

BARBARA MISZEWSKA

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WROCLAW UNIVERSITY

## RECOVERED CITIES

**ABSTRACT.** There is a large group of cities in Poland, which lost and re-gained their urban status. Many of those cities lost their urban status as the result of administrative reforms introduced by partitioning states in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and after WWII. Restoration of their urban status took place after WWI and/or WWII. In the majority of the cities, the population did not exceed 10,000 inhabitants. Their contribution to overall urbanization of the country was rather limited.

**KEY WORDS:** urban status, urbanization, Poland

### INTRODUCTION

The measurements, which were taken into account, in order to characterize the level of urbanization in a region, include such elements as the number of city inhabitants, the participation of city-inhabitants in the population of the researched area, the number of cities, the density of cities in the region, the area of territorial unit per 1 city. The measurements, though, refer to different definitions of city. In different countries, there are different definitions of cities, and because of that fact, it is difficult to compare the level of urbanization in different countries. There are three common criteria, which are used in order to consider urban units as cities:

- statistical criteria, based on population; the minimal level is different in different countries;
- legal-administrative criteria, which are used to consider an urban unit as city based on its receiving urban status;
- functional criteria, which are used to consider as city an urban unit, which perform certain city functions, and where its inhabitants are employed in

different sectors of economy, excluding agriculture; the functional criterion and the description of functions are different in different countries.

Comparing urbanization levels is not perfect because of the lack of uniform criteria. In Poland, researchers use administrative-legal criterion. As the result of that, there are many cities in Poland, which received their urban status in the Middle Ages, and, luckily, they didn't lose the status, although they have smaller

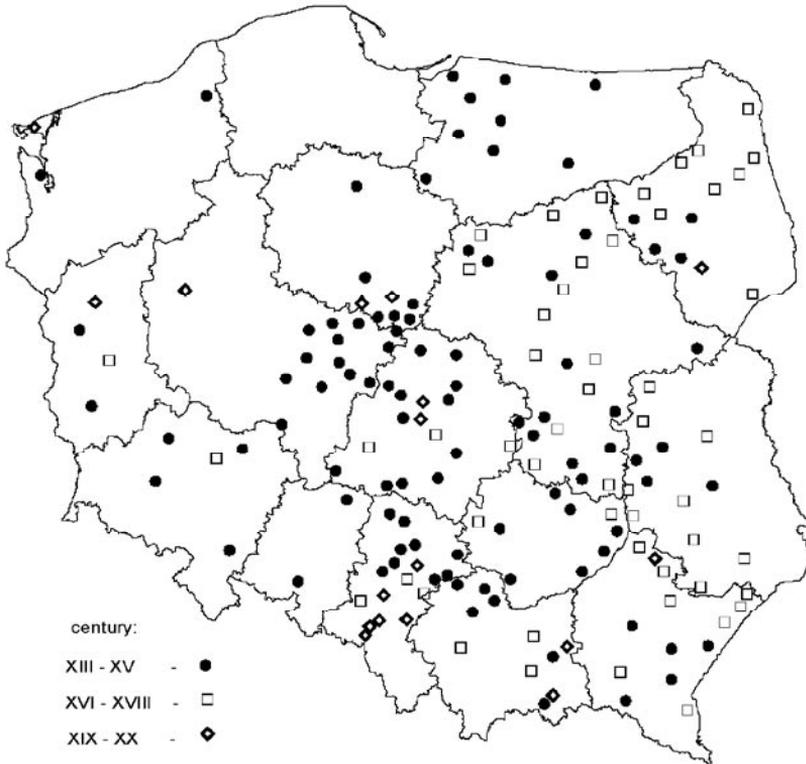


Fig. 1. Restored cities arranged according to the period of their receiving of urban status for the first time

Source: own statistics based on Gawryszewski, A. 2005, Kwiatek, J. and Lijewski, T. 1998.

population and perform fewer urban functions than some villages. There are villages with many inhabitants, and high non-agricultural employment, which still try to receive urban status. Oftentimes, new cities don't have any urban tradition. Also, there is a tendency to give urban status to villages, which, in the past, had the status of cities. The main goal of this article is to describe the role of the cities in Poland, which received back their urban status.

