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**New housing in the municipal land-use policy context
– Lodz agglomeration case study**

Abstract

Local spatial policy in Poland is based on the obligatory document, which is a study of conditions and directions of spatial management. In this document, particular communities define land use forms according to specific functions. One of the fundamental functions, which appear in the study, is housing. Communities assign various, usually very big, percentage of their areas for housing. The research conducted by the author was aimed at answering the question: what is the connection between pro-housing policy in particular municipalities and the actual new housing investments? This problem was analysed on the example of communities in Łódź agglomeration.

Keywords: new housing, spatial development of urban and rural areas, spatial policy and planning; Lodz agglomeration; spatial aspects of housing.

JEL Classification: R14 , R23 , R58.

Introduction

Housing construction is frequently ignored in the planning process of local economic development, as it is seen rather as a consequence, not the causative factor of economic growth. However, its long-term effects on the economic development of the municipality is extremely important.

One of the most significant planning studies at the local level is a study of conditions and directions of spatial development, that was introduced to the planning system in Poland by the Act of 7 July 1994 on spatial development. It is the only planning document prepared for the whole territory of the municipali-

ty, defining the spatial policies carried out by the local government. Light of the foregoing, the study became a basis for analysis of land-use policies pursued by authorities of selected municipalities located in Lodz region, as well as their relation with housing development.

Despite the fact that the study does not constitute a local law (thus it is not a legal basis for administrative decisions – especially it can not be invoked as a secondary legal basis or justification for administrative decisions), its importance for the municipal land-use policy is significant. This is mainly due to the functions, it fulfills within the specific legal and economic conditions.

Study of conditions and directions of spatial development meets varied roles, among which the most important are the informative, inspirational and promotional function. In fact, it is a source of information about conditions of municipal spatial development, such as land use, natural environment and landscape, as well as the social, economic and cultural potential and possibilities of its application to raise the economic attractiveness of the community. The study also reports on the spatial aspects of the implementation of regional development programs. Moreover, it performs the coordinating and monitoring functions.

The study includes two types of content: the diagnosis of the current situation of the municipality and the conditions of its development, as well as the directions of spatial development, determining the basic rules of operation in space.

1. Housing as a matter of spatial policy carried out by municipalities comprising voivodship of Lodz

The paper includes an analysis of policies related to housing development, conducted by municipalities adjacent to Lodz.

These areas vary greatly in several respects, however, it seems that their location within the hinterland of Lodz should have a significant impact on both, the nature of spatial development processes and on the housing development policy passed in studies of conditions and directions of spatial development, which must be an integral part of the municipal development strategy.

As already mentioned, the number of tasks to be met by the study of conditions and directions of spatial development include:

- diagnosis of the current socio-economic structure of the municipality and the existing conditions and problems associated with its development,
- determining the directions of spatial development policy, conducted by the municipal authorities,

- laying the foundation for the coordination of local spatial development plans and administrative planning decisions, obtained without plans,
- promotion of the municipal development.

Figure 1. The area covered by the analysis (municipality limits)



Note: 1 – Zgierz – rural commune, 2 – Zgierz, 3 – Stryków, 4 – Nowosolna, 5 – Andrespol, 6 – Brójce, 7 – Rzgów, 8 – Ksawerów, 9 – Pabianice, 10 – Pabianice – rural commune, 11 – Konstantynów Łódzki, 12 – Aleksandrów Łódzki.

Due to the subjects of this study, special attention should be paid to the first two of them.

Housing stock are differentiating along with diversification of income, preferences and needs of different social groups, and thus the standard of living, social composition of the population and also proposals for the future direction of public regulation. On the one hand, there will be a pressure to create public-law guarantees, ensuring the maintenance of development standards of particular spatial units, on the other hand, demands of public intervention in relation to degraded areas and to support social housing can be expected.

Several specific phenomena can be observed in municipalities under analysis. First of all, a quite intense residential development for non-agricultural population was noticeable in recent years, including single-family housing, single-family housing with services (e.g. a craft industry or manufacturing) or resi-

dences. An increase of construction activity is especially significant in the suburban areas, where a very disturbing phenomenon is a scattering of housing density, steadily progressing by sprawl of new residential investments beyond the existing areas of concentration. This applies especially to holiday houses, which are also related to functional conversion within existing residential structures – frequently there is a change involving the transformation of second homes in the year-round houses.

When it comes to the formulation of spatial development directions and spatial policy of the municipality, housing for permanent residence is often assumed as a basis for land use planning (leading function), and the holiday housing is the most common complementary function.

Long-term policy that will be implemented in relation to housing development should apply to the designation of land for a particular type of housing construction, renovation of existing resources, functional conversion, financial support for construction projects from the municipal budget, the potential construction of new public housing, etc.

