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URBAN AREAS
IN DOLNY ŚLĄSK AND IN YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER
– POPULATION CHANGE AND REGIONAL POLICY

ABSTRACT. Studying differences and similarities between urban areas of various origin and geographical location is a rewarding task. The paper tries to prove some universal features of the post-war development of urban areas in Poland and in the United Kingdom, including the relationship between the economic situation of cities and their importance in the region. Unexpectedly, a juxtaposition of regional spatial policies points out significant differences in settlement phenomena in the two regions. Conclusions comprise notes on methodological problems of urban studies as well as some practical suggestions for spatial planners in Poland.

KEY WORDS: regional comparisons, urban development, urban decline, Dolny Śląsk (Lower Silesia), Yorkshire and the Humber.

INTRODUCTION

Urban development is a constant process. Each urban area evolves, goes through crises and decline periods, sometimes dies (Harańczyk, 1998). Presented paper is an attempt to compare urban development in Dolny Śląsk (Poland) and in Yorkshire and the Humber (United Kingdom). The general aim of the analysis is to show the very specific settlement phenomena occurring in so called Polish “Retrieved Territories” after the Second World War in international perspective.

Central and Eastern Europe, formerly comprising socialist bloc, is often described as distinctly different from Western part of the continent. However,
those obvious differences should not put out of sight some analogies. David Turnock (Turnock, 1989) in the late 1980s suggested that the network and the hierarchy of urban areas in socialist countries resembled settlement patterns observed in Western Europe. Except small towns, which lost their traditional role as service centres for rural areas, the settlement system in Central and Eastern Europe functioned according to the Western model. Before the Second World War Polish “Retrieved Territories” belonged to Germany. A total population exchange which took place in this area (including Dolny Śląsk) in the years 1945-1949 created a very unique social situation. How did settlement network of this part of European continent develop in the subsequent decades? Was urbanization in “Retrieved Territories” typical and universal or was it unequalled? What are the differences between settlement phenomena in Dolny Śląsk and other European regions? The presented paper is looking for answers to those questions.

SELECTING THE REGION

The selection of societies to be compared can be made in two ways. The first maximizes similarities between societies except for the phenomenon to be explained. The second sampling strategy may be called for when the research objective is to test the universality of a phenomenon. In such cases, maximum difference between societies may be appropriate (Armer, 1973). The presented comparison has been conducted using the second strategy, as its aim is to juxtapose urban development of Dolny Śląsk with more advanced regions in Western Europe.

Fig. 1. Regions selected for the comparison
URBAN AREAS IN DOLNY ŚLĄSK AND IN YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER...

Yorkshire and the Humber was selected because it seems to be similar to Dolny Śląsk in terms of area, population and geographical location (see Fig. 1, Table 1). However, it is contrasting when population in urban areas is taken into account. Therefore the following analysis should point out more precisely the differences and similarities in urbanization phenomena in Poland and in the United Kingdom.

Table 1. Main features of Yorkshire and the Humber and Dolny Śląsk (2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER</th>
<th>DOLNY ŚLĄSK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area (km²)</td>
<td>15,407</td>
<td>19,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (thous.)</td>
<td>4,965</td>
<td>2,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities over 500 thous. Inhabitants</td>
<td>Leeds, Sheffield</td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population in urban areas (% of total population)</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Office for National Statistics, Główny Urząd Statystyczny.

POPULATION CHANGE IN URBAN AREAS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

SELECTING THE URBAN AREAS

To select the towns and cities for the comparison, official documents of regional policy were used: Regional Spatial Strategy for Yorkshire And the Humber (2004) (Regional Spatial Strategy..., 2004) and Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk (2002) (Uchwała..., 2002). Both documents define the main urban areas in each of the regions. In Yorkshire and the Humber the following administrative districts have been considered: (in decreasing order of number of inhabitants): Leeds (715 thous.), Sheffield (513), Bradford (478), Kirklees (391), Wakefield (318), Doncaster (288), Rotherham (252), Kingston upon Hull (248), Barnsley (220), Calderdale (193), York (183) and North East Lincolnshire (157) (Phillpotts, Cohen, 2005). And in Dolny Śląsk the selected administrative units are: Wroclaw (634 thous.), Wałbryzych (135), Legnica (109), Jelenia Góra (93), Lubin (82), Głogów (74), Świdnica (65), Bolesławiec (44), Dzierżoniów (37), Zgorzelec (36) and Kłodzko (30) (Miasta w liczbach..., 2002) (Fig. 2).

