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The Processes of Differentiation and Segregation in the Urbanized Space of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region

1. Introductory remarks. Short characteristics of the examined area

Towns of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region were created in the way typical for the 19th-century urbanization out of the initially scattered adjoining to factories settlements. This is how the space of Katowice, the present capital of the Region, was formed; similarly Siemianowice, Ruda Śląska or Bytom were shaped. Built according to the typical design (French, Prussian, Scottish) the workers' settlements took most often the form of the so-called *familoks* quarters of two- or three-storey buildings, with small, one- or two-room flats, of a very low from the present point of view, standard (without central heating, gas, sanitary arrangements). This kind of buildings make up till now over 40% of the building of many towns of the Katowice agglomeration. We will come back to the problems of old building later on, in the meantime let's try in a few words to describe the life conditions of the inhabitants of this Region. Expressing the matter in the shortest way — they are dramatic. Particular concentration in the area of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region of the technologically outdated industrial branches (mining, metallurgy, energetics, chemical industry) added to the unsettling of ecological balance threatening health and life of the inhabitants. Intensive exploitation of mineral resources caused mechanical degradation of about 9.5% of the area of soil. Poisonous precipitations, containing dangerous for health heavy metals and sulphur dioxide many times exceed all the admissible norms. About 15% of the area of land is not suitable for food production, so strong is soil pollution with

toxic compounds. In the rivers which flow through the central zone of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region almost all chemicals flow, water pollution reaches 63% of the total length of all the agglomeration rivers (Żmuda et al., 1988). The health condition of the population is best illustrated with the high coefficients of mortality among the inhabitants of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region: on average the general coefficient of deaths for 100 thousand inhabitants for the period of 1976—1986 was in the Katowice voivodship higher of 12.3 points from the all-Polish. To the commonest reasons of deaths belong circulatory system illnesses (of 27.6% points more in relation to the all-Polish coefficient), tumours (the difference in relation to the rest of the country: +13.4 points). Alarmingly high is in the Katowice voivodship infants' mortality (in 1986 — the coefficient of infants' mortality for 1 thousand live births was in the Upper Silesian Industrial Region 19.5 towards 17.3 for the whole Poland), from year to year grows the number of cases of distempers in foetal development and inborn defects among children (Sroczyński, 1989).

The above quoted for the purpose of illustration data are, as I believe, of unanimous importance: the Upper Silesian Industrial Region can be, without too much exaggeration, included into the areas of ecological disaster, with high degree of degradation of natural environment and decidedly unfavourable conditions of life, although, as we will try to prove in the further part of the study, this evaluation refers not to the same extent to the totality of the examined area. As it has been stated in the introduction, the Upper Silesian Industrial Region is a central part of the Katowice agglomeration covering the land belonging to two historically and culturally different lands: to Upper Silesia in which for centuries Polish and German influences clashed and to Zagłębie Dąbrowskie which for over one hundred years of the Polish slavery up till 1918 remained within the orbit of Russian influences. These remote times left permanent traces, both material (e.g. striking differences of urban solutions, in architecture, town aesthetics) and non-material (differences in habits, mentality, patterns of social co-existence, systems of values, etc). These differences could not be wiped out by a short, not even 20-year period of interwar when the majority of contemporary Katowice voivodship became an integral part of the reborn Polish state. The outbreak of World War II caused in Upper Silesia new, often tragic, because running across the members of families and friends, divisions on the nationality background. It is from this period that many mutual prejudices and animosities as well as stereotypes originate identifying the aboriginal inhabitants of Upper Silesia with the representatives of the Nazi oppression, stereotype having some support in the consciously realized by the invador policy of recruiting the Silesians to work in Zagłębie Dąbrowskie, including also the SS (Rykiel, 1978). After 1945 the situation was almost completely reversed. In the newly