Allocating land for residential purposes in attractive natural areas, especially when at the same time they have convenient transport connections with the city, creates a considerable incentive for inhabitants of Lodz to build houses in the suburban zone.

Through the designation of areas for residential and holiday housing in local spatial development plans, municipalities emphasize their attractiveness for residential and recreational purposes. This is in line with the general trend of migration from intensely urbanized areas to the outskirts of cities.

On the other hand, beside the creation of new spatial layouts through the designation of greenfield areas for urbanization, very important and often emerging issue in local policy is the further development of existing settlement structures and protection of lasting values of the current housing stock. In this regard, organizing residential structures has to be done through their completion, to obtain efficiently built-up areas and improve their functioning. Taking into account the characteristics of the existing residential buildings is a very useful rule, fortunately often introduced as an element of the study of conditions and directions of spatial development.

Local authorities assume that housing development should be based on the system of major and local routes (e.g. Nowosolna community). Bearing in mind that the rural and single family housing are characterized by strong scattering, which gives great opportunities to supplementation, this rule is rational because it allows to implement or preserve the spatial and functional order.

Another important issue is the introduction of obligation to refer to the existing buildings, in terms of dimensions of objects, building foundation or archi-

tectural forms, to the content of the study of conditions and directions of spatial development (e.g. municipality of Rzgów). Referring to the ongoing residential developments is also frequently required.

Strong development of detached housing caused the designation of land for this purpose within the Nowosolna commune,

In addition to the provisions on the possibility of increasing of the area under housing development, the study of conditions and directions of spatial development includes regulations on other, more detailed findings: determining the minimum size of plots (e.g. municipalities of Pabianice Nowosolna and Rzgów) or population density of particular residential areas (municipality of Nowosolna), establishing the minimum of biologically active surface, and even the height of each type of building (municipality of Pabianice and Nowosolna) and angles of their roofs.

The main line of action in the field of spatial planning in the analyzed municipalities is the designation of areas for adaptation and development. Reviewing the studies prepared for particular communes one can conclude, that they allow the implementation of housing in several basic forms: multi-family and single-family buildings, summer and rural housing, residences, as well as detached houses with services or craft production. Single family buildings actually mean detached houses (or groups of such buildings), semi-detached houses, terraced and atrium houses and also residential buildings containing not more than four dwellings.

Areas designated for single-family housing are predicted in all the concerned municipalities. Studies of conditions and directions of spatial development provide two basic types of actions relating to this type of residential buildings, namely the adaptation of the existing and construction of a new houses. Completion of existing structures and the adaptation with the possibility of expansion and modernization of buildings takes place primarily in inner city areas of Pabianice, Zgierz, Konstancynów Łódzki, Aleksandrów Łódzki or Stryków. When it comes to the development of a new single-family buildings, implementation throughout the community is almost always expected, mainly in the form of detached and semi-detached houses.

Among the more intensive forms of residential development, the construction of houses with up to four dwellings is permitted, as well as the implementation of terraced and atrium houses, and also their concentrations, such as housing estates, groups of buildings or completions of existing layouts. The new developments must be carried out in accordance with local land-use plans. This applies particularly to larger investments.

Undoubtedly, it is worth to mention the phenomenon of determining for a number of sites, the feasibility of residential development on separate plots within the existing rural housing areas. Parcels designed for such a kind of investments are located in the municipality of Ksawerów, Nowosolna, Zgierz and Stryków.

Specific type of residential development is a single-family housing with accompanying services, crafts and manufacturing. Actually only two municipalities: Andrespol and Stryków, include this type of housing investments within their studies of conditions and directions of spatial development. It should, however, be noted at this point, that combining residential with non-residential functions is a very common practice. This is due to the fact, that the law permits locating services, as well as the craft and production, within the residential developments, as long as their nuisance does not go beyond the boundaries of the plots, they are located.