Limitations on data availability for Yorkshire and the Humber, caused by changes in territorial divisions in the 1970’s, narrowed the range of the comparison to the years 1960-2000. This period, however, seems to be well justified also for Dolny Śląsk, where the massive postwar migrations settled only in 1950’s.
Fig. 2. Urban areas selected for the comparison


POPULATION CHANGE IN THE SELECTED URBAN AREAS IN THE YEARS 1960-2000

The main subject of the presented comparison is the changing role of the selected towns and cities in each region. In this kind of analysis the Zipf’s law of rank and order of urban areas is often used (1), based on absolute number of inhabitants. Nevertheless in this paper the size of urban areas has been expressed as a percentage of the total population of the region. It seems to depict the “importance” (2) of particular urban areas much better than a bare number of inhabitants and makes the comparison more clear.

Examination of population change in the 23 selected urban areas in the years 1960-2000 revealed the urban areas with the highest (over 1%) amplitudes of percent of region’s population, that is, those where the shift of “importance” in the postwar period was most significant.

The most dynamic urban communities in Yorkshire and the Humber were: Sheffield (2.2%), York and Kingston upon Hull (both 1.6%) and Leeds (1.2%) (see Fig. 3). In Dolny Śląsk the highest amplitudes occurred in: Wrocław (4.7%), Lubin (2.5%), Głogów (2%) and Wałbrzych (1.8%) (see Fig. 4). It is quite evident, that the biggest changes took place in the larges cities in both regions. This similarity, however, needs to be verified in terms of direction of population change in particular urban areas.
Fig. 3. Changes of percent of region’s population in selected urban areas in Yorkshire and the Humber (1961-2001)


Fig. 4. Changes of percent of region’s population in selected urban areas in Dolny Śląsk (1960-2000)

Source: data of Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
Thus, in the postwar period, the “importance” of the biggest port in Yorkshire and the Humber – Kingston upon Hull – was constantly decreasing (1.6% in total). The main reason for this were severe difficulties in fishing industry, the traditional branch of the city’s economy. In the past, Hull developed a considerable Baltic trade through the Hanseatic League, but today it is vulnerable to foreign competition (The Regions..., 1995).

Declining situation of the port affected other spheres of the city’s activity. After the collapse of industry, social and ecological decay followed. In the 80’s Kinston upon Hull had been put on the national list of the most deprived urban areas and remains on it till now (Regional Economic, 2003). Lack of qualified workers and high unemployment rates are causing an outflow of people and lowering the “importance” of the city in the region.

Almost constant decrease of percent of region’s population was observed also in Sheffield (2.2% in total) and in Wałbrzych (1.8%). Sheffield in the 19th century was a very strong steel-works centre and its population was growing very fast (from 25 thous. in 1760 to 284 thous. in 1881) (Rawsonly, Singleton, 1995). Unfortunately, since the Second World War the city has been encountering bigger and bigger economic problems. As a result, unemployment was rising and living conditions were getting worse.

Only in the 1990s the tendency of lowering “importance” of Sheffield was stopped. This improvement resulted from a very wide regeneration process, financed mainly by European Union structural funds. A modern shopping centre “Meadowhall” was built on the former industrial sites, being one of the most well-known malls in the United Kingdom today (Johnston, 2000). Whole South Yorkshire county (including Sheffield) was established an “Objective 1” regeneration area, many jobs were created in high technology industries and a new Robin Hood Doncaster Sheffield Airport was built. All this will undoubtedly be a new impulse for further development of the region.

