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The Revitalization of Urban Space.
Social Changes in Krakow's Kazimierz and the Ticinese District in Milan

Marta Smagacz

Cover: Giovanni Migliara (1785-1837), *The Colonne di San Lorenzo in Milan*, painting (detail), Galleria Sabauda, Turin. ©Photo Scala, Florence, courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Attività Culturali.

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Răzvan Adrian Marinescu

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PREFACE

We are very happy to present Marta Smagacz's *Revitalisation of Urban Space. Social Changes in Krakow's Kazimierz and the Ticinese District in Milan*. It is the second in what we hope will become a long, varied and significant series of volumes based on the research carried out by the doctoral candidates belonging to the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence.

Smagacz uses a comparative approach to look at two very different but related processes: what she calls the "revitalization" of two formerly peripheral and now prosperous, innovative and trendy urban districts: the first a part of the historical Polish capital, Krakow, and the second of the dynamic Northern Italian city of Milan. The cities' histories are not identical: Milan was a Celtic centre some centuries before Roman conquest; Krakow too had long been inhabited and became the seat of Polish monarchs during the Middle Ages. And the two districts had different functions. Ticinese was the inland port and trading area along the wharf interface between Milan and great canals built for navigation in the Po plain; Kazimierz began as a separate city, across the river from Krakow and was an important centre of Jewish population. Both are useful objects of analysis in Smagacz's perspective, and comparison throws into high relief the differences as well as the similarities. For Smagacz cities are important from a methodological point of view: not only are they of growing significance in today's world, where an ever greater proportion of the population has become, willingly or not, urban: for Smagacz cities force us to integrate our disciplinary approaches and tools. The city cannot be understood unilaterally, but brings the researcher necessarily to look to different disciplines, or rather across and between disciplines, in order to create a meaningful and realistic picture.

Marta Smagacz is by formation a sociologist, and sociological concerns were the starting point for her study. Her methodology is based on the conviction that the city and its parts are made, interpreted and continually reinterpreted by the inhabitants as they construct and reconstruct 'their' city. Interviews with the present inhabitants of the two districts form the core of her empirical evidence. The object of study and the results obtained inspired Smagacz to bring a historical and political-cultural perspective to bear on Ticinese and Kazimierz, in the attempt to highlight and to explain their similarities and differences.

In our age of mobility and globalization, for Smagacz, finding one's place means creating links to the past, or rather to an idea of it. A feeling of rootedness can emerge in zones that have a distinct history and feel. Kazimierz and Ticinese were both marginal districts, in which impoverished populations nonetheless had their own special story: the former was known for the shared life of its Jewish and Christian communities, and then for Nazi persecution; the latter for its variety of boatmen, stevedores, workers and thieves – and more recently as a haven for anarchists and various political extremists. Subsequent decades have transformed both quarters, bringing prosperity, high property prices and 'branding': they have become areas of shops, expensive flats, creative businesses and very lively nightlife. Alongside the similarities, Smagacz finds substantial differences in the development and probable future trajectories of the two districts: these in her view have to do with the deeper layers of the relationship of the citizenry to politics, the historical bases of community and associative activities and practices of self-government.

The CLIOHRES Network is unique in bringing together numerous researchers from many countries in a coordinated transnational and transgenerational project on History and Citizenship. Of the 180 members, coming from 45 universities in 31 countries, 90 are senior staff and 90 are doctoral researchers. During their participation in the Network the doctoral candidates participate in the collaborative research programme, participating in one of the six Thematic Working Groups, and in the general activities of the Network.

The CLIOHRES Network strives to bring its special approach to bear on relevant issues for European citizens. Smagacz's study is exemplary in looking in a truly interdisciplinary way at transformations in cities, at how dwellers contribute to them and interpret them. Her approach is transnational, using the tools of comparison between the related but significantly different realties of Italy and Poland.

Ann Katherine Isaacs   *Guðmundur Hálfdanarson*
University of Pisa   University of Iceland

The CLIOHRES Network of Excellence

CLIOHRES is a consortium of 45 universities and research institutions in 31 countries. Each institution is represented by two senior researchers and two doctoral students coming from various academic fields – primarily from history, but also from art history, archaeology, architecture, philology, political science, literary studies and geography. The 180 researchers in the network are divided into six "Thematic Work Groups", each of which deals with a broadly defined research area – 'States, Institutions and Legislation', 'Power and Culture', 'Religion and Philosophy', 'Work, Gender and Society', 'Frontiers and Identities', and 'Europe and the Wider World'. Furthermore, the Network as a whole addresses 'transversal themes' of general relevance. These include 'Citizenship', 'Migration', 'Tolerance and Discrimination', 'Gender' and 'Identities'; one of these is targeted each year.

As a Network of Excellence, CLIOHRES is not an ordinary research project. It does not focus on a single research question or on a set of specific questions. Rather it is conceived as a forum where researchers representing various national and regional traditions can meet and elaborate their work in new ways thanks to structured interaction with their colleagues. The objective is not only to transcend the national boundaries that still largely define historical research agendas, opening new avenues for research, but also to use those very differences to become critically aware of how current research agendas have evolved. Thus, the goal is to examine basic and unquestioned attitudes about ourselves and others, which are rooted in the ways that the scientific community in each country looks at history. Historians create and cultivate selective views of the national or local past, which in turn underpin pervasive ideas about identities and stereotypes: national, religious, gender, political, etc. National historiographies today are still largely shaped by problems and preoccupations reflecting previous political and cultural contexts. CLIOHRES aims to create and promote a new structure and agenda for the community of historical research, redirecting its critical efforts along more fruitful lines.

The Network began its work in June 2005, thanks to a five-year contract with the European Commission through the Sixth Framework Programme of its Directorate General for Research, under Priority 7, dealing with "Citizenship". Its activities aim to contribute to the development of innovative approaches to history as regards both the European Research Area and European Higher Education Area. The Network works for a closer connection between research and learning/teaching,

holding that this is essential in order to ensure that European citizens possess the necessary information, conceptual tools and more in general the vital critical and self-critical abilities which they will need in the future.

All the thematic groups have worked from the start according to a common research plan, beginning in the first year with reconnaissance or mapping, of how the questions perceived as important for the thematic area appear in the different national historiographies. During the second year they defined 'connecting' themes, which are relevant for research in a wider geographical and chronological context. The third phase has concentrated on comparing and reviewing sources and methodologies; the fourth will focus on cross-fertilisation, that is on showing how problems identified in the previous phases can be developed in new contexts. During the last phase, the groups will define new and relevant projects, in the broadest sense, for future research in the sector.

Each Thematic Work Group publishes one volume a year in order to share and discuss the results of their work with the broader academic community.

The volumes are not conceived as the final word on the issues that they deal with, but rather as work-in-progress. In addition to the six Thematic Work Group volumes, the Network publishes one common volume per year dealing with the transversal theme targeted. It also publishes abridged versions of the dissertations written by doctoral students who have participated in its work. Together the volumes already published form an invitation to discuss the results of the Network and the novel directions that are emerging from its work; they also constitute a unique patrimony of up-to-date studies on well-known and less well-known aspects of Europe and its history.

All publications are available in book form and on the www.cliohres.net website. They can be downloaded without charge. A list of publications to date can be found at the end of this volume.

Introduction

The city, from its establishment as a form of social life, has assumed a special position in the history of mankind: at the same time it is the quintessence and the emanation of the culture and civilisation of a given community. The city has escaped the attempts at intellectual pigeonholing into a single discipline, despite strenuous efforts by various researchers. Its complexity, the multiplicity of its character, and dynamism that are the essence of the urban phenomenon make it impossible for one-sided analyses and interpretations to describe adequately the object of research. Studying the city means crossing the borders between scientific disciplines; it means viewing and depicting 'the life of the city' in various moments, and from various perspectives. The French realists were well aware of this, which may be why Zola's portrayal of 19th-century Paris speaks to us more powerfully than the analyses conducted by art historians or economic historians of the same period. The criticism of 'tunnel-vision' analyses of the city (within the individual disciplines of social sciences) gave birth to hybrid, multi-disciplinary, and hyperdisciplinary approaches, including sociology of space and so-called urban studies, designed to allow comprehensive and in-depth research on this complex subject. Exponents of social sciences other than sociology would come to a similar conclusion: in research on the city, historians, geographers, psychologists, and political scientists have opened the borders between disciplines. It is not a coincidence that works that express the recognition of the supra-disciplinary character of the city enrich our knowledge of the urban past and present. In this context, researchers on historical cities face a special task: instant defeat threatens all those who choose to be locked within their own discipline; using the know-how of other branches promises better success. For this reason, this work is shaped by the assumption that cities have a multifaceted and complex character. Making use of knowledge from the fields of history, anthropology, and economy has broadened (or, rather, allowed), a sociological reconstruction and interpretation of the *hic et nunc* social reality.

Another factor that determined the shape of this work is the belief that contemporary cities, especially large and metropolitan ones, cumulate and reflect social processes, entangled – more deeply than ever before – in the context of two opposing powers: one rooted in local culture, tradition and direct experience, and the other in the limitless global reality that cannot be grasped by individual consciousness. From its earliest days in the history of mankind, the city has played the role of the incubator for new values, ideas, and ways of social life. Even today, it is the space where these two tendencies – the local and the global - clash with tremendous energy.

This aspect of the contemporary age was one of the elements that inspired me to undertake research on processes taking place in specific urban spaces, namely ones that – for a variety of reasons – have maintained their local identity, in most cases thanks to finding themselves on the margin of modern society. On the one hand, their physical, economic, and often social degradation was the result of marginalisation, while on the other it could be seen as a kind of petrification of local values. In the homogeneous and globalised social context, local character becomes a potential that can be triggered and used by mechanisms of supra-local origin. Combining ideas, values, and forms coming from the two dimensions (local and global) leads to new elements and patterns of culture that develop and penetrate from the micro level to the broader social circuits. I refer to the process in which such an intensive social activation for change occurs as the revitalization of urban space. This is more than a 'return to life' or 'revival' of the degraded, neglected or abandoned space experiencing 'bad' publicity; this is more than the fact that individuals and groups want to live and stay within it, renew buildings, streets, and squares. This also means experimenting and developing new forms of social, cultural, and economic activity not present earlier. For this reason I consider the process of revitalization to be a kind of natural social experiment; research on it means observing the social 'avant-garde' in a specific, empirical context.

Large historic cities, especially, enjoy such potential, in the form of the spaces described above and referred to in sociological literature as creative spaces. In these cities conditions permit and stimulate the process of setting local resources in motion in the context of global culture. This is why degraded and disadvantaged urban spaces may play, and actually do play, an ever more significant role in the development of contemporary (late contemporary) culture. Taking a closer look at the people who participate in this process, their motivations, needs, and circumstances makes it possible to understand the process of changing urban space: the process of change arises in the urban community. Thus the motivation for me to undertake research on revitalization of urban space was rooted in the need to build a theoretical model for describing and explaining processes taking place in contemporary cities. Considering the intense change going on in Polish cities, the need to develop appropriate research tools seemed especially crucial and urgent.

I have always referred the theoretical model to specific urban realities: Polish and Italian. The initial impulse which spurred me to undertake general research on the changes in contemporary cities had a significant role; moreover, it later directly influenced my selection of cases to be analysed. In 1999, I first saw the former work-

ers' and craftsmen's district of Ticinese in the city of Milan, which at that time was experiencing the apogee of its popularity. That was also when I learned about the history of that place for the first time. I had an extremely powerful impression that there was a hard-to-grasp similarity between the Ticinese district and Krakow's Kazimierz – although the latter until the 18th century was a separate city; until the Second World War, it was the Jewish district of Krakow, and after that it became a degraded and marginalised area. I felt the similarities even though the Ticinese of 1999 teemed with life round the clock, whereas Kazimierz at that time was still a scary and disreputable eyesore full of ruined buildings. The first impression was not sufficient to make me decide to undertake research on the subject. The deciding factor was the changes in Polish cities, and especially in Krakow, which I observed later. The systemic transformation that started in 1989 changed the way that the city operates: municipal authorities were established, and new actors – both individual and collective – appeared able to influence arrogant local reality. Yet, for a long time, the new institutional order was not translated into everyday life, as one would have thought from the formally defined competences of the new authorities. When compared to expectations, the effects were inadequate. This was (and still is) commonly explained by the "decentralisation of the lack of resources" (understood here primarily as spreading the burden of the financial deficit), legal loopholes and gaps, and by the immaturity of democracy and capitalism in Poland. Sociologists examining the effects of transformation look to non-economic, non-organisational, and non-systemic factors and emphasise the importance of soft values whose source lies in awareness, culture, and tradition of the society[1]. I accepted the assumption that these 'soft' factors had a determining influence while doing research on the revitalization process; and in the case of Kazimierz, this hypothesis already seemed realistic at the initial stage of research. Discrepancy between institutional plans and practical consequences was observable for quite a few years, and changes appeared as if they had come about outside the sphere of institutional life. Having assumed the subjective status of individuals (at least potentially), and the fundamental role of their convictions, actions, and attitudes, I undertook to test whether – and if so, in what manner – their subjectivity influenced the changes in Kazimierz. Finally, I wanted to uncover the subtle dependencies between the activities and their spatial, social, and institutional context.

I compared the case of Kazimierz with that of the Ticinese district in Milan. There the process of transformation-revitalization began, as in many districts of West European cities, at the turn of 1970s. Already at the beginning of my work, similarity

between the changes in Krakow's Kazimierz and Milan's Ticinese was noticeable. For one thing, non-institutional factors set the districts' potential in motion: institutions provided only an element of the context and were only one of the agents of the process. Later, thanks to the cooperation with Milan's *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale*, directed by Professor Laura Bovone[2], I was able to make use of the results of research conducted by the Centro. Initially, it seemed that, because of the wealth of materials, analyses, and scientific texts devoted to the Ticinese district, nothing new could be said about it. I learned twice that this was not so. First, in 2004 I conducted a few months of research in the Ticinese: observing the changes that occurred in the district after the 'apogee of vitality' in the 1990s (that is after the Centro finished its research on Ticinese) changed my outlook on the process of revitalization and influenced my final conclusions to a significant degree. Second, when I started to compare and analyse the result of research on Ticinese with the research conducted in Kazimierz, again a subject that seemed completely exhausted appeared in a new light, displaying new points of interest.