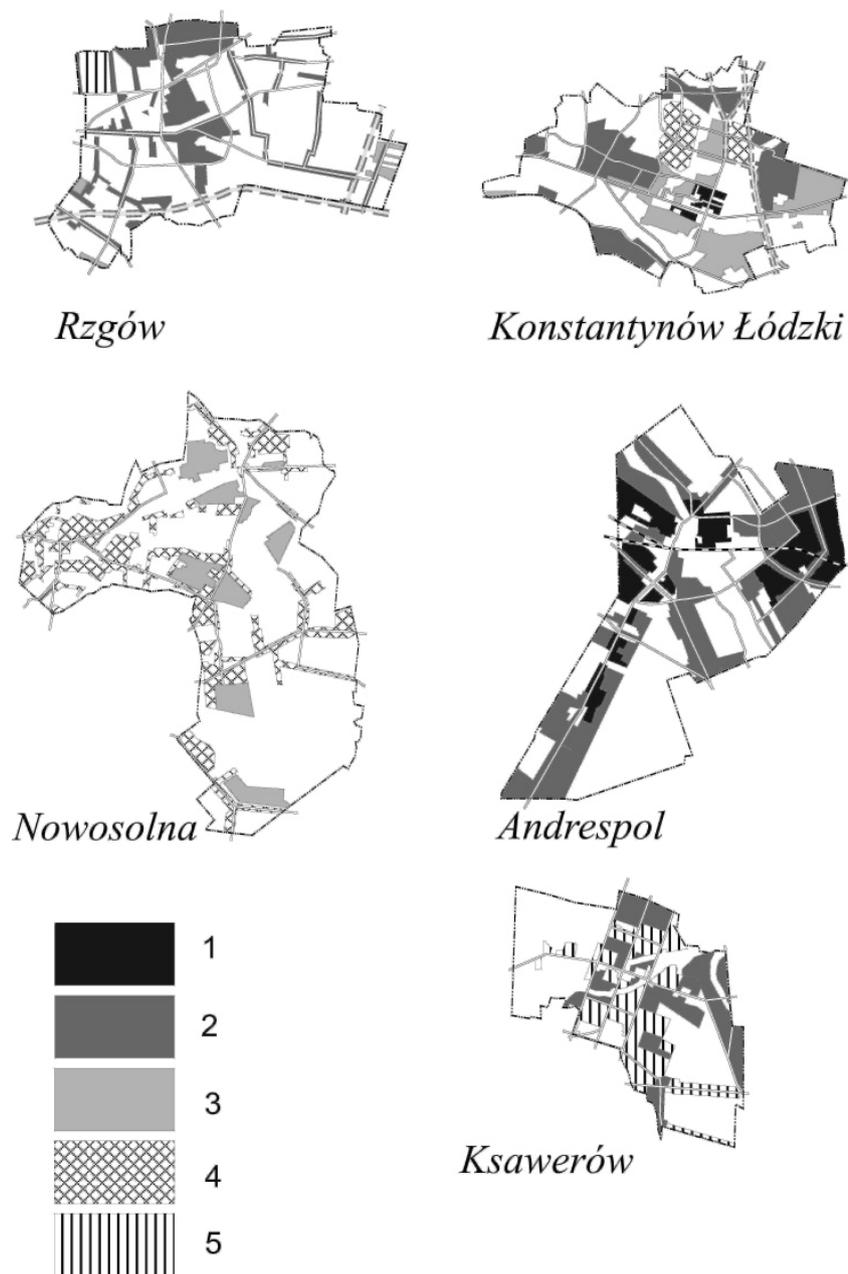
Rural housing should be also mentioned as a specific type of single family buildings. For areas of this type of housing development, the possibility of adapting an existing stock with its replacement and refilling is provided.

A very common phenomenon is the occurrence of constant tendency towards secondary parcellation of agricultural land and reducing its traditional functions for housing and small-scale production activities, resulting in chaotic spatial development, which is difficult to coordinate. For this reason, the study of conditions and directions of spatial development introduces an obligation to locate new investments along existing roads (e.g. Andrespol, Zgierz, Ksawerów, Aleksandrów Łódzki and Stryków).

In recent years a dynamic development of holiday housing construction has been also observable in analyzed municipalities. In principle, this kind of building is not designed for permanent residence. Having regard its observed expansion, attention must be paid to the actually small share of land allocated for second housing in the total area designated for residential function. Only the municipality of Pabianice intends to allocate for this purpose more than a half of all land reserved for housing development.

This is due to the frequent functional changes within an existing residential areas, involving the replacement of this type of buildings by the single family housing. The introduction of such a possibility by the study of conditions and directions of spatial development, provides greater freedom of action at the beginning of investment processes. Holiday housing is often allocated within an attractive natural environment and landscape, frequently on the edge of the forests. A characteristic feature of second housing is that it is carried out mainly by the inhabitants of Lodz.