On the contrary, Wałbrzych at the beginning (1960-1970) used to keep its position in the region as the centre of Dolny Śląsk Mining Basin, but after that period it began loosing its “importance”. Although in the years 1970-1990 the absolute number of inhabitants was still growing, that growth was insufficient to raise the percent of region’s population. The decade 1980-1990 brought a temporary stabilisation (which was caused by new administrative role of the city since 1975 as a capital of the subregion) but the last years of the 20th century eventually proved the decline of Wałbrzych. Since 1990 both the absolute number of inhabitants and the percent of the region’s population have been decreasing. The main reason for those unfavourable phenomena was the collapse of mining industry followed by unemployment and lack of alternative jobs in the area.

Another three analysed urban areas (Leeds, Wrocław and York) underwent various changes in the postwar period. “Importance” of Leeds was decreasing
most of the time, but grew in the last decade. Wrocław at the beginning rose significantly in “importance” whereas the years 1970-2000 represent a decreasing tendency. The role of York used to lower at first, and then grew rapidly.

The history of Leeds after the Second World War was characterized by falling population (till the 1990s). At the same time the share of industry in city’s economy was decreasing and the services sector was growing. During the whole considered period the unemployment rate was relatively low (compared to the rest of the country), as a result of rising employment in services which compensated for loss of jobs in industry (Burt, Grady, 1994). Eventually in the 1990s the economic success of Leeds, based on financial sector, brought an increase of city’s “importance” and made Leeds the unquestioned capital of Yorkshire and the Humber.

Wrocław, as the strongest industrial and service centre of Dolny Śląsk, at the beginning was gaining both the absolute number of inhabitants and the percent of region’s population. Yet in the 1970s that tendency changed dramatically, which can be explained by very fast growth of Legnica-Głogów Copper Centre (so called LGOM). Since then the “importance” of Wrocław has been constantly decreasing. The decade 1980-1990, apart from the LGOM development, brought the rise of “importance” of new subregional administration centres (Jelenia Góra, Legnica) which additionally weakened the position of Wrocław. Finally, in the 1990s the national economic crisis arose, accompanied by expanding deindustrialization and its results caused further decline of the city.

York, being the historical capital of Yorkshire and the Humber, was founded by ancient Romans in the 1st century. During the industrial epoch it was a major railway centre, with locomotive works and associated crafts. But in the postwar period York experienced considerable difficulties, expressed among other things by falling number of inhabitants. Only in the 1980-1990 decade the role of the city apparently increased, which was connected with tourism development, with establishing the first university (1963) and growing employment in services sector (Rawnsley, Singleton, 1995). Today’s York successfully manages the collapse of industry, replacing it with services and high technology production (Regional Spatial Strategy..., 2004) and this is the reason why the “importance” of the city is growing.

The last two urban areas with the highest amplitudes of percent of region’s population are Lubin and Głogów. A very fast increase of their “importance” in the years 1960-1990 was caused by rapid development of LGOM to which they belong. As it was mentioned above, the influence of that industrial area extended over the whole Dolny Śląsk, “taking over” the percent of region’s population of other urban areas (see also Mlek, 2004). The last decade of the 20th century slowed down this process, mainly because of worsening situation in industry and growing suburbanization in this subregion (Cieślak, 1999).
SUMMARY OF POPULATION CHANGE ANALYSIS

The study points to some general tendencies in the postwar development of European settlement system. First, the dynamic of population change in the two analysed regions is similar: the amplitude of percent of region’s population exceeded 1% in only four urban areas both in Dolny Śląsk and in Yorkshire and the Humber. Also in both regions the highest amplitudes occurred in the biggest cities: Leeds and Sheffield in Yorkshire and the Humber, Wrocław and Wałbrzych in Dolny Śląsk (Lower Silesia).

Secondly, the direction of population change was similar in the analysed group of urban areas: since the 1970s the “importance” of old industrial centres has been decreasing (this does not apply to Lubin and Głogów). Along with the collapse of industry, the new service centres have been gaining the percent of region’s population. Unfortunately, this process could be observed only in Yorkshire and the Humber so far.

Taking in account the leading character of urbanization in the United Kingdom (see Benevolo, 1995) and assuming a successful restructuring of Poland’s economy, we could hypothesize that Wrocław and Wałbrzych, the largest cities in Dolny Śląsk, will in the following decades follow the direction of great Yorkshire cities and increase their “importance” in the region.

Unfortunately, some smaller urban areas will probably decline like Kingston upon Hull, which is a natural consequence of adjusting the settlement network to the new, global economy (Harańczyk, 1998).