This work attempts to describe the changes that occurred in these two places. Or rather, it attempts to portray Kazimierz and the Ticinese in a specific timeframe, as well as to reconstruct and explain the internal logic behind the processes of change. I honestly admit that I frequently asked myself whether such dissimilar cultural and social contexts as Poland and Italy, and differences in economic and political standing of Krakow and Milan – and finally, of the traditions of Kazimierz and the Ticinese – would allow me to juxtapose these two cases. And equally frequently, while conducting my research I found confirmation that what may not be comparable from the perspective of, for example, an art historian, may provide abundant research material for the sociologist. Bringing these differences to light enriches the picture in both cases, and sheds light on phenomena and mechanisms that have so far remained hidden. Comparison was used only to achieve better understanding of the processes. I do not compare the districts themselves, but the revitalization processes going on there. This process is, naturally, the result of numerous elements and all the resources of the space: people, institutions, cultural patterns, historical factors, natural and physical conditions, financial assets, and even the climate. I have been able to highlight the elements that, in the two cases, have been decisive in determining change. Subsequently I draw a comparison between the two paths.

The work is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One is theoretical. Here, I present my assumptions related to the ontic status of contemporary society and the manner of its operation, making reference to the basic categories and rules of agency theory

and the concept of late modernity. In late modernity, globalisation and state-of-the-art technology separate the individual from the place, and rip asunder the relations between place and time, while new dependencies between the global and local dimensions pervade the everyday lives of members of contemporary society, and make necessary continuous choices, under the shadow of a risk of failure. Reflexivity becomes a routine practice, necessary to build an individual's identity, while identifying an "authentic" space, and community helps the individual to take root and take control of his or her life (or at least to increase the sense of control over it). This rooting provides a counterweight for the global reality that the individual cannot experience directly. In line with the assumptions of agency theory, there is a feedback relation between the agents' activities and the structural context: activities develop social reality, and social reality conditions activity. Therefore I assumed that a similar, dialectic relation is the essence of the process of revitalising urban space. The agents involved – albeit at times unwillingly – in the process define the current situation, and as a result they undertake specific actions. The process – being the resultant product of activity of all agents – impacts on that activity, becoming a new structural context for action. In this chapter, I also define the categories of 'social space' and 'natural area' that are necessary to operationalise the process of revitalization.

In Chapter Two, on the basis of the theoretical assumptions presented, I develop a model of revitalization of urban space and define its indicators and the ways to gauge it. Even though the work does not focus on revitalization as a city plan, in this part I also explained the characteristics of city planning projects as I believe that they exert major influence on social awareness, already at the conceptual stage, even if they "only" provoke dispute, and create new possibilities of discourse. Chapter Three opens the case studies section, and is based on the empirical research I conducted in Krakow and Milan. I treat both Kazimierz and the Ticinese as natural areas – specific research labs – which cannot be entirely abstracted from the local, urban or municipal context. For this reason, I present – very briefly, due to space constrictions – the background of the transformations which took place in the districts, introducing the reader into the reality of Krakow and Milan as seen from the perspectives of a passer-by and of a municipal clerk. Chapter Four focuses on the history of Kazimierz and the Ticinese district. The main aspect of the histories of the two places is, for obvious reasons, told succinctly and focusing on specific aspects: on the process of constructing the local identity of the space. I considered it necessary to present the historical context, reaching even several centuries into the past so as to explain the presence and durability of the basic features of Kazimierz

and Ticinese that play an important role in contemporary processes. In Chapter Five I define the temporal and spatial framework of my analysis, reconstructing the elements that constitute Kazimierz and the Ticinese as natural and cultural barriers, and point to the stages of change in urban space. In the two last chapters I carry out an analysis of the material used, primarily qualitative data from observation, participant observation, interviews, publications, photographic documentation, and other available data (e.g. official information and results of earlier research).

Analysis of the process begins with testing changes in the physical space (Chapter Six); it continues through the analysis of changes in the districts' social and demographic profile, prevailing activity, and character of social relations (Chapter Seven). The analysis is structured according to two interrelated objectives: first, to portray revitalization as a process, and second, to depict this process from the perspective of a variety of 'micro-worlds' of the participants in it. Throughout, I try to satisfy the comparative requirements of my work, including comments and reflections on specific parts of the analysis in individual chapters. The conclusion is a summing up of the entire work, accompanied by remarks concerning both the usefulness of the conceptual framework used and the empirical level of analysis.

The structure or the analytical part of the work calls for a few more words of explanation. The manner of presenting the research results derives from the need to take into consideration two primary objectives: on the one hand, to conduct separate analyses of the two cases, and on the other, to compare the two or at least present them in the way that makes the differences and similarities between them most intelligible. Besides, I sought to present the cases in the manner that would most clearly reflect the dynamism of changes and synergies between different dimensions of social life. I am aware that with these assumptions, the best way to present my analysis is to single out key questions. For that reason the overarching concern is the spatial and structural context, the historical context, and finally the question of the process of revitalization itself, within which – to keep the analysis transparent – I distinguished spatial and social transformations. Along these lines I organised the empirical data referring to the two districts separately but in parallel.

This work is to a degree a reflection and result of my ties with Krakow and Milan as 'urban realities'; these realities were established primarily by people, and it is thanks to their assistance, care, comments, and simply their presence that this work originated. It would be impossible to list all the persons to whom I am greatly indebted. Therefore, let me name here only the most important and symbolic persons

in this 'Polish–Italian' context. First of all, my thesis supervisor, Professor Krzysztof Frysztacki, who not only provided assistance, pressures, remarks and guidance but also the possibility of cooperating in the friendly atmosphere of the Department of Applied Sociology and Social Work, which he chairs. The other person is Professor Laura Bovone of Milan's Università Cattolica, for it is mostly thanks to her assistance that I could complete the Italian part of the work. Thank you all for your support, and for the great kindness and friendship that I found at the *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale*. The Italian path found continuation in Pisa, in the CLIOHRES project, thanks to which the book is published.

My thanks to my family will never suffice.

As a post-script, let me add that my studies turned out to be fascinating, exciting and difficult, primarily due to the richness of aspects, phenomena, and strands present within the category of revitalization and the dynamics of changes in the social reality. I was forced to abandon numerous ideas, others I greatly modified. Moreover, finally I had face the fact that it was time to close the studies while Kazimierz and the Ticinese are continuing to write to their histories.

Marta Smagacz is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. She was a member of the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence as a doctorial student. Her doctoral thesis regarded the process of revitalisation of historic urban areas. Her research interests concentrate on the urban processes, urban problems, and influences of local and global culture on the individuals, social groups, urban culture and everyday life. She is author or co-author of articles on the revitalisation of the urban space, urban life-styles, and problems of social exclusion. She has been Fellow of the Polish Minister of National Education and of the S. Estreicher Foundation at the Jagiellonian University and, as holder of an Italian Government grant, Fellow of the Catholic University in Milan.
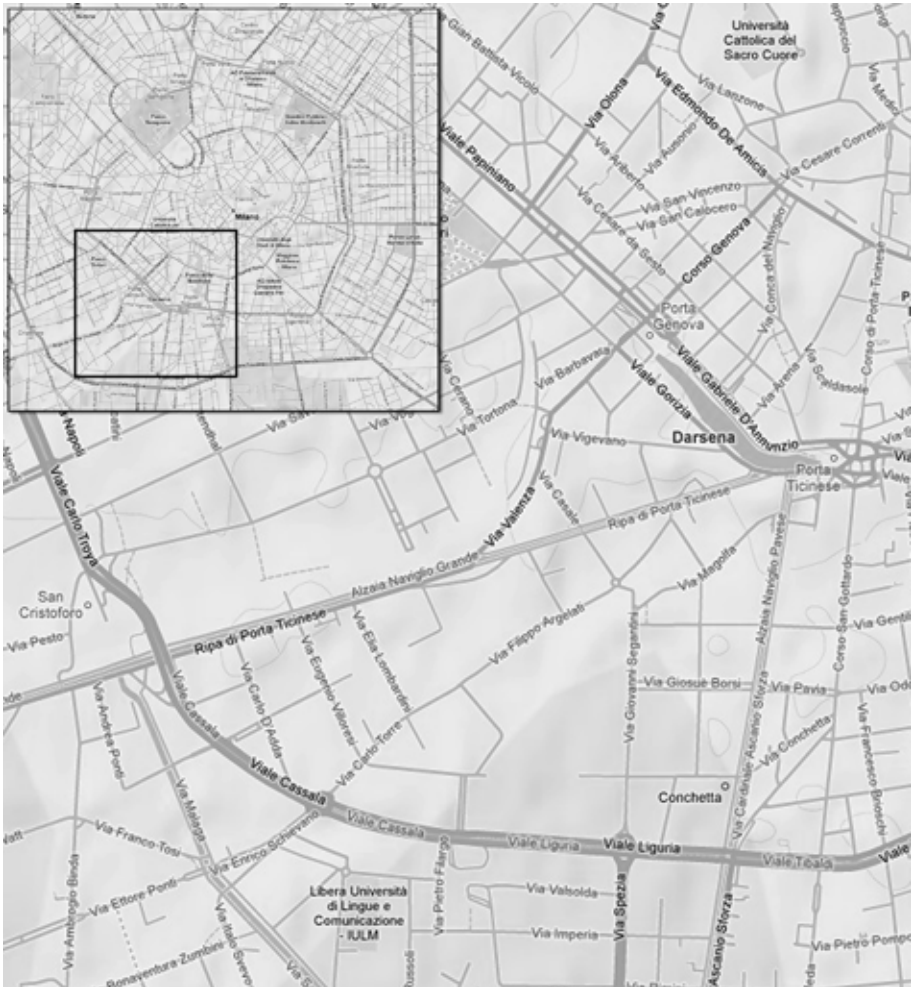
Map 1
Milan: the central part of the city, with a closeup of the Ticinese district.
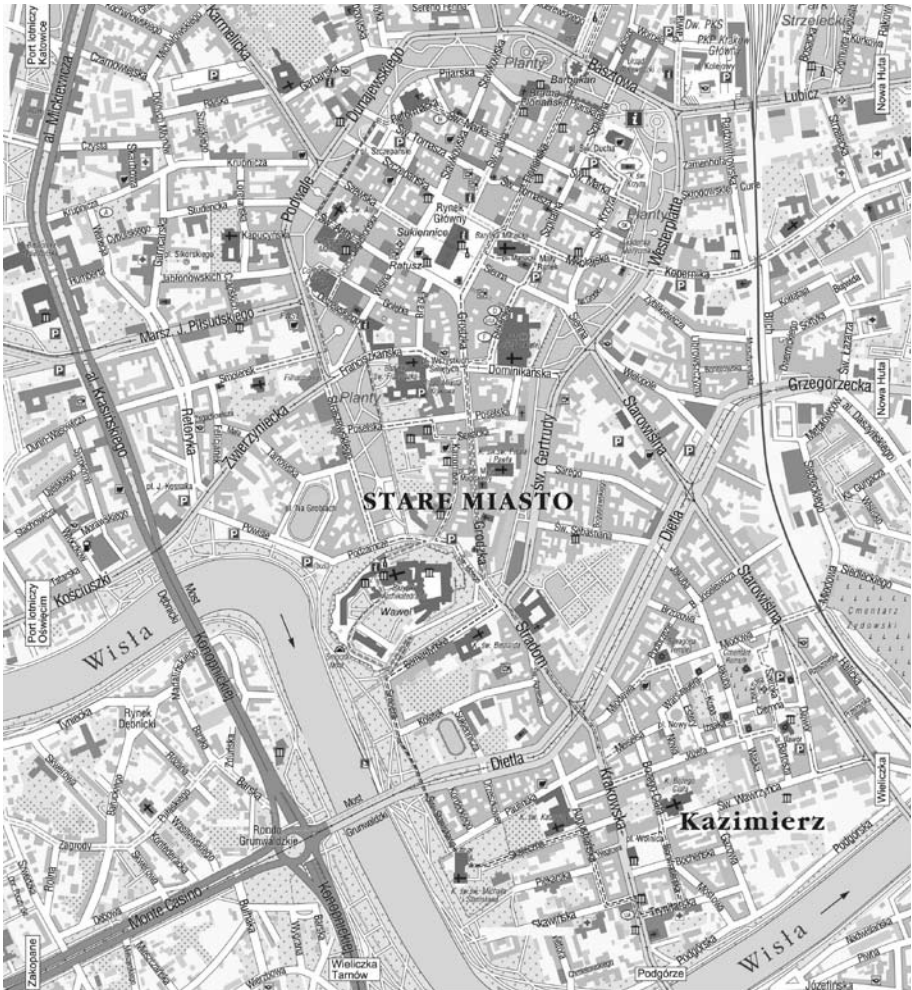
Map 2
Krakow, the "Old City" (Stare Miasto) and Kazimierz

Map 3
Kazimierz

The complexity of the object of research required the use of a number of theoretical concepts, yet the framework of my analysis is primarily based on two perspectives: first, on the theory of society as a dynamic agent, self-constituting and self-developing through the activity of individuals and, secondly on concepts relating to modern society, and especially those of late modernity and late-modern identity as well as concepts of soft capital (social capital, including especially the capital of trust and cultural capital). It is in reference to these concepts that I define the basic assumptions towards the ontic and epistemic status of social reality. The concepts that pertain to the canon of urban sociology, despite their belonging to various and varied theoretical currents, made it easier for me (with certain modifications) to adapt the system of general sociological theories to research practice (or, more properly: procedures). This is true especially of the concepts of 'the city–laboratory', 'natural area' and 'cultural area', and 'social space'. These help to identify Kazimierz and the Ticinese as the object of my research.

1. Society as the object of change

The conceptual framework of my research on the processes of municipal space is agency theory[3]. The starting point is the objection towards understanding the society in mutually opposing categories: statics *versus* social dynamics, structure *versus* function, macro (social systems, structures, etc.) *versus* micro (activity of individual and collective actors)[4]. According to agency theory, individual and collective social actors undertake actions on the basis of a definition of the situation that defines the conditions encountered, motivations and targets, while their activity in return reorganises the context encountered. Thus, society is treated as a dynamic whole, being the product of activity of individuals, and the permanence of the frameworks within which they are operating. This direct presentation of the research orientation indirectly defines my assumptions about the empirical object of the study, namely, what a 'city' is, and what its ontic status is. I assume that the city is a dynamic product of its inhabitants, users, social groups, institutions, and organisations operating in specific historical and cultural (material and symbolic) conditions that at the same time allow and determine such operations.

