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IMPACT ON INVESTMENT PROJECTS ON THE SPATIAL ORDER AND THE IMAGE PERCEPTION OF ZAKOPANE TOWN

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Summary

The aim of this article is to determine the impact of the investment activities on the spatial order and the image perception of the city of Zakopane. The research is based upon the analysis of spatial planning in Poland, as a comprehensive action related to the rational management of space; as well as the survey (by questionnaire) carried out among 61 respondents. Activities carried out by public authorities and citizens, as well as the investment projects they undertake, have been having a huge impact on the spatial order, and on the perceived image of the analysed town. The changes, which have been made, affected the vertical and horizontal spatial infrastructure of the city, causing many problem situations related to the blurring of boundaries between areas of varying functions, and interfering with the spatial order through improper planning decisions, thus leading to disharmony between the newly created buildings and the already existing built environment.

Keywords

spatial planning • sustainable development • spatial order • investment projects

1. Introduction

When undertaking a business activity, man makes an impact on the functioning of respective areas, while at the same time, he is shaping their structure. It is up to individual investors how to use the land being their property, however, private land development projects may not be in conflict with other participants in the land (space), or with the generally applicable law. Public authorities, as the coordinators of spatial activities, can influence the transformation of space through properly conducted planning and management. Performing tasks in this field is possible thanks to a rational economy, taking into account the specificity of the place and the conditions that exist within it.

Spatial planning is equated with a given type of land use, as well as the degree of transformation of the land via human activity. It is also the result of the activities of

spatial planning, however, the land planning itself is but one of its instruments, used to manage the development of a given territorial unit. A dynamic and equitable development of all areas is supported by a properly conducted spatial policy, which covers the activities by the governing bodies and agencies, aimed to control, integrate and support development activities, particularly in relation to the formation of space [Baranowska-Janota et al. 1998].

Space is a good (resource), which cannot be described with standard features, as it has a special character. It is subject to the principles of economy, pertaining to achieving optimum effects with the given resources – yet we must keep in mind that it can not be extended. Having the ownership of a particular piece of space (land) puts its owners under an obligation to consider the opinions and interests of other people involved in the shaping of that space (land); therefore it can be concluded that the space (land) is not a "good" subjected to the market laws in an unrestricted way [Gawroński 2012]. That is why it is very important that all the tasks related to the management of space must be carried out in accordance with the principle of sustainable development, that is understood as a "socio-economic development, in which the process emerges of integrating the political, economic and social concerns, while maintaining natural balance and sustaining basic natural processes, in order to guarantee the possibility of satisfying the basic needs of individual communities or citizens of both the present generation and future generations," [Ustawa... 2001]. This is not forgetting the formation of spatial order, by which we mean "such shaping of space (land) that creates a harmonious whole, and accounts for all functional, socio-economic, environmental, cultural, and compositional-aesthetic conditions and requirements, in structured relationships." [Ustawa... 2003a].

On the basis of the Act of 27 March 2003 on Planning and Spatial Development (consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2016 item 778), it can be stated that the requirements of spatial order are an essential element of planning and land use. The achievement of spatial order is possible due to the continuation of the functions of individual areas, and by the adaptation to the existing building alignments. New buildings need to be adapted to those buildings already constructed in earlier periods. Mismatch of dimensions, architectural styles, or functions can disrupt the spatial order [Skrenty 2011].

Spatial planning system in Poland is related to, among others, the territorial division of the country, and the decentralization of power. Political transformation entailed a different division of powers between the agencies of public administration. The municipality, which constitutes the basic unit of territorial division, makes the most important decisions related to the functions of respective areas and the changes introduced thereto. Spatial planning also takes place at national and regional levels, but the planning documents drawn up by the government administration and local government of the province do not have the force of law, as opposed to the local spatial development plans, elaborated and issued at the municipal level, which constitute applicable local law, to which all participants in the process of space management must adhere; including: citizens, public authorities and institutions [Gawroński 2007].