The loss of urban status was:

- based on administrative law, which was introduced by an administrative body;
- based on the ‘natural’ process of de-urbanization and declining urban function, which cannot be dated;
- annexation by neighbor city, which was both bigger and functionally dominating in the area;

In the last case, annexation was not connected with the degradation of urban status, but with the loss of self-governing rights. Restitution of urban status was the result of a recurrent process; urban status was again given to the city, and authorities re-confirmed its right to self-governing. Because of that fact, we can consider those cities as recovered cities.

The research goal includes therefore:

- spatial analysis of restituted cities;
- historic analysis of primary urban status, its loss and restoration (in different historic periods);
- defining the size of townships, which again received their urban status.

Brief analysis of the localization of the cities (Fig. 1 and 2) implies additional research goals because the analysis of loss and restoration cannot be conducted without referring to historic context (throughout several centuries, dramatic events in Poland were shaping its history).

## LOCALIZATION OF RESTITUTED CITIES

There are 168 restituted cities, which at least once in a few centuries had urban status, lost it, and now again have it (2005). Based on available data (Gawryszewski, 2005; Kwiatek, Lijewski, 1988; Urban Statistics 1945–1965), the group doesn’t include cities, which used to have urban status, but currently don’t have it. Also, it doesn’t include the cities, which are parts of bigger agglomerations (‘combined cities’).

Representation of ‘recovered cities’ (Fig. 1 and 2) clearly shows disproportions between different voivodeships. Although, the disproportions are in all other voivodeships but Pomorze, their frequency is from 2 in Opole voivodeship to 26 in Mazowieckie voivodeship. The lowest participation in percentage is in Lower Silesia and Opole – 5.5%; the highest is in Łódzkie voivodeship – 45% (Table 1).

That uneven distribution is clearly illustrated in both maps (Fig. 1 and 2), and it shows concentration growing from west to east (the biggest density of dots on the map is in central voivodeships).

Table 1. Recovered cities in voivodeships

VOIVODESHIP	NUMBER OF CITIES		PARTICIPATION OF RESTITUTED CITIES IN %
	IN GENERAL (2005)	RESTITUTED CITIES	
total	887	168	19.0
dolnośląskie	91	5	5.5
kujawsko-pomorskie	52	8	15.5
lubelskie	41	13	31.5
lubuskie	42	4	9.5
łódzkie	42	19	45.0
małopolskie	55	10	18.0
mazowieckie	85	26	30.5
opolskie	35	2	5.5
podkarpackie	45	13	29.0
pomorskie	42	0	0.0
podlaskie	36	14	39.0
śląskie	71	18	25.5
świętokrzyskie	30	9	30.0
warmińsko-mazurskie	49	9	18.5
wielkopolskie	109	14	13.0
zachodnio-pomorskie	62	4	6.5

*Sources:* own estimates based on: Gawryszewski, A. 2005; Kwiatek, J., Lijewski, T. 1998; Cities and Settlements in Statistics from 1945 to 1965; Area and Population 2005.

### THE EARLIEST-LOCATED 'RECOVERED CITIES'

The cities, which regained their status, were established in different location-periods. When we compare the structure of restituted cities according to location-period and according to the distribution of locations of all the cities in modern Poland (Table 2), we can see the double overrepresentation of cities from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In that period of time, comparable with the Middle Ages, the number of cities was twice smaller, but the number of cities, which lost their status, was twice bigger. Relatively few cities, which enjoyed their status for a short period of time (they received their municipal status in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century), lost their status.

