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Mechanisms of densification of the city in the neoliberal economy - a case study: the surroundings of the eastern part of the former airport runway Rakowice-Czyżyny in Cracow

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Abstract. The article is a case study of land use planning in the surroundings of the eastern side of the runway of the former airport Rakowice-Czyżyny in Cracow. The area was chosen because it is an example reflecting the history of many urban spaces that are well connected externally, well equipped in infrastructure, and favourably located in the city. They are now the scene of an intense market game, which arrogates to itself the almost unlimited right to determine the land use. Therefore, a study was conducted to verify the knowledge in that field. The analysis was based, inter alia, on differentiated source materials (including historical ones), a survey of press materials (mostly local ones), interviews with residents, the field analysis carried out in the research area and data analysis (primary market of real estate). The chosen example allowed the authors to confirm the theorems on the growing threats to the spatial order in a situation of struggle between supporters of neoliberal urbanism and broadly defined new urbanism. The latter cannot exist without spatial planning but since 1990 in Poland we have been able to observe a crisis in this area. It leads to chaotic, too concentrated development in urban areas. This demonstrates that while the criticism of the new urbanism is in some dimensions justified, it cannot be used to legalize voluntary land development. This possibility of social and political permission for arbitrariness generates an “appetite” for space understood primarily as an economic good.

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1. Introduction

One of the main assessment criteria concerning the quality of land use planning is its long-term, multi-aspect rationality as well as the time of implementation suitable for the needs, since even reliably-prepared plans introduced after the development of land lose their importance and efficiency. Taking these aspects of the planning system into account, an analysis has been conducted, considering the case of developing the surroundings of the eastern part of the former airport runway Rakowice-Czyżyny as a representative one to confirm the importance of the issues defined above. The purpose of the article was to present the mechanism of managing the land available in the city under conditions of strong market pressure to maximize the use of space. The authors undertook this topic because discussion in Poland about cities should not only concern the topic of the consequences of urban sprawl and cities shrinking. It requires immediate attention to the ways of counteracting these trends. In this article these problems were presented in the context of selected theories of urban development.

2. Current trends in land use development of urban areas and metropolitan areas in the context of selected theories of urban development

In the long history of cities, science and practice have been looking for the adequate theory of their

development. It should identify the objectives of urbanization by designating the characteristics and properties of the target process of urbanization. The example analysed in this article requires some recalling of the theories and the ideas of urban development which started in the 1990s. One of the miscalled new urbanism, the assumptions of which were included in the “Charter of the New Urbanism” (Leccese, McCormick, 1999: V-VI). They concluded the following demands on modern city planning: “*communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice*”. These demands, formulated almost 20 years ago, met with criticism from multiple proponents of a more liberal treatment of urban space (e.g. neomodernism, deconstructionism, posturbanism). They often emphasized the utopian nature of the concept (Stephenson, 2002; Rees, 2003). One can agree with criticism of the strict and somewhat uncritical understanding for the idea of new urbanism. But then in Polish conditions, the level of distortion of criticism deprived it of the constituent elements and almost completely surrendered this doctrine to widely understood neoliberal urbanism combined with the dictate of market forces. Thus, the practice of the functioning of cities has forced out coherent city concepts (which arose in the meantime). This is particularly important because we can hear very often about the concept of a compact city, otherwise right, but easy to misinterpret, if you do not apply it together with the idea of a coherent city.

In view of these facts there are accumulating problems related to long-term rational land management. Specific problems related to an unfavourable spread of buildings occur in large cities. The main trend in Polish research concerning the space of cities in terms of their residential function and its arrangement is the process of urban sprawl and the co-occurring process of shrinking cities (for example the subject matter of the Polish Urban Planning Congresses or the series entitled 'The research on balanced development' published by the Catholic University of Lublin and the 'Human and Environment' Committee with the presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN)).

Meanwhile, within the administrative areas of metropolitan centres, another process occurs – the spot-related over-densification of residential construction areas resulting, firstly, in the decline in inhabitants' quality of life and, consequently, in increasing the costs of improving the created situation, i.e. by the necessity of conducting local government investments. Currently, there are still free areas suitable for residential construction which could be rationally developed and inhabited by new city residents. Therefore, there is no economically and socially justified necessity for spot-related over-density in large cities, which in addition makes these areas as dysfunctional because of the implementation of spatial development without a specific vision.