Using the instruments of planning and taking action in the field of spatial development as well as meeting the needs of society is possible thanks to the analysis of the given territorial unit, carried out at the initial stage of any given project. The diagnosis of its situation, and identification of the needs of its inhabitants, is the starting point in the formulation of development guidelines for the area in question.

The aim of the present study is to determine the impact of the investment activities, as they are carried out, on the spatial order and the image perception of Zakopane town.

2. Subject and methods of the study

The town of Zakopane, which is the subject of the present study, is a city which doubles as a municipality (city on municipal rights), inhabited by 27 442 people (as of the year 2015) [www1]. Its range covers an area of 8426 hectares [www1]. It directly adjoins the municipalities of Kościelisko, Poronin and Bukowina Tatrzańska. It is located in the southern part of Poland, in the Małopolska province (region), along the border with Slovakia. At the same time, it constitutes a central part of the Tatra county.

The town has been described on the basis of an analysis-study. The essential part of the work is a questionnaire (survey) that takes into account the opinions of the inhabitants of Zakopane and the neighbouring towns as well as the contributions by the tourists visiting the city. The questionnaire (Table 1) focused on the issues of planning, but it also touched upon the activities related to the management of historic buildings and the transformation processes taking place in the urban space. The results obtained allowed us to determine the impact of the investment activities, as they are carried out, on the perception of the town's image, and the actual spatial order of the analysed area. On that basis, recommendations were formulated, the implementation of which would improve the status of the town's development and the way it is perceived, at the same time allowing the pursuit of the spatial order.

The questionnaire consists of two parts. The first comprises general questions (demographics), enabling the identification of the respondent and assigning him/her to the appropriate group. The following criteria were taken into account: gender, age, education and relationship to the analysed area. The second part includes questions related to the promotion and advertising, the use of and access to historical objects, as well as spatial planning with respect to the analysed town. The questionnaire consists of single-choice questions, multiple-choice questions, and open questions. In the two cases of closed-ended questions, respondents were asked to provide specific examples. This solution made it possible, among other things, to identify specific ventures, investment projects, and facilities, which negatively affect the image of the city and its spatial order. The sample comprised 61 respondents – and therefore it is sufficient for the purpose of carrying out the study and drawing conclusions.

Table 1. Questionnaire with results of the study

Question Responses Gender Man Age 25-45 Status Inhabitant of Zakopane town Status Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist Petucation Secondary (1 level) Education Vocational Higher (university degree) Higher (university degree)				Percentage
Demographics Gender Man Woman 6 Age 25-45 25 6 25-45 45 10 Inhabitant of Zakopane town 25 Status Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane 25 Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist 25 Primary 25 Secondary (1 level) 26 Secondary (2 level) 26 Higher (university degree) 27	Question	Question		of responses [%]
Gender Man Woman C Age 25-45 6 18-25 45 6 25-45 45 25-45 Inhabitant of Zakopane town 3 3 Inhabitant of One of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane 3 Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist 3 Primary Secondary (1 level) 3 Secondary (2 level) Secondary (2 level) 3 Vocational Higher (university degree) 5			Demographics	
Age Voman Age 18–25 18–25 25–45 45 45 Inhabitant of Zakopane town 5 Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane 3 Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist 2 Primary Primary Secondary (1 level) 3 Vocational Vocational Higher (university degree) 5	-		Man	60.7
Age 18–25 18–25 25–45	-	Gender	Woman	39.3
Age 18–25 6 25–45 45 45 5 45 45			<18	0.0
Status Status Status Education Education A55-45 Inhabitant of Zakopane town Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist Primary Secondary (1 level) Secondary (2 level) Wocational Higher (university degree)	,	~~~	18–25	63.9
Status Status Inhabitant of Zakopane town Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist Primary Secondary (1 level) Secondary (2 level) Wocational Higher (university degree)	7	Age	25-45	26,2
Status Inhabitant of Zakopane town Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane Status Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist Primary Primary Secondary (1 level) Education Secondary (2 level) Higher (university degree)			45 <	6.6
Status Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist Primary Secondary (1 level) Secondary (2 level) Secondary (2 level) Thigher (university degree) Higher (university degree)			Inhabitant of Zakopane town	37.7
Education Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist 2 Primary Secondary (1 level) 3 Secondary (2 level) 3 Vocational Higher (university degree) 5	3	Status	Inhabitant of one of the towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane	32.8
Education Education Education Higher (university degree)			Person visiting Zakopane town as a tourist	29.5
Education Secondary (1 level) Secondary (2 level) Vocational Higher (university degree)			Primary	0.0
Education Secondary (2 level) Vocational Higher (university degree)			Secondary (1 level)	0.0
	4	Education	Secondary (2 level)	36.1
			Vocational	6.5
			Higher (university degree)	57.4