REGIONAL SPATIAL POLICY

To get a more detailed image of contemporary problems of urban areas in Yorkshire and the Humber and in Dolny Śląsk, regional spatial policies have been analysed. Comparison of regional planning in different cultural and geographical contexts may be useful in dealing with similar urban difficulties, or may even help to avoid some complications in the future.

The presented comparison includes:
— mission of the region,
— general urban policy,
— selected functions of urban areas,
— selected aspects of social policy.

URBAN AREAS IN DOLNY ŚLĄSK AND IN YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER...

Yorkshire & Humber 2003-12 (Regional Economic..., 2003) and the Strategy of Development of Dolny Śląsk Province (Uchwala..., 2000) have been used only to complete the portrait of regional policy in the two regions and to make it more comparable.

Both the Regional Spatial Strategy and the Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk have similar, important functions in their national planning systems. This general similarity, however, does not necessarily mean that the details of the two documents are also similar.

MISSION OF THE REGION

The first difference between Yorkshire and the Humber and Dolny Śląsk arises from the mission of each of the regions (Table 2).

Table 2. Mission of the region as described in the regional policy

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<tr>
<th>YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER</th>
<th>DOLNY ŚLĄSK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A world class region, where the economic, environmental and social well-being of all our people is advancing more rapidly and more sustainably than our competitors&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Dolny Śląsk is a region which connects Poland with Europe&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dolny Śląsk is a place where you want to live, in peace of mind, in friendship with people and in harmony with nature&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Aspirations of the two regions are clearly incompatible. Yorkshire and the Humber wants to be “a world class region” whereas the mission of Dolny Śląsk is limited to “connecting Poland with Europe”. Sources of such a discrepancy can be located in different history of Poland and the United Kingdom.

Economy of Western countries has been long targeted on global markets while in Central Europe trade is still internally-oriented (Harańczyk, 1998). Apart from the purely economic factors, also the British colonial traditions and the leading role of the United Kingdom in establishing the European Union justify the “world-class” aspirations of Yorkshire and the Humber.

At the same time Poland, being for decades behind the “iron curtain” and only recently joining the united Europe, needs to strengthen its connections with the Western part of our continent first, to be able to come on the global market later. That is presumably why Dolny Śląsk wants to play a joining role.

URBAN POLICY

Considerable differences between Yorkshire and the Humber and Dolny Śląsk can be also noted in terms of general urban policy (Table 3).

The arrangements of Regional Spatial Strategy for Yorkshire and the Humber deal mainly with the shape and character of single urban areas whereas the
 Łukasz Damurski

Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk says about the whole system of towns and cities, connected with transport network.

Table 3. General aspects of urban policy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER</th>
<th>DOLNY ŚLĄSK</th>
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<tr>
<td>One of the main tasks is supporting the diversity and individual character of urban and rural sub-regions so as to reinforce their distinctive and complementary contributions. This can be achieved by countering dispersion of homes and businesses and fostering urban and rural renaissance.</td>
<td>The aim is to develop the settlement network according to polycentric functional and spatial structures. Location of economic activities should follow a &quot;central-linear&quot; pattern, connecting big cities with transport corridors.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The chief reason for this inconsistency is probably the different stage of urbanization in the two regions. In Yorkshire and the Humber suburbanization and dispersion of built-up areas made towns and cities vague and indistinct. Nowadays the main problem lies in the lost of many traditional urban functions (see Regional Spatial Strategy..., 2004: 11). In Dolny Śląsk, on the contrary, the principal task is to integrate particular urban areas with appropriate transport and to stimulate business.

FUNCTIONS OF URBAN AREAS: INDUSTRY AND TOURISM

Spatial policy in each of the regions defines the projected functions of the main urban areas. The most significant and noticeable are the arrangements regarding industry and tourism, very different in Yorkshire and the Humber and in Dolny Śląsk.

South Yorkshire, formerly an industrial centre of North England, dominated by mining and steel-works, owes its recent rapid development to European regeneration programmes. Functions of its urban areas are being converted from industrial to services and one of the most spectacular results of this regeneration was establishing a new Robin Hood Airport Doncaster Sheffield.