The social ontology of agency theory delineates a separate paradigm, but does not negate the achievements of earlier perspectives, being rather their "criticism, through

dialogue". What are the assumptions of agency theory towards the ontic status of society? First, society is not a static world of objects but an entity: produced, changing, dynamic. Secondly, its dynamics has its sources within society: society is a peculiar *perpetuum mobile*. The source of energy is the active operation of individuals (including communities), through which those individuals transform society, and hence transform themselves[5]. Thus, society is not the object of change, activity, perception, but it is a self-recreating, self-transforming subject ('agent'): society is created and recreated anew by the actors in every social contact. The category of agency is understood here in a specific manner, namely as a potential agency, the "synthetic property of the society (an individual–structural field), expressed in the capacity of social and historical collective practice"[6]. Thirdly, the agency of social actors is constituted thanks to their ability to reflect: a certain type of self knowledge not only allows control and correction of one's own (individual) actions, but at the same time provides the basis for expectations towards others. This reflexive character allows regulation of social life, according to the principle of "creative re-creation" of practices that, by becoming routines, assume the role of patterns of interaction. Preserved in the process of recreation, the continuity of those practices allows social life at individual and collective level, bestowing their sense of ontological safety. At the same time (and fourthly) the 'legacy' situation (e.g. historical conditions) limits the subjective dimension of the society. Thus, the actions undertaken by agents are defined structurally, yet undertaking actions provides feedback with respect to the conditions: structure is at the same time the condition and result of activity – expressed in this sense as the "duality of the structure", ergo also of the agent. This is why, speaking about social structure (which is free of agents), Giddens speaks of "structuration", that is the process of combining structural integration of collectivities – in the capacity of systems – with social integration/transformations of interaction at the level of the living world[7], and Sztompka speaks of the incessant, dynamic processes of "social becoming"[8.] Such a vision of society means therefore suspending another opposition that has been binding in sociology so far, namely the one between 'objective' and 'subjective' reality. Structuration or social becoming means constant use of impersonal patterns of social practices to implement them in actualised form: by specific agents holding defined resources and operating in specific conditions. The recognition of the potential and the agent-based character of society means that not only the question "what society is like" becomes null and void, but so does the question of "what society will become like". As I.J. Cohen noticed, agency theory provides a certain ontology of the potential: the single poten-

tial that all operating social agents have is the capacity to produce historical varia-
tions in their own forms of conduct. This capacity is considered potential, therefore
it may equally well be claimed that it is not always manifest[9].

Such an ontology of social life determines the epistemology of agency theory, which
makes direct reference to phenomenology and hermeneutics. The method of acquir-
ing scientific knowledge of society proposed by Giddens is 'double' ('secondary')
hermeneutics, being the critical continuation of philosophical hermeneutics. The
foundation of this method is the acknowledgement that the researcher deals with
a reality that already has a sense, awarded to it by social entities (agents). Language
is of fundamental importance in the process of producing social reality. It may not
be treated only as a means of describing reality and interpersonal communication:
language is as much the vehicle of description, in which the meanings awarded to
reality by active agents become imprinted, as it is the medium that allows social
interactions to occur and the building material of social reality. The recognition of
'first-tier' meanings and interpretations and penetration into the knowledge shared
within a society are the basic means of hermeneutic analysis of the process of crea-
tion and recreation of the social world. In hermeneutical analysis, the role of the
researcher does not limit itself to the role of a 'collector' and re-interpreter of the
strands of popular meanings: the 'second-tier' interpretations described in the form
of a sociological scientific discourse enter the stream of popular knowledge and be-
come, reflexively, an element of common knowledge, and therefore of the context
of social practices undertaken by agents.

The theory of structuration and hermeneutic analysis proposes a research perspec-
tive that accentuates the potential subjectivity and reflexive character of social ac-
tors, and that is actualised in the process of interpreting and producing patterns
for interaction. The concept of late modernity is a product of the assumptions of
agency theory, yet as such it encompasses numerous analytical findings that cast a
new light on the processes taking place in contemporary society.

2. Between locality and globality: "local society"?

The analysis of situation factors (including time-space factors) comprised in the
concept of late modern society[10] brings out the relations between circumstances
and social activity, between structural properties and the reflexive subjectivity of so-
cial actors. Metaphorically speaking, I treat the ontology contained in agency theo-
ries as the foundation; and the concept of late modern society as the construction
framework for analysing processes of urban space revival.

The starting point for the concept of late modernity is the recognition that the acceleration and intensification of modernisation, globalisation, and knowledge development processes have brought us to a radical change at the institutional level (with which modernity is most often identified) and at the individual level – pervading everyday life, and defining new possibilities and necessities in the dimension of individual biography. Unlike the concept of post-modernism, the concept of late (highly developed) modernity does not describe contemporary society in the categories of deconstruction and radical termination of historical continuity. Late modernity is perceived as a stage in modernity where not only is the pace of change incomparably faster than in the case of any earlier system – the scope and radical influence with which change impacts on the social practices is also unprecedented[11.] According to Giddens, the key features of late modernity, related to the processes of globalisation and modernisation, are: first, the separation of time and space (*distanciation*), that is severing the ties between the 'here' and the 'now' that allows experiencing and organising social practices in mutually independent temporal and spatial dimensions (on the global scale); second, related to the division of time and space, the separation of social interactions from the local context defined as disembedding (or uprooting); and, third, institutionalised reflexivity, which means systematic and regulated usage of the knowledge of the world and self-knowledge (self reflexivity) by social entities[12]. All these elements, or rather sets of elements – division of time and space, disembedding, and reflexivity - are not only closely related[13] but are also mutually interlinked, increasing in this way the dynamics of modernisation processes and developing new, unprecedented ways of experiencing social reality. Modernity means new 'existential parameters' where individual and collective agents build (reconstruct) their identity. Characteristic of late modernity (both in the individual and collective dimensions) are primarily new forms of risk[14] and trust[15]. An individual living in the late modern world faces dilemmas that are determined by the individual's minimum "I" and by the globalised system that cannot be comprehended in its entirety. Identity becomes a project constructed in a space of tensions between the awareness of unification and fragmentation, powerlessness and control, authority and uncertainty, and personal experience and commodified experience. The individual continues his or her identity "living life", solving "identity conundrums", and performing the necessary selection of the life style/styles[16]. The future becomes an open "territory of possibilities", and any activity means a leap into the unknown. One aspect of the novelty of risks is the fact that this risk is assumed into activity, made conscious, and consciously undertaken. In 'risk societies',

trust acquires a very special sense: for the agent it becomes the only 'guarantee' of safety (even though it is still laden with risk); it is a "certain type of a bet that we accept in relation to the uncertain future activity of other people"[17]. Following the principle of trust towards others and individual attempts at "colonising the future" reduces uncertainty and risk, building the minimum sense of safety necessary for conducting interactions.

It is not a coincidence that in recent years the subject of identity crisis – "severance of the self from the world"[18] – has become manifest in the critique of modernity, whose tradition is as long as that of modernity itself. This thought focuses on the impact that late modernity makes on the basic dimension of human existence. The dilemmas that the individual faces encroach on the foundations of the individual's existence and call for a counterweight: we are looking for places where we can decide together about ourselves, without needing to surrender our varied nature to the peculiar habits of commerce and consumerism. The renaissance of traditional values observed in late modernist society has sources in the very essence of this post-traditional order – in the subjective reflexivity that makes an individual aware of identity dilemmas. (Self)reflexivity allows performing self-correction and applying "self therapy", this is why the negative impacts of globalisation processes (even when this is not necessarily realised by agents), as for example the sense of "loneliness in the crowd" or crisis of identity, may lead to "balancing" activities, whose manifestations could be, for example, an attempt to "take root", by taking interest in local traditions or by the construction of deeper social ties. For individuals attempt to "place themselves" not only in the metaphorical sense, which means to define their life objectives and priorities, and discover their vocation. The increasing extent of "non-significant" spaces – of "non-places", to quote Augé[19] – gives rise to the individual's need for *a place*: significant, specific, the only one.

The space where the processes described above are particularly visible is the contemporary city. The individual is 'suspended' between a specific, tangible, local micro-world and the global, borderless globality: the individual lives in glocality[20]. Routine everyday activities provide ties to a place. Yet ever new possibilities of using the resources of hyper-local reality appear. Just a few decades ago, identity dilemmas concerned mostly those who immigrated from the country to the city. 'Adjustment' to the place and to the neighbours, in some cultures taking the parish priest into your home during his annual visit – these were the events that made the new person take root and build a sense of membership in the new, urban society. An 'urban' character did not exclude the 'local' one. Today, identity dilemmas affect an ever

greater proportion of city residents. As researchers have noticed, the play between local reality and global reality results in a zero sum game – both for individual and for collective identity: "the deeper the process of entangling in metropolisation and the global system, the smaller are the chances for survival of awareness and local or regional identity. The reverse is also true: the deeper the ties to regional values, the greater the exclusion from the processes of globalisation and metropolisation"[21], yet "such an understanding conceals a deep conviction that the preservation of elements of regional-local identity that are not contradictory to the logic of world processes is crucial and necessary"[22].

Today, in the conditions of globalised reality, is there still space for local communities as they are defined in the classical sociological understanding? One cannot fail to notice that, in the face of ever stronger globalising factors, the classical concept of local community that accentuates homogeneity and powerful ties based on direct, spontaneous contacts motivated by the emotions and shared tradition cannot be used for the city and its spaces, even if one could single out the area and specific features of the collectivity that inhabits it. Bagnasco claims that in today's contemporary society, every local community must be treated as a "local society" within which we can observe a hybrid of elements from the levels of community and society[23].

In the light of these concepts, the process of revitalising urban space may be treated as an indicator of the 'becoming' of late modern society. Such a process takes place (or may take place) in a space whose properties stimulate and allow the activity of actors, and vice versa: by undertaking actions, the actors help to reproduce urban space (as social space). The particularities of this process can be seen in at least three aspects. First, reproduction of space continues within an especially intensive mobilisation of resources available in the space (in this sense I understand revitalization as a certain cultural and social transgression). Secondly, among the agents operating in this space, there are representatives of the "old" and "new" systems: individuals, social groups, and institutions that play – metaphorically speaking – a single game, yet defining its principles in different manners. Thirdly and lastly, the space within which the process takes place has the resources (features) that form the context for the agents' building and implementing their 'identity project'. The prime constituents of these resources are social capital and cultural capital. There is incessant feedback between these three situational/structural properties, which results in qualitative change of the context of operation (space), the resources used in its operation, and the actors who at the same time influence the course of the process and are subjected to its influence. Thus understood, the process of revitalising urban space may also be

treated as a social *experimentum crucis*, while the empirical object of research – the specific urban space, a district – can be considered a sociological laboratory.

3. The city as social space

When the city is the object of research, the number of problems increases proportionately to our ambition to define relations between the *abstractum* and the *concretum*: the theoretical category and the empirical, physically existing city. The introduction of the category of social space[24] to the sociological dictionary opened new conceptual potential for reflection on society and defined the starting point for studies on the city. It was recognized that the city has a "double spatial" character. This idea, present already in the Chicago School, was the first step in defining its essence. Nevertheless further reflection was entangled in oppositions similar to those characteristic for general sociological theory, as well as in contradictions resulting from the various assumptions concerning the relations between 'physical space' and 'social space'. The framework for theoretical discussion was thus defined by two diametrically opposed visions of the city and two visions of its social space[25]. In the first view, characteristic of the Chicago School, the city is a physical space. That is how its territorial character is manifested[26]. It has size and form, and is the sum total of physical objects. City residents and users of its space live and operate in a definite, physical context that they are cognizant of, and that they are capable of describing. That context allows, defines, and limits their lives. The other view is based on a humanist orientation. The city is not a social space because it is inhabited/occupied by people, but because it is produced by them as social space. The social character of the space is not an 'additional' attribute, but its essence. In other words, the subjective definition of the space makes it objectively (intersubjectively) present. Florian Znaniecki's postulate, to "take space as anything that [the researcher] deals with (...) with its subjective factor, i.e. in the way it is experienced by these human agents, whose culture is being researched"[27] was a milestone in sociological theory as such[28]. According to Znaniecki, "human agents never experience any general, objective, non-quality, and changing, unlimited, and unrestrictedly divided space within which all objects (including themselves) exist and move. In their experience, they are given countless 'spaces' – qualitatively different, limited, invisible, changeable, and additionally assessed positively or negatively"[29]. Originating from different ontological and methodological assumptions, these two considerations of space – ecological and humanist – defined the paths that were followed, or at least referred

to, by later researchers working on the subject of the city (excluding the so-called macro-structural sociology of the city).

According to the assumptions of agency theory, when I speak of the social space of the city, I consider 'place' to be produced by the activities of (individual and collective) social agents, undertaken on the basis of the (re)definition of the place. In the ontological sense, space is a realistically existing area of life for individuals and collectivities but this existence must be confirmed by the community in the continuous process of its perception and interpretation. In reference to the cases analysed this would mean that the spaces of Ticinese and Kazimierz are incessantly produced by active agents. Interpretation and reinterpretation of the space becomes objectified in the material dimension, in the changing appearance of buildings and streets. And the other way round: the area of the districts and their physical characteristics provides context for social practices, material for imagination, and the pre-text of social definitions of the space.

Such an understanding of social space, as a dynamic reality in its time-space context, developed and processed by social agents, is an indirect step towards identifying the unit of analysis suitable to answer the question: What is Kazimierz? What is Ticinese? Where are the borders of that space?