		Part 2	
		Very positive impact	1.7
	What impact do the spatial planning activities by the	Positive impact	41.0
	local authorities have upon the perception of the town's	No impact	18.0
	image, and the spatial order within it?	Negative impact	29.5
		Very negative impact	8.6
		Yes, they are sufficient and they fully meet the requirements of such activities	4.9
2	Are the activities for the promotion and advertising of Zakopane town, undertaken by the local authorities,	They are conducted properly, but they are insufficiently comprehensive, and they do not cover a sufficiently large area	39.3
	conducted properly?	I cannot say	19.7
		No, they are not conducted properly, they do not meet the requirements of such activities	36.1
		Yes, the information is readily accessible, it is easy to find the information that we are interested in, the database is extensive	14.8
,	Is the information on the town's heritage (monuments)	Yes, although the information does not cover all the monuments/ heritage objects, there is no uniform (comprehensive) system, which makes the search a little bit more difficult	34.4
m 	sufficiently accessible?	I do not use this kind of information	29.5
		Access is difficult, information is presented in a way that is not sufficiently clear	19.7
		No, it is impossible to find any information, the search is very difficult	1.6

Table 1. cont.

Question	Question	Responses	Percentage of responses [%]
		Yes, they are continuously used for, among other things, the promotion of the city; and they are easily accessible	3.3
	-	Yes, they are used, but some heritage objects are not included	36.1
4	Does Zakopane fully take advantage of the potential of its heritage objects/monuments?	I cannot say	18.0
		They are not sufficiently used	36.1
		No, this potential is not used at all, the monuments are abandoned and/or falling into disrepair	6.5
		Sports infrastructure	54.1
		Cultural infrastructure	49.2
Ų	What kinds of infrastructure are missing within the	Healthcare infrastructure	21.3
J.	area of Zakopane town?	Educational infrastructure	18.0
		Green areas	23.0
		Communications and transportation infrastructure	72.1
		Yes, it is very much needed and it would positively impact the functioning and development of the city	27.9
	Would the construction of a multifunctional hall	Yes, it is needed and it would positively impact the functioning and development of the city	36.1
9	within Zakopane town be a desirable investment project, needed for the proper functioning of the city	I cannot say	14.7
	and its development?	It is not needed from the point of view of the functioning and development of the city	18.0
		No, it is not needed at all	3.3

