Effect of accessibility in housing complexes on shaping of beauty in the urban environment. Selected examples from Cracow

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Abstract: Attractiveness of the urban environment, most of all as a place of residence, but also as a place of recreation, work, and everyday activities is moulded by numerous factors, only some of which are purely aesthetic in nature. An important role can be also played by the functional aspect – that of accessibility as a possibility of moving around the urban structure freely. A tendency which is still commonly observed in contemporary housing investments is their complete or partial fencing. It is applied in suburban projects, as well as in broadly understood city centres. In the latter case it results in a private space with limited access, which often constitutes an actual barrier for pedestrian traffic and local traffic within the territory of the city district. This paper presents and analyses selected examples of several housing projects implemented in recent years in Cracow, as well as it examines the role which can be played by specific urban-planning and architectural aspects in moulding of the beauty of the city.

Keywords: accessibility, fenced housing estates, form of the city

Introduction

Beauty is a notion which is particularly difficult to define with reference to the city of parts thereof. It contains a considerable dose of subjectivity, although at the same time there are places the beauty of which is unquestionable and commonly recognised. Cities shaped during centuries-long processes of development and transformations, characterised by historical continuity, usually inscribe in this category, becoming important landmarks on the tourist map of the world¹. Amongst many other roles the city plays and needs it is to satisfy, it is still most of all the environment of man's residence. Creating conditions enabling to satisfy also the more complex needs should constitute the actual objective of actions undertaken within the scope of designing and managing of such a complex structure. Today, the tendency which seems to be getting more and more important is the conscious creation of the image of the city, 'branding' of some sort, which most often is based on highlighting selected features of the image, such a skyline containing characteristic structures. Sometimes the urban layout comes to the fore, a good example of which seems to be e.g. Barcelona, which succeeds in building its recognisability and uniqueness based on a regular grid of the *Eixample* project².

As early as in the 1960s, K. Lynch was one of the first to write about the appearance of the city and the possibility of conscious creation of its 'image', at the same time proposing effective tools allowing to link a flat drawn

¹ Although the term 'urban tourism' is much more capacious and comprises a vast array of behaviours and activities, it can be generalised that it is a type of tourism, where the city and the attractions offered by it become the goal of the trip. Obviously, this is not a new phenomenon. It suffices to mention the tradition of 'Grand Tours', developing since the 14th century, although today this tendency becomes more and more common [2].

² www.bcd.es - access on 17.09.2016.

map with the actual visual perception of space. Referring to the quality of the urban space, he emphasised the role of conscious arrangement, of composition of individual elements, which by operating within the scheme of a greater whole have their effect on the way the city is perceived [23, 25]. In Poland, K. Wejchert, working, as it were, on the foundation of the theory coined by Lynch, emphasises the decisive role of spatial composition 'in creating living condition in urban organisms' [36, p. 150]. Entering the realm of feelings and emotions, he claims that 'man's happiness will depend to a great extent on the architecture of space' [36, p. 272]. Today the condition of an individual towards the urban environment, their sense of well-being, is a value brought down to measurable indictors and subjected to diversified analyses [35]. According to a survey carried out recently, a place which offers the highest living standard among cities in Vienna, which outran other capital cities of Europe and all over the world. The survey took into account many economic, social and other aspects; none of them, however, referred even indirectly to aesthetics³. Hence a question arises whether beauty truly has such a minor effect on the measurable quality of life. Or perhaps we just reach for tools enabling to measure this beauty way too rarely⁴. J. Rykwert observes that 'deliberations on the physical form of the city are believed to be too old-fashioned or aesthetic, and therefore not serious enough to be taken into consideration' [33, p. 30]. However, as R. Florida et al. [8] demonstrate, there is a direct relation between the beauty of the urban environment and the level of satisfaction among the community that inhabits it.

