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# Urban Planners in Poland. Practicing the urban planning profession in Poland and other European countries

Urbanista w Polsce. Wykonywanie zawodu urbanisty i planisty przestrzennego w Polsce i innych krajach europejskich

#### Abstract

The meaning of the "urban planner" differs in every national spatial planning system. Its definition in the EU scale as a profession in public trust, responsible for practical and scientific domains, social activities, organisational and creational ones deviates significantly from the Polish definitions, where the urban planner is being recognised as someone who prepares a local plan project. This situation is a symptom of the spatial planning crisis in Poland, and a crisis of the profession as well. This situation needs urgent reforms, which should bring back the situation of spatial planning as the most important tool for spatial management.

Keywords: urban planner, spatial planning

#### Streszczenie

Pojęcie zawodu "urbanisty" jest różnie rozumiane w każdym krajowym systemie planowania przestrzennego. Jego definicja w UE jako zawodu zaufania publicznego, odpowiedzialnego za dziedziny praktyczne i naukowe, działalność społeczną, organizacyjną i twórczą znacznie odbiega od polskich definicji, gdzie planista jest uznawany najczęściej za osobę przygotowującą projekt planu miejscowego. Ta rozbieżność jest jednym z symptomów kryzysu planowania przestrzennego w Polsce oraz samego zawodu. Sytuacja ta wymaga pilnych reform, które powinny przywrócić miejsce planowania przestrzennego jako najważniejszego narzędzia gospodarki przestrzennej.

Słowa kluczowe: urbanista, planowanie przestrzenne

#### 1. Introduction

The spatial planning's condition in Poland has been a very important topic for professional discussion for the last several years. Most of the debaters agree with a thesis of the deep crisis of spatial planning in our country. This crisis is seen as an effect of general spatial planning's system disorder which pushes planning processes to the role of purely law and administrative activities. It is this system that becomes a tight corset for spatial development, in which there is less and less room for creativity and innovation. Finally, there is no space for innovative urban planners and spatial planners, who are increasingly becoming only contractors of the will of self-government authorities and "implementers" of legal requirements. The article discusses the problem of performing the profession of urban planner in Poland comparing its situation with the conditions of performing the profession of an urban planner in other European countries.

#### 2. The origins of the spatial planning system

Spatial planning is being recognised today as a kind of activity combining both domains of practice and science [3]. According to some conventional definitions, spatial planning is known on one hand as a kind of combining both the science and knowledge based on theory and practical experience, and on the other hand as a certain instrument for managing spatial changes. Of course, we must be aware of the fact that the meaning and understanding of the term of "spatial planning" has been changing through the decades. For a better understanding of the processes that affect both theory and planning practice, we should learn more about the development of the spatial planning since its beginning. The history will teach us to better understand the present.

We can take a look at the origins of spatial planning in the modern sense at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; however, we can speak about it much earlier. Even in ancient times, we deal with the implementation of thought-out, designed urban layouts. However, it is necessary to distinguish between design activities and those that rely on planning. Projecting is one independent act based on the design creativity and expressions of the will of the implementer, founder, representative of power, which is the guarantor of the project implementation. Spatial planning is an instrument of management, conflict resolution (not only spatial). Therefore, this planning is rather a process than a just simple act, and a process in which different participants and partakers are involved, with the urban planners in that number. It should be noted here that there is a clear difference not only in the sense of urban projecting and urban planning, but above all in understanding the role of the urban planner and spatial planner.

The origins of planning, contractually void at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is a period of facing completely new problems of spatial development, urbanisation and industrialisation. People responsible for the city spaces realised the meaning of the spatial problems. These problems were clear results of spontaneously developing cities of the

period of spontaneous industrialisation. The transformations of the then cities were spatial, economic, environmental, but probably above of all – social ones. An important stage in the development of spatial planning is the concept of the city gardens of Ebenezer Howard [9], which was to attempt to solve most of these problems.

Howard's concepts quickly became very famous in European and American intellectuals involved in searching for any solutions aimed at improving the quality of human life in cities. These concepts have launched the movement of urban gardens almost everywhere in the world. Despite the fact that the understanding of the idea of city-gardens in various countries was different, often very different, it should be acknowledged that these ideas firstly made the need for change aware and, secondly, indicated the directions of searching for optimal solutions. These movements in many countries were identified with the hygienists movements.