	Are there objects	Are there objects within Zakonane town, which are out	Yes	80.3
^	of sync with the c	of sync with the city's character and which therefore	I do not know	14.8
	disturb its spatial order?	order?	No	4.9
			Yes	13.1
		Construction of a shopping mall at Krupówki street	I cannot say	16.4
	Are the investment		No	70.5
	projects listed	Construction of a services and retail	Yes	8.2
8	below proper and needed	centre at Szkolna street (next to the Roman Dmowski roundabout.	I cannot say	22.9
	within the area	below the Gubałówka mount)	No	6.89
	ot Zakopane town?	,	Yes	59.0
		Creation of a pedestrian promenade under the Gubałówka mount	I cannot say	34.4
			No	9.9
			Yes, therefore they create a harmonious whole, and positively impact the creation of spatial order	1.6
			Yes, however there are single elements, which to some extent distort the spatial order	27.9
	Are the objects co	Are the objects constructed in Zakopane town within	I cannot say	9.8
27	the last tew years the previously exi	the last tew years properly combined/blending in with the previously existing built environment?	No, many objects were built which negatively impact the spatial order, however there are single investment projects which blend in well with the previously existing built environment	36.1
			No, they completely depart from the character of the previously existing built environment, they distort the spatial order, there are many objects stylistically contrary to the character of Zakopane town	24.6

Table 1. cont.

Question	Question	Responses	Percentage of responses [%]
		Yes, it is the right decision that would very positively impact many areas of the town's functioning	36.1
	Would it be the right decision to introduce the	Yes, it may have a positive impact	44.3
10	"Cultural Park of the Krupówki street area"?	I cannot say	9.8
		No, it is not the right decision, it may have negative impact	6.5
		No, this would be a wholly wrong decision	3.3
11	What actions should be undertaken in order to improve the perception (image) of Zakopane town?	Open question	57.4
	Are "inauthorised construction projects" (land use	Yes	63.9
12	violations) a common phenomenon in the area of	I do not know	36.1
	Zakopane town?	No	0.0

Source: authors' study

3. Survey results

The local development plan is an essential and important instrument of spatial policy. Table 2 presents information on the area of Zakopane, which had been covered, in subsequent years, with local development plans now remaining in force. You will notice, in the analysed period, the surface of such land in Zakopane has been increasing year by year. In 2010, the share of the area covered by current land use designations in the total area of the town amounted to 19.3%, while four years later, in 2014, the respective share was already equal to 41% (in 2015, the situation in this respect has not changed). This is connected to the fact that about 60% of the city of Zakopane belongs to the Tatra National Park, which is almost entirely covered by the local development plan [www1]. Increasing the area of the city covered by the existing development plans is a positive phenomenon, because it will provide authorities with a greater influence on the shaping of space.

Table 2. Land use designation plans in force within Zakopane town between 2010–2015

Indices			Ye	ar		
indices	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Area of the town covered by the land use designations/plans [ha]	1630	1773	1939	2679	3455	3455
Share of the area covered by the land use designations/plans in total area [%]	19.3	21.0	23.0	31.8	41.0	41.0

Source: authors' study based on the data from https://bdl.stat.gov.pl/BDL (accessed: 16.10.2016)

Table 3. Planning decisions issued in Zakopane town between 2010–2015 [number of decisions]

Tuna of Janiaian			Ye	ar		
Type of decision	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Planning decisions for investment projects of the public use	25	16	11	10	0	1
Total number of planning decisions issued, including:	207	148	74	59	14	3
- planning decisions for multi-family residential areas/housing	18	7	3	2	2	0
 planning decisions for single-family residential areas/housing 	82	68	35	29	5	0
- planning decisions for service areas/ infrastructure	34	42	18	15	4	2
- other planning decisions	73	31	18	13	3	1

Source: authors' study based on the data from https://bdl.stat.gov.pl/BDL (accessed: 16.10.2016)

In a situation when a given area is not covered with the existing local spatial development plans, in order to undertake investment activities aimed at the construction of a building, planning (zoning) decisions are issued. Table 3 lists these planning decisions, issued for the land located within the area of the analysed town.

Planning (zoning) decisions are of utmost importance, and their total number reached the highest level in 2010, when as many as 207 of such documents were issued. Over the analysed period, the number of these decisions decreased steadily. Among other things, this is due to the fact that over time, an increasingly large area of the city was covered with the local plans. The largest share belonged were those decisions concerning single-family housing, whereas decisions related to the multi-family housing were a minority among these. However, due to the large dimensions of the buildings that were constructed on the basis of the latter, the effects of their issue are highly visible in the city.