In an analogous subregion of Dolny Śląsk – Legnica-Głogów Copper Centre (LGOM) – industry still dominates and the Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk preserves this state of affairs. The need to develop alternative branches of economy is mentioned only in a few sentences.

This simple juxtaposition shows very clearly that in more advanced countries like the United Kingdom industry is not an important factor of urban development anymore. Unfortunately, this fundamental fact is not properly appreciated in Dolny Śląsk regional policy.

Another noteworthy aspect of urban functions is tourism. In Dolny Śląsk tourism is projected to be the basic stimulus of development of two agglomerations: Wałbrzych (3) and Jelenia Góra. In Yorkshire and the Humber tourism plays a vital role in York, in seaside resorts and in small towns near National Parks.
URBAN AREAS IN DOLNY ŚLĄSK AND IN YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER...

The attitude of the Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk towards tourism is very specific. Tourism seems to be the best remedy for urban problems. It is “one of the leading sectors of the region’s economy” (Uchwała..., 2002: 25), it is the source of economic improvement and of social welfare. At the same time the Regional Spatial Strategy for Yorkshire and the Humber points out the need to develop a sustainable tourism industry as “tourism is an important sector of the economy […], but it is an industry vulnerable to ‘external shocks’ and which has tended to be characterised by low earnings and seasonality of employment” (Regional Spatial Strategy..., 2004: 9). This dramatic difference in approach between the two analysed regions is alarming for Dolny Śląsk. It is unacceptable to treat tourism as a key urban function which stimulates economic development meanwhile the more advanced Western countries are looking for an alternative to it. Such arrangements betoken of lack of awareness of contemporary economic phenomena.

All the above analysis show quite clearly that there is an “incompatibility of civilisation levels” (see Uchwała..., 2000: 23) between Dolny Śląsk and Yorkshire and the Humber. This incompatibility is highly visible in both regions’ attitude towards the importance of industry and tourism in urban areas.

SOCIAL POLICY

Although social policy is only a marginal element of regional strategy, we have to consider it as quite important for the final aim of the projected regional development – the wellbeing of local communities. That is why comparing selected aspects of social policy in Dolny Śląsk and Yorkshire and the Humber may be very enlightening.

In terms of social policy, the two analysed regions appear as quite similar. In each of them the idea of equal opportunities and supporting the excluded social groups is the central element of their strategy. The first significant difference, however, lies in the approach to identity.

People in Yorkshire and the Humber have had a very strong identity for many decades (or even centuries), which is expressed – among other things – in a specific regional accent, so called “Yorkshire English”. Meanwhile, in Dolny Śląsk, where the whole population was totally exchanged 60 years ago, such a regional tradition simply does not exist. The Strategy of Development of Dolny Śląsk Province says that establishing the identity and strengthening the relationship between inhabitants and the region should be conducted through so called “Dolny Śląsk integration” (Uchwała..., 2000: 22).

Another aspect of social policy is the approach to the family. In the Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk the pro-family policy is one of the main ways to avoid social problems like population decline and ageing of society. On the contrary, in the Regional Spatial Strategy for Yorkshire and the Humber
the word “family” occurs only once, in a phrase “family breakdowns”, where the reasons of dispersion of urban areas are listed.

It seems that in terms of pro-family policy Dolny Śląsk is much more advanced than Yorkshire and the Humber. The source of such a unexpected discrepancy is located in social and cultural differences between Poland and the United Kingdom. As Tony Champion notes, British society “has undergone some major changes over the past three decades, including […] higher divorce rate, accelerating cohabitation, later marriage and childbearing, increasing lone parenthood, larger numbers living alone” (Champion, 2000: 169). All those changes, observed not only in the United Kingdom, but in most of Western countries, occurred because of improving welfare of citizens, accompanied by technology development and shift in culture which eventually was followed by liberalization of law. In Poland this demographic modernization goes much slower (Ludność województwa..., 2000) because of earlier stage of social development. This fact creates an unique opportunity to prevent the negative processes observed in more advanced societies by appropriate pro-family policy.