4. Social space as a natural and cultural area

To transform the theoretical definition of social space into tools useful for research we need such concepts as a 'natural area' and 'cultural area'. The concept of natural area, put forth by Friedrich Ratzel, was used by the Chicago School to define the territory and space having similar physiognomic and physiological characteristics, which in practice most often meant districts and quarters[30]. A natural area does not result from a design, but is a natural product of the city's growth[31]. In this sense, the natural area is semantically close to the basic district understood as the unit of the city space, 'separated' culturally and socially, not administratively[32]. An administrative area may be identical to the natural one, yet in the cases of both Ticinese and Kazimierz, the situation described by Zorbaugh is applicable: to make things easier, the city is divided into administrative units (such as districts, voting constituencies, catchment areas of schools or police stations), but administrative borders are wider than the natural ones[33]. The notion of cultural area corresponds to the concept of a natural one. This notion, introduced in 1895 by Otis T. Mason, in the Chicago research referred to the territory "inhabited by a community of similar cultural features and a specific configuration thereof"[34]. A 'cultural area' is a social space within which

there occurs a specific configuration of cultural material and symbolical elements that cannot be repeated outside the area. The notion of cultural area is also used by Aleksander Wallis; the definition Wallis proposes focuses on the elements that the Chicago researchers failed to take into account. He perceives cultural area as "a space with which cultural needs of specific social groups or communities are related in a nearly organic manner. In the very mention of such an area, we confirm the existence of a group or community that uses it, is tied to it in various manners, and identifies with it"[35]. It is the "functionally defined space that is the object of intensive and long-term interaction between the set of material, aesthetic and symbolical values focused on it, and a specific group (community)."[36] Distinguishing a natural/cultural area within an urban space is possible through identification of a system of signs that differentiate it from a broader context (being also a system of signs). Such an area is the result of long-term dynamic social process of 'reading' and 'imparting' meanings at numerous levels and in numerous dimensions; hence its description on the one hand resembles the reconstruction of missing unknown elements of a mosaic, and on the other, the striping off of the social layers of the definition of space.

Researchers dealing with the subject have attempted various analyses of space. Wallis's research on the centre as a cultural area was based on the analysis of its size, spatial and functional structure, social composition and ecological structure, information layer, and cultural structure preserved and expressed through city planning, architecture and social institutions, and last but not least by the behaviours, actions, and social roles characteristic of the members of a given community. A different path is followed by Jałowiecki, who in looking for the social space (and not necessarily that of the city) introduces a division into spatial forms, that is areas of "specific purpose and functions together with the accompanying facilities"[37], the most important among which include: the space for production, consumption, power, symbolism, and exchange. We find another definition of space in Montgomery's analyses of changes that take place in historic quarters, with a system of urban space being the composition of three elements, namely: 1.) activity (economic, cultural, social, etc.); 2.) form, perceived as a relation between buildings and spaces; and 3.) meaning (sense of place) ascribed to the city by the community that uses it[38]. The system is appealing because of its simplicity, yet it gives no tools to analyse the processes of change in the space. It only permits us to identify the differences that occur between various points in time. The solution to this theoretical and methodological dilemma can be found in the system of context of interaction proposed by Giddens. In his theory, the context of interaction is composed of time-spatial

borders (marked symbolically or physically); a co-presence of actors that allows the perception of gestures, facial expressions, and communication; awareness of these phenomena and their reflexive use to influence interaction and its control[39]. If we were to define the point of view adopted in order to observe the two systems mentioned above, we could say that in the case of Montgomery the system is observed from outside, whereas Giddens unwaveringly assumes the perspective of the agent of the interaction. Despite this marked difference between the two in their views of the ontology of reality there is also a certain similarity: in both cases space is formed by active agents operating within set borders, in a specifically situated place. Using Montgomery's model and the agent status of individuals involved in the process, I shall analyse the social space as a dynamic whole, featuring dialectic relationships, and composed of:

- physical space, with physically definable forms, functions, and structure;

- activity of agents related thereto, analysed on the basis of the features of the agents participating in the process of changes in the space (including their number, spatial situation, resources, and relations between the agents) and the features of agent activity related thereto (characteristics of activities and interactions related to the space researched);

- meaning/meanings of the space including changes in the agents' attitude to the past (manner of interpreting and reinterpreting history) and functions of the reinterpreted meanings of space.

The meanings, produced in everyday interactions and accumulating historically, produce space and its topography – borders, central places and peripheries. They determine the functions of space, that is whether it is used as the place for relaxation, work or worship, or whether it becomes the municipal landfill (in this sense, every social space is bestowed with functions, even if in our everyday understanding it is a wasteland). Space is the empirical confirmation of Thomas's theorem: whatever is subjective assumes an objective form. Obviously, this theoretically simple assumption does not mean that numerous obstacles do not remain in actual practice. First, to what extent is it possible to grasp such a dynamic object? Secondly, all its earlier definitions are piled up in in the 'here and now'. Doing research in the process of spatial change means identifying and understanding the ties between what has been (and how the past is socially defined), what is (and how it is defined) and what current activity is focused on. The recognition of the logic of this dialectic process of defining space is the key to understanding the processes going on in Kazimierz and in Ticinese.

5. The district as a laboratory[40]

The response to the social changes of the latter half of the 20th century, and especially of its last three decades – let us define them as globalisation processes in the most general manner – was the increased use of macrostructural theories to explain reality (and especially economic and political ones) and how it determines the lives of individuals and institutions (which they cannot be aware of, and which they cannot influence). This approach assumes the need to explore the global system – a reality that, because of its very nature, cannot be recognized by conducting research on its fragments, ergo also on the city, unless it is the so-called global city. Nevertheless, it was premature to consider the 'pre-globalisation' concepts useless for research on the city. Today, in the context of late modernity, the postulate formulated nearly a century ago by Chicago sociologists, that the city be treated as a research laboratory, appears to have a potential for research on processes going on in contemporary metropolises. What I consider here are primarily districts characteristic of large metropolitan cities, where a joint presence of these micro and macro elements predestines them to the role of laboratories of urban culture, where the juxtaposition of the traditional place and metropolitan capital of its new inhabitants makes the districts become the milieu of urban avant-gardes, and the focus of innovative activity and practices. Ticinese and Kazimierz are among such districts, and their local element and dimension, and its contact with the supra-local (or, indeed, global) culture is the beginning of their new vitality.

It is characteristic that an average resident or user of the space perceives this 'new vitality' as a new attribute of the space, one that appeared suddenly, unexpectedly, in an unknown manner, and from an unknown source. The process of revival is perceived by few: by the pioneers of change themselves (artists and cultural intermediaries), by urban scientists and sociologists, and by experienced agents of the real estate market. This is what for example occurred in Krakow, where the gradual changes in Kazimierz already began in the mid-1990s, whereas the truly Columbus-like "discovery of Kazimierz" was announced in the media and private discussions after the year 2000.

Let us then treat Ticinese and Kazimierz as research laboratories so as to try – in parallel to the reconstruction of the revival process – to answer questions about the sources of changes, consequences, and potential scenarios. First, however, I shall attempt to answer the question of how revival may be understood, and to clarify how I use the concept of revitalization in this work.

Fig. 1. Milan
Via Torino, the street from Piazza del Duomo in the direction of Porta Ticinese. In the four or five storey buildings there are shops with exclusive "made in Italy" brands, fast food restaurants and banks. Several hundred metres further Corso di Porta Ticinese begins.

Fig. 2. Milan
On the first floor of the three storey buildings there are small shops featuring ethnic fashions, second-hand clothes, ecological food and traditional ice-cream.

Fig. 3. Krakow
The crossroads of the Podwale, Dunajewskiego and Karmelicka streets; one of the most important communication nodes for people walking or working near the Market Square. Old buildings form the background for modern media. The photo is of Karmelicka street, typical of the old city; on the left can be seen the Bagatela Theatre with a screen.

Fig. 4. Krakow
On the opposite side of the Old City, several hundred meters from the Market Square we in another world. The simple, small, suburban architecture of Kazimierz quarter.

Fig. 5. Kazimierz
In the respondents' opinion Kazimierz is very distinct from the other spaces of
Krakow, and they explain this fact by the history of the area: on the one hand
highlighting the Jewish heritage, on the other, the several centuries of coexist-
ence of two cultures: Jewish and Christian.

Fig. 6. Kazimierz
The symbol of the connection of the two cultures in Kazimierz – the corner of
Meisels's street and the street of the Holy Body. Not only tenement-houses,
synagogues and churches constitute the architecture of Kazimierz. The socialist
architecture is an element of disorder in a varied but coherent whole.

Fig. 7. Ticinese
On the basis of the physical features it is easy to identify the Ticinese area – the axes of the district are fixed by the canals. Along them are the characteristic "case di ringhiera".

Fig. 8. Ticinese
Sometimes the streets of Ticinese are a graffiti gallery. It seems that here the local authorities gave up the battle for clean walls, which they wage in the rest of the city of Milan.

Fig. 9. Kazimierz
The renovation of the quarter goes bit by bit; dilapidated and renovated buildings are beside each other even in prestigious places like Szeroka Street.

Fig. 10. Kazimierz
Dilapidated and decaying places form the background for consumer symbols. An emblematic expression of the clash of two worlds.

Fig. 11. Kazimierz
The state of the tenement houses inhabited by the "allotted" tenants is tragic. Some of the inhabitants try to "domesticate" the destroyed space; the table, artificial flowers, laundry create new frontiers between the private and common space .

Fig. 12. Kazimierz
The buildings inhabited by people who have lived for many years in Kazimierz are alongside renovated houses, inhabited by the members of the middle class. Today one square meter of a flat in Kazimierz costs several thousand euros.

Fig. 13. Ticinese
The atmosphere of the streets along the canals favours evening social life.

Fig. 14. Ticinese
The gate of the tenement marks a distinct frontier between the private and the public spaces. Today no longer numerous, one once could go in and use the beautiful gardens inside the "case di ringhiera". The flats inside these today reach extraordinary prices.

II. Revitalization of urban space as a process of social change

Despite major financial outlays, institutional reforms, and the broadening of the knowledge base on the contemporary city, the degradation of urban space is one of the most burning problems for its inhabitants, authorities and experts. The way the city operates, which is also the source of its crisis, is strongly related to the economic model of society. By the end of the 19th century urban development processes had been inalienably connected with the processes of industrialisation, and in the "three golden decades", that is 1945–1975, when the so-called Keynesian-Ford system prevailed in Western Europe, dependencies were ever stronger and covered the entire social, political, and economic system of states. The beginning of the crisis of the city, observed in Western Europe from the 1970s on, was connected with processes of industrialisation: their consequences included unemployment, increasing social diversification, pathologies, spatial segregation (including ghettoisation), and the degradation of the physical tissue, all together forming a negative feedback system. The political answer to the deteriorating situation of large cities was to create programmes for their revival[41]. As happened earlier in the United States, in Europe too the degradation of vast brownlands (post-industrial areas) and sometimes of entire cities, whose energy had been based on industry, had such negative social impact that here too the revival of cities became a political priority[42]. Whether called urban renewal, urban revitalization or *renouvellement urbain*, these were the concepts that defined the new stage in the development of a modern city.

1. Revitalization – meanings, contexts, uses

"Revitalization", used in the title of this work, is a term used today and which appears ever more frequently in colloquial language. To a great extent, the media should be credited for its widespread use. It refers to more or less specific changes, which in the 'colloquial' definitions share a single common feature: the changes are considered positive *a priori*. Dictionaries provide highly similar if not identical definitions: "bringing again into life, activity, and prominence"[43]. It is not necessary to be a semiologist to explain why the word itself is perceived as positive: that is the effect of the archetypal recognition which humans have for "life", perceived as the highest value.

It would be hard to pin-point the time and place where actions, processes or projects aimed at city improvement came to be called "revitalization". It is to be noted that in other European countries, unlike Poland, this word is not the only one used to

define an improvement in the quality of urban space. In the English-language literature, we find *renewal*, *requalification*, *regeneration*, and *renovation*, while the French language knows *renouvellement*, *regeneration* and *rénovation*; and Italian uses *rigenerazione*[44], *riqualificazione*, *rinnovazione*, and *rivitalizzazione*. When a specific case is analysed in a Polish sociological text, the terms *odnowa* and *renowacja* (both meaning "renewal") and *rewitalizacja* ("revitalization") are used side-by-side with the less frequent *ożywienie* ("revival"). Yet, if these terms are defined at all, they are defined in a very general or indirect manner; therefore, their meaning must be inferred from empirical bases that, moreover, are frequently not systematised. More attention is devoted to the category of revitalization by researchers from other disciplines dealing with the city, and especially by art historians, architects, and urban planners who very often look to sociological concepts[45]. However such researchers often use sociological concepts in a very limited way as they prepare or analyse top-down projects. It goes without saying that this is the case of project proposals. The strategic elements of city policy are the main grounds where the meaning of 'revitalization' is developed; hence the term is associated today primarily with so-called soft and large-scale projects[46].

Despite their obvious differences, resulting from the different status of their language registers, the scientific and the colloquial understanding of revitalization of space share a common elements in the human factor, seen as the 'measure of revitalization', that is both its essence and point of reference. In the sociological definition of the revitalization of space it would therefore be impossible not to account for the infinite number of subjective points of view of those individuals who perceive a given change as positive, functional, and necessary. Should we take into consideration – on top of this human factor – the entire complex time-space context as well as the broadly understood civilisational and cultural context, it becomes obvious that revitalization may be treated only within the categories of a theoretical, if not purely at the axiological, model. This is the status that the term has in my work. I refer it to a cluster of specific changes and micro processes occurring in a specific place, that form the premises for such a deep transformation of the space that they may be treated as a factor of a shift in the city paradigm: the 'burning out' of modernist society and entry into the stage of late modernity. This naturally does not mean that the 'earlier' city disappears, and the new one arrives *ex nihilo*. Yet the intensity and character of change allow the belief that a new social and cultural configuration is taking shape: a product of forces having local and global sources. The process of revitalization is thus both the object of change and the change itself, while its observation means discov-

ering the sources and the course of the process of identity that is taking shape among the inhabitants of a contemporary city and, looking from the opposite perspective, the participation of individual identity in the transformation of external reality.