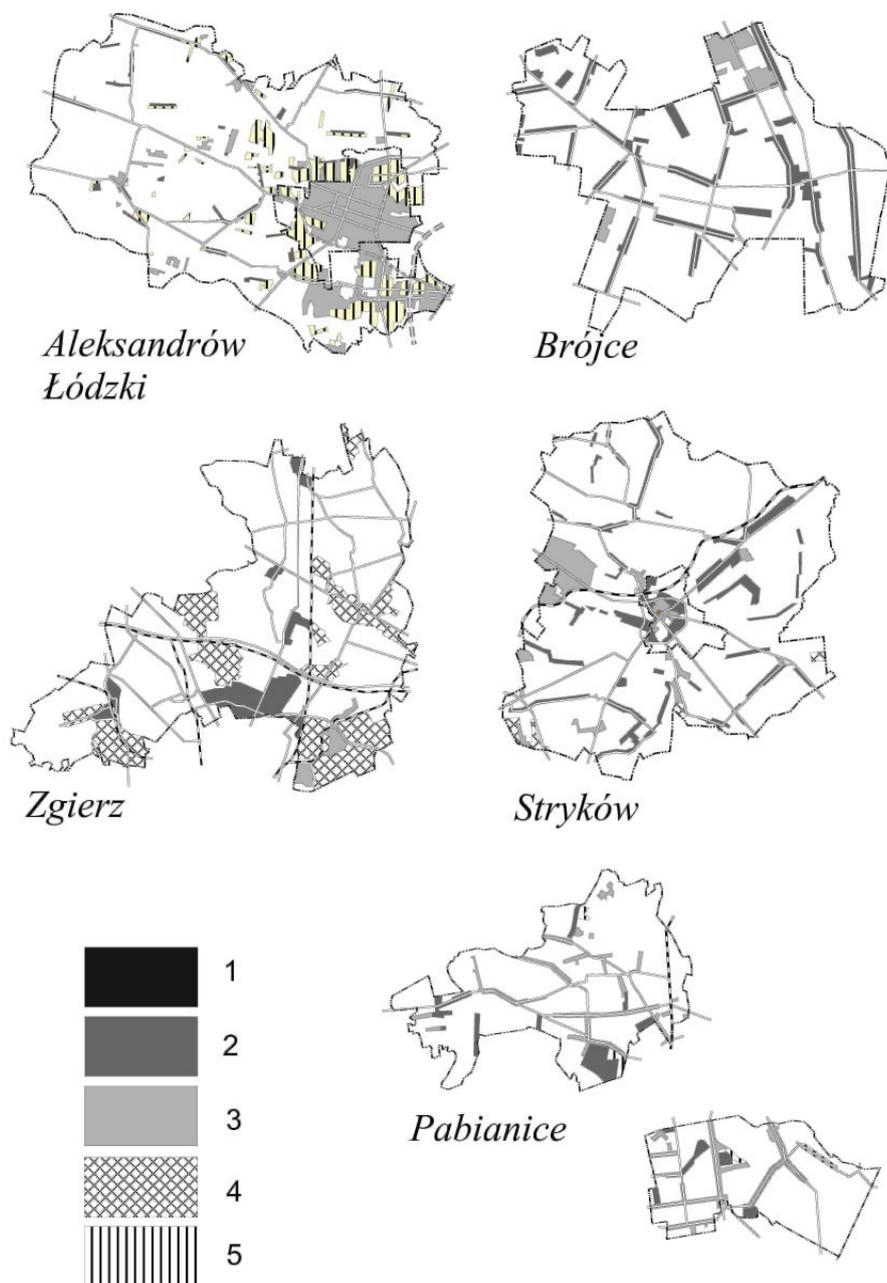
Figure 2. Areas designated for residential development in Rzgów, Konstantynów Łódzki, Nowosolna, Andrespol and Ksawerów



Note: Residential areas of: 1 – high density single family housing, 2 – single family housing (low density), 3 – second housing, 4 – residences, 5 – land reserve for housing.

Source: Based on the studies of conditions and directions of spatial development.

Figure 3. Areas designated for residential development in Aleksandrów Łódzki, Brójce, Zgierz, Stryków, Pabianice



Note: Residential areas of: 1 – high density single family housing, 2 – single family housing (low density), 3 – second housing, 4 – residences, 5 – land reserve for housing.

Source: Based on the studies of conditions and directions of spatial development.

A different kind of housing development contains residences, that is single family housing for permanent residence with the specific architectural form and the way of land use. Taking into account that communities under consideration very often designate a large areas for this type of development (e.g. Nowosolna – over 400 ha, Zgierz – 340 ha – about 70% of the total area provided for housing, Konstantynów Łódzki and Stryków – more than 120 ha), one can assume that residences have a chance there to become the dominant form of single family housing. Just as in the case of second houses, areas of distinguished natural features and landscape values are particularly preferred for the location of residences.

Multi-family housing is the last type of residential investments, indicated in the studies of conditions and directions of spatial development. It is meant as residential buildings containing more than four dwellings or also groups of such buildings, along with their technical supply and greenery accompanying the residential developments. Only urban communes provide a multi-family housing development, while in rural areas it can be implemented only in justified cases. New multi-family housing should be carried out in the form of individual small buildings or their complexes.

2. Land use policy of municipalities comprising Lodz agglomeration in relation to housing development

In an attempt to classification of the housing policies carried out by the municipalities bordering with Łódź, the following issues were taken into account:

- the share of the municipal area designated for residential development in the study of conditions and directions of spatial development,
- the number of inhabitants per 1 ha of land allocated for housing development,
- the relative proportions of land designated for different types of residential development (especially for second housing and residences),
- distribution of land for residential development on the background of the current spatial development of municipalities.

