

'WINNERS' AND 'LOSERS' IN THE GAME: THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF URBAN REGENERATION IN THE KAZIMIERZ QUARTER IN KRAKOW

Monika A. Murzyn

1 Introduction

The profound political, economic and social changes taking place in Poland since 1989 have naturally carried significant implications for the functions and tissue of its cities, both their built environment and social fabric. Important factors contributing to changes in the townscape of many culturally valuable quarters have included the return to market economy and the resulting increased number of actors and stakeholders shaping urban space, among them the large and varied private sector, the restated local government and the emerging third sector (*Böhm et al. 1996; Murzyn, 2004b; Pawłowska-Swaryczewska, 2002; Purchla, 2005*). The transformation period has brought about an enhanced importance of real-estate value, more intensive uses of spaces and their commercialisation, but also a more pronounced social differentiation and a differentiation of the needs and expectations of city dwellers and other actors (*Sagan, 2000; Rykiel, 2002*). A much faster pace of changes, spontaneity and unpredictability of action, a greater number of conflicts in urban space, but also a re-valuation of the symbolic and commercial value of historic sites are newly observed phenomena. The changed context has an impact on the possibilities of bringing deprived and degraded historic quarters within cities back to life, described as 'urban regeneration', 'renewal' or 'revitalisation'. Furthermore, the overlapping of transformation processes and the changes of the postmodern era (*Węclawowicz, 2003*) makes the investigation of revitalisation in contemporary Poland especially interesting and challenging.

This paper discusses the scenarios, dilemmas and dangers involved in policy-making and implementation regarding the regeneration of degraded historic inner city zones, using the example of the Kazimierz District in Krakow, Poland. After a short introduction to the unique character of the quarter, the revitalisation strategy devised for it in 1993 and its aims are presented, followed by the description of the changes in the social tissue of the quarter and the emerging conflicts between various actors of urban space. The final section presents some

conclusions, trying to answer questions such as: What type of social changes, links and conflicts in urban space have been created by revitalisation in Kazimierz? Who were the beneficiaries of the process and who 'lost out', as the result of the revival of the area? Are the scenarios formulated for Western European and American examples applicable in this particular Central European context?

2 The district of Kazimierz in Krakow

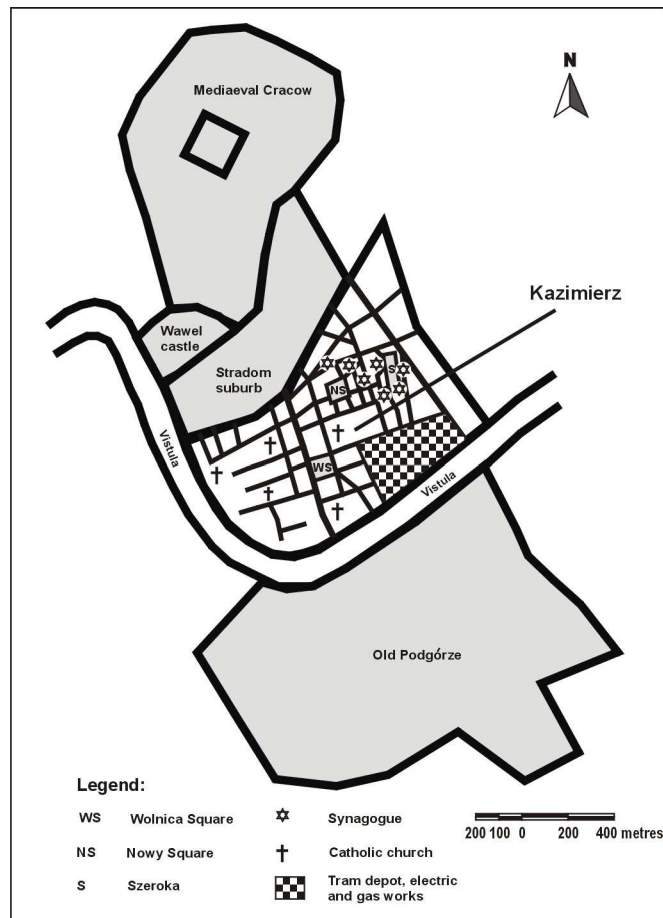
Kazimierz, the historic district of Krakow, is adjacent to the city centre (*Figure 1*). From the time it received a city charter in the 14th century to the end of the 18th century it was an independent town. Its rich heritage is diverse and multicultural, being a product of two religions. Jews and Catholics coexisted here and shaped the urban space of the district for many centuries (*Halkowski, 1991; Ostrowski, 1992; Bogdanowski, 1985*). Its urban tissue comprises many valuable monuments: synagogues, churches, historic houses, as well as a unique complex of 19th- and early 20th-century industrial buildings belonging to the Krakow public transport, electric and gas companies.

Within Kazimierz the former Jewish quarter founded at the end of the 14th century (*Oppidum Judaeorum*) has to a large extent retained its unique character (*Krasnowolski, 1992*), including the best-preserved complex of synagogues in Europe, comparable only to Prague, albeit different in mood, as – in contrast to Prague – the central part of Kazimierz has remained a traditional, densely built-up area right until the outbreak of World War II. Although its synagogues were spared from complete destruction, the quarter experienced a severe decline after 1939, as other Central European urban districts once inhabited by Jews, first due to the Nazi occupation and an almost complete annihilation of its former Jewish residents, then as the result of the immigration of lower social groups¹ and the general neglect and lack of maintenance of the building stock under socialism, which lead to severe dilapidation. The image of Kazimierz has traditionally been very negative since World War II. After 1945 the former town was regarded as the most degraded quarter of Krakow, having serious social problems, being the realm of the urban underclass, crime, dirt and neglect, where nobody would willingly venture. This rather grim image, although not entirely true as regards the socio-economic status of all residents and parts of the quarter, was generally

¹ At times forced to relocate from other areas of Krakow. For example, the Christian inhabitants of the old Podgórze district were ordered to clear their houses for the wartime Jewish ghetto and move to Kazimierz. Similarly, inhabitants of other parts of Krakow were often forced to leave behind their apartments located in better districts and give them to newly-arrived Germans, while they were ordered to move into the empty Jewish apartments in Kazimierz.

confirmed by statistical data on housing, education level of inhabitants and crime rates (Cameron et al. 1994; Węclawowicz, 2003). For example, in terms of infrastructure and amenities, such as central heating, bathrooms and hot water, it was the worst-endowed quarter of Krakow.