The situation in Poland was quite similar, although the conditions and problems of Polish cities differ from those in Western Europe or the United States. In 1912, Howard personally visited Poland. He stayed for a few days in Krakow at the debates of the 8<sup>th</sup> World Congress of Esperantists. At that time, Krakow was not an example of a typical industrial in Europe these times. However, it was positively assessed as a city with a natural reference to Howard's ideas [9].

The hygienists movements are closely associated with the origins of spatial planning. One of the most important figures of this movement in Poland was Józef Polak, a man of great activity in both Polish (mainly Russian) and European areas. But he was also very active in the international arena, where he was known as an organiser of the City-Gardens Exhibition in Warsaw. It is true that it should be noted that the movements of hygienists in Europe date back to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The first "hygiene law" was established in England as early as 1848.

In parallel to social activism, spatial planning as a knowledge is being developed. In the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first spatial planning handbooks and manuals were issued. In Germany, Thedor Fritsch publishes the first book entitled "Cities of the Future" [10]. Just a decade later, the first books are published in Poland. Józef Polak publishes a book containing a collection of his lectures [11]. Then, Ignacy Drexler [12], Roman Feliński [13], Artur Kuhnel [14] and Władysław Dobrzyński [15] publish their handbooks.

Social activities and theoretical works quickly made the responsible local and regional authorities aware of the need to urgently implement new rules for space management. The contests for new development of urban areas are widely discussed. The first plans are prepared in early years of the XX century. One should notice that the activity in Poland did not differ significantly from the activity in Western Europe or in the United States.

An important manifestation of the solidifying of sociological, scientific and, finally, practical activities are the attempts to establish organisations gathering people involved in new challenges for the urban planning. In 1899, the Town and Country Planning Association was founded in England. It was based on the of the Green City Association. In the USA in 1923, the Regional Planning Association of America was established. Precisely in the same year, the Society of Polish Town Planners was established in the reborn Polish state, which

exists to this day. These associations started to organise and focus activities of people involved in spatial planning.

Summing up, it can be confirmed that the initial stages of consolidation of spatial planning and professional spatial planners in Poland and in Europe or in the United States took place on similar principles and at similar times. Despite the fact that the differences in the state of urban space in Poland and in Western Europe were far different.

#### 3. Empowerment and solidifying the spatial planning

The origins of spatial planning are primarily the result of the activities of various social and intellectual environments. It's hard to name them the professional environments. They operate at the interface between various domains of science and practice: social, medical, hygienic and political sciences, as well as partly – engineering, construction and architectural. Before the profession of urban planners was invented, it was necessary to separate and solidify the spatial planning in itself.

We can recognise the period before the second world war as a time of solidifying the spatial planning system. It is defined as an independent activity, but at the interface between design, scientific and socio-political activities. The spatial planner is not an architect, though he takes many attributes from this profession. The planner is not a hygienist, although spatial planning goals will always be close to hygienists' ones. The planner is also not a politician; however, he will have to cooperate closely with politics and the authorities.

From the beginning, spatial planning will be perceived as a service for common purposes and at the same time as an interdisciplinary activity.

Defining a spatial planner, in the period before the second world war, will in the next decades be redefined depending on the very strong (and sometimes rapidly changing) conditions and challenges faced by planners. Finally, planning after the Second World War will develop in parallel in two different socio-political systems: democratic in the west and undemocratic in the east. These conditions were absolutely different; however, amazingly, the development of planning ideas in both systems proceeded at a similar pace and in similar directions.

To this day, there is probably a misunderstanding in the Polish dictionary in the meaning of the overlapping concepts of "urban planning" and "spatial planning". An example of such a misunderstanding may be the fact that urban planning regulations, granted by State authorities until 2002, authorised practicing the spatial planner. These regulations authorised to prepare planning documents such as plans and spatial studies. For urban planning, it was accepted in scientific publications to define the activity of shaping the space of a built environment, in particular urban, with the use of design instruments. Town planning is often put on an equal footing with rural design, regarding the shaping of rural spaces. Spatial planning is an activity consisting in managing change in space or protection of its recognised values, as well as – shaping the distribution of functions in space. Descriptive definitions, which define spatial planning goals as: spatial order, rational spatial development, the need to meet people's needs

and achieve social goals, minimise spatial conflicts, create opportunities for development. Planning activity should be governed by specific rules, of which the principle of sustainable development is treated as the prime.

