and eastern sectors should develop only through reconstruction. Also the disproportions between social and technical infrastructure in the urbanized areas and nodal zone should be diminished.

At present it is possible to verify only some of the above assumptions. According to these assumptions only northern sector develops intensively. As far as the population development of the whole of Warsaw agglomeration is concerned, it should be noted that it proceeds faster than it was initially assumed. Warsaw, as the central area of agglomeration has attained the perspective number of inhabitants already in 1980.

Location policy is generally made according to the functions of the agglomeration and directions of socio-economic development. Decisions proclaimed between 1971-1980 referred, among others, to the further development of Warsaw, leading centre of national and macro-regional importance. The weakness of the

investment policy is based on the fact that realization of the above decisions in 1982, was responsible for the excessive cumulation of projects in the centre of agglomeration. This caused the repercussions in form of over-development of population in Warsaw and speeded up urban process in the region.

Projects outside the centre were located more steadily. No one can say that the sectors preferred in physical plan were invested according to the assumptions. However, there was a tendency to localize projects in the areas of industrial traditions. Very often economies of scale and external economies dominated over the assumptions of the correct urban policy.

It is indispensable for the correct formation of spatial and settlement structure of agglomeration to stimulate the activities to develop the preferred sectors of agglomeration. For that reason the barriers of technical infrastructure, which are not developed enough outside the centre, should be overcome.

The employment in industry increased quicker than it was assumed. Economies resulting from industrial concentration in the centres, having infrastructural, raw-material and labour-base, caused that the increase of global production and employment in agglomeration is bigger than in the urbanized and industrialized areas.

Summing up it is necessary to admit that there were great deviations from plan and prospectives for population development. The preferred directions in plan of the development of the areas were not confirmed by location and employment policies. Construction was done where economies of scale were greater and where existed the raw-material, technical and staff base. Such conditions were accomplished by the areas earlier developed. This led to the differences in the development between centre of Warsaw agglomeration, sectors developed in the past and in new areas. These new areas, although rich in free land and planned for the intensive development, have not been activated.

As far as housing construction is concerned, the plan was not realized which is especially alarming, because of the growing number of population. The plans of catering business; shops and other amenities were not realized either. It is particularly

big disadvantage from the point of view of national role of the capital. Situation in health service and hospitals meets the requirements of plan.

Taking into account what was said before, as well as the fact that social infrastructure of Warsaw agglomeration is used also by the inhabitants of other voivodships, it should be stated, that there was not any considerable improvement in the level of living conditions and fulfilment of people's needs. The most urgent problem for the proper functioning of agglomeration is bettering of the situation in the field of communal economy and social infrastructure.

Still, great differences in social infrastructure occur between Warsaw, suburban areas and other regions. They refer to the equipment of housing in sewerage, central heating, water supply and the supply of other basic services. The situation in trade, catering business, health service and culture is similar. Everywhere there are differences between centre of agglomeration and other areas.

### Lodz Agglomeration

Lodz agglomeration, situated right in the centre of Poland, takes up almost 1% of the whole area of the country. It is inhabited by about 3.7% of the country's population. It is the agglomeration where share of women in employment in national sector is the greatest in the country. This is owing to the dominating here light industry. The share of women in total number of employed is 49%.

Leading functions of agglomeration:

- the biggest centre of light industry, especially textile industry;
- centre of science, education and culture of national importance.

Supplementary functions:

- centre of electro-machinery industry;
- specialist health centre of national importance;
- region of intensive agriculture.

In physical plan in 1972 the following directions of development have been distinguished: eastern, northern-western, southern-western and these directions are still valid.

The agglomeration should be developed on the basis of technical and socio-economic reconstructions. After 1985 it should be prohibited to build new industrial plants with the exception of these which directly serve the agglomeration and these which are being rebuilt. Spatial development should be based on rebuilding and reconstruction of old centres of housing and services, as well as communication network.

It is also assumed that central position of Lodz in the settlement system of the country, an important role as the centre of communication, especially for highways, should be used as a development factor. Nodal highways position enables to develop storage activities and containerization.

Analysing the growth of population in Lodz agglomeration it should be stated that it is developing according to plans but in the distinguished directions of development did not occur any changes. It seems that the main task of the preferences for these directions is the development of already existing spatial system in future and spatial integration of towns which would be consistent with natural tendencies. Towns surrounding Lodz have the greatest dynamics, which is consistent with the assumptions.