2. The model of revitalization of urban space

For at least 2500 years, people have expressed their yearning for an ideal place, one of them being Plato's model of the state. It might be said that the history of human civilisation is also the history of reflection on what a friendly place for human beings, that allows satisfaction of individual and collective needs, might be like. Today, especially in Europe, when ideas of decentralisation of power and participative democracy become ever more popular, there is a need for models of "a good city". Purely ideological considerations (when, for example, human rights are emphasised) are combined with pragmatic issues and arguments that refer to the need to catch up with other cities, seen as competitors. For this reason, local authorities build strategies of city development and projects aimed at the development of the best possible conditions for the everyday life of the residents, and for economic and cultural development. Politicians and experts build, update, and improve models as diagnostic tools in order to measure the effectiveness of revitalization projects. Examples of tools used in different cities to evaluate their condition are testimony to a number of facts: first, that no successful universal model has been worked out; second, that the models are largely based on hard quantitative measures[47] of technical infrastructure, residential resources, utilities, and entrepreneurship, as well as on other parameters based on statistical data (structure of households, unemployment, revenue and expenditure of the residents, poverty zone, crime-related data, etc.). These models provide important knowledge of the condition of the space and people inhabiting it, and allow the definition of the directions in which change is pursued or taking place. On the other hand, they say nothing about the factors that constitute the idea of a people-friendly city. Asked what life in a given space is, we refer not only to the observable and quantitative attributes; our feelings and intuition tell us whether we feel better or worse in a given place. Space is valued on the basis of subjective feelings or the sense that the place is important for an individual, that it is a point of reference for one's identity that lets one establish and carry on relations with others.

Unlike what many real estate agents believe, people value space not only because of a clean staircase, the quality of infrastructure or nice flowers around the house: many find those only a secondary consideration, while for others they are completely unimportant. There is a growing group of people that select a place that enables us to

reflect and reinforce our identities as creative people, pursuing the kind of work we choose and having ready access to a wide range of lifestyle amenities. In place of the tightly knit urban neighbourhoods of the past or alienated and generic suburbs, we prefer communities that have a distinctive character. These communities are defined by the impermanent relationship and loose ties that let us live the quasi-anonymous lives we want rather than those that are imposed on us[48].

The model of revitalization that I propose is not a simple listing of factors. Nor is it a closed list. It results from the understanding of revitalization as a dialectic process that cannot be defined in an absolute and definitive manner. I treat each district as a dynamic, 'living' whole, whose physical dimension as well as its "hidden"[49] social-symbolical dimension are incessantly interwoven with each other, being simultaneously and mutually the context and object of social activity. Thus, in my model I try to account both for quantitative and directly observable transformations of space, and the changes that result from the transformations occurring in the consciousness of the agents who remain within the given space. The changes occurring in individual consciousness depend on the spatial context perceived as an inalienable physical and symbolic whole, yet they also condition the activities that have a reflexive impact on the place. Each of the aspects of revitalization that I have listed here determines all the others, at the same time being determined by them. The first dimension of the urban space, the easiest to observe, is space in its physical sense. Proof of the revival of this urban space is the ever improving condition of spatial forms[50]. This means not only restoration of old architecture (as a priority) and complementation of space with new developments and infrastructure in accordance with current needs, but generally, improving the condition of:

- public spaces, for example parks, squares, streets, etc.: the accessibility of these places is important and accomplished, for example, by the removal of physical barriers, and they are adjusted to social needs and expectations[51];
- significant spaces (vehicles of local identity) that support the definition of space, establish conditions for the cultivation of local traditions and customs (e.g. festivals and holidays);
- functional spaces (residential buildings, shops, streets, squares, etc.) which refer both to the technical condition of those places and their aesthetic aspects.

Revitalization can also be manifested in the diversification of spatial functions: changes in the space correspond to various needs of individuals and social groups in matters related to living, leisure and work. Various social groups can ever more easily satisfy their needs for contacts in safe, aesthetic and nice looking places: such places

are found by youth, parents with little children, the elderly, tourists, etc. This also means the development and diversification of architecture and infrastructure that:

- allow multiple forms of mobility (including walking and cycling) as well as initiating and continuing activity – varied in time, manner, and objectives – thanks to the presence of places where different social groups with different age profiles, financial potential, and interests may initiate and reinforce social relations;

- are equally distributed in the space: instead of a single powerful centre, there is a multiplicity of hubs offering varied functionalities.

The factors mentioned above are the easiest to observe and most obvious, which is most probably the reason why they become a particular *pars pro toto* wherever renovation or degradation of buildings and/or infrastructure is in the general opinion (and in city management policy) considered an adequate way of measuring changes in a settlement, district or city. Every spatial change, every renovated building, flowers in the window, damaged bench, and dirty staircase are the result of people's activity. People undertake to repair or destroy; they want to co-operate or choose isolation. The core of change – the *spiritus movens* of revitalization – are individuals understood as agents capable of transforming themselves and their surroundings. Although it seems evident, we emphasise this fact here because the individual development indicators commonly applied in revitalization projects are most often of a quantitative character, and rarely provide satisfying answer to the question of whether and how their agency is actualised. While analysing the revitalization of the space we must also account for those changes that are testimony to the fact that more and more individuals become aware of their potential and their right to influence the surrounding reality and that they define their own role in the life of local society in an ever clearer manner. In this context, revitalization of space is manifested in:

- the growth of the number of agents participating in public life and the appearance of new agents, for example groups that were formerly excluded (e.g. the young or the disabled);

- the increase in agents' competences, used in public activity for the good of public space; educational, cultural, and social capital increases, much like individual knowledge and experience; this is especially true with respect to social skills (conducting dialogue, negotiations, mediation), a tool used not only in private life but also to achieve the common goals of the community;

- the increase in the reflexivity of the agents, that is the critical self knowledge and knowledge of the surrounding reality; this reflexivity towards one's own place and role in the space (the situation in the space is treated as a choice, an element of lifestyle)

and towards other agents treated as co-participants in the process. (Thus perceived, reflexivity may also be the source of readiness to co-operate, and the sense of co-responsibility for the process of change);

- the growing satisfaction expressed by agents (individuals and groups) resulting from the process of transforming the space and potential of life in the district;

- the differentiation and overlapping of agents' statuses (e.g. private/public, owner/patron), which precludes the construction and reinforcement of formalised, anonymous relations and hierarchic structures, while favouring the establishment of horizontal social structures.

The objective and form of agents' activity changes when:

- there appears an ever greater volume of activities and interactions, whose context and object is the space: in this manner 'nobody's land' becomes 'the place', with which specific individuals and social groups identify;

- the spontaneous activity in the public space increases to the level at which activity for the common good become reflexive;

- activities become differentiated in a temporal sense (for example, opening hours of restaurants, institutions), rhythm (defined by the regularity – randomness, and predictability – unpredictability continuum) and the situation (where 'openness' and 'closeness' of space provide the continuum). The district 'lives' not only during the day, but also at night;

- activity is characterised by innovativeness that, on the one hand, results from the creativity of individuals, and, on the other, is the result of collective cooperation (the question of innovativeness will be discussed further below);

- communication between spatially related agents is perceived by those agents as ever better and more efficient;

- the clarity and transparency of activity is increasing: there are no more speculations of the 'who's behind it' type, and there is no shifting of responsibility for negative effects of activity onto the 'undefined others', etc.

A value of fundamental importance for the revival and development is social capital, and especially mutual trust among the agents. The condition for developing trust, and at the same time a manifestation of its presence, is the high quality of communication mentioned above as well as the clarity and transparency of activity. The process of revitalization of space could thus be expressed in the establishment and development of social relations characterised by:

- increasing trust between individual and collective agents (residents, users, institutions). Participants are becoming more and more open, more eager to undertake new tasks and challenges, and to provide reflexive criticism (for example, content-based criticism replaces personal criticism);

- increasing co-operation: this means the appearance of new contacts between agents and the external environment; in this interaction there originate groups oriented towards the initiation of new activities and the solution of specific problems;

- increasing activity: accumulation of knowledge and results of activity boosts further activity; new ideas appear, and the number and variety of tasks and efficiency of activity increase;

- commitment of individual and collective agents, related to their influence on the life of the district, including the sense of success conceived as the success of the community;

- reaching the 'point of no return', that is such a level of participation that allows no turning back once this quality has become a new culture of public life[5b 2].

Innovativeness, listed earlier among the indicators referring generally to the operation of agents, is emphasised here as a feature of work and entrepreneurship – areas of human life that cannot be reduced to simple profit-making. Today, communication, symbols, and mutual understanding are ever more often the basic material of work. This is why, among the indicators of spatial revitalization, we must account for the changes that are based on ever stronger relations between culture and business activity. Revitalization of space is therefore conducted via entrepreneurship which:

- is based on knowledge and culture – the production and exchange of meanings and information as well as the use of state-of-the-art technologies and skills become the essence of business activity; the common dominator of a culture- and knowledge-based economy is creativity, providing a major source of added value (new ideas, solutions, products, etc.);

- is rooted in locality – this is entrepreneurship that despite making use of global culture (technologies, ideas, etc.), draws from locality: an element of its image is its being rooted in a specific place (with its past, tradition, and specific character);

- is a cluster of small forms of entrepreneurship – entrepreneurs, providers and suppliers, and consumers operate as a concentration/hub/cluster, and the relations that exist between them – as well as cooperation – favour creative competition, which in turn triggers continuous improvement and innovativeness (resulting in a closed circle of positive synergies)[53].

- is differentiated in time – conducted for the major part of the day (and night); the time of activity is flexible and reflects the new anthropology of consumption, where the border between night and day becomes blurred;

- builds a 'value chain' based on production-distribution-consumption – the chain is built thanks both to technology and infrastructure on the one hand, and creative individuals on the other. The individual forms of entrepreneurship are complementary

and mutually stimulating, and stimulating for spin-off consumption (e.g. culture→ tourism→ horeca [an acronym made from the words Hotel/Restaurant/Café]).
- has intellectual support (or potential to achieve it) – this means the presence of competent, educated, and creative individuals and relations (including purely formal relations) with scientific and research institutions.

The last dimension listed here in social reality is the first link in the chain of changes: the subjective mental maps of space developed by its inhabitants and users. Here we touch on a very subtle question, decisive for the use of space and its form. The way people value a given space may correlate, and usually does, with its objective condition, while the meaning attributed to the space is not the same as this condition. The subjective image of space – the way it is perceived, classified, and evaluated – depends on a number of psychological and cultural values, which make us, as Znaniecki shows, speak about spatial values rather than about space itself[54]. Wallis emphasised that the valuation of space is strongly dependent on certain cultural paradigms, variable in the course of history[55]. If a 'bad', degraded district begins to be selected (with the emphasis on the word *selected*) as a place of life, this means a change in the criteria of subjective evaluation, transformation in the manner of perception, decoding and valuation of space.

Revaluation of space understood in this way will encompass:
- a marked shift of the scale of valuations, opinions and associations – from negative towards positive – that individuals attribute to the past and the present of the district, to the entire area, and its specific fragments. The value of the image of the district changes: in social discourse, it ceases to be defined as a no-go district that is bad, dangerous, devoid of value, and begins to be perceived as open, good, friendly, and valuable.
- a change in the significance of 'the past' for 'the present' – discovering the history of the place by individuals is useful for the development of their identity; here, the discovery of the 'truth' and finding unknown facts that corroborate the original and unique character of space becomes a value;
- a change in the significance of the space, as its history – from a more or less external element of the surrounding reality – becomes a part of an individual's life project.

The model of indicators drawn above should be treated as a dynamic complex of dimensions, characterised by powerful relations and synergies. Space provides a context for social interactions. Yet at the same time, it is the object of individual and collective activity. It is to be emphasised that despite this complexity and multidirectional dependence, the dimension of meanings as such plays a specific role,

for it provides the individual's reasons for undertaking actions towards others and towards the space.

The operating model presented above was the system that I referred to while gathering and examining the analytical material.

3. Characteristics of urban space revitalization research

The present study aimed at carrying out research on, describing and – as far as possible – explaining the processes that go on in a highly complex space, entangled in historical and contemporary cultural and social contexts. If the processes occurring are the result of overlapping social attitudes and its convictions, the discovery of an 'order' among those processes was primarily possible thanks to the recognition and analysis of the world of values, motivations, and interests of its participants. Revitalization, as I see it in this work, is closely related to changes in reception, marking and valorisation (revaluation) of space. As Jacek Wódz noted, "the research of significant space cannot be conducted with standard techniques of sociological analysis, for one should often fall back on the methods of social anthropology and cultural anthropology."[56] As my way to learn, recognize, and understand the processes occurring in both the districts I selected qualitative research. There were some arguments in favour of such a method. First, I was able to observe the phenomena, people, and events I found interesting in the natural environment: the district (treated as a natural area) that was the basic unit of observation. Second, my research could cover multiple aspects of space, deepening the data acquired, and looking for the nuances in the meaning that would provide new trails. Thirdly, I was examining a process, which means activity continuing in time. The method of qualitative research in the field made it possible for me to capture changes that were impossible to forecast and, in numerous cases also, impossible to observe with the use of other methods. Research in the field led to the construction of a monograph consisting of case studies for Kazimierz and the Ticinese. While gathering the data, I had to prepare the ground for the other goal of my research, namely the comparison of the two.

In the case of Ticinese, the assistance of the *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale*, under the supervision of its head, Professor Laura Bovone, and the first observations in the field conducted in 2000 turned out to be most constructive. The general information received directly from other researchers and the impressions from my visits in the field composed my initial image of the district: I became aware of the specific character of its history and its influence on current processes, and I realised what the most characteristic traits of the Ticinese commu-

nity were. The result of research conducted and described by the Centro proved a real treasure mine of data and information on this Italian district. The project lasted for a few years and gave birth to a number of books, three of which concerned various aspects of changes in Ticinese itself, and a number of others referred to changes in urban space and included the Ticinese. The books that I found especially useful for my work were those by L. Bovone (1999) and L. Bovone, M. Magatti, E. Mora, and G. Rovati (2002)[57]. Besides the interesting discussion of individual research problems (as for example physical and cultural borders of the Ticinese; changes in the social and economic profile of the district), these works contained ample excerpts from interviews and a number of complete records of in-depth or focus interviews as well as an abundance of statistical data, maps, and plans. In fact, these materials constituted a broad monograph on the Ticinese AD 1999, that is at the time when the research was completed. It was my task to select the most crucial items from this sea of information, and to complete the research by illustrating the changes that occurred during the following few years.