The beauty of the city as a residential environment can be approached by means of the classification proposed by W. Kosiński [14], who proposes the following components: the beauty resulting from the landscape form, from the urban layout, and the beauty of architecture. Co-existence of these three values, therefore, decides about the attractiveness of the city of a part thereof. As W. Kosiński further observes, the beauty of the city should become the subject matter of research not only in the field of aesthetics, but also of empirical and analytical research, which will lead to conscious designing creation. What seems to be particularly interesting from the perspective of this article is the mutual relation of the two latter factors and their participation in the evaluation process. Whereas, by means of simplification, architecture can be approached as an arrangement of individual forms, the aesthetics of which remain combined with the current tendencies in art, the urban layout escapes simple assessments. Due to its complexity, extent, and transformations it is subjected to, it opens up the way to different kinds of perception [13]. Observation of sequences of empty spaces and buildings, panoramas and views, is a natural experience of each city 'user', communing – often unconsciously – with the factor of composition. Despite the existing theories, it is difficult to recognise that cities develop spontaneously according to mathematical rules of self-organisation, or that space in its physical form is a social construct [19]. Specific decisions are made by persons or groups, which due to the current balance of forces have the biggest effect on the physical form of the urban layout. 5 Contemporary cities, as M. Dymnicka writes, 'constitute experimental laboratories of innovation and backwardness, affluence and poverty, 'cancer' and foundation of the world at the same time' [6].

Good form of the city

From the perspective of empirical research it is much easier to talk of a 'good' instead of 'beautiful' urban form, although in the philosophical approach these terms sometimes intermingle⁶. In several last decades many attempts have been made to define it in light of dynamically changing social, economic, and political conditions. Concepts which are worth attention among the arising and developing ideas are e.g. the concept

- 3 www.imercer.com access on 21.09.2016. Similar results are provided by a study of the European Commission, assessing the quality of life in cities in 2015. Among many questions that where answered by respondents, the ones devoted to the level of satisfaction with the condition of streets and buildings and of public spaces (such as e.g. pavements and squares) were the closest to the field of aesthetics. In Vienna, which in this study, too, took the lead, the result was 88%; interestingly enough, the same indicator e.g. in Lisbon was only 40% [30]
- 4 This factor appears as one of the most important ones in the assessment of the quality of the city in an approach other than the morphological one, e.g. in the economic approach, although researchers emphasise that 'there are not enough studies determining the role of beauty of architecture'. [9].
- 5 In literature they are dubbed 'the agents of change' [5].
- 6 Sometimes beauty is approached as a synthesis of other values of the Platonic triad, although it is only one of many ways this notion can be interpreted [16], [38], as well as [7].

of 'the compact city'⁷, 'smart city'⁸, 'eco-city'⁹, 'creative city'¹⁰, determining also the mode of functioning and relations of the city versus the region, or pertaining to the organisation of the very form of the system, e.g. of 'New Urbanism'¹¹. It is assumed that by implementing the programmes referred to above it will be possible to shape the built environment in the spirit of sustainable development¹². Studies devoted to urban morphology introduce the notion of tissue as the basic material of the form of the city [17], [18]. The quality of the tissue will, therefore, have a decisive effect on the perception and evaluation of the entire layout, which comprises also such elements as functioning, social relations, and development potential. Adopting the criteria constructed by K. Lynch, we can assume that a good urban space should be characterised by:

- Vitality, understood as a biological ability to support life functions,
- Sense, which can be translated as identity, uniqueness, recognisability,
- Fitness, simply meaning the ability to satisfy the needs of the community and to adapt to changing behaviour.
- Access to other places and people, but also to different resources, information, and activities,
- Control performed by users and residents, who have their effect on the shape and functions of the place.

Additional meta-criteria mentioned by Lynch: effectiveness and equity, do not have a direct connection with the physical form of space, and their task is to determine an appropriate convenient manner of distribution of the costs incurred, as well as of the potential benefits [24].

The indicators referred to above, eventually formulated in the 1980s, due to their universality and a big potential of interpretation, seem to be applicable also today, when many challenges of the contemporary urban planning have remined in the theoretical phase.