In the initial stage of the studies, the analysis were only focused on the quantitative aspects.

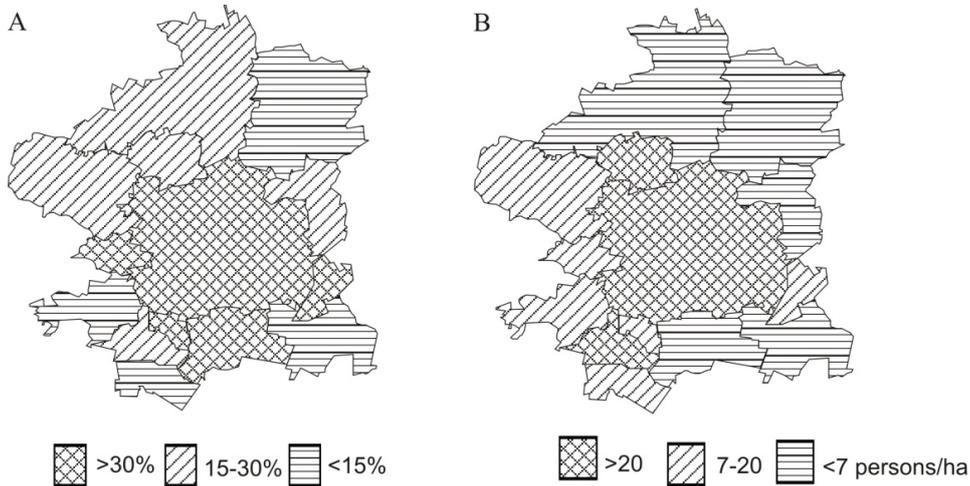
Under the foregoing aspects, the examined communities were divided into 4 main groups:

- The first group includes the municipalities with a large share of land designated for residential development and the number of inhabitants per 1 ha of these areas is above 6.9 (Andrespol, Konstantynów Łódzki, Ksawerów i Rzgów)¹.

¹ With the exception of Rzgów municipality, in which the number is about 2,5.

- The second group is formed of communes, with about 20% share of residential areas within the municipal area and a small number of inhabitants per unit of land allocated for residential purposes (rural commune of Zgierz, Nowosolna, and also Aleksandrów Łódzki, despite the second indicator level of 10 persons per 1 ha of land).
- The third group consists of municipalities with a small share of residential areas within administrative borders (town and rural commune of Stryków, Brójce and Pabianice).
- The fourth group consists of the two biggest cities of the study area: Pabianice and Zgierz (high population density, resulting from the specific features of urban areas).

Figure 4. The proportion of the municipal area designated for residential development and the number of inhabitants per 1 ha of such areas within municipalities comprising Lodz agglomeration



It turns out, however, that quantitative analysis does not reveal in detail the character of the municipal spatial policy regarding housing development. The decisive factor was the qualitative diversity of new residential investments. Therefore, attention has been paid mainly on two aspects: the types of buildings which are to be located in the municipalities under studies, with particular emphasis on second houses and residences, as well as the distribution of the proposed residential areas against the current spatial development of analyzed communes, and thus, measures to be carried out with respect to this types of housing.

Figure 5. Types of communes comprising Lodz agglomeration, depending on the size of the area designated for residential development and the number of inhabitants per 1 ha of such areas



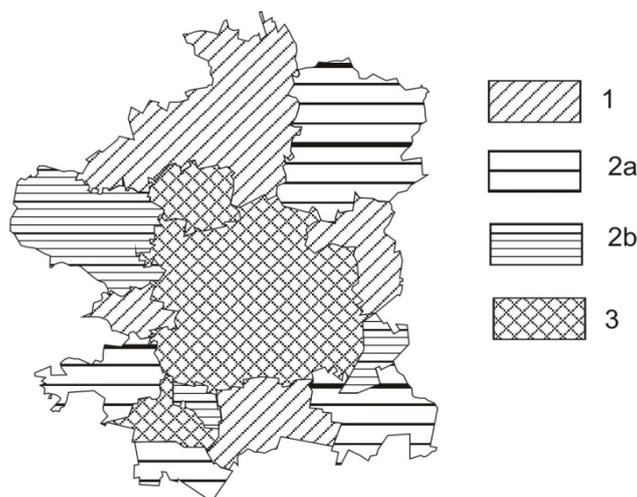
Note: 1 – Municipalities with a high population density; 2 – Municipalities with high share of land for residential development, with the number of inhabitants over 7 per 1 ha of such areas; 3 – Municipalities with 20% share of land for residential development, with the number of inhabitants about 10 per 1 ha of such areas; 4 – Municipalities with small share of residential areas.