Not only Polish science, but also local government practice raise the subject of densification of large metropolitan centres within defined specific dimensions related to this phenomenon. The densification of metropolitan centres is treated as a tool that balances or decreases the influence of the aforementioned urban sprawl or is described and analysed as a phenomenon related to factors influencing migration decisions (Szymańska, 2008: 126-127). During the research concerning urban residential areas, the following issues are being analysed: spatial changes, diversification of construction forms (Marszał, Stawasz, 2006); also residential policy on various levels of government is being assessed and researched. Moreover, attempts are being made to select criteria evaluating the quality of this space, typologies of residential areas are being described and the influence of local planning on residential construction development is being assessed (Zapart, 1999).

Case studies concerning single urban units (Brodowski, 2012) focus on issues related to the unbalanced development of residential areas. However, they lack precise analysis of the influence of economic and legal factors on the space. General trends and regularities that shape the residential real estate market are defined. Furthermore, notice has been taken of the subject matter that refers to the repositioning of modernist and postmodernist housing estates which face the necessity of complementing and completing their structures (Ast, 2001). As for the inspirations that lead to the interest in the topic of spot-related over-density, apart from the authors own observed changes in the city of Cracow, there were also works of M. Kochanowski and T. Ossowicz (2009), among others. The authors draw attention to the necessity of searching for the critical point between the advantages of densification and the beginning of the increase in expenses and negative effects of the process.

One of the fragments of the Cracow area has been made the subject of this research. This results from long-term observations of the changes that were made within recent years in this area (also those made in residential areas). The observations allow a general statement that the area of Cracow is representative of the research on the topic as it shows all of the possible mistakes and distortions in Polish land-use management in the last two decades. The analysis of changes in forms of residential area management was conducted in the area of Nowa Huta as a former large district of Cracow, including five local government districts, namely: XIV – Czyżyny, XV – Mistrzejowice, XVI – Bieńczyce, XVII – Wzgórza Krzesławickie as well as XVIII – Nowa Huta (Chaberko, Kretowicz, 2012, 2014). The analysis was based on data originating from censuses and cartographic images of the area prepared by the authors. Their results are of a significantly more general character than the one suggested in this project. They indicate some regularities, namely changes in values of the parameters of the space, yet only in a general dimension for the analysed area, without indicating consecutive stages of area development or detailed factors that determine them. However, in their conclusions they will present an auxiliary source of observation assessment for the chosen research sample. The analysis of changes in the residential area as well as the

diagnosis of the state of the chosen housing estates was also conducted by the Institute of City Development, commissioned by the City Hall (*Wielokryterialna analiza...*, 2011). The aim of the research was to define the influence that both the land-use and strategic policies of the city authorities have on shaping a long-term, balanced and integrated development on the level of a housing estate, a district and a city.

The topic of the importance of not only spatial planning, but also that of strategic planning, to the shaping of new development, according to the guidelines of balanced development was analysed in numerous scientific researches (Parysek, 2005, 2006; Gorzym-Wilkowski, 2006; Izdebski at al., 2007; Kamiński, 2008; Masik, 2012). In the studies of these authors both issues related to the preparation of new canons of spatial economy and repair programmes of the present state are raised. Attention is given to the specific conditions of Poland (as well as those of other post-communist countries) where, after several decades of central planning, a specific form of capitalism was accepted. It results from the desire to move away from the solutions which consider the possibility of planning development (also in the spatial dimension). The Polish neo-liberalism, created in 1990, has left room for activity to commercial subjects which, for the sake of short-term profit, have depreciated the space, including that of large cities. Entering the world of capitalism in such a form, we have thereby become victims of our own history who have unarguably rejected the planning standards in those fields in which their existence is not discussed in civilised capitalist countries.

Good planning practice determines local plans as the so called 'timeless' element in those countries and is therefore very persistent and extremely rarely changed. The presence of such studies is an obvious postulate and interference in their preparation is of rare occurrence (Jędraszko, 2005). In the presence of such legal and political circumstances, the choice of the researched area and the aim of the study becomes a voice in the discussion regarding necessary changes in thinking about strategic planning of development as well as about trends in these changes that are desired and possibly most effective in the long run. This discussion is needed for both scientists and the operators directly determining the shape of Polish urban space (a great example of the

debate on the desirable directions of the spatial organization of cities is that concerning the Town of Jeziorna (more: www.tup.org.pl).