FIGURE 1
Location and urban layout of Kazimierz



Source: Author's elaboration.

3 The revitalisation strategy of the early 1990s – the Kazimierz Action Plan and its aftermath

The degradation of Kazimierz and the urgent need to take better care of both its material and social tissue was noticed in the 1980s (e.g. *Bogdanowski*, 1985) but the idea to actively bring the district back to life gained more political support only in the beginning of the 1990s. Hoping to make use of Western European experiences, specialists from Edinburgh, Berlin, and Krakow formed a working group, whose aim was to create a revitalisation strategy for the quarter. In the Action Plan published in 1994 the following statement was formulated:

“...to revive and restore Kazimierz for the benefit of its *residents* by co-ordinating physical development, environmental improvements and cultural activity – making it into an attractive internationally and economically useful part of Krakow with a strong cultural identity” (*Cameron et al.* 1994).

Furthermore, one of the most important specific aims of revitalisation was stated as:

“...to improve the living conditions of the existing community; to establish an institutional framework for involving the community in the development of Kazimierz and influencing the process of change for the future” (*Cameron et al.* 1994).

The Action Plan contained many detailed guidelines and ideas, as well as proposals for specific actions in particular key areas of the district. It was never voted through by the City Council, which prevented it from becoming an official legal document, and it was only partially implemented by the public authorities. Nevertheless, the past decade has brought many changes to the quarter. The process of revitalisation has become visible, although, as will be shown in this paper, it has not really proceeded according to the scenario foreseen in the Action Plan. Many processes and phenomena described regarding revitalisation in Western Europe and the USA have appeared, such as the commercialisation of urban space, the appearance of new functions and meanings connected to leisure and culture, as well as visible social changes including signs of the displacement of permanent residents and the gentrification of the area.

The changes in the social pattern of Kazimierz are visible by looking at the number of permanent inhabitants, the types of newcomers, the social links existing in the quarter presently and before revitalisation, the growing differentiation of the income level of inhabitants, the conflicts over the use of urban space, as well as the new actors significantly influencing the life of the quarter, such as entrepreneurs, tourists and other visitors to the area.

The number of inhabitants in Kazimierz has been decreasing steadily since World War II. This trend was continued in the transformation period. The National Census of 1988 recorded 17,800 inhabitants in Kazimierz, while 10 years

later, in 1998, there were only 16,589 persons registered as living in the quarter (Mancewicz 2000, p. 12).² Moreover, according to the municipal authorities, in 1998 the share of persons over age 60 was much higher, while the share of persons less than 17 years old was much lower than in other parts of the city. The same trend has been confirmed by the latest National Census of 2002. Kazimierz is a part of District I – Śródmieście (Inner City), which is the home to 19.3 percent of the inhabitants of Krakow. In District I the share of persons below age 20 was 17.5 percent, thus much lower than its overall share in the city's population, while the ratio of those over 60 years of age was as high as 23.5 percent (National Census 2002). Kazimierz is thus a demographically old quarter.

Furthermore, after many years of inefficient management and lack of repair, the restated and new owners of old tenement houses have to invest a lot in their property to put it back in good shape. The officially set low rents and rent level controls, abandoned by the post-socialist state only gradually, have generated a so-called 'renovation gap' – a cumulated disparity between the modest income generated by rent from permanent tenants and the great need of repairs combined with high costs of daily maintenance of the dilapidated building stock. The owners cope with this problem in several ways. Firstly, they try to transform as much of their property as possible into commercial spaces such as retail facilities, restaurants and cafés, tourist accommodation or offices (Photo 1) (Czepita et al. 1993).

The residential function is thereby pushed out or relocated to higher floors and newly adapted lofts or purposefully built additional storeys. Moreover, the owners charge rents as high as possible – either at market prices or at the maximum officially permitted level. On the other hand, many owners do nothing more than maximise present-day profits and wait for better commercial perspectives. They avoid repairs on purpose, hoping that when the technical state of a building gets really bad, the long-term



PHOTO 1. A hotel located in a renovated old tenement house in Kazimierz on Bożego Ciała street

² Including 15,669 permanent inhabitants and 921 registered as temporary residents.

tenants settled during the socialist times would move out 'voluntarily', thereby 'clearing up' space for the immediate sale of the property, complete overhaul and then charging substantial rent for good-quality commercial and residential space, or selling the newly renovated apartments for a high profit. Many property owners also complain about the vandalism of tenants and the irregular payment of rent.

Both higher rent levels and the declining quality of dwellings in poorly maintained houses³ have led to a continuous outflow of former tenants from Kazimierz in recent years. The owners can also relocate permanent state-imposed tenants to apartments of the same quality located outside the quarter or pay them a compensation for moving out. In many cases people who are forced to leave Kazimierz by the above-mentioned circumstances have been living in the quarter for many years and are strongly attached to it. They feel very sad and sorry to move out. In one of the interviews the residents of an apartment in a quite large tenement building in Kazimierz pointed out the fact that in the entire building, apart from one family with a child and one elderly single-person household, all other apartments are either empty or rented by university students. In another case a respondent living in Kazimierz since birth stated that in the private tenement house in which he lives neither repairs nor renovations have been done for many years. Only 6 out of 16 flats are inhabited, and for the last two or three years a process of moving out by middle-income families able to afford buying flats elsewhere could be observed. They do so because of the uncertain situation regarding rental costs and the impossibility to buy their flats from the present owners, and also because real-estate prices in Kazimierz are so high now that only really wealthy people can afford to purchase a flat there. As a result, while middle-class people are moving out, only the poorest families remain, who cannot afford even the cheapest place of residence on the outskirts of the city.

