

CITIES AS CENTRES OF POWER IN POLAND

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RESUME

Les grands changements qui ont suivi l'année 1989 en Pologne ont influencé l'organisation des autorités municipales, judiciaires et administratives. Les nouveaux découpages territoriaux ont eu des répercussions sur les relations sociales et économiques, mais aussi sur les réseaux de transport au sein d'une région. L'Eglise catholique polonaise a également été affectée dans son organisation structurelle et territoriale.

L'objectif de cette recherche est d'étudier l'impact spatial de l'organisation des autorités au regard du fonctionnement des structures gouvernementales, religieuses, sociales et économiques et des conditions environnementales. L'analyse de l'institution catholique a montré la plus forte tendance à la décentralisation ; de 27 diocèses, on est passé à 39. Toutefois la dimension économique de l'Eglise catholique n'a pu être étudiée par manque de données. L'auteur analyse le classement des centres de pouvoir d'influence supra-régionale (comme les capitales de province) et centres de district, et ne tient pas compte du troisième niveau du découpage territorial de 1999, c'est-à-dire les communes.

Pour définir les villes d'importance supra-régionale, 20 critères ont été choisis. Des critères historiques ont été sélectionnés (voir tableau classement des 22 premières villes de Pologne) mais aussi administratifs, économiques, judiciaires, militaires, etc. Le nombre d'institutions et leur revenu net a été retenu comme les sièges bancaires, le nombre de connections internationales, ou encore l'influence des minorités nationales qui peuvent décider de la localisation d'un consulat par exemple. Pour ce dernier critère, les ports et villes frontalières sont privilégiés. L'implantation des succursales - environ 400 - de la plus importante compagnie d'assurance polonaise (PZU) a été retenue également. Les institutions judiciaires (cours d'appel, etc.) figurent parmi les critères, ainsi que les centres d'enseignement supérieur (universités, écoles supérieures, etc.).

A partir de ces critères, 77 villes ont été classées en 4 catégories. Un premier groupe de 11 centres supra-régionaux qui remplissent 15 des 20 critères retenus, a été défini : Białystok, Cracovie, Gdansk, Katowice, Lodz, Lublin, Olsztyn, Poznan, Szczecin, Varsovie et Wrocław. A l'exception de Olsztyn, ce sont les plus grandes villes de Pologne. La position d'Olsztyn s'explique par le fait qu'il n'y a pas d'autres centres importants autour d'elle.

Un deuxième groupe de 11 villes à rayonnement supra-régional est constitué par: Bydgoszcz, Częstochowa, Kielce, Koszalin, Opole, Płock, Radom, Rzeszów, Siedlce, Toruń et Zielona Gora. L'auteur en déduit qu'une division territoriale de la Pologne en 10 ou 11 grandes provinces aurait pu être introduite en 1999, voire 20 ou 21 régions de taille moyenne. La solution choisie est intermédiaire et il n'y a pas eu de province créée par exemple autour de Koszalin ou Częstochowa qui aurait été similaire à celles dominées par Kielce ou Opole. De même, peut être soulignée l'absence de Gorzow Wielkopolski retenue comme capitale de région en 1999, mais qui en réalité ne répond pas aux fonctions d'un centre supra-régional.

Le troisième groupe comprend 21 centres, anciennes capitales de province dans le découpage de 1975 sauf Gdynia et Gliwice. S'y retrouve Gorzow

Wielkopolski. Les 33 centres restants répondent au moins à un des critères choisis et remplissent les fonctions de centres locaux.

Enfin, l'auteur a classé les centres de districts à partir de 10 critères. Parmi eux, 22 remplissent des fonctions supra-régionales. Tous les autres doivent répondre à un seuil de population d'au moins 30 000 habitants. Des critères historiques ont été retenus (avoir été un centre de pouvoir régional durant la Deuxième République polonaise, centre administratif dans le découpage de 1975, etc.), mais aussi religieux (centres de diocèses), universitaires (avoir au moins une université), judiciaires, etc. Parmi les 305 capitales de district et mis à part les 22 centres supra-régionaux, 36 villes répondent à 5 ou 7 des critères retenus ; s'y retrouvent 28 anciennes capitales de province et 7 grandes agglomérations urbaines qui ne sont pas devenues capitales de province car trop proches d'autres grands centres (ex. Gdynia incluse dans le Tri-pôle Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot). 127 villes ont entre un et quatre des critères choisis. La plupart de ces villes ont un fort potentiel de développement économique et social et sont situées à proximité d'un grand centre. Le dernier groupe de villes ont un ou aucun des critères ; elles sont au nombre de 144 et sont dues à des pressions de l'environnement politique locale. Elles sont fortement dépendantes des aides gouvernementales.