Issuing planning decisions is conducive to actions taken by investors. In many cases, they are issued in accordance with the requirements of individual entities and prepared with the view to their specific needs. The time to obtain a zoning decision is much shorter than that which is necessary for the preparation of spatial (land use) plans and giving them legal force. In addition, the decisions in question refer to individual investment projects, and they are issued by one of many officials. Unfortunately, this situation can lead to the disruption of spatial order, and loss of harmony through sprawl development, to the destruction of the boundaries between the areas of specific designations, and to lack of adequate protection of valuable natural resources [Czekiel-Świtalska 2011].

Among the surveyed persons, women constitute 60.7%, while men comprise 39.3%. The most numerous age group is that of 18 to 25 years, with 63.9% of all respondents, and the second most numerous group is between the 25 and 45 years of age, with the share of 26.2%. Persons under the age of 18 have not responded, and the oldest age group, which is over 45, covered only 9.9% of all responses. More than half (that is 57.4%) of the respondents are persons with a degree in higher education. Among survey participants, 36.1% are persons with a diploma in secondary education, and 6.5% with a diploma in vocational education. The section of demographic data also included a question about the relationship of the respondent to the analysed town. The largest proportion of the respondents were residents of Zakopane town, who comprised 37.7% of all persons participating in the survey; then residents of towns located in the vicinity of Zakopane; and finally (the lowest share), tourists or visitors to the city – 32.8% and 29.5% respondents respectively. This composition of the survey sample (respondents) may stem from the fact that residents of Zakopane are those who are the most affected by the manner of shaping their town's space and by actions taken within its territory, and therefore they were the ones to show the most interest in the questionnaire, among all respondents.

The second part of the questionnaire began with the question concerning the impact of spatial planning carried out by the city upon the perception of its image, and its spatial order. Among all respondents, 41% said that the influence was a positive one. This response was favoured by most people from the group of visitors to the city

as a tourist destination (12 people out of 25 of all those who gave this response). Only 1 person recognized the very favourable impact of these developments, also belonging to the group of tourists. 29.5% said that the developments had a negative impact upon the image perception and the spatial order. Among the 18 people who have given this answer, 8 were residents of the neighbouring municipalities, 6 were the inhabitants of Zakopane, and 4 were tourists. 18% felt that these activities had no particular impact, and 9.8% believed that the impact was very negative. These discrepancies may be due to the fact that people (society at large) are not fully aware of the broad-ranging possibility of creating spatial order afforded by, for instance, the local zoning plans.

The respondents were also asked to assess the activities related to promotion and advertising. Opinion on this subject was divided, as 39.3% of people thought this kind of activity by the municipal authorities relevant, but covering an insufficient scope of operation. On the other hand, a similar proportion of respondents – 36.1% – considered that these activities were not carried out properly and were not adapted to the requirements that must be met. Only 4.9% of the respondents felt that the measures taken were adequate and that they fully met the requirements, while 19.7% had no opinion on this subject. It is advisable to consider the reason for these results. Zakopane is a recognized destination, both domestically and internationally. It has huge potential and the proper use of that potential in the town's promotion could encourage more people to choose it as a place to visit and to stay.

In the city of Zakopane there are many historic buildings, which are located in different parts of the city. The respondents assessed the access to information on these objects of heritage. 34.4% among them considered them to be sufficiently accessible, however, with the reservation that information was not provided on all of historic buildings, and that the search was somewhat difficult due to the lack of a single, uniform information system. The creation of a database containing a list of historic buildings and heritage objects, the prices of admission, opening hours and locations would definitely make it easier to access these places, and it would certainly increase the interest not only on the part of the visitors to the city, but also on the part of the residents – because about 35% of the residents of Zakopane, who participated in the study, admitted that they did not use this kind of studies. It should be emphasized that persons visiting the city of Zakopane as tourists recognized that access to the information on heritage sites was sufficient, but that there were some gaps or deficiencies. Among all respondents, 29.5% of the respondents said that they did not use this kind of information sources, while 19.7% indicated that the access to information was difficult.