An equally dramatic picture of the quarter's ongoing depopulation has emerged from interviews with inhabitants and the parish priest of the principal Catholic parish in Kazimierz at Corpus Christi Church, conducted in November and December 2004. At the end of the 1980s about 15,000 persons were official members of the parish, presently the number of parishioners has dropped to 6,500. Furthermore, most members of the parish are less well-to-do, elderly people, while there are very few children. In 2004 only about 300 people younger than age 17 belonged to the parish, which is 4.6 percent of all parishioners.

³ In many cases the renovation activities in old tenement buildings are also hindered by their unclear ownership status.

Moreover, in the last fifteen years very few instances of joining the parish were recorded.⁴

This indicates a profound change in the quarter's character since the early 1990s. In the beginning of the transition period close and intimate neighbourhood links were characteristic of Kazimierz (*Iwanicka*, 1992; *Grochowicz*, 1995). For instance, the respondents of the questionnaire survey conducted in 1995 pointed at a "friendly social climate", good relations between people living in Kazimierz and at the fact that the residents know each other and strongly identify themselves with the quarter (*Grochowicz*, 1995, p. 68). According to some inhabitants, the close contacts between many families in Kazimierz⁵ also stemmed from the conscious will to 'defend' themselves against the bad image of Kazimierz, and from the division of the quarter into two quite separate realms – that of normal, 'ordinary' citizens and that of dysfunctional families, drunkards and petty thieves.

People who live in Kazimierz now hardly know each other. The feeling of proximity and belonging to the same neighbourhood which has been, as mentioned before, very specific for the quarter has steadily been fading away. One of the reasons for that is the fact that most people who reclaimed or recently bought real estate in Kazimierz, especially in the last few years, do not make the quarter their permanent place of residence. The apartments usually become their second or additional home, only used from time to time or from the very beginning intended as a place for rent and a good investment. The newcomers, mainly temporary tenants, who really do come to live in the quarter, with a few exceptions, do not wish to form closer social bonds. The fluctuation of new tenants, most of whom are university students or young adults is very high. In the summer some of the tenement houses become empty, just like student residences at university campuses.

Young families with children are further discouraged from making Kazimierz their permanent place of abode by inconveniences such as uneven pavements hard to use for a walk with a child in a pram, a lack of safe parking places, the unavailability of sports facilities such as a swimming pool, a well-maintained football field, playgrounds for children or other open green spaces accessible to the general public. The lack of recreational infrastructure for inhabitants is coupled with rising problems caused by the new functions of the quarter. Since 1989

⁴ Religious practices are a private matter of each individual, yet the above-cited data carry quite significant information from the point of view of the functioning of the quarter and the possibilities of social links and ties within it. Masses and other forms of religious worship give a chance to get to know neighbours, present opportunities of encounters between persons who live next to each other.

⁵ Most of them settled there by force during World War II or by administrative decisions after the War.

Kazimierz has transformed into a new lively centre of leisure, tourism and cultural life in Krakow, second only to the city centre proper (Murzyn, 2005b). It has also experienced a tremendous increase in the HORECA sector. In the period of 1994–2004 the number of restaurants, bars and cafés in Kazimierz increased three and a half times (39 in 1994, 133 in 2004). Similarly, while in 1994 only three places offered tourist accommodation, in 2004 there were 14 hotels and guest houses, and 8 smaller accommodation providers. In terms of the provision of basic convenience goods, Kazimierz still seems to be much more ‘inhabitant-friendly’ than the medieval core of Krakow. However, the structure of retail establishments selling food and agricultural products is changing. Small, typical family-owned shops are disappearing, while small chain supermarkets and more expensive, specialized shops with wine and alcohol, cheese or health food have opened for the more demanding clientele (Murzyn, 2004a).

The insufficient number of parking places, noticed already in the beginning of the transformation period, has become an even more pronounced problem, especially on account of the fast-growing street traffic. As Kazimierz remains the only centrally located inner-city area without the obligation to pay for parking in the streets, inhabitants of other quarters of Krakow as well as visitors to the city, consider the quarter a huge parking lot. The pavements of streets are most of the time blocked by parking cars, while moving vehicles cause noise and pollution. Of course, from the point of view of outsiders, the possibility of unlimited car access to Kazimierz is considered as a very positive quality, which should not be changed in any way.

At the same time the residential attractiveness of Kazimierz has increased for selected social groups, such as artists, students or people with a higher-than-average income. As a result, the change of social patterns is in progress, as Kazimierz becomes a more prestigious place to live in. As described by A. Sabor (2004), “Thus, there are contrasts visible in the streets – today less well-to-do Cracovians still live here, often being on the margins of society, but the majority is already people with a much better financial situation: lawyers, doctors, journalists.”

Less wealthy people are eliminated by very high prices of flats. Those with a higher income are motivated to purchase real estate in Kazimierz by its central location coupled with the lack of traffic restrictions and by the belief that it is a good investment. Besides, the demand for good-quality apartments in newly-built and renovated buildings in Kazimierz is stimulated by the growing fashion or even snobbishness about the area. It contributes to visible changes in the landscape of the quarter: the filling-up of long-empty and disused plots and the overall aesthetisation of urban space (Photo 2, 3, 4).