L'auteur conclue sur le fait qu'il serait intéressant de cartographier ces villes, à l'exception des 144 dernières, et d'essayer de définir un nouveau découpage provincial. La moitié des provinces existant actuellement n'apparaîtrait sans doute pas. De même au niveau des districts, si l'on enlève les districts ruraux près des grandes villes et les 144 centres faibles apparus dans l'analyse, il resterait 200 à 210 centres de districts.

Résumé développé rédigé par Marie-France GAUNARD-ANDERSON

ABSTRACT

305 polish cities have been assessed in order to evaluate their influence power. Twenty criterions have been selected to classify the major centres with supra-regional influence and 10 criterions for districal centres. This ranking takes up the question of the relevance of the choice of regional capitals in the new regionalization process in 1999 and, at the same time, involves new suggestions for regional areas

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

305 Städte in Polen wurden untersucht, um ihren Machteinfluss zu evaluieren. Zwanzig Kriterien wurden ausgewählt, um Oberzentren mit überregionaler Ausstrahlung zu definieren, zehn Kriterien für die Zentren, die die Gesamtheit eines Distrikts bestimmen. Diese Klassifizierung stellt die Frage nach der Dauerhaftigkeit der Auswahl regionaler Hauptstädte seit der letzten Gebietsreform von 1999 und erlaubt gleichzeitig, neue Gebietszuschnitte vorzuschlagen

The great changes that followed the year 1989 in Poland, threw the structure of the existing and functioning authorities into disarray and gave the origin of brand new decision-making centres a spatial aspect. The radical change influenced the range and territorial reach of the administrative, judicial and municipal authorities. The problem appears to be more absorbing when considering that after 1989 numerous conceptions of the new territorial and administrative division of the country were published. These structural changes are after all typical for periods of governmental transformation in every political system. And the spatial division of a country always exerts an influence over shaping social and economic relations, together with communications system in a particular region. The schedule of economic authorities has undergone the change as well. Due to capital investments many new economic bases are developing and these already existing are being converted into new modern technologies. A great number of economic decisions are taken within local authorities' centres. The change affected the Polish Roman-catholic church in terms of territory and structure, because the church that has always played an informal but significant political and economic role in the country.

Also nowadays, enormous influence on forming territorial division of Poland, based on natural, environmental factors, and functioning social and economic structure, exerted particular interests of political parties, social and economical ambitions of people living in the regional capitals and also existing territorial, political, economic and religious structure of local organisations. In order to study spatial influence of the authorities, variability of the centres and connections between different dimensions of the governments, there have been pointed out a couple of aims to be reached during the research. One of the aims was to mark presently and previously functioning territorial arrangement in reference to historical and geographical lands and economic regions. Giving a try to study territorial measurement in relation to political, religious, social and economic structure. Presenting the changes in spatial differentiation of political, economical, catholic church, administrative and judicial, before and after 1989, and self-governmental power after its one year functioning, centres of power. Much efforts have been put into the research to demonstrate spatial differentiation cities, as a centre of power during the times of political transformation. The attempt has been made to describe and explain the process of territorial distribution of authorities, on a local level (administrative units), and on over-regional level (province) understood as functioning informal connections between the representatives of political power, administrative and self-governed centres. The last aim of the research was to show the factors forming provincials' and administrative centres' of real power and its changes after 1989.