Referring to the previously presented classification of the municipalities with different spatial policies referring to housing development, it was considered that these administrative units can be also classified as:

- I. Municipalities conducting an expansionary-oriented policies, aimed at growth and dominance of the residential function (municipalities conducting land use policy in relation to the demand for residential areas generated by neighboring communes).
- II. Municipalities conducting complementary-oriented policies, contingent upon the development of other functions (municipalities conducting policies aimed at stimulating the appropriate growth of the housing stock).
- III. Municipalities conducting conservative policies (municipalities conducting policies on the formation of local standards of living).

The first group includes up to 5 municipalities: Konstantinów Łódzki and Rzgów (communes with a high proportion of areas designated for housing development), but also Nowosolna and rural commune of Zgierz, where the share of residential areas reaches only $\frac{1}{4}$ of their total surface. As for the two first municipalities, an essential factor determining their assigning to this group was just a quantitative criterion, namely a significant share of land allocated for residential development.

Figure 6. Spatial policy in relation to housing development in municipalities comprising Lodz agglomeration



Note: Municipalities conducting policy:

- 1 – in relation to the demand for residential areas generated by neighboring communes;
- 2 – aimed at stimulating the appropriate growth of the housing stock:
 - a – by adapting and complementing,
 - b – by complementing and expanding into new areas;
- 3 – on the formation of local standards of living.

Nowosolna has been set in this group because of the very large (about 30%) share of land allocated for construction of residences, while the municipality of Zgierz due to the allocation for holiday housing until more than 30% of commune's territory (70% of the area designated for housing development). Similar features have a structure of residential areas in Konstancynów Łódzki. Such a significant amount of land allocated for the construction of these kinds of buildings clearly suggests, that municipalities have been oriented their land use policy on the demand, created by people from outside of their areas.

The second of the highlighted classes, the municipalities of policy aimed to stimulating the appropriate growth of the housing stock, includes 6 municipalities: Aleksandrów Łódzki, Andrespol, Pabianice, Brojce, Ksawerów and Stryków. The group, due to the significant internal differences, was also divided into two subgroups, being guided by the types of activities that will be preferable to residential development. The first subgroup includes Stryków Brojce and Pabianice. Taking into account the main activities in the areas of residential functions, spatial policy of these units mainly involves adapting and complementing the existing housing stock, going beyond existing settlements is allowed in very few cases. The other 3 municipalities form a subgroup, in which the basic activities

that stimulate the appropriate growth of the housing stock is its complementing and allocation of new areas for residential development.

The last group, the municipalities of policy on the formation of local standards of living, consists of two major cities of the study area: Zgierz and Pabianice. Their policy is based primarily on meeting the housing needs of people living in their areas, including adaptation, modernization and replacement of existing buildings. This does not mean the lack of implementation of the new residential investments, but they have really only follow up the existing housing stock.

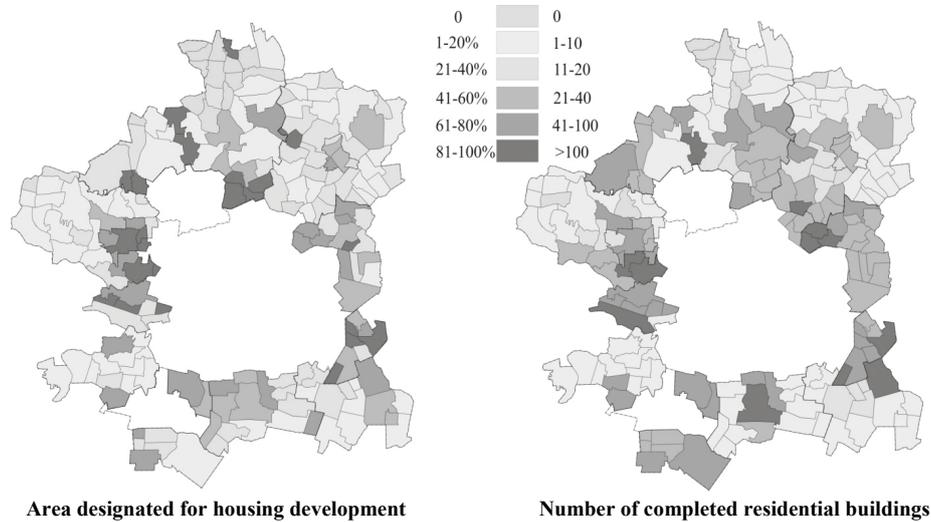
3. New residential developments in the Lodz agglomeration

In recent years a strong population growth has been observed in the suburban zone of Lodz. Suburbs spread beyond the borders of the city, being a kind of its background, over time they can be incorporated into the city. Suburban areas are currently the most wealthy and often luxurious residential development enclaves. As can be seen from the carried out analyzes, new houses constructed in the suburban zone have a much higher specification.