Kazimierz proved both easier and more difficult. Easier, because of its physical and cultural proximity to my normal place of residence and work. At the same time, I had to address the challenges of questions of enormous emotional and semantic weight, one of which was the so-called 'Jewish theme' (this question will be touched upon in the analytical sections). The other difficulty was the lack of data concerning the community of contemporary Kazimierz going beyond the common stereotypical images of a 'no-go place' versus 'a tourist attraction'. I acquired the information from sociological research conducted in the mid-1990s in the second stage of my work. Therefore, initially I had at my disposal only very modest materials; the turning point came in 2003 when, having been invited to the Municipal Team for Revitalization, I met a number of very important informants. Thanks to the support from the coordinator of the Local Bureau that existed a few years before in Kazimierz, I was able to use the final reports from research conducted in Kazimierz in 1995. The reports (which I literally 'dug out' from the heaps of materials stored in the archives of the Bureau situated in a private basement) did not contain complete methodological information, and some fragments turned out to be missing. Nevertheless, all that was left proved to be precious research material for me.

Parallel to that, I was gathering data on the following period. In Kazimierz, I conducted qualitative research in the field that covered observation, in-depth interviews with social experts, analyses of photographs, press releases, websites, and official data. As to the Ticinese, I continued the research conducted by the Centro,

naturally in a highly focussed way. Thanks to a scholarship in Milan (2004) I was able to conduct several in-depth interviews and observations in the field, and complement my photographic documentation.

Generally, while analysing the changes in Kazimierz, I used empirical material gathered from 2002 to early 2005, and containing the recording of 45 in-depth interviews with social experts qualified to contribute to research because of their ties to the district as their place of residence, work or social activity. This means that the sample was selected on the basis of the knowledge and experience of the interviewees, and moreover that it comprised a variety of *milieux* and social groups involved in the life of the district. The interviewees included local politicians, business people, representatives of Catholic Church from Kazimierz, members of the Jewish Community, representatives of public institutions operating in the district, local activists, and popular celebrities[58]. During the nearly 3 years of research I conducted almost a hundred informal interviews or interviews where the subject of Kazimierz turned up quite unexpectedly. The materials analysed consisted also of official minutes and my own notes from the sessions of the Task Force for Revitalization of Kazimierz, meetings of residents/locals, Kazimierz entrepreneurs, and representatives of public institutions. The materials also include photographic documentation of the district's everyday life and special moments.

The empirical material pertaining to the Ticinese includes fifteen in-depth interviews (including three focus group interviews) that I conducted. My interlocutors were persons selected according to at least one of the following criteria: long-term residence in the Ticinese, the functions performed in the district (pastor, president of the Association), frequent (a number of times per week) visits to the Ticinese for reasons other than residential (work, spending the time of leisure in the district). Besides these, I conducted numerous talks with the personnel of the Centro, which greatly deepened my knowledge of Italian local authorities and research conducted on the Ticinese. I gathered a few hundred photographs of the district, tens of press articles and shorter notes, my own notes from observations conducted during nearly daily visits to the area, and tens of casual short interviews. The data gathered and published by the Centro, and especially the interviews (both complete and partial)[59], maps, and statistical data are an integral part of the empirical material.

As to the characterisation of the interviewees, I accompanied each statement with an annotation of some basic features, including the interviewees' link to the district (residence, work, and – wherever possible – also profession, function, etc.) and sex. The abbreviations and acronyms that I used include: F – female, M – male;

J – member of the Jewish Community; publ.inst. – person working for or representing a public institution (e.g. the Municipal Office, the police or school); resid. – resident of Kazimierz/Ticinese; NGO – employee or a representative of a non-governmental organisation: an association foundation operating for and/or within the district); bus. – an entrepreneur; a person conducting business within the district; DC – member of the District Council; CC – member of the City Council; stud. – student, user – user (lack of other ties to the district besides being a patron of cafés, restaurants, institutions or companies situated in Kazimierz or Ticinese). In many cases, the interviewees operate in more than one context, which are always marked [resid., bus.]. I do not provide this information when I quote the reports from research on Kazimierz performed by VRG Strategy in 1995, as they do not provide indications of the characteristic features of the interviewees.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the first impulse for this study came from walk in the Milanese district of Ticinese, which made me think of Krakow's Kazimierz and aroused my interest in the changes occurring in contemporary cities. Yet only further research confirmed the possibility of comparing the processes of transformation occurring in Krakow and in Milan, processes that linked the past, the present, and visions of the future. To be able to comprehend the logic, the stimuli, and the limitations present in the two cases it was necessary to recognize the historical and contemporary metropolitan context of the districts.

The description of the backgrounds of Kazimierz and the Ticinese will be oriented according to an axis of aspects, the most noteworthy of which are the exogenic and endogenic functions of the city directly and indirectly influencing the course and dynamism of its development; physical features of the space, including urban planning assumptions that influence the way the city operates; and the organisation of the city, with special consideration for the manner of city management. When characterising the cities, I omit those elements which, although interesting for other reasons, are not directly related to the districts in question.

1. The metropolitan context of Kazimierz and the Ticinese

The metropolitan context of the districts in question is one of the main factors influencing the direction and dynamism of their growth. This is so despite the different scale of Krakow and Milan as metropolises. It is true that the definition of a metropolis or of a metropolitan city is highly complex, and that simple criteria or presentations are not adequate. The abundant literature on the subject shows not only how multifaceted and multidimensional the phenomenon is but also the great number of points of view from which it can be examined[60]. This complexity results, among other causes, from the existence of two mutually penetrating dimensions and directions of operation in the phenomenon of a metropolis: the macro dimension (social, economic, political), directed outside the city, and the micro dimension, expressed in the functions and significance of the city and its spaces for the residents, as the place where they live, work and consume. Definitions emphasising quantitative criteria classify metropolitan character on the basis of criteria such as the number of residents, the number of branches of international businesses, airports, service centres, foreign delegations and links with other cities. The obvious

differences between the size and potential of metropolitan cities call for differentiation between global metropolises (such as Tokyo, New York, and London[61] analysed by Sassen), continental and regional metropolises.

In this classification, Milan finds itself in the group of continental metropolises with incomplete international functions: it is an important European financial centre, but no longer a political one on a national scale. Krakow, on the other hand, is included in the group of regional metropolises, playing the role of an important cultural and scientific centre for Poland, and a political and economic one for the Region of Małopolska. Although in the absolute hierarchy of metropolitan character, Milan ranks decidedly higher than Krakow, it is possible to compare the functions that the cities have at the local level. As K. Frysztacki noted, "a metropolitan city (…) is not simply a large or vast city; it is something more – it is the very same city that simultaneously plays a clearly crystallised external role, has broader impact, becomes the centre of its 'own' larger metropolitan area, and influences its spatial, demographic, economic, political, social and cultural shape"[62]. Perceived in such a 'relativist' manner, Milan and Krakow both play the role of regional centres – Lombardy and Małopolska, respectively, and are hubs of politics, economy, transport, culture, and leisure in the system of local links and interrelations. At the same time, analysing the metropolitan significance of these cities, one must not pass over the specific character of the community that inhabits it: a specific character that is parallel to the superimposed macro and micro dimensions. Residents of metropolises participate in these two dimensions which on the one hand define the potential and limitations of individual and community, while on the other they are produced by individuals and community.

The mutual penetration of elements of local and global culture in a metropolitan city is not a new phenomenon: residents, even if they are not aware of the size and importance of their city, live their lives in local microworlds, in the well-known tracks leading to home and work, spending their leisurely time in the places they know and among people they know well too. This is why we may claim that both in Milan and in Krakow there are places that the residents find 'more metropolitan' or 'more local'. The first are symbolised by administration, political, trade, and religious centres – the Piazza del Duomo and the Main Market Square (Rynek Główny) – and by their vicinity to train stations, museums, shops, banks, and institutions. Local places are 'my' district, school, the shop where I do my daily shopping, and the parish church. At the same time, it is this very 'petty diversification' of the community of a large city – expressed not only in the rich offer of jobs and consumption but also

in the great variety of lifestyles rooted in local communities and sub-communities – that together constitute its 'metropolitan character'.

The districts that I analyse live in both these dimensions at the same time; the interpenetration of the 'large city' and 'local' elements is the result of complex historical processes finding their reflection in the spatial and urban structure itself.

2. Physical characteristics of urban space

A bird's-eye view of Krakow and Milan

A look at the maps of the two cities brings to mind at least two analogies: the first is related to the layout of the centre, and the other to the situation of other districts with respect to the centre, the heart of the city. In both cases, the shape of the city centre is based the mediaeval city plan, while the districts lying in the vicinity of the city's heart (the Main Market Square of Krakow, and the Cathedral Square of Milan) belong today entirely or mostly to the so-called "city centre". While the mediaeval layout of the city centre is obvious in the case of Krakow, chartered in 1275, in the case of Milan – founded in 6th century BC and one of the capitals of the later Roman Empire – the classical and mediaeval urban systems are combined with developments due to the political and economic power that the city acquired under the Visconti dukes and later under the Sforza[63]. The changes introduced by successive masters and overlords of the city, and by the Spaniards from the 16th to 18th centuries, continued the urban development policy of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This is true especially of the concentric plan of Milan, whose first ring was the castle (Castello Sforzesco) with the defence walls running away from it. The mediaeval plan of Milan clearly shows a system of streets and main roads radiating in all directions. Concentrated in the centre around the geometrical and symbolic centre (Piazza del Duomo), the buildings and spaces built and developed in the Middle Ages were decisive for the multi-functionality of the area. Among others they include Piazza dei Mercanti, Palazzo della Ragione, Piazza degli Affari, and Palazzo dei Giureconsulti. Towering above them all is the vast gothic cathedral church, the Duomo, with the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II from the latter half of the 19th century opening off its Piazza. The similarity of the mediaeval plan of Krakow is evident: the border of the city is defined by the walls (today, the first ring), leading from the Wawel Castle, as the centre of royal power. The fairly regular, grid-based plan of the city is centred on the Main Market Square, where the social, religious, and business life of the city (gaining momentum with the inclusion of successive villages and towns into Krakow) has concentrated since the Middle Ages.

The Town Hall (Ratusz), the Cloth Hall (Sukiennice), St Mary's Church and the space of the Market Square, together with the other neighbouring squares to a large degree define the physical and symbolic topography of Krakow.

The areas of both Kazimierz and Ticinese lie outside the rings delimiting mediaeval Krakow and Milan. From the 14th to the late 18th century, Kazimierz was an autonomous city; what we call Ticinese today, for quite a few centuries was a group of hamlets, and was included in the city of Milan only in the year 1873. The very situation of districts in the spatial structure of the city may be analysed using the categories of proximity and distance to the centre (perceived physically and symbolically[64]), direction, and accessibility of space, by the indication of barriers, borders, crossings, and connections (with the most obvious being those of physical character, as for example a street, a river, a bridge, and the gate). Representative and comfortable passages, gates, and bridges are a testimony to the recognition of the high value of the space, while placement somewhere at the back, or on the side, fencing away and isolation are a sign of a low evaluation of the place. Let us observe the two districts in this context. What is their separate character based on? What 'value of the space' is shown not only by their specific character of an internal, architectural, social and cultural nature, but also by their situation in the broader, urban context?

A passer-by's view

Krakow versus Kazimierz
Krakow, possibly due to its complex character, is eagerly perceived through stereotypes, as the city of culture, kings, the Pope, poets, and learning. The Main Market Square is considered the symbol of the city and, despite the ever increasing number of tourists, the place of planned and casual meetings of its residents[65]. Unless you are a resident of Kazimierz, you almost always reach the district via the Main Market Square or from its side. The route reinforced by the guidebooks reflects not only the physical situation of Kazimierz towards the city centre, but is also significant when it comes to the historical and contemporary relations between these spaces, including the value assigned to them. Setting forth from the Main Market Square, and going down Grodzka Street, we pass by another symbol of the city, Wawel Castle, reach the first ring road and Stradom Street. Another route is down Sienna Street, which takes us to Starowiślna. As yet, even a careful passer-by will have perceived no changes in the cityscape: tenement houses typical of Krakow's centre, regular shops, churches. Whichever route you take, you cross the second ring, that is the so-called Planty Dietlowskie. Having crossed it you either enter Krakowska Street or, in the

other case, continue your rambling down Starowiślna. Shops on the ground floors of the building seemed to be more tightly wedged together, yet the difference in comparison to other streets is not shocking. It is only once we have entered deep into the district that we notice that we are in Kazimierz.

We see this from the perspective of the Starowiślna (turning right) or Krakowska Street (turning left) and entering the so-called 'Jewish' area, or going right off Krakowska Street and entering the 'Christian' section. In the Jewish section, attention is drawn to the distinguishing architecture of synagogues and seemingly tangled little streets that make a logical whole only after a few visits. Losing your way in Kazimierz may also be the result of the fact that the streets lead to a number of spaces that used to concentrate its various functions; the difficulty of localising the centre is already perceived at the intuitive level: if we first reach the Nowy Square, we shall see that a large part of it is taken by stands and stalls; while Szeroka Street, which is reached after passing by a wall of the Jewish cemetery, is dominated by the Old Synagogue (Alte Schul). Standing today along Szeroka Street are hotels and restaurants with signs written in Latin characters stylised so as to resemble Hebrew script while what we see in Nowy Square are predominantly bars and cafés. Attention is drawn to the condition of the buildings: freshly renovated tenements standing next to those that are falling into disrepair, ruins stand side by side with exclusive hotels. Already at a first glance, we see how the past mingles with the present. We see old sacred buildings and modern banks, cars parked on every space available on pavements. The image of the part "to the left from Krakowska" is complemented by the empty-ish Wolnica Square with the Town Hall (on the way there, we pass by the Corpus Christi Church) and the industrial quarters in Św. Wawrzyńca Street, today housing the Museum of Technology. If you turn right from Krakowska, into Św. Katarzyny, and later to the left into Augustiańska Street, and pass by the imposing church of St Catherine, you reach a complex of buildings separating you from the Vistula River. This is the so-called Skałka namely the church of St Michael the Archangel and the Martyr Bishop Stanislaus (Stanisław), whose other side is encircled by the river. This part of Kazimierz is fairly quiet, and comes back to life in May, on the day of a procession with the relics of St Stanislaus.

Already the first impressions of Kazimierz, resulting solely from the observation of its architecture and the character of its streets and shops, provide an image without a single dominant trait: Kazimierz is both Jewish and Christian, both rich and poor, both old and new, both crowded and depopulated. Despite the physical proximity of the Main Market Square, Kazimierz is a 'separate' space.