Another difference between Yorkshire and Humber and Dolny Śląsk lies in the projected role of local communities. The Regional Spatial Strategy for Yorkshire and the Humber says that local community should be actively engaged in the planning process. This statement reflects the general stance of urban policy in the United Kingdom. According to the latest document issued by British Parliament about urban policy, “Urban White Paper 2000”, local community must be fully engaged in the process from the start and everyone must be involved (Imrie, Raco, 2003).

Poland, apparently, lacks such an attitude. In the spatial strategies for Dolny Śląsk local community appears only as a way of dealing with the socially excluded and handicapped people.

The above analysed aspect of regional policy on urban areas can be summarized in one sentence: settlement network of Yorkshire and the Humber is completely different from the settlement network of Dolny Śląsk and contemporary urban problems in each of the regions have very little in common.

**CONCLUSIONS**

In search for the answer to the question if urbanization in Dolny Śląsk after the Second World War was typical and universal, 23 urban areas have been analysed (11 in Poland and 12 in England). The study of population change in the selected towns and cities was based on an assumption that the percent of region’s population living in the particular urban area reflects its “importance” in the region. Comparison of changes of so understood “importance” in the
years 1960-2000 showed some general relationships between economic processes and the role of an urban area in the region.

Both in Yorkshire and the Humber and in Dolny Śląsk, the “importance” of former industrial centres was declining (except for Legnica-Głogów Copper Centre). Significant differences between the two regions appear only in the 1990s, when a big regeneration programme was launched in Yorkshire and the Humber, making some postindustrial cities to grow in “importance” through rapid services development. Such improvement was not observed in Dolny Śląsk, where the crisis caused by the collapse of industry is still very serious.

Obviously then, there is a general similarity between the two analysed regions. The observed tendencies exemplify the universality of some aspects of urbanization in Europe, notwithstanding the origin and geographical location of urban areas.

This visible similarity, however, does not apply to the regional policy. Juxtaposition of selected aspects of regional spatial strategies in Yorkshire and the Humber and in Dolny Śląsk shows some fundamental differences in advancement of urban phenomena in Poland and in the United Kingdom.

In Yorkshire and the Humber the main problem today is the excessive dispersion of urban areas, resulting from the long period of suburbanization. At the same time in Dolny Śląsk the settlement network is still highly centralized and the major difficulty is the lack of proper connections between them.

Another big difference in regional policy arises from the attitude towards main urban functions. In Dolny Śląsk industry and tourism are still perceived as strategic factors of urban development, whereas in Yorkshire and the Humber their role is already marginal.

Discrepancies occurred also in social policy. In Poland the pro-family policy is very important, but in the United Kingdom it is not properly appreciated. However, the opposite may be said about the local community involvement, strongly emphasized in Yorkshire and the Humber and neglected in Dolny Śląsk.

Thus, apart from similarities in population change, urban areas in the two analysed regions are on various stages of urbanization process. The universality of some observed phenomena remains true only on particular level of abstraction (see also Armier, 1973), whereas a more detailed survey reveals profound differences in the urban development of Yorkshire and the Humber and Dolny Śląsk.

Nevertheless, the conducted comparison has some intellectual values. It allows to learn the contemporary problems of urban areas in different parts of Europe and might be useful to prevent negative tendencies in Poland. Selected conclusions may be directly applied in regional strategies for Dolny Śląsk (and maybe for other Polish regions too) in the future: the need to avoid excessive dispersion of urban areas, including local communities in the process of urban regeneration and eventually, removing the old industry from towns and cities.
NOTES

(1) The analysis of changing ranks of urban areas in Dolny Śląsk after the Second World War has been recently conducted by Magdalena Mlekov (see Mlekov, 2004).
(2) “Importance” has been used in this paper as a substitute of “percent of region’s population”. To distinguish it from its literal meaning, “importance” has been taken in quotation-marks.
(3) The arrangements of the Spatial Development Plan for Dolny Śląsk for the Wałbrzych include – among other things – tourist exploitation of industrial and postindustrial buildings and workshops. It is symptomatic that there is no similar arrangement in Regional Spatial Strategy for Yorkshire and the Humber, which proves that former industrial sites in England were recognized as national cultural heritage, restored and opened to the public already in the 1990s.

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