The degree of using the potential of the heritage buildings by the city of Zakopane was also assessed. Opinions were very much divided. 36.1% of respondents believed that the potential was being used, however, some heritage objects were neglected. The same proportion of the respondents believed that the potential was not being used sufficiently. Only 3.3% of respondents said that heritage buildings were used constantly, among others, for the promotion of the town. The situation should be changed, among other things, by enhancing the visibility of these objects, by the restoration of the neglected heritage buildings, and facilitating access to them.

One form of the protection of heritage is to create a cultural park, designed to protect valuable areas, in which fixed elements of heritage (monuments) are located, characteristic of the style and architectural tradition of the area [Ustawa... 2003b]. In Zakopane, on 3 September 2015, the Resolution No. XII / 183/2015 of the City Council of Zakopane postulated the creation of a cultural park called the "Cultural Park of the Krupówki street area", which entered into force on 1 July 2016. [www2]. The establishment of the Krupówki Cultural Park was evaluated by the respondents, of whom 36.1% believe that this was the right decision, with a very positive impact on many areas of the city; while 44.3% of respondents believed that it may turn out to have beneficial effects. There is a small share of other answers: 9.8% of the respondents had no opinion on the subject, while persons who believed that this was the wrong decision and could have negative effects constituted only 6.5%, whereas 3.3% of the respondents said that this decision was totally wrong.

Another question concerned the objects of infrastructure, which are missing in the town of Zakopane. Respondents could select multiple answers. This is a very important issue, because it is associated with attractiveness of the city, and it affects its level of competitiveness in relation to other areas. The existence of such facilities is a response to the demands of society in a variety of areas. 72.1% of all persons participating in the survey felt that the biggest deficit concerns the infrastructure of communication and transport. Examples given included the lack of public transportation, which implies underdeveloped transportation links/connections and excessive prices. In addition, respondents believed that the bus stops within the Zakopane town were not well marked, while the bus and train stations required a major overhaul.

54.1% of the respondents felt that there was a lack of sports facilities in the area of Zakopane; and the following were listed as lacking: sports/football grounds for youths, cross-country trails, bike paths, ski trails, an outdoor gym, an indoor skate park or a climbing wall.

The lack of cultural facilities was indicated by 49.2% of the respondents (as the kind of places that are missing in the city); but when it comes to green areas, healthcare facilities and educational infrastructure, the lack was felt by 23.0%, 21.3% and 18.0% respondents respectively.

As already mentioned, the questionnaire focuses on issues related to spatial planning. This includes the question, where respondents had to assess whether in the town of Zakopane there are objects that do not fit the character of the city and/or disrupt the spatial order. Over 80% of respondents felt that Zakopane was a place where there are many such objects, among which they listed the following:

- shopping malls (Figure 1),
- bus and train stations (Figure 2),
- the building commonly called the "Gargamel's House" (Figure 3),
- shops at Krupówki street,
- apartment buildings.





Photos by J. Janiczak

Fig. 1. Shopping mall at Krupówki street, and services and retail centre at Szkolna street in Zakopane





Photos by J. Janiczak

Fig. 2. Railway and bus station in Zakopane



Photos by J. Janiczak

Fig. 3. The villa nicknamed 'Gargamel's House' located in Zakopane

In addition, respondents pointed out that outdoor advertising is ubiquitous in the city, bringing chaos to the urban space.

Over the last five years, the town of Zakopane has seen numerous investment projects, which have largely shaped the city space. These include the construction of a shopping mall on the Krupówki street, as well as a services and retail centre in Szkolna street (near Rondo Romana Dmowskiego, below the Gubałówka mount), as well as the creation of the pedestrian promenade under the Gubałówka. They represent projects that affect the spatial order, primarily because of their size and location, as they are all located in the centre of Zakopane town. Therefore, the respondents were asked to assess these investment projects, and to decide whether they were appropriate and necessary in the town of Zakopane.