As far as location policy is concerned, it is important to note that more important industrial projects were situated in the area of Lodz, other areas were less interesting for the developers.

A characteristic feature is that Lodz agglomeration share in investments on new projects and reconstructions was relatively low. The development of industry was done through reconstructions and modernizations of already existing industrial objects and proceeded in compliance with plan's assumptions.

As far as size and structure of employment is concerned, the growth of employment in the centre of agglomeration has been stopped. This means a shift of urban process outside the core of agglomeration.

The main effect of the development of industry through modernization was small dynamics of employment growth. Evaluating

the industrial policy it can be stated that this policy was consistent with the urban one.

Speaking of living conditions it is important to say that they improved as far as housing situation is concerned. On the basis of a number of beds and doctors per 10,000 inhabitants it can be said that also plans assumptions in health service have been realized. In trade and catering business a certain improvement is noticeable, but it is relatively lower than was assumed in plans.

Speaking of living conditions it is important to pay the attention to the disproportions between different areas of agglomeration. All indicators referring to housing, trade, catering business and culture are higher in Lodz than in other towns of agglomeration. In bigger towns they are higher, while in small towns lower.

Moreover, in towns we can observe insufficient investment in the spheres influencing living conditions. Service centres and other amenities are unequally distributed. As far as differences in living conditions in particular areas of agglomeration are concerned, there did not occur any important improvement.

#### Summing up

Present administrative division is not useful for the effective urban policy in agglomerations, because they are not administrative areas. Their areas are only delimited for the needs of spatial planning. Urban agglomerations include several voivodships. Warsaw agglomeration is situated on the area of 4 voivodships. So is Lodz. More integrated forms of planning and agglomeration management should be created. Along with the competence, the legal and financial means indispensable for conducting urban policy, should be introduced.

The characteristic feature of the described agglomerations as well as of the majority of agglomerations in Poland, is great differentiation of living conditions in central, nodal and sub-urban zones. There is a necessity to diminish these differences.

It is important to develop technical infrastructure simultaneously with housing and services. It is necessary to create greater economic integration in all areas of agglomeration, as well as settlement units within agglomerations. It can be realized through stronger links between work and living places within the above units. This would decrease the number of people commuting to the centre of agglomeration. Towns which have now sleeping functions, would be industrialized.

### Conclusions

For the needs of proper urban policy within the area of agglomeration and realization of spatial development plans, as well as socio-economic plans, it is necessary to create homogeneous planning institutions responsible for coordination and control of urban development activities. These units should control investments and projects, coordinate the activities within the area of agglomeration and be responsible for the whole area. Because of small effectiveness of the recent urban policy and a small degree of realization of plans' assumptions in the development of agglomeration, such need is very urgent.

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### POLITYKA URBANIZACYJNA W AGLOMERACJACH WARSZAWSKIEJ I ŁÓDZKIEJ

Artykuł jest próbą oceny stopnia realizacji założeń polityki przestrzennej prowadzonej w stosunku do obszarów aglomeracji Łódzkiej i warszawskiej. Skuteczność polityki przestrzennej badano przez pryzmat rozwoju ludnościowego wyróżnionych w planach kierunków rozwoju przestrzennego aglomeracji. Przeanalizowano także politykę inwestycyjną, lokalizacyjną i zatrudnienia w przemyśle. Warunki bytowe badano analizując sytuację w zakresie mieszkalnictwa, handlu i gastronomii oraz ochrony zdrowia. Wyróżniono płaszczyzny oddziaływania polityki przestrzennej odnoszone do istniejącego układu oraz do zmian w strukturze przestrzennej obu aglomeracji. Stwierdzono brak skuteczności i konsekwencji w realizacji zadań i założeń planowych w większości badanych przypadków oraz istnienie niekontrolowanych procesów

na wyróżnionych w planach kierunków rozwoju przestrzennego. Artykuł zawiera także postulaty co do dalszych kierunków rozwoju obszarów aglomeracji oraz form działania władz lokalnych, wśród których najistotniejszy jest postulat stworzenia zintegrowanych form planowania i zarządzania aglomeracjami, których obszar rozbitý jest pomiędzy kilka województw, a tym samym pomiędzy kilka ośrodków decyzyjno-planistycznych i administracyjnych.