created Silesian-Dąbrowa voivodship the privileged role obtained the population coming mainly from Zagłębie Dąbrowskie (from this population recruited a big part of the communist security responsible for repressions towards the autochthonous population). The area of contemporary Katowice agglomeration has become the area of massive migrations. On the one hand, among others due to the brutally carried out action of national verification there appeared considerable outflow of native population, in some towns, for example, in Gliwice or Bytom the amount of the compulsorily displaced inhabitants only in 1948 was about 60% (Rykiel, 1978, p. 81). On the other hand, the great wave of repatriates from the former Eastern borderland, from the areas taken away from Poland and in accordance with the decisions of the Yalta Conference, given to the Soviet Union, as well as to a smaller extent, reemigrants from the Western European countries (France, Germany). Extremely intensive, abiding in many intergroup dramas and conflicts (for national, political cultural reasons) migrations of people left permanent complexes in social consciousness. The preservation of mutual hostility, isolationist tendencies of the native population towards the incomers from other regions of Poland was favoured by the carried out for over forty years of communist government erroneous in its assumptions socio-economic policy of central authorities which in the name of abstract, social in the broadest sense interests ignored the needs and interests of local communities. These kinds of practices were not always the expression of specific prejudices of the Centre towards Upper Silesia. In the system of real socialism with its idea of central planning there was not place for "particularisms", there could also be no mention of ethnic or culture conflicts. Thus, taking up the discussion on the phenomena of segregation of the urban space of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region, we cannot omit the systemic, thus, acting within the whole society, political and economic mechanisms.

2. Macrosocial determinants of the course of urbanization in Poland after World War II¹

The development of towns in the post-war period occurred in Poland in particularly unfavourable conditions. War damage diminished relatively poor housing resources (up till the outbreak of World War II Poland was an agricultural-industrial country, in 1939 63.1% of the population lived in the country). In the post-war years the number of urban population grew from about 7.5 milion to about 22.5 million which is (according to the state for 1985) 60.2% of the total population in the most urbanized voivodships

(Warszawa, Łódź, Katowice) about 90%. The demographic growth of towns was the result of the sudden influx of country population to towns, especially in 1946—1950 and in 1976—1980.

The basic causative factor of such essential migrations of human population to towns were the changes in the structure of employment connected with the assumed at the beginning of the 1950s and realized with breaks until the end of the 1970s by the communist authorities, programme of country's industrialization based on heavy industry (metallurgic, mining, machine). The one-sidedness of the accepted in the starting point economic strategy turned out to be one of the most serious errors of communists, loaded with social, economic and political consequences. The intensive industrialization negatively told on the course of urbanization processes.² Industry has become for many years the only serious urban-creative factor, at the same time from the very beginning the development of towns lagged behind the development of industrialization. Strong union of the economic system with the political one, maximally centralized way of socio-economic management and planning caused that the decisions on the localization of big industrial works were taken without considering the economic or social costs. Nowa Huta — a typical example of the socialist urbanization, was founded only due to political reasons, as a counterbalance for "the conservative-middle-class" Cracow, unfavourable to the occurring after the war systemic changes. The lack of others than industry developmental factors with the total limitation of the autonomy of local communities led to the investment overload of many regions (it was in such a situation that the Katowice voivodship found itself). Irrational from the economic point of view, scattered on big areas, employing many thousand employees industrial factories consumed the majority of the budget resources. What suffered from it were the accompanying investments, thus, housing building, transport, social infrastructure. Chronic state of shortage in the above mentioned spheres as well as from the reasons mentioned later, negligencies in the shaping of urban centres and the deficite of services justifies, in the opinion of many scientists, using in reference to the situation in Poland the term "deficient urbanization".³

For many years one can observe in Poland strong deficite of flats (in 1980 shortages in this sphere were evaluated for about 1.6 millions). Deficite of flats as well as non-functionality of the existing flats (the average living area of a flat in a multifamily house is in Poland 55.2 square metres, in Europe — 70 to 80 square metres) were and still are the serious source of social unrest. The decisive majority of building in Poland, especially from the end of the 1960s, was realized in the form of big, unified building sets. Many factors decided on the acceptance of such a solution. One of the most important ones surely was the officially accepted doctrine of "modern urbanism", the advocates of which, leading representatives of the social trend of Polish architecture