PHOTO 2. *Kupa street. Luxury apartment building erected in the years 2004–2005 next to the 17th century Isaac synagoguet*



PHOTO 3. *The corner of Izaaka and Kupa streets with extremely dilapidated, abandoned tenement houses seen on the left*



PHOTO 4. *Tourists stopping at the corner of Izaaka and Kupa streets, one of the newly renovated tenement house converted into high standard apartment building seen on the left*

The growing residential attractiveness of the quarter was confirmed by a questionnaire survey conducted among students of Krakow universities in 2003.⁶ 25 percent of the respondents declared that they would like to live in Kazimierz, underlining the unique character and *genius loci* of the quarter, the vicinity of the centre, and the closeness of services, especially those connected to culture and nightlife. People who did not regard Kazimierz as a good perspective place of abode most often pointed at the perceived problems of the quarter. It is still regarded as a relatively dangerous, socially degraded area with low-standard flats, dirty, dilapidated and depressing environment (*Figure 2, 3*).

Visitors to the quarter also notice the insufficient number and surface of public green areas. Kazimierz does have very few green enclaves, and most of them are monastery gardens inaccessible to the general public or impossible to use for secular purposes. The public playgrounds and green spaces, which should be maintained by the city, are small, dirty and unkempt. Furthermore, some university students thought that although the quarter is a very attractive leisure and nightlife area, they would not like to move into it, as they prefer to remain temporary visitors, taking advantage of the place's charm from time to time. Some people also stated that even though they appreciate the milieu of Kazimierz and other historic quarters in the centre of Krakow, they would rather live in the suburbs in a much cleaner, quieter and greener setting.

The problem of sharing public space is visible in the conflict between inhabitants and owners of cafés and restaurants having been permanently present in Kazimierz for a few years. The café gardens colonize more and more public space in Kazimierz (*Photo 5*). 'Film backdrop objects', such as drying laundry, kids playing in the street, unkempt grass or dirty courtyards are an inseparable part of this open air 'spectacle' (*Photo 6, 7*). In this sense the new functions need poverty and ordinary, less wealthy residents. Does a reverse relation take place though? Are the new functions and image favourable for residents, have they made the quality and standard of local life better? During the day the quarter seems to be less changed, the pace of life is still sleepy, little happens. After 3 p.m., and especially on weekend evenings, it transforms into a bustling, loud, intensively used nightlife area. Most of the permanent inhabitants will never become clients of fancy cafés, they regard the fashion for Kazimierz as something strange and hard to understand, something that takes away their right to use the surrounding space and destroys their peace.

⁶ The above-cited data come from a questionnaire survey conducted by the author in June 2003 (n=432) among the full-time bachelor and master students of Krakow universities (Jagiellonian University, Krakow University of Economics, Academy of Mining and Metallurgy, Academy of Agriculture, Krakow Technical University). Its aim was to determine the current usage, image and meanings the quarter carries for the members of this particular social group, being important both as trend-setters and receivers, as well as possible future gentrifiers of the area.

FIGURE 2
*Reasons for willing to live in Kazimierz**

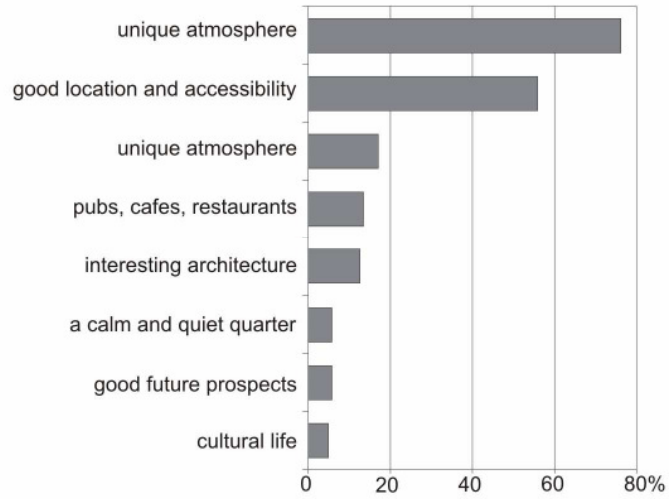
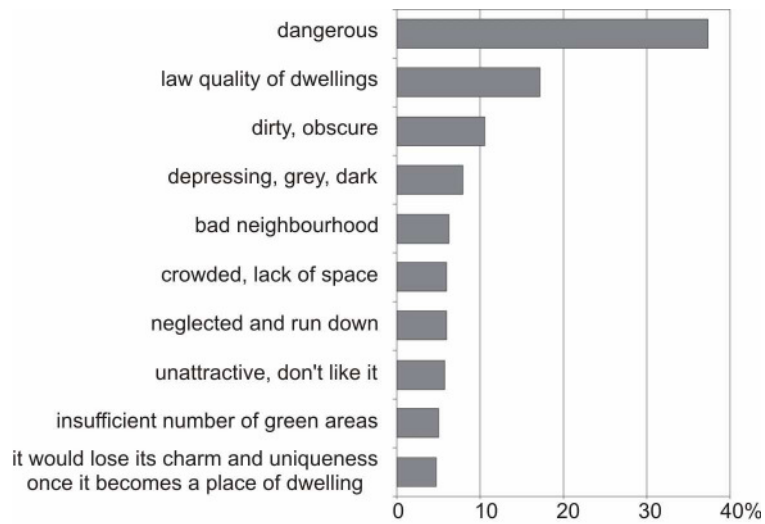


FIGURE 3
*Reasons for not wanting to live in Kazimierz**



*Answers do not sum up to 100% as more than one association could be indicated.
Source: Athor's survey.



PHOTO 5. A charming garden café of the Klezmer Hois restaurant operating in the former historic mikva on Szeroka Street



PHOTO 6. A typical old tenement house courtyard in Kazimierz



PHOTO 7. Children playing in the street

As the commercialisation of the quarter progresses, the inhabitants are more visibly pushed out of the most important and attractive interiors and urban spaces. An example of growing tensions between 'new' and 'old' users of the area may be the decision of the City Council declared in July 2003, ruling that all open-air gastronomy places in Nowy Square were obliged to be closed by midnight (*Photo 8*). It was voted in after a series of complaints and petitions by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the square demanding to put an end to the violation of night hours and noise caused by pubs and cafés. As summarised in the title of one of the press articles describing the inhabitants protesting by throwing raw potatoes at people sitting in café gardens, "They preferred the Square dead" (*Radłowska, 2003*). The feeling of threatened privacy is yet another visible trend. Residents are fed up with the 'medialisation' of their life and problems. They do not wish the courtyards and staircases of their homes to be visited by reporters or nosy tourists who want to explore less-known areas. Thus, the new functions of the quarter such as tourism, catering and nightlife are in a growing conflict with the residential function.