Access as a form evaluation criterion

In the context of the emerging new housing projects, the factor of access comes to the fore as it is particularly important in case of locations inside the existing urban tissue. Lack of access, creating barriers, especially for the pedestrian traffic, contributes to the reduction of the quality of life, most of all in regions surrounding selected enclaves. In case of fenced housing estates or buildings, with controlled access, negative phenomena connected with separating parts of the space may comprise e.g. closing streets, no entry streets, hampered access for emergency services, fragmentation and disintegration of the urban tissue, creation of areas which do not foster social contacts [34]. Possible consequences include the need to use car transport instead of walking and cycling [22], although this phenomenon is encountered predominantly in vast, peripheral projects.

For the sake of an analysis of selected examples, one might venture to clarify and restrict this term. It is assumed that broadly understood access stands for the possibility of free movement and choosing convenient, also the shortest, routes, the easiness of reaching the destination and benefitting from all sorts of services, including recreation and rest, the possibility of satisfying basic needs in the closest neighbourhood. It is worth pointing out that such relations are usually characteristic for historical, compact urban systems [15], [17], [28]. Access defined this way may depend on the following interrelated parameters, which will be analysed in the selected cases:

- Size of the city block or an area separated by public roads
- Orientation of buildings towards roads, which also determines the character of the street interior
- Conditions for pedestrian and cycling traffic
- 7 Cf. e.g. [1],[12], [27], [29], [37].
- 8 Cf. e.g. [4].
- 9 Cf. e.g. [32].
- 10 Most of all works by R. Florida and Ch. Landry, cf. also [4].
- 11 Present most of all in the United States of North America. Cf. e.g. [3].
- 12 It is the broadest term, comprising all activities aiming to improve the well-being of present generations without any reduction of the chances of our successors to reach this state. It consists in two main concepts: satisfaction of needs most of all of the poorest, and limitations imposed by the state of the environment and the opportunities offered by technology, http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm access on 11.10.2016. Cf. also [35]

- Relations between a closed space and a space open to the public¹³, demarcation methods
- Diversity of the offered functions as the generator of pedestrian and local traffic.

Case of the district Krowodrza in Cracow

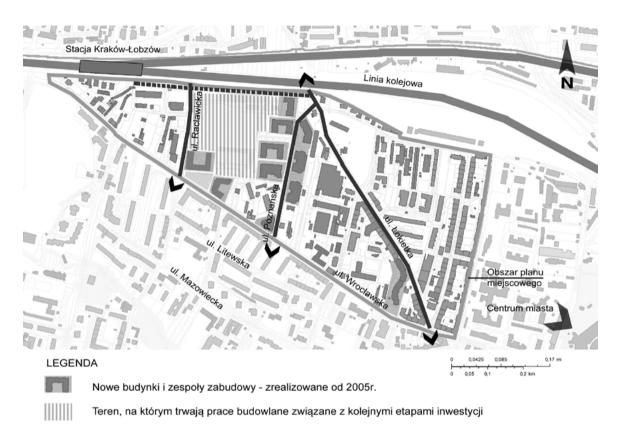


Fig. 1. Scheme of the new development.

Author's scheme on the basis of materials available at: http://msip.um.krakow.pl/msip/

The western part of Cracow is seemingly the most densely invested zone, where big production plants were built rather occasionally, there are also no typical housing estates with large-panel prefabricated blocks of flats there. There are, however, many areas which still can be used for new investments. One of the location when a specific development pressure can be observed, is the area along the railway line leading towards the west. The vicinity of the Royal Palace in Łobzów¹⁴, the park sequence of the former watercourse of the Młynówka Królewska river¹⁵, or the vicinity of the historical city centre make this location unique in the scale of the city. Until recently, this area was occupied by industrial plants and halls belonging to the Krowodrza Technology Park, Anczyca printing house, etc.; today most of them have been demolished and construction works on several projects are in progress now. The historical urban tissue of the nearby centre of Cracow creates a regular, relatively dense grid of streets and blocks. Compact, frontage architecture, characteristic for city centres, which

¹³ A more obvious differentiation may seem to be the division into the public and private space; nevertheless, according to the Author this division is not precise enough as the private space may be fully accessible, or – which is much more common – completely closed. In the categories of building and functioning of the urban tissue, access or lack thereof seems crucial. Cf. e.g. [21],[22].