Milan versus Ticinese

We are in the capital of Lombardy, the richest region in Italy. This city, as those who are planning to see it for the first time are warned, is not a typical *città italiana*. Italians themselves consider Milan to be atypical in many ways, the most important of which is the climate of work, business, and money – in a word the climate of an economic, entrepreneurial metropolis. A crowd of people is pouring out of the train and metro stations, and trams are already running early in the morning. The once traditional Italian siesta is replaced by a shorter business lunch or snack. In the evening, after work, there may be *lo shopping* in the vicinity of the Duomo, and later the obligatory *aperitivo* with people you know well. The fast pace of life is favoured by the metro and the ground transport systems, spinning a web-like network around the central part of the city dominated by the cathedral. Piazza del Duomo is the place where you start a visit, you make appointments with your friends, where all the manifestations and protests take place. This is the place where you can see a pop star, visiting the MTV studios on the first floor of the Galleria, the square crossed by business people walking quickly, and where dark-skinned immigrants wander about. Beyond doubt, the Duomo is an important element of Milan's identity. What else? The Teatro della Scala, the Milanese fair, fashion, football clubs (and the San Siro football stadium), and maybe also the media empire created by Berlusconi?

However simplified this image of Milan as a metropolis may be, we notice that even the first steps on Corso di Porta Ticinese, the street beginning just by the Church of San Lorenzo and behind the first ring road running parallel to the line of mediaeval fortifications, are steps taken in another reality. The monumental gate – Porta Ticinese, situated at the other end of Corso, already in the Piazzale XXIV Maggio – is visible from afar. And this is the only dominant architectural element. None of the rest reminds us of the great Milan: the lower quality tenements' ground floors are not taken by Armani or Gucci boutiques[66] but by 'environmentally friendly' pasticcerias and pizzerias (or even by shops with environmentally friendly handbags), little shops with ethnic atmosphere, and ice cream stalls advertising as their wares as 'traditional'. No high-street shop windows. We have already entered the Ticinese, although we have not reached its heart yet. Going further south, on our left side we leave the Sant' Eustorgio Basilica (strangely neighbouring with McDonald's). Crossing the noisy Piazzale XXIV Maggio teeming with cars, we see – for the first time in Milan – a canal. This is the Darsena, the port used in bygone days, hence its name[67]. Now there are busy streets running along it, and from the side of the Corso there is a large, concrete, and emptyish car park, with greengrocer's stalls at the back.

And heaps of rubbish. Absolutely nothing compared to the mountains of rubbish that originate on Saturday and Tuesday evenings after the stalls in Milan's largest and favourite Mercato Papiniano have left. Having crossed the Piazzale, you should proceed southwest. Another surprise comes after just a few metres: the narrower and friendlier Pavese canal, connecting Milano and Pavia. Attention has turned to the ice-cream shop on a moored barge, and the architectural 'hodgepodge' along the canal: old, three-storey houses with galleries – the *case di ringhiera* – standing next to higher, nasty blocks of flats, and new buildings which filled the gaps between the old ones in the 1960s. If you look through the gates, you see that the old tenements hide away unusual gardens in their backyards. Passing by the Naviglio Pavese, we reach the Naviglio Grande. What can be seen from far away by the Naviglio Grande depends on the time of the day, the day of the week, and the season of the year. The Naviglio changes like an image in a kaleidoscope: usually on the left bank, on the Ripa di Porta Ticinese, there is a string of parked cars that disappears during the summer months, when the pedestrian area is enforced here. On the right-hand side, on the Alzaia, immigrants are putting up tables with plastic and ethnic jewellery, people are taking leisurely walks, and groups of people are sitting on the low wall along the wharf. On the last weekend of the month, the Naviglio's life focuses on the antique fair; in April, on the flower festival, and in May, on the exhibition by painters who come here from all over Italy. In the evening and at night, especially from spring to autumn, the canal wharfs and little streets that connect the Pavese Canal to the Canal Grande, are flooded by a crowd of people. They are heading for one of the tens of pubs, bars, and clubs. The spatial axes of all these events are the canals; they are so important in the understanding of the Milanese, that they commonly refer to the Ticinese, and especially to this part of the district that is most intensively used, as part of the "Navigli" (canals). To be trendy, you must visit the Navigli area, and owning even the smallest lodging in this part of the city is the dream of many residents of Milan.

Summary

Both Kazimierz and the Ticinese lie beyond the very centres of their respective cities, beyond the mediaeval walls that today form the first ring of ring roads. Ticinese lies exactly on the other side of the centre with respect to the richest, most elitist, and representational parts of the city. Kazimierz is a similar case; Krakow students, asked where they believe the "front" of Krakow is, in most cases pointed at the entrances from the motorway and the district of Bronowice, that is the area lying on

the other side of the Main Market Square. Taxi drivers and the personnel of real estate agencies to whom I informally addressed the question, confirmed that the southern part of Krakow has until recently been considered "worse", "lying further away", and "isolated". Such associations still accompany the space lying immediately on the other side of the River, for example the old Podgórze and Zabłocie. Let me briefly remark that the subjectively perceived distance between the traditional city centre and other districts decreases. This is attested to in the opinions expressed by the interviewees and such objective indicators as the number of tourists, users of the space, and activities undertaken therein.

3. Kazimierz and Ticinese in the city administrative structures

One of the first steps in the process of doing research on the cities' space is the identification of administrative units, providing the dimension of space that Jałowiecki refers to as "the space of power". There does not have to be any direct relation between the formal units of the city (e.g. districts, school precincts or electoral constituencies), and the unit of analysis in this work, namely, the natural area. In the model, the natural area is a result of life of society in categories that exist over time, while in the administrative sense the district is an emanation of power, which means that it is subject to temporary changes and specific decisions. In practice, as the cases of Krakow and Milan prove, there have been powerful synergies between these two dimensions, resulting from the various interests and visions of reality that have had measurable consequences for the process of development of the totality of the urban space. What connects Kazimierz and the Ticinese is the fact that both formal and informal divisions were and still are superimposed on both areas. The difference between the two – the origin of the place, with Kazimierz being a separate city in the past and the Ticinese a space subsumed by Milan – does not seem today to have a major influence on the manner in which the city fulfils its policy towards space. The status of the two districts is similar within the structures of the municipalities.

Let us begin to examine the status of the two areas in the municipal administrative structure with Krakow. Until 1990, the city (municipality) was divided into four large districts, Śródmieście [i.e. city centre], Krowodrza, Podgórze and Nowa Huta. This division was introduced in 1973. In 1990, this division was abolished, together with the old district authorities, and on 27 March 1991, a resolution of Krakow Municipal Council (following inspiration coming from Civic Committees) established 18 districts to be treated as ancillary units of the local authority. As documents and reports prove, the division was primarily based on the historical divisions of the city into former communes. Today, Kazimierz is a part of the First

District, covering nearly 14% of its space (80 hectares). In 2003, when the local media started the dispute over the "revitalization of Kazimierz", proposals to isolate Kazimierz into a 19th district of Krakow were made. The main argument that the author of the idea (a member of the Municipal Council) put forth was the specific character of Kazimierz, its problems, and capacities. The newly established "District of Kazimierz" was to have a separate budget for the maintenance of the District Council, and for the so-called priority tasks. The reaction to the idea varied. Some believed that the 19th district would be a good idea, as "in Kazimierz there is a dissonance between the entrepreneurship of the people who work here, and the meagre subsidies from the City"[68], yet criticism was also voiced, as some believed that "this must be slightly magical thinking: we shift the borders of the district, and money multiplies". During the interviews and talks conducted at the time, a number of persons (most of whom were linked by their jobs to the Municipal Office or the District Council of the First District) claimed that the idea of isolating Kazimierz was not justified by the benefits for the place but by particular interests: "you can see that Kazimierz is blooming, that it is a gold mine, so there is no better way to make use of it than to establish a district and become a member of its council" (as was said in an interview conducted during the research; M, resid. bus.). Despite the discussion of the proposal that had already been announced, the subject of "the district of Kazimierz" died down very quickly[69]. Kazimierz remains a part of the First District, and nothing heralds any changes in the future.

Milan in turn is divided into 20 zones (*zone di decentramento*) that, not unlike Krakow's districts, play an ancillary role. How did these units emerge? In the first half of the 20th century, the shaping of space in Milan was conducted primarily by the application of appropriate urban-planning tools (as, for example, Regulation Plans) influenced by the mechanisms of the market economy: the principle of supply and demand governed not only the real estate market, but also the rules of spatial planning[70]. In accordance with Italian municipal law of 1942, spatial planning of the city including all topical plans was to be based on the general one (*piano direttore*). Regulations also introduced the zoning concept: on the basis of criteria of "physical and architectural as well as social and cultural unity", the local administration was to identify the individual units of developed land, and identify directions of future urban planning only after their demarcation. The zoning criterion was formally accepted in Milan, together with the Regulation Plan (*Piano Regolatore*) in 1953[71]. In the Regulation Plan, the territory of Porta Ticinese was placed within the first zone (coming under the construction law), while the part situated directly south of

that area was a part of the "expansion zone", where the construction of new build-
ings, streets, and squares was planned. The plan proposed in 1953 turned out to be
of key importance for the shaping of the city space. In the following years, tools for
the decentralisation of the administration began to be developed; as a result Milan
was divided into 20 zones with their own councils in 1969. Yet while developing the
"decentralisation zones", the specific character of the areas thus formed was ignored,
which is why the 20 zones into which Milan was divided are not sufficiently homo-
geneous internally. In the administrative division, a small part of the Ticinese area
lies in Zone 1 (S. Lorenzo-S. Eustorgio), and a much larger part covers a tip of Zone
1 and the central belt of Zone 5. There is a clear and basic contradiction – noticed
by the interviewees too – between the zone defined in this way, and what is tradi-
tionally and socially defined as the Ticinese.

According to a local historian,

> Ticinese as it has been demonstrated is an 'administrative construct' with sections on
> the one hand in Zone 5, and in Zone 1, on the other. Zone 5 was demarcated by a mad-
> man: they took Porta Ticinese, Porta Romana, Porta Vercellina, and Porta Genova, and
> put them into a single sack (...) They took the belt of the Navigli canal, and then demar-
> cated the Ticinese, just so – because it fit their map of the city, failing to respect, even to
> a minimum degree, the historical tradition and culture of the area"*[72].

In sum, neither case can the division into administrative units (districts, zones)
be considered a parameter that defines the boundaries for the scope of research.
Kazimierz, as a natural area, is in its totality engulfed by the Śródmieście District,
even though in documents and urban planning papers it is considered a "unit of
urban planning". The situation is more complicated in the case of Ticinese, as the
natural area is divided according to a network of administrative units. In both cases,
there are specific consequences for research. First of all, it is hard to acquire official
statistic data for the area, as both in Milan and in Krakow the district/zone is the
smallest administrative unit for which such records are kept. At the same time of
this lack of administrative independence of Kazimierz and Ticinese is in contrast
with the general perception of these districts as cultural areas. Distinctive identity,
autonomy and separateness from the 'external' and the specific character of the 'in-
terior' space finds its sources in the past of the districts. Today, history provides the
grounds for the recognition and understanding of the potential, resources, barriers,
limitations, and weaknesses.

Fig. 15. Kazimierz
Rich new inhabitants have moved into the district. For them, the inhabitants who have lived in Kazimierz for a long time constitute an element of "local colour" (often meaning simply of low social status).

Fig. 16. Kazimierz
Sometimes there is the need to use the social service resources, for example going for lunch to the soup kitchen for poor people.

Fig. 17. Kazimierz
There are tables on the pavement all day, so the frontier between the inside and the outside of the restaurants is annulled. "Restaurants are for all but not for everyone".

Fig. 18. Kazimierz
The activity of looking out the window – until quite lately an element of the local reality – today may be the sign of the break between the "old" and the "revitalized" New Square.

Fig. 19. Ticinese
The Anarchists' Library, the centre of activity for the political immigrants who moved into Ticinese in the 1960s and 70s.

Fig. 20. Ticinese
There are still typical Ticinese artisanal shops in the side-streets; they were in a crisis till the 1980s, but today using these services is both expensive and trendy.

Fig. 21. Ticinese
There are still osterie and traditional Italian bars in the district. In the past those places were the centre of local social life. For the new inhabitants and users of the space "being" in the osteria is a fashionable element of the new life style.

Fig. 22. Ticinese
At the same time signs of a new stage of the process of change appear: in 2003 Ticinese made a connection with unique products, second-hand shops and shops for selected clients from outside of the mainstream; today these points are re-placed by exclusive shops, e.g. by shops with garments by Armani (June 2005).

Fig. 23. Kazimierz
In the summertime Szeroka Street is full of thousands of guests at the Festival of Jewish Culture.

Fig. 24. Kazimierz
Oven a dozen or so metres from Szeroka Street the public can buy grilled sausages.

Fig. 25. Kazimierz
The New Square is the place of intensive exchange of material and symbolic goods, the place that connection between traditional and modern social practices. In the course of the day, as in the past, in the stalls a bit of everything is traded.

Fig. 26. Kazimierz
In the early evening the stalls become the restaurant's "tables" and "seats".

1. Kazimierz

The objective of this discussion of the history of Kazimierz and the Ticinese is not only, or at least not primarily, to portray the administrative and political dimensions of urban development processes, that is how Kazimierz and the Ticinese became parts of Krakow and Milan respectively, but rather to present the social and cultural factors that caused both areas maintain their separate and clearly defined identities.

Finding Kazimierz in the map of Krakow is fairly easy. The 'cracks' in the tissue of the City Centre, separating it from other parts of the city, are visible at first glance. Even though for over 200 years it has been a part of Krakow, its character is that of a 'separate' city (which it was formally for approximately 450 years after its chartering in 1335, and in practice until the breakout of the Second World War) is still visible. Present-day Kazimierz is a product of Jewish and Christian history, and of the politically convoluted history of Krakow and Poland[73].