Thus, in the transition period the earlier existing social problems remained, while new ones appeared in connection with the overall change towards market economy, a much more active real-estate market and rising rents. These problems are reflected in the structure and volume of social aid distributed by the branch of the Municipal Centre for Social Aid (*Miejski Ośrodek Pomocy*

Spółecznej – MOPS) serving District I. Taking into account all aid provided in Krakow in 2002, the percentage of households located in District I being recipients of social aid was significantly higher than its share in the overall number of inhabitants of the city. Among the main reasons for providing social help by the MOPS branch, the following problems were listed: prolonged illness (1,592 families; 19.2 percent of total aid of that type distributed in the city – related to the much higher share of elderly and single-person households living in District I), unemployment (670 families; 12.1 percent of total aid of that type in the entire city) and poverty (1,210 families; 12.4 percent of total aid of that type in the entire city; *Sprawozdanie z działalności 2002*). The oldest part of Krakow, including Kazimierz, is thus not only most precious from a cultural and historic point of view, but it has also become an area of concentrated social problems. In many cases the deprivation is multigenerational.

As stated by the creators of the Programme of Social Aid for Krakow for the years 2004–2006, “we encounter here the passing on of low social status from

generation to generation, the inheriting of marginalisation and social exclusion” (*Gminny i Powiatowy... 2004*). This statement is confirmed by the author of one of the essays in the competition for teenagers entitled “Kazimierz – My Place on Earth”, conducted by the locally based Staromiejskie Cultural Centre. She describes her quarter as “a paradise for thieves and bandits” and a place where the division between fans of the two most important football teams of Krakow (Cracovia and Wisła) is very strong and violent, which creates specific groups of loyalty among the “scarf” youth.⁷ She also underlines the fact that the rise in popularity and a visible increase in economic activities in Kazimierz has not in any way changed the difficult situation of the inhabitants and their problems. She points out the contrast between the growing aestheti-



PHOTO 8. *A relaxed working day afternoon on Nowy Square, inhabitants take advantage of small outdoor catering stand while a small vegetable vendor is waiting for clients*

⁷ Referring to youths wearing a particular football team scarf as a badge indicating to which group one belongs.

sation of the quarter and the everyday life in its lanes and courtyards still undiscovered by cafés and tourists.

“I have never thought about it much – and neither did most of my friends – that I live in a ‘fashionable’ quarter, that historic buildings surround me. For people from KAZIMIERZ, to whom I belong, it is difficult to notice the beauty and the historic value of this place. Their life concentrates around different, probably less sublime matters. Day by day it consists of attempts at provision of basic needs, because for those of higher order there is no money, and most of all, no developed consciousness. Lack of education, unemployment, poverty and alcoholism touch most of the families in KAZIMIERZ, becoming a norm of life” (Kłosowska 2003, p. 28).

According to S. Kłosowska, many families live in torpor and apathy, having absolutely no hope for improving their situation in life. As she says, “Despite the ruthless passage of time and the change of generations, here nothing changes. People from here do not believe in the chance for a better tomorrow, and every following day takes away any hope they might have” (Kłosowska, 2003, p. 30). One of the basic issues is the problem of help for children from dysfunctional families, who are often “brought up by the street”, while the tourists’ and visitors’ attention focuses on Jewish culture, trendy cafés and parties. This problem does not only concern children from pathological families, but also the offspring of the less wealthy larger families. For example, children visiting night clubs and cafés, offering their clients self-made postcards or selling flowers, often without their parents knowing about it, are a frequent sight in today’s Kazimierz. The second serious problem is the earlier-mentioned large number of older people, often ill, living in single-person, low-income households.

Apart from MOPS, charitable aid in the quarter is provided by two parish churches and the numerous monastic orders present in them. For example, in the Corpus Christi parish the local Caritas association distributes shopping vouchers to the poor every month, and within the framework of the Catholic Families Association a project entitled “A family for a family” has been launched. The Catholic parishes in Kazimierz (Corpus Christi and St. Catherine’s) are also encouraging the integration of local inhabitants. For example, the non-commercial “Feast of Skąpczna Street” organised since 1999, supported mainly by St. Catherine’s parish and by other institutions and entrepreneurs from the quarter, has become an annual tradition. On the other hand, social contacts among elderly people are facilitated by the Polish Union of Pensioners, Retired and Invalids (Polski Związek Emerytów, Rencistów i Inwalidów) – the Krakow District I branch with its seat in Krakowska street in Kazimierz. The quarter is also a place where many organisations and clubs aimed at helping socially disadvantaged people have their seat. The mission to help the sick, the poor and the homeless is the explicit goal of the Albertine order based in Kazimierz since its creation at the end of the 19th century. The Albertines run a social house, provide accommodation for the homeless and distribute free meals for the poor in two locations

in Kazimierz. In the quarter there are also some institutions helping the disabled, the mentally unstable and drug addicts, such as The Małopolska Centre for the Prevention and Treatment of Addictions, and Help Centre – Centre of Drug Addicts' Therapy. There are also two orphanages – one run by the state and one managed by the Sisters of Mercy order, as well as a number of social aid clubs for children run by the Staromiejskie Cultural Centre, the Association of Children's Friends and the Missionaries order from the nearby old suburb of Stradom. The possibility of seeking aid from charitable and social care institutions is on the one hand regarded as very helpful but on the other the concentration of this type of organizations within Kazimierz perpetuates its negative image as an unsafe problem area inhabited by lower social classes.