In some cases, suburban areas can grow to a large monofunctional settlement structures (Bagiński 2006). Within area of analysis such cases have not been diagnosed yet, developing structures are still very strongly functionally connected to the core of the agglomeration. One of the major reasons, why there is no incorporation of suburbs into the city area, even if there is a continuous spatial development (so the boundaries between settlement units are not visible), is the identification of residence outside the city with the higher social status (Bagiński 2006).

Socio-economic changes are well illustrated by a comparison of a former investors' places of living, to the locations of their new homes. The most part of them moved from the area of Lodz, Zgierz and Pabianice. The 'escape' from blocks of flats and the desire to possess their own house is clearly visible. An important factor is also the economic feasibility of the investors. Individual projects dominate the realizations of single-family housing, reflecting the lack of financial resources to buy a house from a developer, while striving to owning their own home. One should also mention the suburban communes' authorities, offering e.g. tax reliefs in order to attract investors. As a result, areas adjacent to the city are increasingly developed by residential buildings, usually of low intensity. This process is also seen in peripheral areas of cities, where the authorities allocate land for housing construction, trying to stop the outflow of inhabitants. It creates a smooth transition zone between the city center, housing estates and the peripheries, and the neighboring municipalities, that become increasingly built up. Such processes are observed in most of the major cities in Poland, also in Lodz agglomeration.

Figure 7. The share of the villages' area designated for housing development and the number of single-family buildings completed in the period 1994-2004



During the research, the intensity of new housing investments was analyzed, taking into account the number of completed residential buildings. The results clearly show the highest growth dynamics of new housing development on the outskirts of Lodz and its spreading out toward the boundaries of the study area. New residential buildings are clearly concentrated along the main roads leading out of the city. This is in accordance with the processes observed in other urban areas. The phenomenon of 'urban sprawl' is inseparably related to the condition of the road network, as the car remains the main mode of transport for suburban areas.

The appearance of this phenomenon, in addition to changes in the economic sphere, also encourages the land conversion for non-agricultural purposes. This process continues, both under the pressure of farmers, who want to get rid of unprofitable land, as well as municipal authorities, seeing land conversion as the prospect of the higher revenues to the local budget. The pressure of land owners and its potential purchasers, with 'the support' of local authorities and the lack of land use planning, results in allocation of a significant amount of parcels for housing development, unfortunately often scattered and deprived of basic infrastructure.

The reasons for the emergence of 'urban sprawl' should be also seen in the legal basis of spatial management. Until 2003, the law allowed to receive a building permit for a single family house (as a rural house) upon presentation of the certificate of possession of 1 ha of agricultural land. It resulted in an uncontrolled increase in the number of buildings, located chaotically in any place. Changing the regulations imposed some additional restrictions – such as need to meet the require-

ment of good neighborliness. Not without significance is the fact, that the local land-use plans can be formulated even for single plots. The financial situation of the municipalities and high costs of planning documents cause that many of them are drawn up especially for such a small areas (table).

It should also be noted, that many municipalities designate definitely too large areas for residential function in the study of conditions and directions of spatial development and development strategies. The following communes, among the analyzed ones, definitely stand out in this respect: Rzgów (planning allocation for housing development about 56% of its area), Ksawerów (52%), Andrespol and Konstantynów Łódzki (almost 45%).

In inner cities there is a lack of a wide range of investment areas for residential development. The release of land for this purpose would require an intensive and very expensive work. The big problem is also the urban transport system, that is not capable of existing traffic, as well as a huge backlog in the technical supply development. Whereas suburban municipalities provide potential investors with a wide offer of areas for housing development.

Comparing the 'investment offer' of these municipalities, expressed by the size of areas, for which local authorities have recognized the residential development as the most desirable, with the effects of housing construction in 1994-2004, it should be noted, that this approach actually brings the expected results. Areas, where single-family housing is growing most rapidly, are those with the highest share of land allocated for this kind of development. The reason for this is the easier obtaining of land-use administrative decisions and then building permits, which are based (if there is a lack of local plan) on the study of conditions and directions of spatial development (compliance is required).