Those participating in the study were of a very similar opinion regarding both commercial and service facilities under assessment. Approximately 70% of the respondents considered that these projects were inappropriate and unnecessary for the city. The share of supporters and people who did not have an opinion on this issue was slightly different in each case, as in relation to the construction of the shopping mall in Krupówki 16.4% believed that this was a much needed investment, while people who had no opinion on the subject amounted to 13.1% (out of 61 respondents). 22.9% respondents validated the creation of the service and retail centre in Szkolna street, while 8.2% had no opinion on the subject.

Another project that has been subjected to the assessment by the respondents was the creation of a pedestrian viewing promenade under the Gubałówka mount, resulting in a changed organization of traffic on the section of the road where it had been located, as the dual carriageway (two lanes one-way each) was changed to a single two-way carriageway. 59.0% of respondents believe that the creation of the pedestrian promenade was the right decision, while 34.3% disagreed with it, and only 6.6% had no opinion on this subject. Diversity of opinion may arise from different approaches to the implementation of this investment project. Before renovation, the viaduct, on which the said promenade was placed, had been in a very bad condition. After all the repair works had been completed, the organization of traffic was changed, which significantly influenced the traffic around the city – causing traffic problems especially during the tourist season. According to another approach, this was a successful investment project, the implementation of which has improved the attractiveness of the city.

Spatial order is shaped by the built environment created in the past, and that, which is being created today. In its formation, we should take into account the impact of the investment activities on the vertical and horizontal spatial infrastructure within the area. It should be emphasized that even the smallest investment project involving land use in a certain way, within a particular portion of the space, affects its overall image. Therefore, it is very important that the newly established buildings are designed and constructed in harmony with the existing built environment. 36.1% of the persons participating in the survey said that in Zakopane, in recent years, a number of objects had been built that adversely affected the spatial order, but that you could find single cases of investment projects that blended in well with the existing buildings. 24.6% of

respondents assessed the newly established buildings in Zakopane very negatively; they agreed that new buildings were completely different in the nature from the existing built environment, that they disrupted the spatial order, and that there was a very large number of objects built in a style that diverged from the character of the city. A similar part – that is, 27.9% of respondents – were of an opinion that the buildings created in Zakopane in recent years appropriately complemented the earlier built environment, but that there were individual cases of elements, which slightly disturbed the spatial order. Those who believed that there are no buildings in Zakopane that would differ in architectural style from the older buildings, constituted a minority – merely 1.6% (1 person) among all respondents, while 9.8% of respondents had no opinion on this subject.

The last question in the questionnaire was related to the formation of the "unauthorised construction projects" (land use violations). Respondents were asked whether this phenomenon frequently occurred in the town of Zakopane. As many as 63.9% of the persons responding to the questionnaire thought so (they answered "yes"), while 36.1% had no opinion on the subject. It should be emphasized that among the 22 responses indicating that the respondent did not have an opinion, as many as 15 were tourists visiting the city, while only 5 were the inhabitants of Zakopane and 2 people were living in its neighbourhood. Everyone else agreed that land use violations occurred in Zakopane very often. Such a breakdown of responses stems from the fact that in most cases tourists are not interested in such issues and do not have adequate knowledge in this field, while the inhabitants of Zakopane and the neighbouring villages have more information on the situation in question.

A similar opinion about Zakopane, and about the actions taken on its territory, is also shared by scientists and architects. In the literature, we find voices saying that the Highlanders (inhabitants of the area), whom we tend to identify with the love of their own tradition, are adverse to the adoption of new solutions, and instead they choose their own path, which has led to the formulation of a specific style, not necessarily perceived in a positive way. Traces of the historical Zakopane style, promoted in particular by Stanisław Witkiewicz, can today be found only in individual investment projects; and taking into account the development of the whole city we can conclude that in Zakopane "everyone builds wherever they want" [Böhm 2008].