In order to obtain the goals of the research work undertaken, functioning of the previous and present administrative division of Poland should be estimated in consideration of historical and geographical lands and the economic regions, based on the existing literature. The essential stage of the research was to study spatial dimension of the authorities in regard of functioning of governmental, religious, social and economic structure and environmental conditions (the extent they played on forming the territorial divisions). An attempt has been made to show the succeeding changes in spatial differentiation of governmental centres, political, administrative, judicial and catholic church power in XX c. In order to demonstrate continuity or variability of the power's centres, historical determinations of location of the political centres and different structure of the church were taken under consideration here. For economic and self-governmental institutions, forming of decisive centres were presented after 1989, mainly due to their variability or their lack (as far the second is concerned).

Particularly interesting, though, appear the changes in the Catholic Church structure, as the Church against the rule of total obedience and subordination to the superior power cultivated for nearly 2000 years, was the only analysed institution which has shown strong decentralisation tendency. Instead of twenty-seven strongly diverse with economic potential dioceses, thirty-nine new dioceses of different boundaries were introduced. Another problem deserving more attention than this study can devote is the economic potential of the Catholic Church in Poland and its changes concerning the changing of limits and number of the faithful in individual dioceses. Unfortunately, the last issue is hard enough to study as not more than two diocese supervisors have published the dioceses' budget data so far. Similar problems concerning lack of detailed information or inability to publish them have occurred while the influence of diversity in army structure on the moulding of the power centres was estimated.

Comparison of department structure, which shows no common features, has become an utterly separate problem. Only are the headquarters of the most important units located in the biggest urban centres. Complicated system of the judiciary structure divided into courts of various properties shows no connection with the territorial state division neither with department institutions nor with the councils structure which, in addition, double half of the department structure authorities. Analysis of numerous regional division conceptions and their changes carried out during the new administrative divisions of the country helped to point at the main power centres of over-regional significance. Natural conditions, especially location of transportation and occurring or lack of natural resources, had a great influence on their formation. In order to present the power centres it has been provisionally accepted that according to the latest administrative division it occurs on three levels of control. First - over-regional (provinces), second - local (administrative units) and last one - communal power centre which according to the extent of the authorities and level of concentration have not been judged.

In order to put together cities of over-regional significance twenty criteria were chosen. Six categories among the chosen criterion define the provincial capital's status as the state administrative centre since 1700 until the present time. Historical criterion in forming a centre justifies the choice since in case of increasing number of units of equivalent centres power was generally located in power centres which had already existed. The next two include future power centres concerning the plan of state division into macro-economic regions and a government proposal of 1998 state division. Taking these two groups into consideration is a logical adoption of regional, design and economic research results carried out after 1950, especially after dividing the state into 49 units on 1975. The government proposal was accepted as the second criterion ensue a trial of adjusting regions, that as regards the area and the number of people could compete with the EU regions as regards economy. The next two categories present the Polish Catholic Church structure before and after its re-organisation in 1992.

Tab.1. : Division of Catholic Church in Poland in 1995 and 1998

Archbishops and dioceses	Parish	Dekanat	Believers (Thous.)	Parish	Dekanat	Believers (Thous.)	1985 to 1998
	1985			1998			%
Metropolis białostocka	251	31	1066	355	45	1169	109,7
Arch. Białostocka	74	8	348	93	10	378	108,6
Dioc. Drohiczyńska	36	3	94	93	11	213	229,0
Dioc. łomżyńska	141	20	624	169	24	578	92,6
Metropolis Częstochowska	-	-	-	751	83	2749	-
Arch. Częstochowska	322	44	1352	293	33	901	66,6
Dioc. Radomska	-	-	-	301	28	1047	-
Dioc. Sosnowiecka	-	-	-	157	22	802	-
Metropolis Gdańska	-	-	-	649	67	2463	-
Arch. Gdańska	87	9	610	167	20	976	160,0
Dioc. Pelplińska	438	41	1559	295	30	802	51,4
Dioc. Toruńska	-	-	-	187	17	686	-
Metropolis Gnieźnieńska	1586	160	6217	568	68	1854	29,8
Arch. Gnieźnieńska	353	29	1063	313	32	999	94,0
Dioc. Włocławska	290	32	1119	255	36	855	76,4
Metropolis Katowicka	-	-	-	857	86	3261	-
Arch. Katowicka	392	38	2283	315	32	1700	74,5
Dioc. Gliwicka	-	-	-	149	18	691	-
Dioc. Opolska	474	40	1725	393	36	970	56,2
Metropolis Krakowska	1922	182	7989	1359	136	4291	53,7
Arch. Krakowska	448	34	2144	413	43	1617	75,4
Dioc. Bielsko-żywiecka	-	-	-	205	22	743	-
Dioc. Kielecka	297	32	968	297	28	815	84,2
Dioc. Tarnowska	463	34	1242	444	43	1116	89,9
Metropolis Lubelska	-	-	-	727	75	2465	-
Arch. Lubelska	324	30	1528	253	26	1029	67,3
Dioc. Sandomierska	316	29	1277	233	25	709	55,5
Dioc. Siedlecka	249	22	830	241	24	727	87,6
Metropolis Olsztyńska	-	-	-	599	71	1611	-
Arch. Olsztyńska	309	33	1340	270	33	705	52,6