3. The research methodology and the area of analysis

The objective of the research has imposed the need to use one of the qualitative research methods which is the case study. This method allows researchers to analyse the long-term process of managing the space of the selected area in a way that is not possible to describe in numerical analysis. The analysis was based on very diverse data sources. The results of the tests carried out in the form of a case study will be in the future the basis for such an analysis, where the selected spatial parameters will be compared to the period before the start of spontaneous area densification. At the moment this is not possible, because the process of densification continues. The premise of the case study method was to confirm in an empirical way the arguments in the ongoing discussion about how to choose the right theory as a basis for the orientation of urban development in Poland. The selection of the area was made in a targeted manner. The selected space is well located in the city, has urban infrastructure and developed communication links with other parts of the city. It is also a space in which urbanization began before 1990, thus it gives the possibility of comparisons of the then and current approach to land use planning. Such free zones as presented in the article still exist in many Polish cities (sometimes in their centres). Each of them takes or will take a part in a market game where victory will tilt the scales on the side of liberal or (unlikely) conservative parties.

The researched area covers the immediate surroundings of the eastern part of the former airport runway Rakowice-Czyżyny. Administratively it consists of two housing estates: Dywizjonu 303 (the 303 Squadron) to the north of the runway and II-go Pułku Lotniczego (the 2nd Air Force Regiment) to the south of the runway. These units were created when the area stopped being used as an airport. It was decided to close the airport in 1963 (its physical disassembly was not started until 1973). The

decision was made by the assembly of central authorities; however, it should be noted that it was preceded by a discussion in the National Council in Cracow during which the opinions concerning the Rakowice-Czyżyny Airport were strongly divergent. Several different arguments were presented; however, only one suggested by S. Juchnowicz Ph.D. is worthwhile mentioning in the context of the topic of this article. He stated that the airport should

not be closed and Cracow should not be extended in the East-West direction. An argument supporting this opinion was the deterioration of living conditions and of the airing of the city (Kasprzycki, 2010). Nevertheless, the decision to close the airport and develop the released areas was brought into effect. The plan of development was prepared and the post-airport buildings were assigned for new purposes. The field of the runway was retained (Fig 1).



Fig. 1. Spatial conditions and the state of development of the area situated near the former airport Rakowice-Czyżyny in Cracow in 1965 with the selected research area

Source: Cartographic studies viewer, satellite picture 1965, Cracow City Council, (DoA: 01.10.2013)

As a result of the development of transport connections, it was divided into two parts. The western one was entered into the national monuments record and is used by the Aviation Museum (the cavalrymen's barracks of the 2nd Air Force Regiment with the airport's office, the officers' casino and the hangar from 1915 by Ułanów and Akacjowa streets, all being parts of the Rakowice-Czyżyny Airport complex, were also registered as a national monument between the years of 1997 and 2011). The eastern one divides the two above-mentioned hous-

ing estates and is only under restoration protection. It is registered in the voivodship's (voivodship – administrative region of the 1st order) and the gmina's (gmina – administrative region of the 3rd order) monuments record. Initially, the housing construction of the area was supposed to be a single unit under the name of the Airport Housing Estate, for which purpose a housing association was established in 1978 (later, the area was divided into two separate housing developments). It was anticipated in the investment plan that a total number of 57 buildings

should be built (7.6 thousand apartments) (Informator spółdzielni mieszkaniowej Czyżyny, 2013). The plan was brought into effect. After its implementation in the area there still remained many spaces with undefined functions (especially the former runway and most of the neighbouring plots). On the basis of field research, it was found that they were annexed by the residents to the functions of informal recreation areas, parking and a separate space for informal driving practice. In the immediate vicinity of the runway two hills were created for winter sled meetings. Many times the runway was used as a location for cultural events, and entertainment for the residents. Their main organizers were Spółdzielnia Mieszkaniowa “Czyżyny” (The Czyżyny Housing Association) and educational institutions from the area (information based on a survey of local publications, including “Informator spółdzielni mieszkaniowej Czyżyny 2013” (Bulletin of the Czyżyny Housing Association), websites of educational institutions, local and regional press