Spatial distribution of the cities according to primary location (Fig. 1) reveals interesting aspects. The earliest use of the Magdeburg Law in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was continued to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout the centuries, the process was losing its impact. At the beginning, it included the cities in the western territories of Poland, and later, it moved from west to east. Based on that tendency, one could

## RECOVERED CITIES

expect, that the oldest-restituted cities were located in the West, but it isn't true; the biggest concentration of restituted cities is in the central voivodeships of Poland, distributed meridian-wise. In eastern voivodeships, there are cities mostly from the second period of location. The reasons of that situation should be considered in the context of events, which shaped the settlement network in Poland in the period of partitions, and after WWI and WWII.

Table 2. The cities in Poland according to the dates of receiving urban status

CENTURY	NUMBER OF CITIES		PARTICIPATION OF CITIES (%)	
	TOTAL	RECOVERED CITIES	TOTAL	RECOVERED CITIES
XIII – XV	578	100	65.0	59.5
XVI – XVIII	130	54	15.0	32.0
XIX – XX	179	14	20.0	8.5
total XIII – XX	887	168	100.0	100.0

*Source:* as in Table 1.

### CITIES ACCORDING TO THE DATES OF THEIR LOSING AND REGAINING URBAN STATUS

The loss of urban status was common throughout history, and the phenomenon was usually connected with the fact of wrong locating of a city. The loss of urban status was a natural process, and it often was connected with a particular administrative regulation. In the group of researched cities, the description refers to several cities in Podkarpackie voivodeship. In Table 3 and Fig. 2, the three

Table 3. Cities according to dates of losing and regaining their urban status

	REGAINING	BEFORE 1950	AFTER 1950	TOTAL
<b>LOSS</b>				
before 1850		5	-	5
after 1850		76	40	116
before 1959		4	34	38
after 1950		-	9	9
total		85	83	168

*Sources:* own estimates based on: Gawryszewski, A. 2005; Kwiatek, J., Lijewski T.1998; Cities and Settlements in Statistics from 1945 to 1965; Area and Population 2005.

quarters of the group of cities lost their urban status in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mostly after 1850. Degradation of cities took place in all partitioned territories of Poland. The occupants of Poland introduced administrative reforms, whose goal was to eliminate from urban network the cities, which did not perform specialist function, and, which did not fit to the economic and social infrastructure to new conditions. In Prussia and Galicia, the reforms were already introduced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, right after the first partition of Poland. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the reforms were introduced in 1808 (Prussia), at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Princedom of Warsaw, in 1896 in Galicia, and from 1869 to 1870 in the Kingdom of Poland. The most radical changes in urban structure were introduced by the Russian government in the Kingdom of Poland: 338 of 452 cities were degraded (75%). The regulations were introduced after the fall of the January Uprising. It was one of many repressions which followed the uprising. The loss of urban status was connected with many social and economic problems imposed on the citizens of degraded cities. Officially, the authorities used a statistical criterion, and they degraded the cities of less than 3,000 inhabitants (Krzysztofik, 2005). After 1850, most of the degraded cities were located in the Congress Kingdom, and they dominate the chart (Fig. 2 illustrates that situation, and can be used to explain the density of dots in central and eastern territories of Poland). When we compare the map with the map of Poland as it was after the Congress of Vienna, the situation becomes even more remarkable. In the Wielkopolskie and Kujawsko-Pomorskie voivodeships, the degraded cities almost exclusively are located in the territories annexed by Russia (Table 1). The majority of degraded cities regained their status after WWI (from 1919 to 1934), after WWII, in the 1980's and the 1990's. Nevertheless, in the territories annexed by Russia, regaining of urban status is still unfinished a process.

The cities in the Austrian-annexed territories share similar history (big portion of the Małopolskie and Podkarpackie voivodeships). Many of them lost their urban status as the result of administrative reforms introduced in 1869 and in the 1930's. Also, many cities, which were degraded by Austrian authorities, regained their status in the 1930's. Often, the process was connected with the organizing of the Central Industrial Region (in the Polish language: Centralny Okręg Przemysłowy, abbreviated to COP).