## 4. The changing role of the urban planner in the development of spatial planning

In the first period of the development of spatial planning, which we can contractually date until 1939, we are dealing with the nascent profession of spatial planners. Planning at that time focuses on the tasks of designing certain static spatial models. These models were to primarily implement the principle of rationalism in spatial planning. The planning was to provide specific, unambiguous answers, even to complex and complicated questions. These answers were to correspond to the principle of rationalism as the only one important criteria. Rational models were optimal and the only one acceptable. This prevailing principle of rationalism in spatial planning becomes binding for long decades of spatial planning development. In some aspects, it survived to these days. The paradigm of a rational spatial model also defined the role of the urbanist himself, who often appeared in the role of a man with broad knowledge, and above all, a man convinced of the rightness of certain rational reasons that are not subject to any discussions. It is a special, omnipotent role.

Next decades after the World War II strengthen this position much more. The urbanist is still a man with special competence in planning. At the same time, his position justifies the place he has in the structures of power. We are talking here about the period in which planning develops under separate different socio-political systems. However, the functioning of the planner, regardless of the system, had to be based on close contacts with the authorities, self-authorities, regardless of what power it was from where it came from.

In the 1960s, local communities began to speak out in the wake of social crises and youth rebellions. Until now, their participation in planning processes was marginalised. The beginning of the second half of the twentieth century made us realise that the success of a particular planning model is conditioned not only by maintaining the principles of rationalism, but also, and perhaps above all, by the social acceptance of a particular project. This is the moment in the planning history in which the omnipotence of the spatial planner is limited for the first time. In the first step, these restrictions result from the need to recognise the voice of local communities to independently indicate the expected directions of changes in the spatial structure. Thus, the role of the urban planner changes, which from the "demiurge" is increasingly becoming an adviser, indicating possible, expected and foreseen future trends in spatial structures. He must become an expert from the demiurge. Rationalism as a universal planning principle is dethroned in favour of pragmatism of planning instruments. It should be noted, of course, that these processes were more concerned with spatial planning developed in the political environment of Western democracies. To a much lesser extent, they affected countries with undemocratic regimes, where the role of the town planner continued to rely on the previous rules. From this point

of view, it was the moment when the further development of spatial planning within two models of socio-political systems proceeded in a different way.

The incorporation the social aspects of development in the planning system and, consequently, also of social participation resulted in the destabilisation of the previous static model, which had been the objective of planning activities. From now on, the new planning goal will be to look for sustainable and stable models.

In subsequent decades, further groups of issues are included in the scope of spatial planning: from social, environmental, ecological to economic. Planning becomes a field of activity in new fields of science, knowledge and practice. It becomes an activity engaging more and more new domains. In this situation, the role of the urban planner – an omnipotent, and the expert becomes unattainable. Therefore, the character of this profession is changing. Increasingly, the urban planner becomes the coordinator of the work of specialists in various fields. In the end, he becomes the organiser of their work. The spatial planning in itself at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is becoming more and more an organising activity consisting in the organisation of planning processes, involving very different participants. The urbanist becomes an organiser, and even more often – a mediator between these participants.

Contemporary spatial planning has passed a long way in these 100 years since its origins. The planning function was changing, but also the role of the urban planner itself. How does it look like now? In the middle of the second decade of the 21st century? I'll try to answer this question in the next chapters.

#### 5. Spatial planning's partakers

The answer to the question about the role of urban planners in contemporary spatial planning systems must be preceded by the identification of all participants in this planning.

Let us try to characterise spatial planning partakers in the perspective of the role they play in this planning processes and procedures. From this point of view, we can identify active and passive partakers. These attitudes will have the characteristics of social or even political attitudes. They will be passive and active attitudes, as well as those that will emphasise the implementation of particular goals and those that will be focused on public or social goals. A spatial planning partaker can be a single person and a group of people, as well as more or less formalised organisations, such as public administration bodies.

An active partaker has a free hand for organising the processes of spatial planning, with competences and the will to act or influence the actions of other partakers. A passive partaker represents inactive attitudes and does not show greater activity in spatial planning.

According to the typology of spatial planning participants adopted by the author [7], due to the type of their activity in spatial planning processes, we can divide into: active partakers, that is: originators, co-originators and participants, and passive partakers, i.e. clients and consumers.