of the interwar period, willingly referred to the decisions of the CIAM, especially of the Athens Chart (Bruckalska, 1948; Syrkus, 1976). In the first realized soon after the war designs of living sets, there were still attempts to preserve certain elements of the traditional urban building: streets, squares, closed spaces. From the middle of the 1960s the majority of flats were localized in the Moloch-housing estates, with the decisive scattered domination, multi-storey buildings, separated (following the doctrine of zoning) from places of work and urban centres. On the urban shape of the housing sets, their localization and scale decided, besides the doctrine reasons, economic-bureaucratic reasons and more precisely, the interests of state building enterprises which for many years could freely, without taking into account the architects or the users' opinions, impose the solutions adjusted to their possibilities of technical and technological nature, easy in production and assembling (Jalowiecki, 1988, pp. 25—26). The same reasons which decided on the architectural shape of the new urban housing estates forejudged the fate of the old dwelling building which during the last 45 years has been chronically underinvested. The majority of houses coming from before 1945 was after the war covered by the state management, some was in the factories disposal, small percentage (up till 110 square metres) remained in the private hands. Independently of the formal-legal status the old housing resources, besides very few, covered by the preservation care historical sets, were not the subject of the separate modernization or renovation policy, thus, it is easy to guess what is now their state (technical and sanitary). The old housing estates of the Polish towns are also old in the demographic sense — many people in the old age lives there, old age pensioners, lonely people living in poverty (Frackiewicz, 1983).

Carried out with the help of the factor analysis research of the socio-spatial structures in the Polish towns confirmed the existence of the areas of the relative concentration of the specific categories of the socio-demographic character. The results of the observations and the analyses carried out in many towns in Poland clearly point that the affiliation to the socially recognized professional groups, intellectual elites as well as cultural and political generally cooccurs with the more favourable localization in the urban space (e.g. closer to the centre, in the areas with the best living conditions) (Węcławowicz, 1988, p. 111). The distribution of particular professional groups is in many towns the continuation of the prewar socio-spatial divisions (e.g. into the white collar and working class districts), the localized in the vicinity new housing estates did not manage to change it, they themselves in the course of the time became the scene of similar selection processes leading to the reconstruction of the old socio-spatial structures (e.g. in Cracow up till now dominates the division into the western part, more middle class and the eastern one, more workers') (Węcławowicz, 1988, p. 117). In reference to the interesting us here Katowice agglomeration

the factor analysis covered only Katowice (Węcławowicz, 1989). Also in this case one can point to the areas with high concentration of certain socio-professional groups: white collar city centre, running to the south belt of central districts and suburban districts of a clearly workers' character. In the Katowice research have been confirmed regularities observed in other towns that the areas of town occupied by particular socio-professional categories differ a lot in terms of the type of building, its age and living standards although the direction of the observed correlations is here due to the local specificity of the urbanization processes slightly different: the new housing estates are usually inhabited by young people, better educated, occupying higher positions in the professional hierarchy, the old workers' housing estates are an example of particular cumulation of material and social handicap (it will be discussed further) (Węcławowicz, 1988, p. 119).

In the light of the current statements it seems clear that in the Polish towns occurred during the whole post-war period the processes of spatio-social segregation which can be reduced to several pairs of opposition categories: centre vs suburb, new vs old housing estates, white collar vs workers', individual vs collective forms of living, bad vs good living conditions, favourable vs unfavourable natural environment, etc. In order, however, to interpret the nature of these processes properly, it is not enough to collect the appropriately representative statistical material. Even the most carefully carried out factor analysis apart from undoubted advantages, has serious disadvantages — it uses statistical data referring to the arbitrarily created register circles which extremely rarely overlap with the described by E.W. Burgess "natural areas". In the Polish towns, apart from the typical, concentric sector (Hoyt, 1939) or polycentral systems (Ullman, 1941), we have to do with the whole spectrum of mixed, mosaic, focus-band structures (Węcławowicz, 1988, p. 113). Probably none of these theoretical concepts worked out by the Western scientists will be able to explain the essence of the observed in Poland socio-spatial differentiations. We cannot forget about the important and even decisive in some periods of the postwar history of Poland influence of politics both on the material shape of the housing estates (in which extremely useful turned out to be the doctrine of modern urbanism) and on their social contents (the state with the help of the legal-administrative instruments realized the active policy of settling the old and the new housing resources). These specific conditions in which during the last 45 years was shaping the socio-spatial structure of the Polish towns caused the washing away of the sharp divisions and, thus, instead of the unanimous in terms of the social characteristics of their inhabitants areas we have the enclaves of privileges in the degraded surrounding and real slums next to the attractive, even according to the Western standards housing sets. In this situation, instead of referring to the refined statistical techniques, more reasonable seems to be using traditional