The cities in western and eastern part of Poland are more uniform, because the loss of urban status was connected with the consequences of WWII: total destruction of a city, and/or the loss of inhabitants (the cities in those areas were mostly degraded after 1945). Although, they still looked the same (their urban character was still visible), like other cities established in the Middle Ages, for over 10, and even over 20 years, they villages (Bobolice, 1945–1958; Miłakowo, 1945–1998).

## RECOVERED CITIES

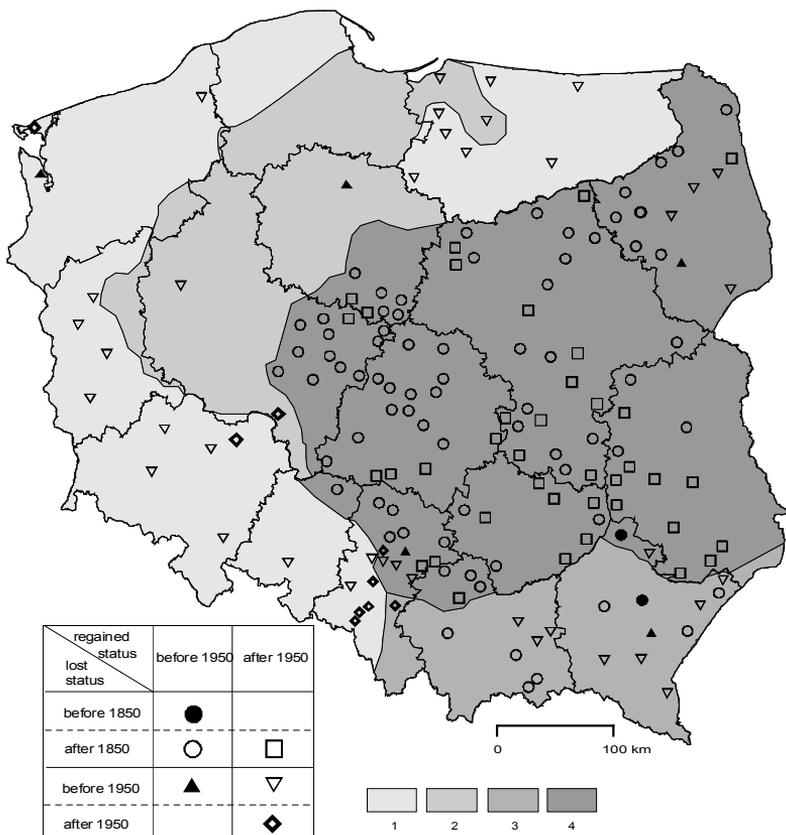


Fig. 2. Restored cities by the period of their receiving urban status compared in different annexation zones (after 1815). 1 – Prussia; 2 – Prussian-annexed territories; 3 – Austrian-annexed territories; 4 – Russian-annexed territories

Source: as in Fig. 1 and Historic Atlas of Poland, 2006.

The former borders of two different states (Prussia and Austria), which annexed the territory of Silesia, currently meet here, thus revealing an interesting situation. The majority of cities, which received back their urban status in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, are located in Silesia. The group mostly includes the cities, which were annexed by neighbors thus temporarily losing their independence.

## SIZE STRUCTURE OF DEGRADED CITIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON URBANIZATION IN GENERAL

The number of inhabitants indicates the scope of their impact on urbanization. Table 4 shows the number of inhabitants in recovered cities in 2005.

The first category includes cities with less than 3,000 inhabitants. The same criterion was used by Russian authorities in 1869. There are 64 cities with less than 3,000 inhabitants, i.e. 40% of all researched cities. The group includes

Table 4. Recovered cities according to the number of inhabitants in 2005

TOTAL	< 3,000	3,000–4,999	5,000–9,999	10,000– 19,999	20,000– 29,999	≥30,000
168	64	42	38	16	5	3
100%	38.0	25.0	22.5	9.5	3.0	2.0

Source: Annual Statistics for Voivodeships 2006.