and interviews with residents. The runway was also used as a road and footpath, although never formally had this status. Such use of the runway results from the unfinished process of creating the road system in the analysed area. Practically there is no formal road and pedestrian connection between the two analysed housing estates (except from the one-lane Uniwersału Połanieckiego (Polaniecki Proclamation) St., which runs along the border of the study area). Thus, the area of the two housing estates (approximately resembling a square form) was contractually “cut through” the runway. These informal road and walking areas in some sense have repaired this situation. But they are currently, however, already impossible to use, because new investor have enclosed the runway, preventing passage. A similar situation applies to the largest investment of the Budimex company, which ultimately is going to make a fence around the area of Avia investment. Until now, the area has been covered with a network of informal pedestrian paths.



Fig. 2. The state of development of the area neighbouring the former Rakowice-Czyżyny airport in Cracow in 2011 with the selected research area

Source: Cartographic studies viewer, Photoplan 2011, Cracow City Council, (DoA: 01.10.2013 r.)

After 1990 both new housing and buildings with a complementary function (garage compartments, business premises) were built in the immediate neighbourhood of the runway. The Czyżyny Housing Association (Spółdzielnia Mieszkaniowa Czyżyny) built 11 blocks of flats (504 apartments), 430 garage compartments and 14 business premises. The layout of these buildings should be given a positive assessment as it presents a relatively well-ordered urban system which is fully functional without symptoms indicating excessive densification of space (1). The investments of the following developers are in the process of realization: Dasta Inwest – 2 blocks of flats (104 apartments, 9 business premises). It is also planned to construct two more multi-family buildings. Proins is building one block (84 apartments and over 1200 m² of business premises). Furthermore, a large investment is in the process of implementation by the Budimex Nieruchomości real estate company on the runway and in its surroundings. Two multi-family blocks of flats are already constructed, whereas 10 more blocks (2) (1300 apartments along with business premises) are presented in plans by people dealing with the distribution of apartments.

Pointing to the existing new forms of land use it should be added that, since 2012, the implementation of an interesting project of green space began. A former wild green area (plots No. 118/95, 118/98, which belong to the City of Cracow) became a mini-park called “Zielono Mi” Garden. It was the initiative of local social capital and the authorities of the District “Czyżyny” (information obtained in the District Council of Czyżyny). Currently the surroundings of the mini-city park area school, church and undeveloped parcels. These plots belong to private owners. In the future, in the absence of adequate control of the authorities, the park neighbourhood might be developed in a spontaneous manner, consuming the benefits of the created valuable green area.

The researched area is currently inhabited by around 11 thousand people, including 7 thousand in the Dywizjonu 303 housing construction and 4 thousand in the II-Pułku Lotniczego housing construction (The Bulletin of the Czyżyny Housing Association, 2013) (Fig. 2). There is no doubt that after finishing the started investments and putting them into use the number of inhabitants will change sig-

nificantly in a way that is currently difficult to assess (according to unofficial estimates 10 thousand residents may live in the new blocks of flats).

4. The history of land use planning in the researched area synthetic depiction

The area of the eastern part of the runway was defined in each General Plan (1967, 1977, 1988, 1994) as a public space zone that cannot be developed by multi-family or single-family (MW, MN) residential construction. In March 2007 the Małopolskie Voivodship Monument Conservator set the guidelines for the local plan for land-use development of the eastern part of the former runway prepared by the Land Use Planning Office in Cracow. This document clearly indicated that the area would not be developed. There was a proposition of a project that would be beneficial not only for the residents of the Dywizjonu 303 and II Pułku Lotniczego housing estates, but also for the rest of the people living in Cracow as the area was supposed to be a recreational zone open to the public. Later, at the beginning of 2008 detailed restoration guidelines were issued related to the development of the runway's eastern part. It was advised that the concrete surface should be kept along with the undeveloped walking paths and the height of buildings should be limited.

The above-mentioned restoration guidelines were taken into consideration in the City Monument Conservator's resolutions which agreed on consecutive projects of decisions that set the conditions of construction for development investments (multi-family residential buildings) in the researched area. It should be indicated at this point that the area of the runway itself was supposed not to be developed and that it should be used for leisure purposes (on the basis of official information presented by the Monument Protection Office of the Małopolskie Voivodship on 16.10.2013).