Table 1. Areas requested to allocate for housing development in the analyzed municipalities

| Quarter | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J |
|---------------------|--------|--------------------------------|---------|------|---------|------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------------|
| | ha | Number of inhabitants per 1 ha | ha | % | ha | ha | ha | ha | ha | Number of inhabitants per 1 ha |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Aleksandrów Łódzki | 11,558 | 2,2 | 2,415.2 | 20,9 | 1,384.0 | | | 149.7 | 881.5 | 10.6 |
| Andrespol | 2,377 | 4,5 | 1,077.2 | 45,3 | 872.3 | | | 204.9 | | 10.0 |
| Brójce | 6,955 | | 936.2 | 13,5 | 893.6 | 42,6 | | | | 5.5 |
| Konstantynów Łódzki | 2,687 | 6,5 | 1,170.6 | 43,6 | 1,007.2 | | 163.4 | | | 15.0 |
| Ksawerów | 1,364 | 5,0 | 715.2 | 52,4 | 354.7 | | | 114.4 | 246.0 | 9.6 |
| Nowosolna | 5,398 | 0,5 | 1,466.4 | 27,2 | 1,038.5 | | 427.9 | | | 1.8 |

Table 1 cont.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|-------------------------|--------|-----|---------|------|---------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-----|
| Pabianice-rural commune | 8,857 | 0,6 | 1,042.8 | 11,8 | 363.0 | 562,2 | | | 115.5 | 5.1 |
| Rzgów | 6,597 | 1,3 | 3,697.1 | 56,0 | 5,452.5 | 91,6 | | | 153.0 | 2.3 |
| Stryków | 15,784 | 0,7 | 1,764.2 | 11,2 | 811.1 | | 121.4 | 831.7 | | 6.7 |
| Zgierz-rural commune | 19,924 | 0,5 | 4,899.0 | 24,6 | 1,469.3 | | 3429.8 | | | 2.1 |

A – Total area of the municipality (ha).

B – Population density.

C – Total area requested for housing development.

D – The proportion of areas requested for housing development in total area of the municipality.

E – Areas requested for housing development (adaptation and extension).

F – Areas requested for holiday housing.

G – Areas requested for residences.

H – Areas requested for housing with complementary function (agriculture, services, manufacturing and handicraft).

I – Requested areas of new housing development.

J – The number of inhabitants per 1 ha of areas requested for housing development.

Migration of city residents to the suburban zone leads to morphological and physiognomic changes of rural areas. It is a spectacular manifestation of suburbanization. There is a considerably change in the types of newly built houses – residences or typical suburban single-family homes occupy more and more areas, changing their function from an agricultural to residential one. The new developments of this type also occur within the existing settlement structures, originally complementing, then displacing the traditional housing and giving a completely new, suburban physiognomy to rural areas.

In examined area, however, single-family housing is still the most preferred, as the cheapest and best form of residence. They are mostly detached houses, frequently located on large plots. The problem is the way of land allocation for this kind of investments, not preceded by reparcelling. As a result, the remains of agricultural land, excluded from development by locating away from roads and lack of transport connections, are increasingly common. Another problem is that access roads to the set out and built up plots are usually marked by narrow boundary strips, making it difficult and sometimes even impossible, to develop a technical supply for the residential buildings, what determines their long-term remaining outside the reach of engineering infrastructure (Chmielewski 2005).

Conclusions

Until the mid-nineties of the XXth century, the location of new housing has not been driven by the need for more intensive development of inner-city, which

led to the scattering of new residential investments in the peripheral urban areas. As a result, the resources of vacant land located within the city limits has been significantly depleted, effecting – in accordance with the principles of a market economy – in an immediate increase in land prices. This process has led to ‘displacement’ of the demand for residential areas from the cities to the neighboring municipalities. Consequently there is an emerging trend toward development of low intensity housing, in the poorly prepared areas. It is fostered by the land-use policies of the suburban municipalities, conducted to attract to their areas as many new residents as it is possible. Unfortunately, spatial policy goals are not always supported by appropriate measures, e.g. in terms of preparation of land for investments (technical supply).

Several determinants of residential development dispersing can be distinguished:

- low prices of land in the suburban zone,
- low cost of land ownership,
- relatively high environmental values,
- increase in motorization, enabling to extend the distance from the place of residence to the city (still remaining a location of jobs and services),
- tiredness of living in the cities, especially in the housing estates with blocks of flats,
- desire to improve the standard of living,
- regulations allowing the uncoordinated spatial development,
- high cost of inner-city land release for housing purposes, and often lack of the necessary regulations for conducting such activities (Jeżak 2005).

Suburbanization is unfortunately deeply rooted and generates lasting social, spatial and economic results. This problem should be seen primarily from the point of view of the shrinking city, where a systematic increase in external costs can be observed. Urban sprawl increases car traffic, generates the need to provide more areas for parking lots within urban areas and causes congestion of the transportation system. It is a burden on the budget of the agglomeration core, but unfortunately the allocation of resources occurs in suburban municipalities.

Experts dealing with the problem of suburbanization indicate the necessity of looking at the analyzed processes from the perspective of urban agglomeration. Only in such circumstances it is possible to perceive linkages between the central city and neighboring areas.

Spatial development of suburban zone should be planned, so that areas of residential concentrations could obtain complete and clear layouts. It is necessary to overcome the traditional barriers between neighboring municipalities, allowing for a more integrated and comprehensive approach to the land-use policy.

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