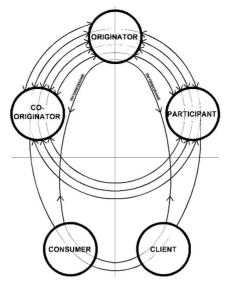


Fig. 1. Spatial planning partakers and the fields of their activity [7]

#### 5.1. Spatial planning originator

A spatial planning originator is a partaker with the widest spectrum of independent opportunities for action among all partakers of spatial management. In particular, he has the capacity to take actions and to decide and resolve any conflicts and challenges. According to this definition, it is a partaker is so-called "Planning authority". It is also the partaker who potentially or formally, can have the greatest influence on the shape of the urban space. The originator is one; its competences can be limited, but it is still the largest set of these competencies among other participants.

The attributes of the originator are fully realised in public administration bodies in the most. In the local government system and the municipality self-government is naturally the one with competencies for urban and space management. It has many unique features and attributes: free hand for taking the procedures and processes, planning competences, ownership competences, financial independence, legal actions and business ventures.

Despite the great impact they can exert on the space, the originators are not investors or developers, nor property owners. Only public administration bodies have the legal instruments of actual power, as well as the competences of an arbitrator, mediator or coordinator of changes in the urban space. These prerogatives arise from a given legal system model. Competences for public administration bodies are granted to originators by virtue of the Constitution and regulations of the rank of acts of common law.

The urban planner is very closely related to defined above spatial planning originator. He is closely related to this partaker, but he cannot replace it. A town planner without a well-functioning planning body cannot perform any planning functions on his own; cannot be treated as an independent planning partaker. The originator operating in the Polish planning

system is obviously not able to perform basic spatial planning tasks without the participation of an urban planner. It can only take various legal and formal actions. It can adopt resolutions to proceed with the preparation of planning documents, initiate and lead tasks in the collection of applications, opinions and arrangements. It can organise the presentation of draft documents for public viewing. It can finally adopt resolutions on the particular planning document. However, he cannot make a draft of this document. According to the common, binding law, these activities are reserved for strictly-defined persons who have the right to design in the field of spatial planning – that is, eligible urban planners. It should be noted, that at the time of writing this article (after liquidation of urban rights granted by the central administration authorities and after the liquidation of the professional self-government of urban planners), these rights are very broad and the right to practice the profession of urban planners is granted to a very wide group of people. In particular, all graduates of architecture and spatial planning studies.

Consideration of the fact that the urban planner is "connected" with the spatial planning subject does not fully explain the role of the urban planner in the planning processes and procedures.

#### 5.2. Spatial planning co-originators

Co-originators are other partakers of spatial planning, having some fragmentary parts of planning competencies. These are most often the appropriately specialised administrations, in which the competences include e.g. specific issues of water management, nature protection, environment protection and state security. Each of these bodies presents a strictly defined, particular point of view that falls within its territorial and domain competencies. The originator is one, but there are many co-originators. Each of them has some inalienable part of planning competences. However, this is a part that is disproportionately smaller than the originator's planning competences. Parts of these capabilities are independent of each other; they can be complementary.

The urbanist can in some part be considered a co-originator of spatial planning. He has a certain part of planning competences. It is a smaller part than the originator's. It should be noted, however, that the role of an urban planner in this area is significantly different from the role of other public and specialised administration bodies.

The urban planner can be recognised as a member of the group of co-originators, however under the condition that we will treat the definition of these specific partakers very broadly. Nevertheless, the position of urban planners in the group of co-originators does not fully explain the role they play in the spatial planning system.

## 5.3. Other spatial planning partakers

Participants are the third group within active partakers. This group is very diverse internally. The feature of the participants is that they do not have the features of public administration bodies; however, they participate in urban space management processes and procedures. So, they play a very specific role in the planning system. Their power is very limited, and its scope

results from the character and manner of assigning a given part of power by one of the entities or co-originators. According to this definition, a participant can be anyone, group of people or organisations. A very specific form of such participation is social participation, which the common participation is most often identified.

The urban planner is certainly an active partaker in spatial planning, but he cannot be considered a participant, in the meaning as described above.