methods of sociological research, such as observation of the area, survey, analysis of documentation, interviews with social informants. It is this what has been done in the research the results of which will be discussed in the later part of the article.⁴

3. The basic types of housing of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region

As it has been said in the introduction, the Upper Silesian Industrial Region is a central part of the Katowice agglomeration consisting of a dozen or so towns. Starting the work, we have surely faced one of the most difficult problems being delimiting correctly and at the same time clearly the area of research (the possibility of carrying the research in all the towns of agglomeration has been turned down as too expensive and going beyond the staff possibilities of the 12-member research team). The most rational seemed starting from working out the precise criteria of selection which would enable the selection of the towns typical for the Upper Silesian conurbation. Not going here into the details of the applied procedure, let's explain that the final selection of towns was preceded by detailed documentary studies (among others the plans of spatial management, statistic materials have been analysed), interviews and free discussions with social experts (architects, town-planners, representatives of local administration) as well as inspections of the area. As a result of these undertakings, many arguments have been collected supporting taking up deepened studies in these towns of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region in which with particular strength appear the phenomena unfavourable from the point of view of life conditions of the inhabitants. The four selected towns: Dąbrowa Górnicza, Ruda Śląska, Siemianowice, Tychy belong to the most threatened with the results of overconcentration of industry of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region zone. These are urban centres, deficient in many respects, drastically devoid of services, with the dominant production function represented mainly by the metallurgy, mining, machine industry. Having made the decision as to the localization of the research, working out the extensive monographs of particular towns followed. In these monographs there were data illustrating the main demographic processes, as well as social, political, economic and ecological ones occurring in these centres (Nawrocki, 1987; Świątkiewicz, 1987; Halladin, 1987; Swadźba and Swadźba, 1987).

Next on the basis of the results of the deepened inspection of the area an attempt has been made to separate from the space of the examined towns relatively unanimous in the urban-architectonic terms dwelling sets. Delimita-

tion of the areas which in specific cases covered the whole districts, housing estates or sets of houses was based on several criteria: apart from the above mentioned town-planning criterion ("type of building"), the age of the sets was taken into account as well their locating towards the works and urban centre, the dominating type of housing and housing conditions (equipment with water, gas, central heating, bathroom), availability of social infrastructure and municipal transport. The precious source of information on particular dwelling sets were the remarks and opinions of the people carrying field research. These persons described each fragment of the town according to the earlier prepared scheme taking into account the order and town-planning values, the values of natural environment, aesthetic, social and functional values (Szczepański, 1989). The whole of the material collected in the above described way underwent classification which finally allowed to separate several most characteristic for a given area town-planning forms together with the social systems written in them.

A. Dwelling sets modelled according to the concept of "social housing estate", specific variety of C.A. Perry's idea of "neighbourhood unit" transformed in accordance with the rules of the official socialist doctrine by the Polish architects and town-planners (Bruckalska, 1948; Syrkus, 1976). The social housing estate in the model approach was to be a small dwelling unit (about 65 ha of the total area, 25 families for 1 ha) with multifamily buildings with no more than 5 storeys and 3 to 4 staircases. In each unit about 10% was devoted for the green areas, the housing estates were to be equipped in the full set of social infrastructure facilities, from school to socio-cultural centres. The closed-circle character, availability on the spot of all the most important services were to facilitate making contacts between the inhabitants and favour shaping more permanent social structures. Due to the reasons characterized in more detail in point 2, the realization of these assumptions in practice faced many difficulties and limitations. Despite this particularly in the 1950s and the 1960s in many towns in Poland quite a lot of dwelling units were founded relating directly or indirectly to the concept of social housing estate. Such units were realized, among others, in the examined by us towns of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region — Tychy, Siemianowice Śląskie, Dąbrowa Górnicza. These are generally compact, clear, closed-circle dwelling units, equipped in the elementary social infrastructure, creating the feeling of "being at one's own" and surrounded with the green area (Szczepański, 1989, p. 8). These housing estates, which is worth mentioning, although are not always in the best technical state are rather positively evaluated by the inhabitants. In shaping this positive attitude the big role is played by the feeling of relative privilege of the inhabitants of "social housing estates" in relation to the conditions in which live the inhabitants of old, degraded central urban quarters or old factory housing estates (they will be discussed slightly