¹⁴ Today the building belongs to the Cracow University of Technology and houses – without limitations – the Faculty of Architecture and the Faculty of Physics.

¹⁵ Providing water for e.g. the moat at the defence walls, the system of mills, and being the source of potable water for Cracow [26].

towards the west becomes more relaxed, intermingles with the territory of a villa housing estate from the early 20th century, which today is one of the most attractive parts of the city¹⁶.













Fig. 2. 1. First of the buildings planned as the '5th district' development. 2. New buildings along Poznańska street, seen form the construction site. 3. Second row of buildings anong Poznańska street. 4. Poznańska street – view towards the north. 5. Fenced housing along Poznańska street. 6. Buildings' orientation along the new fragment of internal road. Author's photo

One of the first new investments implemented in this area is a relatively small housing estate called 'Fabryka Czekolady' (Chocolate Factory)¹⁷, erected in the place of one of the branches of the 'Wawel' chocolate factory, transferred in 2006 to Dobczyce near Cracow¹⁸ and covering the area of nearly 88a¹⁹. The complex, located at the junction of Wrocławska and Łokietka streets, at the edge of the historical block urban structure, will consist of four buildings²⁰, with the total of 72 apartments. The building which is the closest to Łokietka street forms a frontage along its section, whereas the rest of the building bends in gentle arches towards the centre of the plot, beyond the frontage. This complex of calm, modernising architecture, is completely fenced and provided with access control, creating a typical closed enclave. Another part of the project along Poznańska street²¹ consists of detached buildings, erected within the scheme of different investments²². Some of them have the character of extended urban villas with service outlets on ground floors, some of them are fully residential buildings. They shape the space of the city in different ways, only partially forming a frontage, which is continued by means of fences demarcating private spaces in the vicinity of individual buildings. This large-scale investment, in the media referred to as 'the 5th district', which is suggested by a fully functional fragment of the city, so far consists of two buildings at Wrocławska street, the remaining vast area reaching as far as to the railway line being prepared for development, but its final form is not known so far²³. Development of such a big area of the city, one may conclude, is left as a field of activities of several developers holding individual parts of the area. A detailed analysis can refer only to the existing buildings or structures the construction of which is in progress, which most probably constitute only a small fraction of larger projects, and the final form of this crucial part of the city 24 is still unknown. The local development plan for the area 'Łobzów – area of Łokietka and Wrocławska streets'25 is rather general in the determination of the intended use and traffic connections, leaving great freedom in the design of the built environment and spatial relations on the demarcated areas. Location along the railway line constituting a serious spatial barrier, influencing the functioning of this part of the city, seems to be an additional factor which may hamper the integration of this new area with the surrounding structure.

Analysis based on the set criteria

At this stage, the size of the city block is a value difficult to be determined in case of a new project the majority of which is still not implemented. Nevertheless, as it can be concluded from the provisions of the local spatial development plan, the only public roads in the area in question will be the existing Poznańska, Wrocławska, and Łokietka streets, as well as an access road planned to be built along the tracks, which will demarcate a sort of a 'super-block' with the side length of 350m. It should not be assumed that contrary to the provisions of the plan this area will be additionally perforated with a traffic route accessible to the public. Nevertheless, nuisances caused by excessive car traffic are quite considerable and must not be disregarded; a public road also fulfils a citygenic [11], or 'tissue-genic', role [20], [28]. In the surrounding structure, in places where the logic of the existing road system allows to separate a form of the city block, most often its size does not exceed