Dioc. Elbląska	-	-	-	183	19	484	-
Dioc. Ełcka	-	-	-	146	19	422	-
Metropolis Poznańska	479	45	1837	684	74	2311	125,8
Arch. Poznańska	479	45	1837	415	41	1558	84,8
Dioc. Kaliska	-	-	-	269	33	754	-
Metropolis Przemyska	538	50	1640	775	75	1911	116,5
Arch. Przemyska	502	46	1551	383	36	818	52,7
Dioc. Rzeszowska	-	-	-	219	20	603	-
Dioc. Zamojsko-lubaczowska	36	4	89	173	19	490	550,6
Metropolis Szczecińska	-	-	-	740	88	2791	-
Arch. Szczecińska	206	26	930	266	36	1000	107,5
Dioc. Koszalińska	212	23	936	221	25	850	90,8
Dioc. Zielonogórsko	230	23	1100	253	27	941	85,5
Metropolis Warszawska	1604	165	8858	822	97	3899	44,0
Arch. Wąrszawska	290	32	3120	266	28	1405	45,0
Dioc. Łowicka	-	-	-	160	21	594	-
Dioc. Płocka	267	25	860	242	30	780	90,7
Dioc. Warszawsko-praska	-	-	-	154	18	1120	-
Metropolis Wroclawska	704	111	5612	696	76	2582	46,0
Arch. Wroclawska	598	48	2787	403	43	1470	52,7
Doc. Legnicka	-	-	-	293	33	1112	-
Arch. Łódzka*	173	24	1431	222	34	1470	102,7
Military Ordynariat	-	-	-	186	10	-	-
All together	8101	776	34 746	9990	1085	34 827	100,2

Source: J. Kozłowski, J. Langner, T. Zagajewski, 1989, *Atlas wyznań w Polsce*, Cracow; *Rocznik Statystyczny 1999, 1999*, GUS, Warsaw.

In the first case, for the sake of metropolis (5), dioceses (27) and relatively small number of archdioceses, only cities with diocese headquarters were chosen since selecting only metropolis dating up to 1992 would not correspond with the real power range and influence of individual units. However, after forming 39 territorial units and appointing 13 metropolis instead of existing dioceses it has been recognised the taking into consideration all the bishop head offices will only increase the number of cities of over-regional significance. However, considering only metropolis will be helpful as regards its relatively small number (13) to indicate metropolis' centres. It seems even more appropriate as before the 1992 division part of dioceses and their superiors administered budget comparable to that of the smallest metropolis, and after the number of dioceses has increased by twelve, differences between diocese centres have flattened.

Another criterion taken into consideration in cities division is a number of institutions and their net income, that has visible influence on forming power centres, sometimes even creating administrative units. Institutions from the '500' list accomplishing income of over 50 million zloty net were considered. Along with bank headquarters spatial diversity, it has enabled to define financial significance of certain centres. In this case appears a problem of investments location in places surrounding big centres such as Tarnowo Podgórne near Poznań, towns of Warsaw agglomeration or Katowice conurbation as well as the matter of separate classification of Gdańsk and Gdynia which are included in the Three-city (collective noun for the cities of Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia). In these cases, it has been recognised that location of institutions in places closely surrounding big centres raises their

importance and if no other functions are fulfilled (e.g. in Gdynia) they do not have a character of a power centre.