further on). Few housing estate units founded in the 1970s do not fulfill the majority of the social housing estate criteria although they also positively differ from the amorphous blocks of flats whose scale and monotony of building is a striking contradiction of the idea of "neighbourhood unit".

B. Great dwelling units — this is the second of the occurring in the examined towns types of the habitat. These are in the majority of cases groupings of high, nine- or more storey buildings, of a homogeneous construction, without style and colourless. This kind of units usually built on the outskirts of towns cause its inhabitants quite a lot of problems connected with the necessity of commuting to work every day and using the centrally located service centres, the more severe the worse is the provision of the blocks of flats in the elementary infrastructural facilities. Many of the examined by us blocks of flats function as gigantic dormitories, their inhabitants do not feel special relationship with the amorphous, empty space, unwillingly engage themselves in the local social or cultural life, although there are exceptions when what is concerned is settling specific, individual problem (e.g. changing the localization of the urban transport stop, building parking place, etc.). It is the rule, however, that the inhabitants returning home from work in the late afternoon hours "close themselves" in the four walls of their own flats and are not interested in the local life. In the examined by us towns we could convince ourselves many times that the "blocks of flats" are evaluated by the majority of inhabitants as unpleasant, dangerous, disgusting, although many, not having practically any chance of changing the place of living, tries to minimize the observed deficiencies of the habitat.

C. Old housing estates. To characterize properly the third among the distinguished by us types of the dwelling environment, one should remind that the majority of the towns of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region has an independent, last century origin. Their origin and development, as it has been said in the introduction, are mainly connected with the foundation in Upper Silesia of the first centres of metallurgy, mining industries together with which workers' housing estates and urban centres developed. In the examined by us towns have been preserved big fragments of the building coming from the turn of the 19th/20th centuries (in Ruda Śląska it makes over 50% of the whole dwelling substance). These are surely the areas deficient in many respects. First of all, due to the many year negligencies from the side of the local authorities and fatal in its consequences policy of limitations towards the private owners of house, the decisive part of the old buildings has not been repaired for years. The ghost of the Athens Chart indivisibly ruling in the milieu of town-planners and architects definitely did not favour any modernizing or revitalizing programmes. The old factory housing estates, inhabited mainly by the natives, could not until recently count on any interest of historians of art or architecture, they were refused any aesthetic or historical values with

which was connected lack of allocations from the state. The examined by us old quarters of Tychy, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Siemianowice and Ruda Śląska, with understandable differentiation resulting from the local specificity of urbanization processes, have many common features: they are in a very bad technical state, the majority of the flats found there are devoid of the elementary facilities, central heating, bathroom, gas, and very often also toilet. General dirt, dust, noise, unpleasant smells connected with the proximity of the old industrial works. Despite all these inconveniences the old housing estates are noticed by their inhabitants as friendly, comfortable, they are satisfied with the availability of shops, services, they notice the advantages resulting from having relatives in the neighbourhood as well as numerous neighbour, friendly ties. One should add, however, that these positive opinions were most often expressed by old people, emotionally connected with their housing estate. The younger inhabitants are decisively more critical, often declare the willingness to leave as soon as possible the present place of living and move to "the blocks" which in this case mean, first of all, better sanitary conditions. The process of escape of young, more dynamic, better off and educated inhabitants speeds up the processes of socio-cultural marginalization of the old housing estates. Numerous empty flats found in the buildings assigned for pulling down are taken over by the illegal "wild tenants", representatives of the delinquent world who do not pay any attention to the conditions they live in. In this way the old housing estates turn slowly into slums.