- 17 Built according to a design by a Cracow-based studio 'Studio S', www.studios.krakow.pl access on 09.09.2016.
- 18 www.wawel.com.pl access on 08.09.2016.
- 19 According to the Author's measurements on the basis of the materials available on the website http://miip.geomalopolska.pl/imap/ access on 28.09.2016.
- 20 Two of them have been completed to date. Others, including the building which is to form the frontage of Wrocławska street, are in progress.
- 21 Until recently a dead end, today quite awkwardly linked to the nearby Łokietka street.
- 22 It is the location of buildings designed e.g. by Cracow-based studios 'Skoczek-Wojdacki' and 'B2 Studio'- http://investmap.pl/ access on 01.10.2016.
- 23 Developers' websites contain only photographs and visualisations of buildings which are on offer at the moment; considering the construction works in progress, the absence of the overall concept is quite puzzling, cf.: http://www.murapol.pl/, http://poznanska10.pl/, http://terracasa.pl/, http://www.muratorplus.pl/, as well as http://msip.um.krakow.pl/msip/, where one can only learn that the areas in question are subject to many sometimes overlapping decisions on the development conditions.
- 24 Covering over 25ha according to the Author's measurements on the basis of the materials available on the website http://miip.geomalopolska.pl/imap/ access on 28.09.2016.
- 25 The procedure of drawing up the plan currently in force is available on the website www.bip.krakow.pl.

200 m²⁶, which enables to move around and change directions freely. In case of architecture from the 1970s and 1980s, partially embedded in the surrounding tissue, a completely free flow of the pedestrian traffic is possible between individual buildings²⁷, and so is reaching service outlets or public transport routes located along the main streets.

The location of buildings in the space and their relation to the roads, along with the first criterion discussed above, influence the physical shape and perception of the space in the most distinct way. The frontage, its continuity or lack thereof, orientation of the building, location of the entrance – all this is crucial for building urban interiors of a specific character. The structure of Poznańska street, which constitutes one of the edges of the new 'block', although it came into being over the last decade or so²⁸, is definitely heterogenous. Detached buildings face the street with their fronts or sides, along the frontage line, or are shifted, preceded with a sort of square. One may have an impression that the opportunity to create a street with urban features, or even features of the city centre, considering the location, has not been properly taken. It seems legitimate to refer to the structure of the historical centre of Cracow as a comparative value. The block development is connected with the need to legibly define the front of the building - it usually faces the road, is easily accessible, which fosters arranging service outlets on ground floors. Natural separation of public and private spaces takes place not by means of fences and barriers, but by the way the edges are formed and the buildings are positioned. In this context the development of the western side, near the junction with Racławicka street, seems to be more consistent in forming the space of the street. The buildings, simple and compact in their form, constitute – as it were - the beginnings of blocks, which perhaps will be continued. Their location respects the significance of the existing streets, as well as of the planned green square²⁹. The access to the buildings, as we can conclude on the basis of visualisations³⁰, is planned to be straight from the public space, and the ground floors will be occupied by service outlets.

The possibility of pedestrian and cycling traffic depends predominantly on the two values discussed above. Pedestrian routes can run long pavements of public roads, but also inside the planned spacious block³¹. The diversity of choice of the pedestrian route constitutes an encouragement to use this type of transport, which - as J. Gehl writes - 'strengthens the life of the city' [10 p.19]. The possibility of reaching one's destination conveniently in case of the pedestrian traffic is only one of the aspects, 'walking is a form of communication among people, who use the public space as a platform and setting for their activities' [10 p. 19]. In the area in question the rule of pedestrian accessibility is not legible yet. The previous utilisation was characterised by fragmentation and dispersion, access routes and roads to industrial and office buildings operated as extensions of the main street, whereas a vast majority of the area remained inaccessible. The railway tracks running along the northern edge constituted a strong barrier separating the tissue, and they still do, despite the pressure of the new buildings coming closer and closer, observed in recent years. In this context it may seem that the complete replacement of the development we witness today will automatically result in the improvement of the spatial order. This statement is not completely true. In the vicinity of Poznańska street we can observe projects which make use of the pedestrian routes located nearby, but which do not contribute to this system at all³², as well as structures which clearly demonstrate the effort to provide a higher quality social space³³. The continuity of pavements along the street is disturbed with driveways to underground garages and private parking spaces assigned to individual buildings. Along adjacent fences there are still narrow passageways leading to the buildings located in the second line, which have been there for years. Creating alternative pedestrian