Clients and consumers are the widest groups of spatial planning partakers. Clients and consumers will be included in the group of passive partakers. Clients will show greater willingness to communicate about their expectations towards other spatial planning participants than consumers, but they do not formally participate in decision-making processes; while consumers will remain fully silent users. This will, therefore, be passive participation.

It is assumed that passive participants present attitudes that show no interest in spatial planning and focus more on the protection of particular interests.

## 5.4. The urban planners' place in the system of spatial planning partakers

The above typology does not include a very important participant in spatial planning: an urban planner. It doesn't explain his role. The urban planner's role in planning processes and procedures is very unique. On the one hand, it works at the request of a spatial management originator, and on the other hand, it cannot be treated as an originator in itself. Also, there is no partial planning power as much as, for example, special administration bodies; so, it cannot be treated as a co-originator. It seems that it would be the best choice to treat the urban planner as a separate category of a partaker in spatial development.

However, we should remember that the role of the urban planner in the Polish legal system is variable and unstable. We can see in recent years the process of gradual reduction of the urbanist's competences. In the periods before the great systemic reforms in the late 80s, the urban planner was a person strongly influencing the shape of the planning documents. He was the real (formal and informal) creator of the general plans. He was seen by other planning participants as an authority; often even as a representative of this authority, and to a lesser extent as an expert.

After the implementation of the reforms in 1995, the role of the urban planner has changed rapidly. The urbanist was transformed from a responsible meritocracy man to someone employed for sketching or drawing a plan. While the planning decisions were in the hands of territorial self-governments. Therefore, the person preparing the plan was separated from people making planning and political decisions. The town planner was separated from the spatial planning originator. A strong position of a spatial planning participant was obtained by professional lawyers and advisors. The role of the urban planner was, according to many experts, the role of "a pencil in the hands of authority." The role of urban planners was even more limited with the lifting of state powers in 2002 and with the elimination of the professional self-government of town planners in 2014.

The situation of the unstable position of the urban planner in the planning system in Poland and the general crisis of spatial planning in this country force us to search for new system solutions. There is a search for a new planning paradigm that would lead to its revival. The discussion is underway and the role and place of the urban planner in the spatial planning system. In general, it can be assumed that the majority believes that the role of the urban planner in this system should be more significant. The postulates about strengthening the role of urban planners appear in strategic documents and in scientific publications. It seems that an important component of this discussion should be the analysis of the role of the urban planner in the planning systems of the Western European countries.

## 6. Contemporary redefinition of the urban planner

Defining the meaning of the term: professional urban planner occurs quite rarely in the documents of European institutions. European Union bodies do not interfere significantly with national planning systems.

The only European institution associating professional urban planners is ECTP; European Council of Spatial Planners. It is an umbrella organisation: it associates other national associations gathering professional urban planners. This council establishes in the Founding Card [16] some minimum requirements that an urban planner should meet.

According to the provisions of this card, an urban planner is a person who performs certain public tasks, which should be recognised as an important feature of the profession of public trust. The urbanist performs public tasks in accordance with certain accepted principles of good technique, using all his knowledge and constantly deepening it.

In the first place, the urban planner is involved in identifying the needs of a certain community and identifying the features of a certain area or a local government unit. This stage should be considered as the stage of analysis – and initiating all activities of the urban planner. The identification of needs serves the proper formulation the questions of spatial and planning problems. One of the most important principles an urbanist should follow is the principle of sustainable development, according to which the urban planner will be required not only to identify the needs of the local community, but also future generations. In this respect, the work of an urban planner must look ahead. The urban planner must anticipate the effects of current phenomena and the effects of his actions. In further steps of the action, the urban planner identifies real possibilities for the development of a certain community or local government unit.

An urban planner is also a creative person. He should create innovative solutions, propose such projects that are a real answer to the identified problems and future ones, needs and those that can be implemented within the particular possibilities.

Further activities of the urban planner are associated with the implementation of specific tasks. In part, these will be design and organisational tasks. The urbanist will be a person who designs, creates, but also leads (or supervises) various social or administrative activities. These activities include, e.g. conducting negotiations, mediation between various planning partakers.

Finally, within the scope of the urbanist's competences, there are activities carried out after the implementation of the project – during its implementation. Urbanist, therefore,

runs the project itself and deals with its implementation, but also deals with monitoring this process, assessing the effects of its implementation. The urban planner is also responsible for correcting the project.