At that time the following facilities were designed on the runway (starting from its western part): a garden, a playground, a skate park, an inhabitants' meeting spot, a slide and periodic trade fairs and exhibitions. The areas marked by the symbols 22ZO, 23ZO and 24ZO were reserved for the route

of the fast tram – running under the ground or inside a completely covered excavation – as their basic purpose. The permissible purpose was, among others, the construction of devices serving the technical infrastructure related to the route of the fast tram, elements of decorative structures, temporary trade and gastronomy buildings and devices serving the technical infrastructure of local importance (The local plan of land use development of the Czyżyny-Runway

area in Cracow, the project including amendments resulting from agreements and opinions presented for public viewing from 30.09 to 28.10.2002. Phase 3, September 2002). The plan also defined the following: multi-family residential areas; areas of arranged greenery that are part of the inter-subdivision greenery system; areas of public services with accompanying greenery and areas of commercial services of local and inter local importance.



Fig. 3. Changes in the functional system within the runway (as of April 2014)

Source: Photos by Artur Hołuj and Google Earth

The primary instrument serving the purpose of land use policy and spatial development implementation is The Study of Conditions and Trends of Land Use Development of the City of Cracow (Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Krakowa). It is necessary at this point to raise the subject matter of the significance of local plans. It is obvious that when considering these documents in terms of their significance, the last one is the most important.

However, in the first years after the act from 27th March 2003 on spatial planning and development came into force, the obligatorily prepared Study was often the only depiction of this policy. The revocation of general plans designed before the year 2003 allowed, and in the significant majority of cases even ordered, the implementation of investments in accordance with administrative decisions (development conditions). Among the trends in developing the selected categories of areas in The Study of

Conditions and Trends of Land Use Development of the City of Cracow (2003) records were found that designated the following: defining the areas whose prevailing function is high intensity residential; the areas whose prevailing function is commercial services; the areas whose prevailing function is public services; and public greenery areas. Analysing the document of The Study, attention should be given to the borders of the areas assigned to the investments that end at the runway and at the areas of public greenery. The interest in an undeveloped area of a well-connected part of Cracow has grown, which is proven by the investors' interest in buying land properties located in the analysed area. Building lots were sold not only by private owners, but also by the gmina. Over five years ago, the then president of the XIV Czyżyny district asked in his interpellation to the President of Cracow why the city authorities sold gminas' lots allowing – at the same time – the development of the former runway surroundings (Wantuch, 2013) (Fig. 3).

In March 2010 the idea of preparing a local plan of the 'Czyżyny-Runway' land use development on the basis of the legal act from 7th July 1994 on land use development was abandoned. Next, according to the rules of law in force, conditions of development and construction permits were issued for several multi-family buildings. The subject agreement for the suggested form of development of the area seems to be interesting, especially in the context of the city of Cracow authorities' plans regarding the transport routes in the area of the former runway. As previously noted, in the local plan in force until the end of 2002 and in The Study from 2003, it was intended to reserve the area for the fast tram route and for a cycling lane. The confirmation of these plans' significance would also come from the decision issued by the Department of Municipal Utilities Management and Environment Protection in Cracow which indicated the necessity of moving the construction proposed by the 'Czyżyny' Housing Association away from the planned boarding platforms along the tram routes (according to the Opinion about the concept of investment area development: multi-family residential building with a cellar-level garage on lots no. 118/35 and 118/111 district 7, GO-06.7020/3757/05, Cracow City Hall, The Department of Municipal Utilities Management and Environment Protection, Cracow 10.10.2005).

Since 26 June 2013 there has been a new 'Czyżyny-Runway' City Plan of Land Use Development. However, the Plan differed from the actual state of development in the area surrounding the former runway since the day it was passed. The most noticeable are the disproportions in the arranged greenery areas ZP (green colour) and in the area protecting the route of the former Rakowice-Czyżyny airport's runway (pink hachures). According to the currently effective local plan, in the former case there is an order to introduce high greenery belts whereas in the latter there is a ban on location of buildings, with the exception of technical infrastructure buildings. Furthermore, in the western and in the eastern part of the runway, the necessity of using concrete protection of the genuine pavement was indicated (blue hachures). In fact, the issued administrative decisions have created a different system of development for this space. The ZP zone will be significantly decomposed by its development and the runway pavement will be a sports and leisure area, fenced for the security of the future residents of one of the implemented investments (according to the developer's press spokesman). This situation is formally and legally based on the effective rules of law in Poland. This is, undoubtedly, another example which shows very in-depth and individual interpretation of the property law. This attitude is even more interesting when potential interactions between the newly created space and its already-developed surroundings start being identified more intensely. Especially when it comes to using social and technical infrastructure. One of the investors indicates the surroundings of the newly-created housing estate on their homepage in which a nursery, kindergartens, primary schools, a high school, a children's club, a library and sports facilities are specified. All of the facilities are located outside the investment site, on the area of the already existing Dywizjonu 303 and II Pułku Lotniczego housing estates. The densification of this area will definitely deteriorate its functionality and capacity for transport links. There are no complex or competent actions conducted by the city of Cracow. At this point, a necessity arises that a deep analysis of economic results of land use planning should be conducted as this type of space arrangement will negatively influence the value of the already existing residential substance.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