The perception of the quarter by its inhabitants differs from the above stereotype of a dangerous, crime-infected place. Although in the socialist times Kazimierz had a very bad image, according to permanent residents it was dangerous for outsiders, not for the locals who knew each other well. The problem of crime was never accentuated, and in 1995 it was already stated that criminal offences were less numerous in the 1990s than in the 1980s (*Grochowicz, 1995, p. 75*). Moreover, Kazimierz has been especially well-appraised from the point of view of personal safety. Presently, the inhabitants of Kazimierz who were earlier associated with breaking the law, and personages who have been inseparable from the social landscape of Kazimierz and its every day life, such as local alcoholics and scrap metal collectors, are slowly disappearing from the quarter. Monitoring by the police is much better, as well. In addition to the main District I police station located on Szeroka Street, more police patrols and private guards hired by private firms appeared, following the development of the leisure and entertainment sector. The municipal guards and the police think that nowadays Kazimierz is not any worse than other quarters of Krakow. Unfortunately, new types of offences, such as breaking into vehicles, car theft and pick-pocketing, have appeared. What is even worse, currently the people committing crime in the quarter are most often outsiders, who at times come to Kazimierz especially to cause trouble.

According to a questionnaire survey conducted in 1998, in comparison to inhabitants of other quarters in Krakow, the residents of Kazimierz still displayed a greater level of fear and concern for their own safety within their quarter, which was explained by the relatively large share of older people living there (*Guzik, 2000*). The same research, as well as interviews and questionnaires conducted by the author in 2003 and 2004 confirmed that among the inhabitants of Krakow the negative opinion on Kazimierz as an area with high crime rates is maintained, despite the improvements. The change towards a more positive perception of the quarter visible since the 1990s has, according to R. Guzik (2000), been facilitated by the fact that Kazimierz has “enjoyed a type of friendly con-

sideration of the press”, which took care that news about crimes in the reviving and revitalised quarter should not be too widely described and should rather appear on rear pages of newspapers.

Furthermore, the attitudes of inhabitants towards revitalisation are diverse. They have been evolving with time, as well. It seems that with the more pronounced commercial revitalisation of Kazimierz, visible especially since 2000, the opinions of inhabitants about changes have become steadily more and more negative. Earlier on, especially in the beginning of the transition period, every new initiative was welcomed and treated friendly as a chance to reverse the degradation of the quarter. For example, the questionnaires conducted by A. Grochowicz (1995) highlighted the optimism of inhabitants and their positive attitude towards changes. 88 percent of the respondents were optimistic about the quarter's future, 94 percent described the new changes and developments in its urban space in the first four years of transition in a positive way, mentioning improvements such as the renovation of tenement houses, new infills, the development of services, new cultural events, better safety and the development of tourism. In 1995 only older residents were more pessimistic about the quarter's perspectives. Some people, however, noticed and feared the appearance of a larger number of pubs, more poor children in the streets and the “buying out of real estate by Jews” as early as then. The last statement refers to the stereotype that all new economic activities developed in 1990s in the quarter were initiated by Jews. It still surfaces from time to time, although it has nothing to do with real developments. Conversely to what has been expected, former Jewish inhabitants, their descendants or heirs – with a few exceptions – have not settled back in Krakow, although some of them make short visits to the city, very often administering or managing the reclaimed real estate via Polish intermediaries.

In conjunction with the above-mentioned stereotype, what is visible and underlined by some entrepreneurs operating in the quarter, is the large dose of envy and disdain displayed by inhabitants towards anybody who is active and wants to change something in the area. A prospective investor is thus perceived not as a chance for Kazimierz but as a sure future enemy of the inhabitants. This antipathy is partly eliminated and diminished if the owners of new firms get involved in the charitable activities in the quarter and are not too inconvenient for the locals. The negative attitude towards entrepreneurs is also connected with the fact that since the second half of 1990s the feeling of being threatened by changes has become more visible.

The social consultations envisaged in the Action Plan were not fully successful, either. The Kazimierz Local Office existing in the years 1994–2000, created and financed by the City of Krakow, was intended as the medium of communication and consultation between local authorities, inhabitants and investors. A small, financially unstable institution with no clear prerogatives and no separate

independent legal status could not exert much influence. It was never transformed into a true development agency or revitalisation trust. The need for its very existence was constantly questioned and its functioning was dependent on political decisions of current city authorities. The short existence of the local office reflected the changing priorities of the local government, as well. In the beginning of revitalisation in the early 1990s the local authorities actively participated in the attempts to enliven the quarter, then gradually withdrew from making attempts to implement the Action Plan and coordinate revitalisation, allowing spontaneous changes to happen, and in recent years openly demonstrated the conviction that the free market will regulate matters best. After a wave of critique in the media and the last local government elections of 2002, in the fall of 2003, within the structures of the city government, a special Kazimierz Task Group was created with the aim to reevaluate old strategies and create new visions for the quarter. Apart from numerous meetings, no results of its activities emerged. The District I council often emphasises its great commitment to the revitalisation of Kazimierz. Such wishful statements have no implications for the real course of affairs in the quarter, neither for the way private investments are done, nor for public activities in the quarter. For example, in recent years much has been said about car traffic regulations, tourism traffic, parking places, investment in pavements and street surfaces, small infrastructural improvements such as trash bins, lamp posts and benches, post-industrial areas and the project entitled 'St. Lawrence Quarter of Culture' intended for a part of the post-industrial area of Kazimierz, the need to make Wolnica Square (the former main square of Medieval Kazimierz) more lively or even creating a small artisans' street between Kupa and Jakuba streets. Similarly, Kazimierz has often been mentioned in the overall strategies and plans for the city as one of the key strategic areas, but large financial or organisational commitment was shown in other parts of the city. For example, in the current term of office the real focus was on the central part of District I, namely on the renovation of the surface of the Main Square, as well as on the socialist centre of the Nowa Huta quarter and the post-industrial area of Zabłocie, but nowhere were there any large-scale, flagship projects implemented.