Table 5. The influence of restored cities on the level of urbanization in voivodeships (%) in 2005 (based on participation of restored cities, column 3)

VOIVODESHIPS	PARTICIPATION OF POPULATION IN CITIES		URBANIZATION LEVEL WITHOUT RESTORED CITIES
	TOTAL	RESTORED	
1	2	3	4
Poland	61.8	3.1	58.7
podlaskie	40.5	8.4	32.1
łódzkie	64.7	7.6	57.1
mazowieckie	64.7	4.0	60.7
śląskie	78.6	3.6	75.0
podkarpackie	40.5	3.5	37.0
świętokrzyskie	45.4	3.1	42.3
zach.-pomorskie	69.1	2.6	66.5
lubelskie	46.6	2.5	44.1
warmińsko-mazurskie	60.0	1.9	58.1
małopolskie	49.6	1.8	47.8
kujawsko-pomorskie	61.4	1.3	60.1
lubuskie	64.1	1.3	62.8
wielkopolskie	57.0	1.3	55.7
dolnośląskie	71.0	0.6	70.4
pomorskie	67.2	0.0	67.2

Source: own calculation based on Annual Statistics for Voivodeships 2005.

## RECOVERED CITIES

Table 6. Restored cities in voivodeships by the number of inhabitants

VOIVODESHIP	POPULATION					
	< 3,000	3,000–4,999	5,000–9,999	10,000–19,999	20,000–29,999	30,000 AND MORE
DOLNOŚLĄSKIE	Bardo, Prusice, Świerzawa			Brzeg Dln.	Polkowice	
KUJAWSKO- -POMORSKIE	Chodecz, Izbica Kuj., Lubień Kuj.	Kowal, Kowalewo Pom., Lubraniec, Piotrków Kuj., Radziejów				
LUBELSKIE	Annopol, Frampol, Józefów, Krasnobród, Ostrów Lub., Piaski, Stoczek Łuk.	Bychawa, Kazimierz Dln., Tarnogród	Bełżyce, Opole Lub., Ryki			
LUBUSKIE	Lubniewice, Torzym	Czarnocin	Nowogród Bobrz.			
ŁÓDZKIE	Kamieńsk	Biała Rawska, Drawica, Krośniewice, Stryków, Uniejów, Złoczew	Działoszyn, Pajęczno, Podębice, Sulejów, Tuszyn, Wieruszów, Żychlin	Konstantynów Łódzki	Aleksandrów, Głowno,	Bełchatów
MAŁOPOLSKIE	Ciężkowice, Nowy Wiśnicz, Ryglice	Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Skala, Słomniki	Muszyna, Proszowice, Wolbrom	Limanowa		
MAZOWIECKIE	Biezuń, Brok, Chorzele, Mogielnica, Mordy, Różan, Wyśmierzyce	Drobin, Łaskarzew, Myszyniec, N. Miasto/Pilica, Serock, Skaryszew, Raciąż	Białobrzegi, Hża, Lipsko, Przysucha, Zwoleń, Żuromin	Góra Kalw., Karczew, Łomianki,	Grodzisk Maz., Wyszaków	Piaseczno
OPOLSKIE	Korfantów		Praszka			
PODKARPACKIE	Cieszanów, Głogów, Małopolski, Narol, Oleszyce, Radomyśl, Sieniawa, Ulanów,	Kańczuga	Dynów Jedlina, Radymno, Sędziszów Małop. Ustrzyki Dln			

Con. tab. 6.