Another criterion connected with finance is locating bank headquarters in towns. In this case, banks head offices concentration determines extremely low diversity extent of centres, thus all banks regardless their number of branches, capital and the range of provided services. The next criterion concerns the number and intensity of foreign connections as well as the influence of national minorities that to some extent decide about appointing consular post in a centre. For that criterion it seems that port centres (such as Gdańsk, Gdynia and Szczecin) and those that appear in border zones have privileged position. It is not, however, entirely settled since e.g. the Ukrainian consulate situated in Gdansk has no such a post in more appropriate place, like Lublin or Rzeszów. On assessing a power centre, the biggest insurance company on the Polish market - PZU, which departments and other posts branches are located in over 400 places, was taken into consideration. For this reason, only towns with these institutions' head offices were to assess the centre's importance.

Another group of four criterion is spatial diversity of the judiciary centres. As the number of district courts includes over 290 cities distinguishing cities with head office of regional courts was accepted as the first criterion of this group. Due to complicated divisions of regional courts structure, partly including labour, social insurance and economic courts as well as departments of registers and deposits, it is extremely difficult to compare centres on regional courts level.

Tab. 2. : Cities with 5 or more tribunal courts in 2000

City with court	Local courts			Over local			D	E	F	X
	A	B	C	A	B	C				
Lublin	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	9
Warszawa	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	9
Wrocław	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	9
Kraków	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	9
Białystok	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		8
Gdańsk	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		8
Poznań	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	8
Katowice	•		•	•	•	•	•	•		7
Łódź	•		•	•	•	•	•	•		7
Rzeszów	•		•	•	•	•	•	•		7
Szczecin	•		•	•	•	•		•	•	7
Bydgoszcz	•		•	•	•	•			•	6
Bielsko-Biała	•		•	•	•	•				5
Koszalin	•		•	•	•					5
Olsztyn	•			•	•	•			•	5
Zielona Góra	•			•	•	•			•	5

- A- court;
- B-court of work;
- C - court for economical jurisdiction;
- D - court of appeal;
- E - the Highest Administrative Court;
- F - Military court; X - whole number of institutions

Source: Authors study.

Next two divisions of the judiciary (courts of appeal and garrison), similarly to out-of-town NSA (General Administrative Court) departments, significantly promote over-regional centres which need to be distinguished in this study. Additionally, garrison courts were

helpful in distinguishing those centres on the operation territory of which follows concentration of military units. However, the importance and significance of Gdynia have been artificially strengthened at the cost of Gdańsk and Zielona Góra, on the other hand, though, it allows to assess these centres' influence on the military structure. If there were no military units' significant concentrations in the western part of the country, yet there would not have been a need to appoint out-of-town department of garrison court in Poznań with a head office in Zielona Góra. As for barrister courts, that double the number of courts of appeal, they have enabled to determine places of barrister councils headquarters, appointed with government institutions' consent, however, as a result of self-organisation of barrister councils they exemplify a sign of strong influence of societies which are not connected with the justice department structure.

The last two divisions result from considering the higher education influence as a factor that moulds the importance and significance of a centre. The first one divides places into campuses and the others. Its choice results from the significant number of students that gained education at universities (30% of all the students in the country have studied at thirteen universities in this academic year). Another reason for choosing this criterion is the possibility of free studies which for some students poses the main factor when thinking about taking up studies. Polytechnics, however, could also be taken into consideration since, in financial respect, they fulfil the same criterion as universities but the number of students at this kind of college is smaller and they definitely offer profiled majors. As for pedagogical, medical and other state colleges they cannot play a role of significant academic centre themselves as the number of students is not big enough. Also it would be hard to except the criterion of economic colleges since part of them are private colleges collecting high tuition fees. The second criterion, compensating to a large degree weak points of the first one, is taking into consideration places with high schools. However, for the sake of numerous such centres only these were chosen which were at the 'best colleges' list published in the 'Wprost' (Polish political weekly magazine) colleges ranking.