The case of the surroundings of the eastern part of the former airport runway Rakowice-Czyżyny in Cracow seems to be, from the cognitive point of view, a characteristic essence of the problems related to the land use planning in Poland. The phenomenon of the densification of space itself should be considered, though, in two aspects. Firstly, as the one defined by local law described in a local plan created at the right time, that is before the beginning of the investment expansion on the area which has no chance of defence. The second aspect is development in a spatial, broader definition, practically uncontrolled (or seemingly controlled) when the issued administrative decisions (construction conditions) allow a very diverse form of Polish space urbanization. Let the space developed for the last 10 years, especially in urban areas where the local plan had not been prepared on time, be the testimony to this issue.

Surely, the synchronization of conducted actions has failed in the analysed example. Tardiness along with the lack of complex and integrated actions in creating an appropriate local law have led to the development of space that has already had its rich tradition among the inhabitants of Cracow. Such an omission, however, does not characterize the operations of commercial investors. Through zoning approvals the annexation of areas without the function for the purposes of high-intensity residential development has happened. By creating new residential spaces those plots used informally by the local community were gone. Those decisions decreased the quality of life, worsened the functional structure of land and reduced the amount of green and public open space areas.

What is more, the exclusion of greenery and open public space zones from this area means the loss of benefits resulting from balanced development of urban space. Selling land properties by the city authorities, lack of broadly-understood foresight in spatial planning and, finally, the helplessness of Cracow authorities towards the investors' actions conducted on the basis of previously-issued administrative decisions are all problems that need to be relatively quickly solved here in Poland. The cause and result relationship, especially in terms of

urban space creation, requires from decision-makers a detailed and thoughtful identification and verification of not only occurring but also potential effects of the urban tissue management. Densification is necessary, but it cannot be implemented blindly without a plan, and thus without considering the needs of people or institutions already using the space. Currently in Cracow research is being conducted to create a new Study. In the graphic section of the draft amendments to the Study presented for public viewing between 18.06-29.07.2013 (Trends in development of distinguished land categories, Spatial structure, trends and principles of development, K1) the areas of service industry construction and multi-family residential construction (UM) are predominant in the analysed area of the former runway. In contrast, the arranged greenery areas (ZU) were limited as compared to the current record of the local plan and maintained only in its central part. Moreover, the above-mentioned area of arranged greenery is partially assigned to another purpose, different from before, namely: to UM (its western part) which indicates that greenery zones are still limited in areas of significant intensity of residential construction. According to current legislation the contents of the local plan and The Study should be consistent. Therefore, after the resolution of the new Study in its unvaried form, a change in the local law in a way that adjusts it to the issued administrative decisions concerning construction conditions will be necessary.

Searching for the way to rescue the runway from development in 2011, the councillors of the Czyżyny district decided to apply for the registration of the area in the register of monuments (Stuch, 2013). The decision of the Voivodship Monument Conservator as well as the registered constructions were described in section no. 2 in this article. Significant from the cognitive point of view is the reason why the eastern part of the former runway was not included in such a register. The opinion about the former runway issued by the Monument Protection Office of the Małopolskie Voivodship states that the airport's runway is a hardened terrain which, as a construction, presents historic value only when considering its functional relation to the complex of the airport (the structure was built for utilitarian purposes only and therefore presents no artistic values). The eastern part of the runway was laid with concrete in the