VOIVODESHIP	POPULATION					
	< 3,000	3,000–4,999	5,000–9,999	10,000–19,999	20,000–29,999	30,000 AND MORE
PODLASKIE	Jedwabne, Kleszczelce, Lipsk, Nowogród, Rajgród, Stawiski, Suchowola, Tykocin		Dąbrowa Białostocka, Sejny, Wysokie Mazowieckie	Łapy,	Grajewo, Zam- brów	
ŚLĄSKIE	Koziegłowy, Pilica, Sońcownicice	Krzepice, Ogrodzieniec, Szczekociny, Żarki	Poreba, Miasteczko Śl., Poreba, Siewierz, Wojkowice	Kłobuck, Lędziny, Pszów, Radlin, Radzionków, Sławków	Rydułtowy	
ŚWIĘTOKRZY- SKIE	Osiek, Skalbmierz, Zawichost	Kunów, Małogoszcz, Wąchock,	Ożarów, Połaniec	Włoszczowa		
WARMIŃSKO- -MAZURSKIE	Frombork, Kisielice, Miłakowo, Młynary, Pasym, Sępól, Zalewo	Pieniężno				
WIELKOPOLSKIE	Dobra, Obrzycko, Przedecz, Pyzdry, Rychwał, Stawiszyn, Sulmierzyce, Zagórz	Golina, Kleczew, Sompolno, Ślesin, Tuliszaków	Kłodawa			
ZACHODNIO- -POMORSKIE		Bobolice	Międzyzdroje			Police

Source: own statistics based on Annual Statistics for Voivodeships in 2006.

one city (Wyśmierzyce, Mazowieckie Voivodeship), with less than 1,000 inhabitants, and 23 cities with less than 2,000 inhabitants (5 in Podlaskie Voivodeship). Cities with more than 2,000 and less than 3,000 inhabitants are mostly located in Wielkopolskie (8), Lubelskie, Mazowieckie, Warmińsko-Mazurskie (7 cities in each voivodeship). 85% of researched cities have less than 10,000

inhabitants. We can assume, that the biggest group of recovered cities includes small cities. There are only a few cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants, and they are located in the area of Warsaw and Łódź (Table 6).

In recent years, the number of inhabitants in many researched cities, regardless of their size, either stopped growing or decreased, according to the analysis of population statistics. Is it possible, that the presence of small cities significantly influences the level of urbanization in voivodeships? Table 5 illustrates the results of the research.

In three voivodeships, whose territories are within the boundaries of former Russian- occupied part of Poland, the participation of degraded cities significantly influence the overall urbanization of the region (the territories were the hardest-hit by administrative restrictions in 1869). Podlaskie voivodeship can be considered as the most significant example, because, if there was no re-activation of municipal status, the voivodeship would be the least urbanized region in Poland. In western and northern voivodeships (except Wielkopolskie), the participation of population in re-gained cities doesn't exceed 2%. It is such a low participation, that those voivodeships (except Wielkopolskie), even without restored cities roughly exceed the average urbanization level in Poland.

## CONCLUSION

'Recovered cities' lost their urban status mostly in two periods: in the 19th century, on the turn of the 1960's, as the result of restrictive regulations introduced by partitioning states of Russia and Austria, and in 1945, as the result of the destructions in WWII. The destruction was typical in so called 'Regained Lands'. The participation of regained cities is significantly bigger in Russian and Austrian occupied territories than in Prussian occupied territory. In both situations, degradation was connected with very small cities of less than 3,000 inhabitants. Currently, their population in some of those cities is significantly bigger, and this situation is the result of pre-war industrialization in COP region, and after WWII. Industrialization was the main factor in the restoration process.

Restoration of urban status only a little contributed to lifting up the level of country's overall urbanization (3 points, Table 5). In Podlaskie, Łódzkie and Mazowieckie voivodeships, the level of urbanization would be, however, significantly lower, if there was no restoration of urban status (from 4 points to more than 8 points).

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## CORRESPONDENCE TO:

Barbara Miszewska  
Institute of Geography and Regional Development  
Wrocław University  
Pl. Uniwersytecki 1, 50-137 Wrocław, Poland  
[e-mail: lubicz@geogr.uni.wroc.pl]