²⁶ Due to the heterogeneousness of this part of Cracow, obviously this value is considerably simplified; for the sake of comparison, along a part of Królewska street a relatively regular grid of streets demarcates ca. 159m blocks.

²⁷ Block of flats at Mazowiecka, Litewska, and Wrocławska streets.

²⁸ The so-called 'Kamienice Herbowe' buildings were completed in 2009, the apartment building at 10 Poznańska street – in 2016, the buildings in the northern part of the street are under construction.

²⁹ Design by 'B2 Studio' for the company LC Corp. http://www.lcc.pl/pl/5-dzielnica – access on 03.10.2016.

³⁰ http://www.lcc.pl/pl/5-dzielnica – access on 03.10.2016.

³¹ As it is the case e.g. in the residential complex 'Wiślane Tarasy' in Cracow, where the pedestrian, having passed the gates of the security services, can move around the buildings freely, use the attractions of the pedestrian route in the seemingly public, but controlled space. The roads intended for car traffic dividing blocks of buildings are not public roads and are accessible only to residents and users. http://www.wislanetarasy.pl/ - access on 03.10.2016.

³² Like the 'Chocolate Factory' referred to above.

³³ Like in the building 'Poznańska 10', in front of which there is a small square designed with great care and attention to details.

routes, interconnected sequences of interiors, thanks to which it is possible to move around the city not only along the main roads, is a commonly observed global tendency, legible especially in historical cities³⁴, and the accessibility for pedestrians and important connections are determined at the stage of drawing up the local development plan.

In the relation between the open and closed space, the lack of any rule is perceivable again. In the area in question one can find fenced, controlled enclaves, where access to buildings located deeper is possible only from a private, closed space, as well as intermediate solutions, where most of the plot assigned to the building, except for the front elevation, is surrounded with a fence. Against this background, unfenced buildings clearly stand out – these are structures the surroundings of which have been designed as a public space³⁵, although it, too, is restricted, ending with a fence on the side of the neighbouring plot. Another phenomenon that can be observed is the secondary fencing of the existing buildings, which results in a maze-like form of access roads and pavements. Investments launched on the western side, located at Wrocławska and Racławicka streets, seem to follow a more urban layout, where the building elevation is a border of the public space. The architecture that is planned for the interior of this area is still unknown. Instead of the two structures referred to above, it might finally correspond to the layout commenced at Poznańska street, where by and large it is the fencing, and not the spatial structure, that decides about privacy or public accessibility.

The diversity of the functions offered with reference to the development which is planned to be a housing estate for several thousand people³⁶ constitutes a disputable issue. In some buildings along streets service outlets are planned in the ground floors, which perhaps will become elements enhancing the functioning of the public space. Simultaneously, however, fully residential buildings come into being, which do not make full use of the potential offered by the location inside the urban structure. Moving away from the street, putting a fence around the ground floor, makes it impossible to create an active, living front of the building. Minor commercial services, possibility of satisfying basic needs within a convenient distance - this is only one side of the problem. It can be solved without the need to go beyond the ground floors of the designed buildings. Their diversity, however, depends on the will of the tenants, which may lead to certain monotony, and eventually to the lack of the planned diversity. The second issue concerns the services of education, culture, recreation, catering, healthcare, etc., which most probably are not taken into account in the plans in force. Announcements encouraging to purchase apartments mostly emphasise the vicinity of the existing infrastructure, such as schools, pre-schools and day-cares, attractive green areas and sports facilities. Therefore, the use of the existing values will not be balanced with the construction of any new infrastructure which could serve the entire district. It is a common tendency, partly resulting from the imperfection of the planning model in force, further conditioned by economic factors. Whether we like it or not, access to the services referred to above will be limited in two ways: by the distance and barrier to be overcome, and by the receptivity of the existing structures³⁷. Lack of diversity may result in the creation of a bedroom suburb, which – deprived of appropriate facilities – will become an enclave excluded from the urban use, in the same way that industrial areas used to be inaccessible not so long ago.