After considering the above-mentioned criterion, a ranking differentiating seventy-seven cities into four categories that fulfil the criterion has been drawn up. Over-regional centres include the first eleven cities which appeared for more than fifteen among twenty accepted criterion. They include in alphabetical order: Białystok, Cracow, Gdańsk, Katowice, Łódź, Lublin, Olsztyn, Poznań, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wrocław. Except for Olsztyn they are the biggest cities of the country. If the role and significance of Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań and Wrocław are undisputed, then lower place of Gdańsk results from taking over part of them by Gdynia. Weaker position of Łódź, however, results from the concentration of functions in the nearby Warsaw with which Łódź is not able to compete in respect of the power centre's size. The same situation is shared by Katowice with reference to Cracow what explains lower by two points position of the city. However, increased position of Olsztyn - the smallest place of this group is quite significant. Its function results from lack of any significant centres in this part of the country; similarly, to some extent, compared to other centres the significance of Lublin or Białystok which fulfil power centre's function only in the east, being reduced by the strong Warsaw influence. In these towns AWS and SLD, with insignificant UW participation, wield the power. However, in Opole, Lublin and Warsaw despite AWS winning the biggest number of seats the power was taken over by SLD and PSL coalition which appoint their representatives to the community health centre's councils. It seems interesting that along with centre's rank drop SLD, winning seats in council elections, increases its influence. It would be also interesting to determine the state division into certain parties' range of influence, however, rapid drop in electorate's support for AWS and UW coalition enables to carry out such an analysis a year after the reform was introduced. It is even more difficult as the voters are facing next-year parliamentary and presidential elections preceded by a campaign, thus two great election campaigns will certainly influence some of electorate's preferences.

Another eleven cities are numbered among the second group of over-regional centres. Presented in alphabetical order they include: Bydgoszcz, Częstochowa, Kielce, Koszalin, Opole, Płock, Radom, Rzeszów, Siedlce, Toruń and Zielona Góra. They fulfil the function of the second category power centres in a natural way. Six provincial capitals among them

suggest that either a new territorial state division into ten or eleven big provinces should have been introduced in 1999 or that on increasing the number of units demands of the following eleven cities inhabitants should be consequently satisfied and twenty or twenty-one medium-size regions should be formed. Unfortunately, a compromise solution was chosen and it is hard to answer why a province with a capital in Koszalin or Częstochowa administering similar potential and situated in the same power centres group as Kielce and Opole was not brought into life. Six cities of this group owe their power range, to some extent, to the latest decisions made on the base of political entertainment since they received an additional point for location of provincial seats which eventually increased their importance and significance. Another five cities are centres of alternative power coming in the sphere between first-degree over-regional power centres. For example, Opole between Katowice and Wrocław, Radom between Kielce and Warsaw and Częstochowa between Łódź and Cracow. Rzeszów is located in the weakening influence sphere of both Lublin and Cracow; similarly Zielona Góra and Siedlce among the nearest big centres. Absent in this group Gorzów Wielkopolski, the only provincial capital classified in a lower category, is an example of overestimating city's rank as a power centre that has no reflection in reality.

In the third group there are as many as twenty-one centres that could be described either as third-rate over-regional power centres or as first-rate local power centres. They are somehow 'suspended' as despite their aspirations they do not fulfil the over-regional power centre function yet but with their size, economic potential and the number of functions they have exceeded the function of local and over-regional power centre. Except for Gdynia and Gliwice all of them were recognised as provincial capitals in 1975 and some of them are centres that used to fulfil administrative functions in the times of the first Polish dynasty reign (Kalisz, Przemyśl, Elbląg, Sandomierz, Legnica, Piotrków Trybunalski, Sieradz, Słupsk and Włocławek). They are the best example of local power centres in which most of decisions of local significance were made up. Among them is Gorzów Wielkopolski whose provincial centre importance is weakened by its location between Szczecin and Poznań - two big over-regional power centres that prevent its development as well as fulfilling over-regional functions. The thirty-three remaining centres from the considered ranking are included since they fulfilled at least one of the chosen criterion. However, only do they fulfil local power centres function, some of them even that of the biggest but administrative unit's power.