Currently, the use of the cultural heritage of Zakopane comes down to perceiving it only in the economic aspects, resulting from the focus on profit, without considering other factors. Such actions have led to the loss of the specific atmosphere and the local "familiarity" of the place. Today the objects that are valuable because of their architectural and historic character are replaced with other buildings, of larger dimensions, that can generate greater financial benefits, which unfortunately is usually the most important concern of their owners. Creating pseudo-mountain-style buildings, locating large hotels, apartment buildings and commercial centres in various parts of the city, completely unsuited to the mountain landscape, and the use of sophisticated forms, has led to considerable spatial chaos in the Zakopane area [Murzyn 2015].

4. Conclusions

The proper forecasting of the directions and the degree of transformation should be preceded by a thorough analysis of the processes taking place in the development of the given spatial unit in the earlier period, and the diagnosis of the current state of affairs. Phenomena occurring in the past continue to have an impact on what happens today, but they also affect the future arrangements, and they influence the development of spatial units – therefore it is of utmost importance to predict the effects of the actions taken [Harańczyk 1999]. This is the main principle of spatial planning, which could lead to the development of territorial units at various levels, provided that it is conducted in a rational way.

The landscape of Zakopane has been changed gradually by the uncontrolled development, and following many wrong zoning and planning decisions. For areas that were not covered by the local spatial development plans, a lot of zoning decisions were issued, which indirectly led to the disturbance of harmony and order in the urban space. Buildings that differ stylistically from the character of the city, "unauthorised construction projects" (land use violations), or chaos of outdoor advertising are just some of the problems faced by the spatial unit in question.

City authorities have undertaken measures aimed at the organization of space, and they have attempted to restore the attractiveness and atmosphere of the city – such as the introduction of the Cultural Part in the area of Krupówki street – but it is a very difficult process that requires the involvement of citizens and decision-making bodies. The transformations in the cultural landscape of Zakopane are so advanced that the restoration of spatial order within its area will be a highly time and effort consuming process.

The authorities attempted to improve the situation of public transportation – two bus lines as have been introduced in Zakopane that deal with the transport of passengers along the routes connecting the city centre with Olcza, and Cyrhla with Krzeptówki. The transportation is provided by modern buses, and current prices are very favourable [www3]. Properly functioning municipal transport is essential to tourist resorts, among which Zakopane belongs. Therefore the authorities should seek to ensure that the local transportation should cover the whole town with its scope as well as the area around the city, including the neighbouring villages.

On the basis of the conducted survey, recommendations were formulated for the analysed spatial unit, including: the creation of a development strategy, which shall formulate specific guidelines; increased use of landscape assets of Zakopane; the removal of the current city-wide advertising; reorganisation and ordering of the area around Krupówki street; unification of the style of construction; and increasing the number of parking spaces, which can be achieved through the use of zoning. In addition, the recommendations include the development of public transport; upgrading of the railway station and bus station; the construction of a multifunctional hall; reducing the construction within green spaces; a return to tradition; cultural development; improving the city's promotion; and the preservation of historic buildings; the develop-

ment of hiking, cycling and skiing routes; the development of tourism; the joint actions by residents and public authorities; increasing public awareness with regard to the cooperation and the opportunities to achieve greater benefits by acting together.

In conclusion, on the basis of conducted survey, it can be stated that the investment activities conducted within Zakopane town have had a huge impact on that city's image (perception) and on its spatial order. The changes, which were introduced in the city, are already very advanced – therefore restoring the order to the area requires integrated actions and specific solutions, the implementation of which will be a very difficult and challenging task. Zakopane is a popular place, but the improperly conducted spatial policy has led to the destruction of the landscape, which lost a lot of its attractiveness. The potential, that has not yet been exhausted, should be used; and we must strive to restore the spatial order to the area.

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