³⁴ ike in case of many other successful projects from the field of urban planning, one can have a look at the example of Barcelona, where for more than ten years now attempts have been made to reclaim the city for pedestrians, e.g. by opening and developing interiors of city blocks, or by limiting the car traffic [31].

³⁵ It is the building 'Poznańska 10', referred to above, and – paradoxically – one of the first buildings to be erected here, the house called 'Dom pod klonami', located at the corner of Wrocławska and Poznańska streets, designed by 'Skoczek-Wojdacki'.

³⁶ Almost 1200 apartments have been built in the buildings already completed or still under construction to this day. Despite the fact that most of them are rather small (1 or 2 rooms), it increases the population of this district by ca. 3 thousand people. Assuming similar intensity of the next stages of development, it will offer another 1600 apartments for 4 thousand people. Source: the Author's calculations on the basis of the data provided on the websites of the investments: http://investmap.pl, /http://poznanska10.pl/, http://terracasa.pl/, http://www.lcc.pl/pl/5-dzielnica, http://www.murapol.pl, /http://www.urbanity.pl/ and on the portal of the city information http://msip.um.krakow.pl – access on 07.10.2016.

³⁷ According to the statistical data, in 2014 Krowodrza was inhabited by over 39 thousand people. Increasing this number by the assessed 7 thousand may change the functioning of this part of the city considerably.

Summary

It seems that the most obvious component of the image of the city is the architectural expression of buildings. Nevertheless, studies in the field of urban morphology devoted to the urban tissue demonstrate that in contrast to the urban disposition, most often legitimised with the ownership division, it is a parameter which can be subjected to relatively frequent changes³⁸; hence, in the long run its role in shaping the complete image of the city may be weakened. Even different articulation of elevations and the selection of finishing materials usually have a considerable effect on the architectural expression of the entire building. S. Gzell claims that 'when analysing the importance of architecture in the creation of the image of the city we must not forget that it depends even more on the quality of urban spaces (...), that is on what for years now we have called urban composition, creating the spatial order. It is no secret that this spatial order comes into being most certainly as a result of building large urban complexes, as they contain a code (...) of a high degree of spatial and functional coordination between individual elements of the whole. Consequently, large-scale systems decide about the image of the city' [12, p. 71].

The analysed case can definitely be dubbed a large-scale one, and its significance in the scale of the city seems considerable. Individual stages, implemented independently from one another by separate entities, are characterised by a certain degree of accidentally. Despite the fact that the projects in question mostly do not inscribe in the most classic system of closed housing estates, they do not satisfy the set criteria determining the quality of the tissue by means of the accessibility, either. Only to a certain extent can attractive architecture of individual buildings compensate for the observable weakness of the spatial layout, where the public space has been reduced and deprived of continuity. Beauty in the city occurs as a result of harmonious cooperation of a good urban form and high-quality architecture.

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³⁸ As P. Larkham writes, 'Carried further, morphological studies have also tended to show that there is a hierarchy of change within urban features. Buildings can change fastest, from alterations to complete demolition and replacement, in reaction to changing use requirements including an owner's desire to personalise a house (...). Most resistant to change is the street network (...). Nowadays, the investment in underground infrastructure beneath our streets helps to fossilise this pattern still further' [18].

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