From the comparison of the criteria, that the remaining cities taken under consideration meet, concludes that, in the last group - 12 out of 34 cities lack previously considered divisions in 20 kinds of classification. Those cities were not the centres of power during the period between the world wars or even after the reform from 1950. They have also never been among the cities of central power, nor among any propositions from the government referring to the country's administrative division change. None of them has ever become archbishop's abode. The regional courts function in most of them, in some of them, however - the territorial courts, and the lack any higher instance courts or military judicature. Nevertheless, not universities but at least high schools exist there. There are nine capitals of the provinces (from the country's division from 1975) among them, what proves that these particular nine cities shouldn't be included in the very last country's division. They only meet one or two criteria out of chosen 20, as far as a lower range of a local centre of power is concerned. The most common criterion that was crucial in regarding them was the decision about establishing the new university or localisation the company bringing net profits over 50 milliard zlotys. Those centres will surely take the places falling by right for them only when the general criteria for the city-centres of district power are assumed.

Ten criteria were taken under consideration to estimate the variability of the centres of district power, similarly as in case of the centres of power with over-regional meaning. Among all of the district centres of power, 22 functioning as over-regional power's centres, were excluded. For all the remaining ones, the first criterion to meet to become the local centre of power, was to have 30.000 inhabitants having permanent address there. The other three more criteria were connected to having now or during the times of the II Polish Republic, the regional or territorial judicial power. The next criterion was having now or

having had in the past (division from 1975), the function of the governmental administration centre in the particular region. The sixth criterion bases itself on estimating the power and meaning of the specific administrative district as a distinguishing power centre in voivodeship; this criterion results from the analysis done in the part of this project, revolving the centres of administrative districts in the new administrative division. Existing of the PZU (Polish Insurance Institution) inspectorate was the next criterion. Then the dioceses' centres were taken into account. The last two criteria indicate the nobility the centre as a city with an enterprise's abode, giving the profits, from the list of "500" biggest business (elaborated by the Polish magazine "Politics"). The very last criterion refers to an educational influence of the centre; where all the cities having at least one university were taken into account. The sum of total amount of points is shown in the last column, assuming that one point is given for each compliance of the function. In order to arrange the table of administrative districts, all land districts were eliminated; which by the way have their city equivalents and all of the cities that enter the composition of 22 cities with over-regional importance.

Tab. 3. : Over-regional cities

Cities	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	X
Gdańsk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Krakow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Lublin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Poznań	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Szczecin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Warszawa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Wrocław	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Białystok	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Olsztyn		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9
Katowice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	9
Łódź			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
Opole			+	+	+	+	+		+	+	7
Kielce		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	7
Bydgoszcz		+	+	+	+	+	+				6
Koszalin	+	+		+	+	+					5
Płock			+	+	+		+				4
Rzeszów	+	+			+		+				4
Toruń				+	+	+			+		4
Częstochowa			+		+	+				+	4
Siedlce					+		+	+			3
Radom		+			+		+				3
Zielona Góra		+			+						2
					+	+					2

- A - voivodships cities in 1700
- B - voivodships cities 1807-1914
- C - voivodships cities 1914-1945
- D - voivodships cities in 1950
- E - voivodships cities in 1975
- F - voivodships cities in 1999
- G - cities with dioceses in 1990
- H - cities with metropolis in 1999
- I - cities .with court of appeal
- J - university cities
- X - number of function

Source: Authors study

Among 305 administrative districts' capitals, excluding land districts by city's administrative districts and 22 largest centres, only 36 cities meet the five or even more previously chosen criteria and are decisive centres of local power with widest range and the intensity of actions. There are 28 former capitals of provinces among them and also 7 strong urban agglomerates (that did not in fact become the capitals of province, because there were bigger centres around them). Gdynia forms Tri-City together with Gdańsk and Sopot, Gliwice and Sosnowiec are situated in the sphere of action of Katowice, Gniezno lies too close to Poznań, Jasło between Rzeszów and Cracow and not too far from Krosno and Tarnów, Kołobrzeg much too close to Koszalin, what is more negative for this city an Starogard Szczeciński as well- it is limited by Szczecin's influence. Żywiec, however, is located too near to Bielsko-Biała, which during the industrial development in XIX c. completely dominated the old centre of power. Except from Żywiec, Kołobrzeg, Jasło and Gniezno, the rest of the centres are or somehow could be the city's administrative districts. They have more than 30.000 inhabitants and have regional courts. Most of them have over-local function as territorial courts. Almost all of them dominate as economic centres, with reference to a single inhabitant's income in his province. There are dioceses' abodes in half of them, and in 3 cases - the abodes of metropolity of Roman-catholic church (Częstochowa, Gniezno and Przemyśl). The big part of them is in a great degree financially independent from governmental grant-in-aid and subsidies, mainly due to relatively high percentage of personal incomes and numerous firms regularly enriching particular districts' budgets. All of the centres hold huge chances of being transformed into centres of over-local and over-regional importance, comparable to those second dignity, over-regional centres. Therefore appraising the results of the elections to the Polish Sejm in 1997, one can easily notice that AWS and SLD (Polish leading political parties), shared the number of the seats in the Parliament, what monopolised the Polish political scenery. AWS decidedly has won in the southern and eastern Poland, SLD by contrast has won in the western and northern parts of Poland.