1950s, so relatively late, and its construction and technical solutions are of no significant historic value. However, it was emphasized that, as a whole, the runway is an important element of the airport's construction complex as well as of the landscape and presents the appearance of a material document of the whole layout. The investments implemented in the 1960s and 1970s, that is the division of the runway into two halves, the Stella Sawickiego street and the construction of Dywizjonu 303 and II Pułku Lotniczego housing estates have caused the disconnection of the functional and spatial relation between the eastern and the western part of the runway. That is why the eastern part of the runway also presents no value for the planned Air Cultural Park. Neither can it be related to the Air Picnics organized by the Museum. Therefore, only the western part of the runway was registered as a monument (on the basis of official information presented by the Monument Protection Office of the Małopolskie Voivodship on 16.10.2013). This argument has become a weapon in the hands of the multitude of property owners owning the plots covering the former runway. With the official denial of the importance of the area, with the absence of a local plan, the route to the unlimited consumption of the economic benefits arising from assets is open. Confirmation of this way of thinking was also included in the provisions of the project of Study and in response to the comments on the draft of it (responses included in Zarządzenie (Regulation) No. 1006/2014 and 221/2014 of the President of the City of Cracow. Remarks reported partially by the authors of the article).

In the analysed case an important role was performed by the division of property that results in a situation in which a few dozen owners would be potential opponents of conservation protection over their property. Undoubtedly, administering the public space requires a compromise of various circles. Also, it is necessary to balance the behaviour in which it is unacceptable to use the monument-protection legislation for the purpose of spatial planning. The planning process should be implemented on the basis of the local law, that is local plans of land use development, not seeming actions that consist in creating the need to protect the components of the space. A local plan, not a register as a monument, should be the antidote to the 'bad' undesired development.

This does not change the fact that the analysed area, despite its unsubstantiated historic value, possessed valuable characteristics noticed by the eye of balanced development in which the durability of space as well as its valorization for generations will be mainly appreciated in the future. Central Park in New York can serve as an example as nobody would have predicted its residual value at the moment of its creation. Maybe the preservation of the green public space in the area of the runway of the former airport today would share the same destiny as New York's park.

Using a legal exception to the rule (zoning approvals actually have become the basic rule in Polish spatial planning) the inhabitants of the study area were deprived of a wide variety of functions and spaces used collectively. Actually no alternative to the loss was created. And we can say undoubtedly that it is a loss indeed. This space omitted in the first land development plans formed after closing the airport did not become a functional desert. Local needs generated many makeshift land uses.

In relation to the above, the necessity of implementing changes in the spatial planning system in Poland seems to be indisputable. Legislation solutions, that 'allow' unpunished decisions about the possibilities of development for the areas not included in the local plan, should be recomposed as was indicated by numerous scientists. This impunity results from the possibility of issuing construction permits based on poor-quality decisions on construction conditions and location of public purpose investments. The densification of attractive areas on the basis of out-of-context quasi-planning studies often results in seeming short-term (often at the moment of purchase) satisfaction of the real estate user. In the long term, problems related to transport, social infrastructure accessibility and the changing value of the real estate occur. Competent spatial planning based on a local plan inscribed in a precisely-planned and previously-considered land use policy of the city could be an antidote to these issues.

Notes

- (1) In the second half of 2012 and in the first half of 2013 the authors conducted survey research in

two rounds of questioning the inhabitants of the analysed area. The survey concerned basic issues related to the quality of life; also, considering present spatial changes, one of the questions was directly related to the forms of development of the former runway. The total number of those surveyed was 1250, 62% of whom were inhabitants of the housing estate. The survey demonstrated clearly that current inhabitants of the settlements are satisfied with the quality of life. On the other hand, they are aware of the inevitability of negative changes associated with new forms of land use. More results are presented in the article: Hołuj, D. and Hołuj, A., Dostępność infrastruktury społecznej i technicznej na osiedlach mieszkaniowych z lat 80. w opinii mieszkańców os. Dywizjonu 303 i II Pułku Lotniczego w Krakowie. Stan obecny i prognoza (Availability of social and technical infrastructure for housing estates from the 80s in the opinion of the inhabitants of Squadron 303 and II Aviation Regiment estates in Cracow. Current status and the forecast – in Polish) (typescript).

- (2) The state of knowledge for 10.10.2013. The data on the investments acquired on the basis of interviews with sales offices of developers and housing offers contained on the websites of investors.

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