With regard to non-governmental institutions and organisations active in Kazimierz, apart from the Society of Admirers of the Royal City of Kazimierz (Towarzystwo Miłośników Królewskiego Miasta Kazimierza), in 2002 the Association of Kazimierz Artists' – Kazimierz.com was created (Stowarzyszenie Twórców Kazimierz.Com), which runs its own webpage devoted to Kazimierz, its attractions, problems and ideas for the future (www.kazimierz.com). In the internet portal the Association has, for example, proposed a reactivation of the Local Office as an independent body, but with prerogatives similar to the earlier existing one. The creation of such a bureau with wider tasks was also applied as

one of the projects of the Integrated Operational Regional Development Programme (ZPORR) possibly co-financed with EU funds, but has not been selected for implementation. For some time the associations existing in Kazimierz worked separately and did not cooperate. Since 2004 the accumulation of problems made them realise that they should act together, for instance by creating common petitions and letters to the President of Krakow. The Judaica Foundation – Centre for Jewish Culture also tries to get involved and inspire discussions about the quarter's problems and its future, organising meetings under the heading "Forum Kazimierz" since 2003. The complicated and so far largely unsuccessful course of public consultation over Kazimierz' future proves that the process of building civil society in Poland is far from being completed. The emergent third sector that should become the main supporter of sustainable revitalisation has not fully developed yet and does not have a strong enough position. This, in the case of Krakow, results in too little constructive dialogue between local authorities, residents and civic groups about the vision for historic quarters such as Kazimierz, and in the lack of fruitful public consultations, from which shared, realisable goals and strategies could emerge, later on to be implemented by the public authorities forced to do so by demands of the local electorate.

Because of the economic weakness, a visible lack of initiative and a peculiar "inertia of the local population" (*Perspektywy Rozwoju* 2000, p. 33), the positive aspects of revitalisation may be taken advantage of only to a very limited extent. The local residents are thus becoming either passive observers or 'hostages' of the process, not protected against the negative results of revitalisation, and having to agree with the course of affairs set by the free market. From the point of view of inhabitants, the involvement of public authorities is far from desired. As stated in the report of 2000, "Most of the positive changes in Kazimierz are the result of non-governmental and private initiatives, because the activities of the City in the sphere of investment and promotion have been so far insufficient in comparison to the needs" (*Perspektywy Rozwoju* 2000, p. 38).

A great initiating role in revitalisation has been played by non-governmental, civic cultural initiatives, such as the Festival of Jewish Culture and the Judaica Foundation – Centre for Jewish Culture, followed by private companies. The entrepreneurs and persons who own and manage shops, cafés, galleries and hotels in the quarter are the ones who have pushed the process of revitalisation forward in the past fifteen years. They were initially attracted to the area by lower rents, good location within the city and a small dose of sentiment (*VRG Strategy Co. Ltd.* 1995). Presently, entrepreneurs who come to the area know well that certain types of activities are usually successful there. Conscious of shared interests, they are willing to work together when they find it necessary and useful. An example of such cooperation may be the publishing of common promotional folders, setting up a main art exhibition's opening day in a month

called 'Thursdays in Kazimierz', initiating new outdoor festivals and events linked with the present-day image of the quarter, such as the 'Soup Festival', created by owners of cafés and restaurants, or uniting in the fight against the attacks of the 'anti-catering' lobby. As a result, if there is any, closer contacts are now more likely to be created between the owners of new firms, mainly in the HORECA sector. In a sense, such links between entrepreneurs have replaced the traditional social bonds between inhabitants in the quarter. At the same time the activities of private firms in the leading branches in the quarter, such as tourism, catering and entertainment, are responsible for creating most serious social conflicts. As the area becomes more and more trendy, larger construction firms and developers might want to join in and change both its historic landscape and social tissue at an even faster pace. Conversely, greater investors might find both inhabitants and smaller firms forming coalitions against larger unwanted developments – such cooperation being the only way to fight actors much more powerful economically and politically.

Finally, in the context of this particular quarter, the role of the Jewish Religious Community as a potentially significant actor should be explored. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, in the 1990s the number of the members of the Jewish Religious Community of Krakow did not increase as initially expected. Apart from rare, individual instances, no new adherents of Judaism or former Jewish inhabitants resettled in Krakow in the last fifteen years. Most of the 176 members of the Congregation are elderly, in need of help and care.⁸ A number of honorary members of the Congregation live abroad and do not actively participate in the community's life (interview with *T. Jakubowicz*, 2004). The international Jewish community has not been much engaged in the revitalisation of the quarter, either, since the activities of most international Jewish organisations by definition focus on places where the contemporary Jewish community is still populous. The Nissenbaum Foundation did not fulfil promises made regarding the creation of a Jewish Cultural Centre and the renovation of buildings located next to the very important religious site of the Remuh synagogue and cemetery. Instead, it has contributed to the further degradation and complete destruction of the houses being in its care. After a few years in Krakow the Lauder Foundation moved out in 2004, because it did not have a sufficiently big audience. The Jewish Community of Krakow focuses on providing social aid to its own members and managing the numerous religious sites and property it owns. For instance, it runs the only kosher kitchen and canteen in Krakow, conducted the renovation of the Mikva next to the Tempel synagogue and renovated the annexes to Kupa synagogue, intending to create a retired people's home there. Out

⁸ The Jewish Religious Community of Krakow counted over 60,000 members before 1939. Being so numerous, the Jews were the largest ethnic and religious minority in Krakow, constituting about 25 percent of the entire pre-war population of the city.