There are 127 cities from administrative districts are in the next group that meet one to four chose criteria. They can be specified as local centres of particular district's power centres. Their development will be considerably connected with the changes that take place in the whole region, but the amount of money given from the national budget is much too little to make independent politics. Those cities, where numerous trading companies function, especially those with the foreign capital, are in much better situation.

In the second group of the centres of administrative districts' power, which meet from 2 to 4 criteria, most of the cities are of high economic and social potential and, in addition, they develop nearby bigger centres. In this particular group only Świdnica gained a point for having territorial court' abode, and this qualifies as an exception, because lawyer counsel is neighbouring Wałbrzych. Also Ciechanów obtained the statutes of capital of province after administrative division from 1975. None of the cities from the group does not have the abode of PZU (Polish Insurance Institution), what basically means neighbourhood with a bigger city with the insurance inspectorate, and, on the other hand, some of the cities have a weak insurance market not requiring forming a local insurance companies' branches. It also seems interesting that there are Roman-catholic bishop' abodes in four cities from the group. In fact, Lubaczów*s case results from historical past of the city and corrected somehow by forming a diocese in that area. Łowicz, which lies between Warsaw and Łódź, can be explained the same way, however, the location of Elk and Sandomierz (having in mind that Tarnobrzeg and Suwałki could have been chosen) seems to be motivated by willingness to enlarging the zone of ascendancy, what appears to be much easier in a smaller centre than in a large one (localisation of the diocese's abode in Sandomierz may also result from historical reasons). Practically thinking, what definitely decided on affiliation to the group of centres of power was the number of inhabitants, the regional court's abode and the powerful position of the administrative district in the province (the number of inhabitants, the area, personal income, the whole administrative district's income). The local centres' authorities probably put a lot of effort into encouraging the investors, what proves the fact of relatively high contribution of companies' from the list of 500 biggest enterprises in the country. Education yet is distinctly weakly developed. Only four centres, Chrzanów,

Łowicz, Mysłowice and Pułtusk gained points for higher education institutes placed on very good positions in the ranking list.

In the next group of cities from administrative districts, are those centres meeting one or even none of the chosen criteria. It appears then that so much as 144 administrative districts were formed mainly due to the pressure of local political environments, not thanks to its significant character. The centres listed below have chances of further development thanks to attracting capital investments or something that would make the city or the administrative district interesting in any meaning, like tourism, a sanatorium, farming products' market, big foreign investments; in any other case majority of them will be forced to using the subventions and grants-in-aid from the government.

It would be very interesting to represent a map of the country without including those mentioned 144 centres and trying to carry out a segmentation into provinces. In such a situation, there would most probably have never come into being half of the provinces that exist now, among them: świętokrzyskie, lubuskie, kujawsko-pomorskie and opolskie districts. On the other side, those provinces that exist, would be reinforced, at least as their rank and significance is concerned; joining the administrative districts' centres (just like in olecko-goldapski, czarnkowsko-trzcianecki districts) would eliminate those glaring disproportion between them and would allow to realise the tasks given to the districts in the statue of local authorities. The liquidation of land districts lying by small urban centres and 144 weak land districts would reduce the number of administrative districts' centres to about 200-210, what would probably set an optimal number of administrative districts in Poland's case.

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