An urban planner is a person who deals with spatial planning practice, but also a person who gives a very significant contribution to science. An urbanist is also a person who conducts research and scientific work.

The urban planner is also an interdisciplinary professional to the same extent as interdisciplinary should be the same approach to space, in particular – urbanised or urban spaces. Therefore, he must integrate analyses in the field of social, environmental, geographic and economic sciences and practices. These activities will be implemented on various scales and in different contexts; from continental, state, through regional to local.

Summing up, we can say that an urban planner is: a researcher, a scientist, a practitioner, a designer, a contractor, an organiser, a negotiator, a mediator, a manager, and a coordinator. These are so different tasks, requiring very different competencies, preparation, education, and finally, and some distinct personality predispositions, that it is difficult to imagine that one person could be able to perform all these activities simultaneously. However, this definition should be understood as meaning that each of the above-mentioned activities may qualify the person who performs them to be called an urban planner. The urbanist has various names.

The education and preparation of a person to practice the profession of an urban planner is also a very complex task, complicated and spread over time. The urbanist is forced to constantly deepen his knowledge, to improve his practice.

European planners are therefore a very diverse group internally. However, the image of an urban planner who is sitting over a paper sheet drawing a draft of the city belongs to the past. This classic understanding of the role of urban planners is a thing of the past. We can certainly say that "city design" is no longer the main task of the urban planner.

## 7. Redefining the concept of urban planners in Poland

The question arises at the moment whether the urban planner, defined, as outlined above, urban planner is reflected in the situation in Poland. As explained above, the profession of urban planner in Poland has been undergoing constant depreciation and limitation of competences in recent decades. The tasks of the above-mentioned Polish urban planner perform rather rarely or sporadically.

Most often, the urban planner is being recognised by both representatives of the authorities and by other planning partakers, as a person who draws up a local plan project. Its tasks do not fall within the scope of science, organisation, negotiation, management or coordination. Recently, during the work on the liquidation of professional self-government, this profession was even denied the status of a public trust profession in Poland.

It can, therefore, be concluded that defining the concept of the "urbanist profession" in Poland and in Europe differs. In Poland, it is defined very narrowly, while in Europe – broadly.

Certainly, it should be noted that there are also people in Poland who deal with scientific or practical activities related to spatial planning. However, they are not being named as the "urban planners". However, I believe that the difference is not only in the dictionary definition of the word, but also in a different understanding and approach not only to the profession of urban planners, but to spatial planning as a system in general.

It is not a coincidence that Poland since 2014 is no longer an ECTP member. There is no representative from Poland on the list of signatories of the Founding Charter. The roads of the Polish and European urban planners have spread. The spatial planning paths have spread as well.

## 8. Who needs an urban planner in Poland?

The fact that in Poland we are talking more and more about the crisis of spatial planning and the profession of an urban planner is symptomatic. We are aware of the failures and shortcomings in shaping our Polish space. Spatial planning in Poland is not effective. It does not solve any major problems of modern urbanisation in Poland. It is not able to protect against the urban sprawl. It cannot ensure the vitality of city centres. It is unable to influence the quality of life of its inhabitants to a limited extent. This situation requires urgent reforms.

Only, is the urban planner, in the European meaning of this word, still needed in Poland? I hope so.

There is an urgent need in Poland for efficient spatial planning as well as the need for modern urban planners. Such planners should be sought by representatives of local authorities, so-called – originators. This need stems from the urgent need to revise the previously prepared planning documents, to prepare new analysis, including critical ones. It is necessary to formulate new goals, objectives and directions of spatial policy. The urban planners are finally needed by the planning originator as the only one who is able to organise the entire spatial planning process, which does not end with the adoption of a given project plan, but continues for the following years. The urban planner is needed by the planning entities as substantive support.

A modern urban planner is needed for science, after all. It is also needed for local or regional communities. He is able to communicate with them in order to disseminate knowledge about the need for effective spatial planning. It is necessary for urban movements and NGOs that are trying to influence the way of shaping urban spaces more and more effectively.

Such an urban planner needs a new Polish spatial planning system. However, it should be realised that changes must first take place within the system. These changes should create specific needs mentioned above. Only these needs can generate a modern Polish urbanist who will simply be a normal performer of public tasks in the common sense of the word. It will be a profession of public trust again.

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