D. The sets of one-family houses, the last of the distinguished types of building, cover varied in its character individual building, from the detached houses until the terraced houses. In the dominated by the gigantic blocks of flats landscape of the Silesian (and not only) towns — individual building is an exception. By the inhabitants of the blocks of flats condemned to small flats and living in the substandard conditions tenants of the old *familoks* (this name means popular on the area of Upper Silesia up till the 1920s type of building for the workers' families) the sets of one-family building are observed as the actual zones of privilege. In fact, the situation is more complicated because in the examined by us towns near the enclaves of the luxurious building we could observe coming from the beginning of the century sets of the primitive, devoid of sewage system, gas, hot water one-family houses which surely cannot be included to particularly attractive. Independently, however, from the standard of particular units of individual building in the conditions of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region living in a one-family house has undoubtedly advantages in the form of access to green areas. The majority of the built in the postwar period units of the one-family building was localized in the zones relatively favourable ecologically, in certain distance from the industrial works, next to the parks or belts of protective green. Of course, there are exceptions

here as well, for example, such as in Dąbrowa Górnicza where next the unit of the old one-family houses has been situated the urban dumping ground; one can imagine the sufferings of the inhabitants on hot days with the unfavourable wind rose. However, the majority of the examined by us units of one-family houses distinguish themselves among other types of buildings with the individualized (although not always proving the tenant's good taste) form, their favourable location, possibility of free shaping of the nearest surrounding, freedom of choice of social contacts decide on relative privilege of these areas towards other types of building.

4. Final remarks

The empirical research carried out in the four towns of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region confirmed the existence in the urban space of the zones of relative deficiencies and privilege, one can, thus, suspect that in the examined towns we have to do with the processes of selection and segregation of the socio-spatial character the mechanisms of which were presented in point 2. Since 1989 Poland together with other countries of the former communist bloc has entered the way of essential reforms of the political and economic system. One of the first moves of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was abolishing the current limitations in the field of housing building and ground management. The first steps have been made towards decentralization and local autonomy. Slowly start to act market mechanisms together with their all positive and negative consequences. Today it is difficult to foretell what will be the consequences of these changes for the shaping of the habitat as an expression of urban, architectonic inner differentiation. Sacred, as it seemed, central system of socio-economic planning has fallen apart irrevocably, considered until recently as an expression of disfunction or pathology in "the planning society", the spontaneous phenomena and processes fill almost every sphere of social life. Will the country's withdrawal from the role of total protector mean the end of gigantic blocks of flats? How will the new local self-governments cope with the problems of the old housing? Will they be able to efficiently counteract the processes of social and cultural marginalization of these areas of towns? Will and to what extent the occurrence of the new economic parties, pressure and business groups, individual owners influence the concentration of spatial conflicts, what will be their result? These are only some questions which cannot be sensibly answered today. Surely, it will be interesting to return to them after a year or two, when after a period of chaos typical for the turning times, new democratic mechanisms of political life and rules of free economic game will be shaped.

Notes

1. This problem was discussed exhaustively in many publications, see for example: B.M. Misztal, B. Misztal, "Urban Social Problems in Poland. The Macrosocial Determinants", *Urban Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1984).
2. For more complete discussion see for example: B. Jałowicki, "Strategia uprzemysłowienia a proces urbanizacji" [The Strategy of Industrialization and the Process of Urbanization], *Biul. KPZK PAN*, fascicle 119, (1982), pp. 9—118.
3. See for example: "Diagnoza stanu gospodarki przestrzennej Polski" [The Diagnosis of the State of Spatial Economy in Poland]. *Biul. KPZK, PAN*, fascicle 123 (1983).
4. The research was carried out under the author's direction between 1986—1991. For more details see: *Problemy metodologiczne badań procesów planowych i żywiołowych w mieście* [The Methodological Problems of the Study of Planned and Spontaneous Processes in the Town], ed. K. Wódcz (Katowice, 1991).

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