of the seven existing synagogues, only one is regularly used for religious purposes (Remuh). Even there, it is very often a problem to gather the Minyan.⁹ Until 2005 Krakow did not even have its own official rabbi.¹⁰ The influence of the presently functioning Jewish Community on the revitalisation of Kazimierz is negligible, practically limited to providing some tourist offers by the opening up of synagogue interiors (Murzyn, 2005a).¹¹ Catering for tourists, creating cultural events and all other activities aimed at revitalising the quarter are thus left to the will, imagination and financial commitment of non-Jewish Poles, while the return to the pre-war social milieu of the quarter is as unlikely as before the transition period.¹²

4 Conclusions

In the past fifteen years Kazimierz has experienced a visible revival, transforming from a forgotten and dilapidated quarter into a trendy and lively place. The economic base of the area has been developed, new functions related to culture, leisure, tourism, as well as services have appeared. It is now a much better-perceived district, with an image significantly different from the one in the beginning of the transition period. The renewal of built environment involved the restoration of many monuments, the renovation of old tenement houses and their adaptation for new users, as well as new building projects in the quarter. However, the positive aspects of changes taking place in Kazimierz must be set against the background of the aims and goals of the revitalisation strategy, as well as against less favourable developments. The study of changes in the social tissue of the area reveals that a differentiation of social groups and conflicts over the use of public spaces is increasingly present in Kazimierz.

The private, public and local interests and needs are often divergent and hard to reconcile. The main problem involves the functioning of the quarter as an attractive leisure and entertainment area versus its residential function. New economic activities and facilities are mainly intended for users from outside the area – inhabitants of other parts of Krakow, students and tourists. The renovated and

⁹ A quorum of ten men over the age of 13 required for traditional Jewish public worship.

¹⁰ In the autumn of 2005 two rabbis were officially appointed – one as a regular resident of Krakow and one visiting the community on most important occasions.

¹¹ A separate difficult issue is the matter of the ongoing negotiations between the Municipality of Krakow and the Jewish Community over the municipal institutions functioning since socialist times in the buildings belonging to the Community, reclaimed thereby after 1989.

¹² According to the President of the Community, the only way to make the Krakow Jewish Community younger and more dynamic would be to encourage the settlement of young Jews from the former Soviet Union – a process which has for example been observed in Germany in the recent decades.

new buildings stand in sharp contrast with neighbouring, often extremely dingy and dilapidated tenement houses inhabited by permanent residents. The living conditions of the existing community seem not to have improved much. The permanent inhabitants and those with a medium income are slowly being displaced from the quarter. In addition, the following negative changes can be observed: the disintegration of traditional neighbourhood links, increased noise, car and tourist traffic, threatened privacy, the increased use of public spaces by outsiders. Despite the 'inhabitant-friendly' rhetoric of the Action Plan, no real steps have been taken by the city of Krakow to improve the facilities that serve the local community. No new areas for the recreation of local inhabitants, greenery or playgrounds for children have been created; the maintenance of the existing ones has not been improved. Residential attractiveness increased for certain selected social groups, either temporary dwellers such as students or wealthier people acting as 'financers' rather than 'gentrifiers' of the area. The involvement of the local Jewish community in revitalisation has been insufficient, while the management of change by public authorities has been weak overall, with most changes taking place spontaneously and unguidedly. This is also reflected in the unsuccessful public consultations over the area's future and the lack of vision for it.

The attitude of permanent local residents towards changes has steadily become more and more negative, reflecting the fact that they have so far 'lost' rather than 'gained', as the result of revitalisation. The loss of stability of social structures is perhaps the price which inevitably has to be paid by a degraded quarter if it is to undergo regeneration. The case of Kazimierz confirms that the persons and entities strongly attached and closely linked to the quarter are usually more susceptible to the negative effects of revitalisation, while the greatest gains from it are achieved by new entrepreneurs and users of the place. New institutions and individuals who are economically stronger often solve the conflicts over divergent uses of urban space in line with their interests, being 'winners' in the 'fight'. The local community may often be particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of revitalisation because of the shortage of capital, knowledge and local initiatives, a lack of motivation, shared values and visions generally accepted by the members of the local community, the absence of strong local leaders, a passive attitude or feeling of helplessness and a dependence on external decisions (*Karwińska*, 1998). At the same time, a new type of local community has emerged, connected to Kazimierz not by making it a place of residence but by choosing it as a place of work, investment or leisure. The traditional links between members of the local community have thus to a large extent been replaced by the much weaker, emergent bonds between artists and entrepreneurs.

The revitalisation of the quarter, in spite of good intentions listed in the Action Plan, has necessitated a choice between the social and the market-oriented

option rather than achieving a compromise between them. Thus, Kazimierz has unintentionally become a good example of market- and property-led revitalisation. The changes in its social tissue may be described as a metamorphosis from the 'urban village' with certain traits of the 'defended neighbourhood' type into a fashionable inner city district, in which the newcomers have a decisive voice. Similarly, the most optimistic scenario of a 'Sustainable City', in which all urban actors work in accord with each other, has not taken place. Visible conflicts and a growing social polarisation rather point towards a 'Competitive Opportunism' scenario mixed with a 'Postmodern Hyperspace' option, in which local identity is simplified, diluted and undergoes commercial aesthetisation.

No one can deny that Kazimierz has transformed into a lively quarter, needed and used by Cracovians as a new centre of leisure and cultural life. However, that is only one side of the coin, and a perspective of certain social groups. Kazimierz exemplifies very well the broader problems of the justifications and rationales of revitalisation strategies, dilemmas and often difficult choices between social aims and the spontaneity of market forces new in the Central-European context. In conclusion, local authorities in Poland today are facing similar problems to those of their counterparts in Western Europe, namely, how to balance between social and economic goals of development and regeneration strategies, as well as how to implement them effectively.

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INTERVIEWS

- Interviews with Tadeusz Jakubowicz, President of the Cracow Jewish Religious Community conducted in November and December 2004.
- Interview with Małgorzata Walczak one of the creators of the Action Plan and former coordinator of the Local Office in November 2005.
- Interviews with inhabitants, employees and owners of firms as well as directors of cultural institutions in the quarter (35) conducted between September 2004 and February 2005.