The history of Kazimierz formally began in 1335, when King Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) decided to charter the city, even though the first act in the history of what today we call Kazimierz took place in the 11th century. It was then that, according to legends and tales, Bishop Stanislaus of Szczepanów died a martyr's death on a hill by the river, and the hill quickly turned into a place of worship among Christians. This fact, which occurred long before the chartering of the city, not only lastingly connected Kazimierz to Christian culture, but moreover was a factor that shaped its urban development and the later division into its 'Christian' and 'Jewish' parts. The second act in the history of Kazimierz opened on 27 February 1335[74], when by virtue of the document issued by King Casimir the Great, the hamlets lying on the isle below Wawel Castle, between the forks of the Vistula and the conjunction of its two riverbeds became part of a new body, which was awarded city rights[75]. The location of the new city seems carefully chosen: close to Wawel Hill, and on an 'island' with three hills separated by lesser branches of the river and surrounded on the one side by the Vistula, and on the other by its old ramification (filled in in the 19th century). The people of the new city were the inhabitants of the hamlets and, probably, the inhabitants of the lands lying between the walls of Wawel and the place where the Rudawa fed into the Vistula, that is what later became the

district of Stradom. According to legend, the reason for establishing Kazimierz was the love of the King for a beautiful Jewess named Esterka.

Following the hypotheses put forth by historians, the reasons were of a practical and rational character: Kazimierz was to be the academic city and an economic competitor for the 'overly independent and powerful' Krakow, or the 'Polish city', to counterbalance the 'German Krakow'[76]. Yet, as Wyrozumski emphasises,

> a factor of primary importance in the process of establishing 'new cities' was the grass-roots pressure exerted on the monarchs, and in this sense the competitive element is definitely not to be excluded. The least probable hypothesis, however, is the seemingly programmed destruction of powerful – and beyond doubt profitable – urban mechanisms by monarchs, to replace them by new ones, whose future was, in most cases, uncertain. And of all the Polish kings, Casimir the Great may least be suspected of that"[77].

The clauses contained in the chartering document (including those concerning the organisation of power and the economy) defined for a long time the manner of operation of the city as well as its shape today. The municipal commune of Kazimierz was organised differently than other cities chartered according to the Law of Magdeburg: the founding document defined Kazimierz as a city subject to the office of the Voit held by the King, and not to an especially established hereditary office. The residents of Kazimierz were exempted in financial and judicial matters from Polish Law, which meant that their obligations towards the Royal Treasury were waived and that they were exempted from the jurisdictions of castellans and voivodes. The King had judicial power in special cases (*casus maiores*), and the privilege defined the specific economic rights and limitations of Kazimierz: among others, the new city was granted the right to hold a weekly fair on Thursdays, to own scales for weighing metals, to transport wood down the Vistula, and to make use of the royal forests without taxation. The residents of Kazimierz acquired another important right, namely that of selling their produce and purchasing goods in Krakow.

Contrary to common opinion, Kazimierz was not originally "the Jewish city", and the Jewish community was far more numerous in Krakow, where the Jews inhabited the ghetto between the Jewish Street (today's Św. Anny) and Jagiellońska, and later the area close to Szpiglerowska Street (today's Św. Tomasza). The situation changed in 1492 after the Great Fire of Krakow that also engulfed the ghetto. The decision of King John Albert (Jan Olbracht) to transfer the Jews to Kazimierz may be considered the beginning of a third act that strongly determined the later course of the city's history and today's image of the district. In the years 1494–1495, Jews moved from Krakow to Kazimierz and settled in the space between today's Mio-

dowa, Starowiślna, Św. Wawrzyńca, Wąska, Józefa, and Nowa streets. That area was surrounded by a stone wall with an entrance gate situated at the crossing of today's Jakuba and Józefa streets. In the first decades of the 16th century, when Kazimierz was the destination for Jews banished from Moravia and Moldavia, the city became one of the most populous Jewish settlements in Europe.

Despite the fact that the entire space of Kazimierz was often subjected to radical changes, the city maintained its original grid layout. The plan was based on two axes: today's Krakowska and Wielicka streets. The city centre was today's Szeroka Street with the synagogues, bath, cemetery, and trading area. The everyday life of the community concentrated also on the spacious market square (today, Wolnica Square), not significantly smaller than that of Krakow. The natural defence created by the river was complemented by walls with a few gates. Outside the walls lay lands administratively subjected to the law of the city – the *suburbium* that was gradually being developed[78].

Moving the Jewish community to Kazimierz marked the beginning of a very lively and multidimensional development of the city. In the 16th century and in the first half of the 17th, the territory of Kazimierz increased. High population density, resulted in ever more difficult conditions for the local population and the City Council agreed to expand the city limits a number of times (in 1553, 1583, and 1608). Jews were organised in a Community. A testimony to how well the city operated and prospered was its architectural development: new great residential and administrative buildings were erected and more synagogues were built. The most important one, the Old Synagogue dated back to the 15th century; it was followed by the High, Kupa, Poppera, and Isaac synagogues. The city became increasing significant in the field of culture too: the printing presses of Kazimierz were vibrant, and the district became a centre of Judaic culture greatly renowned throughout contemporary Europe, partially thanks to the Talmudic school founded by Jakub Polak. The range of trade that the Jewish community was involved in was imposing indeed: trading relations went far beyond local and even state borders. At that time, Kazimierz combined two seemingly uncombinable features. On the one hand, it was an 'enclosed' space – distinct, autonomous, and specific– while, on the other, it was characterised by great openness towards the outside world. As Wyrozumski claims, that cohabitation of Jewish and Christian communities was prevalently peaceful. On the basis of preserved historical materials, it is thought that both groups maintained their distinctiveness cherishing their own customs and practices, living lives dictated by their religions, and at the same time recognizing the unique character of their neighbours. It is,

however, also true that on a number of occasions the cultural distinctiveness of Jews, accusations of ritual murders, and beliefs in their wealth led to aggressive behaviour by some members of the Christian community (especially the poor and the young), although violence was the exception rather than the rule.

The good times for Kazimierz were interrupted by an event of dramatic significance for the entire Polish Commonwealth, namely the onslaught of Swedish armies in 1655. The weak walls of Kazimierz yielded to the attackers, the city was looted, and then turned into a base for the army. Private homes, temples, and shops were plundered. Later, during its defence, most of the city was burned. This was when the crisis of the City of Kazimierz began. During the following 150 years, political decisions and events combined to accelerate its demise: the Great Plague (1707–1708), the Third Northern War, and last but not least the successive Partitions of Poland (1772–1795). With the Treaty of the First Partition, Kazimierz became the property of Austria, to return four years later, in a greatly reduced state, to Poland. Following the document entitled *Law on Cities in the Republic*, issued by the Great Sejm (Parliament) of the Republic in 1791, Kazimierz became a part of Krakow, a change strongly opposed by its residents. The Confederation of Targowica, and the war with Russia invalidated the reforms introduced by the Sejm, and the successive of partitioning of Poland again annexed Krakow with Kazimierz to Austria. In 1800 an official decree made Kazimierz undeniably a part of Krakow. At that time the remnants of the walls of Kazimierz were torn down. Even though they no longer played their original defensive function, they had provided protection against inundation: their destruction allowed the flooding of Kazimierz with huge damage in the year 1813. Under Austrian rule, Kazimierz was the seat of the High Command of the Austrian Army. In 1809, the entire city became a part of the Duchy of Warsaw, and in 1815, following the provisions of the Congress of Vienna, a part of the Free City of Krakow. This period marked a slightly better time for Kazimierz: houses were renovated and expanded, and new streets and squares were designed. At the same time, following an administrative reform, Kazimierz was divided into three communes: the Christian part with Stradom (inhabited according to the census by 1773 Christians and 1373 Jews) became a part of the Municipal Commune No. 6, the Communes No. 10 and No. 11 covered the former Jewish Town (inhabited by nearly 3,500 Jews). The "better" days ended in 1846, with the coming of the so-called second Austrian occupation that continued until 1918. Kazimierz was still separated from the old Krakow in both the administrative (as it was a separate unit) and the social sense (Kazimierz was considered inferior to Krakow). While

Krakow was acquiring the character of a city of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, Kazimierz was becoming the place of life for the Jewish and Christian poor.

The contemporary situation cannot have differed much from what Rafael Scharf describes in his memories from before the Second World War: "The basement, at the rear of the courtyard, where the sun never reached, thronged with families of the poor, often riven by disease due to malnutrition".[79] In the years 1878–1880 the riverbeds that separated Kazimierz from the old Krakow were filled in, establishing new areas for development, increased investment, and the arrival of members of richer classes in the 'border lands'. Still, Kazimierz remained poor and 'worse' than the other parts of the city.

From the beginning of the 20th century, following the establishment of the municipal gas works and electrical plant in the district, Kazimierz's demographic profile changed slightly and it became a workers' district, which only increased and reinforced the contrast with the distinguished and respectable Krakow. This social reality was expressed in political orientation: until 1933 the leftist preferences of Kazimierz residents stood in marked contrast to the conservatism of Krakow. Between the two world wars, a fourth of Krakow population were Jews, 75% of whom lived in Kazimierz. The evaluation of the relations between Christians and Jews and of the attitudes of Poles is not unambiguous for Scharf, who delineates the stereotypes of "a friendly Pole" and "an anti-Semitic Pole".

Until the outbreak of the war, as Scharf recalls,

> even in a small place like Krakow, where Kazimierz, the Jewish quarter, existed cheek by jowl with the non-Jewish, the lives of those neighbouring communities were, in many important senses, separate. It was possible for a Jew to grow up in a family circle, study, or prepare for a trade yet not cross the border dividing the Polish and Jewish communities. A great many Jews, in the district of Nalewki in Warsaw, in the hundreds of *shtetls*, besides a sporadic contact with a supplier or a client, lived thus – not together, but next to each other, on parallel lines, in a natural, contented isolation. During my whole life in Krakow, till my departure before the war, I was never inside a truly Polish home, whose smell, caught in passing, was somehow different, strange. I did not miss it, considering this division natural[80].

Scharf admitted also that "the Jewish community in Krakow was diverse and, as it happens, internally set at variance". The descriptions of relations within the Jewish community, and more generally in that of Krakow, provide a perfect reflection of basic social mechanisms:

External dislike and reluctance was only capable of uniting: only the pressure from outside could keep everything together somehow. What did a shop owner selling "anything that goes" in Szeroka have in common with a man of means living in a villa with its own tennis court in the district of Zwierzyniec? Or a Melamed (i.e. tutor) from the *cheder* school in Wolnica with [a] Professor of Roman Law at the Jagiellonian University? (...) Possibly only the fact that the first like the latter was the object of the same aggression of anti-Semites[81].

The Second World War put a dramatic and definitive end to the life of the Jewish Kazimierz, where more than 70% of the inhabitants were Jews.[82] The Nazis gradually developed a means, as they saw it, to "solve the 'Jewish question'". First, they introduced laws that discriminated Jews legally and economically; second, they aimed at isolating the Jews physically.

As Chwalba describes it,

> German authorities of Krakow were leading the way in introducing anti-Jewish laws, which must be connected to their conviction that due to the capital character of the city (Krakow was the seat of General Government), it should be cleansed of Jews as quickly as possible up to the achievement of complete *judenrein*. This is why already on 8 September, the Head of Government for Civilian Matters ordered the marking of Jewish shops, restaurants, and other establishments with the Star of David[83].

Further legal regulations forced Jews to wear a band with the Star of David and take off their headgear when Germans were in sight; others introduced personal limitations (e.g. bans on ritual slaughter), confiscation of property (including real estate), and prohibited transactions regarding objects of value. Soon, all the Jewish schools and prayer houses were closed. On 26 October 1939, the legal act of greatest consequence for the fate of the Jewish community was introduced, namely the obligation of employment for persons over 14 and under 60. The Jewish Council (*Judenrat*)[84] established the Labour Office and began assigning Jews to hard labour that, as a rule, continued for 12 hours a day. The Nazis were ever more ruthless in determining how they wanted to put an end to the "Jewish question". One tool that helped them in this was the Jewish Militia established in mid-1940. "They were to be guardians of their fellows, yet they frequently became their oppressors."[85] In the same year the first major resettling was conducted. By 1 November 1940, 32,000 Jews had left the city, and approximately 15,000 remained, as they were considered necessary "for economic reasons"[86].

Answering the question of how Poles reacted to anti-Jewish activity of Germans, Chwalba says that they "did not analyse closely (...) the details (...). Those who followed that policy towards both the communities did not believe the fate of Jews to

be worse than that of Poles (…) It was only with the passage of time that the basic difference in the attitude of the aggressors against Poles and Jews was noticed"[87]. This happened when further events took place: in March 1941, the Nazis decided to establish the Jewish ghetto in the district of Podgórze. All the Jews from Kazimierz were resettled to that area, and the empty flats and houses in Kazimierz were assigned to the workers employed by Germans and families from Podgórze. To quote a witness of those events: "we were crossing a bridge of the Vistula, like hundreds of other families. On the one side, we from Podgórze, and on the other – Jews from Kazimierz. I remember the silence of that removal… Silence was turning into mournful sighs"[88]. The many centuries of Jewish history in Kazimierz ended in March 1941; and later, tragically, the inhabitants of the ghetto in Podgórze were taken to the camp in Płaszów.

After the Second World War, within the confines of the entirely different political, economic, and social system of the People's Republic of Poland, Kazimierz was filled with the "new arrivals" representing the lowest social strata. Thus the district became only the "former Jewish district", the place whose history was to be officially ignored and a synonym of pathology, poverty, and ugliness. It was like a ghetto, with an accumulation of phenomena deriving from the disastrous condition of buildings, the highest population density in Krakow (contributing to high morbidity and mortality), obstacles in accessing educational and cultural institutions, and the lifestyles of its new inhabitants, which one of my interlocutors defined as "street girls, pimps, and thieves". This state of progressive degradation continued nearly throughout the entire latter half of the 20th century. The beginning of changes, that is the beginning of revival of Kazimierz, began in the mid-1990s.

2. Ticinese

Today's Ticinese quarter results from the superimposition of the long history of construction of Milanese canals (*Navigli*) and the shorter history of the absorption of the Navigli area by the city of Milan[89].

One should, however, begin with a history that is a few centuries earlier than the canals themselves, namely from the 4th century AD, when on the power of the so-called Edict of Milan, issued by the Emperor Constantine, all Christians in the Roman Empire were guaranteed freedom of faith. Thanks to the activity of Saint Ambrose, the charismatic Bishop of Milan, who has remained the city's patron saint to this day, Milan became an important centre of Christianity in the Middle Ages. It was a large and wealthy city, and both as a free commune and during the lordship of the

Visconti family, it had great political significance. The origin of the Duomo – one of Europe's most famous cathedrals – is connected to the ambitions of the Visconti. The construction of the cathedral required the preparation of an appropriate infrastructure. A system of canals was the solution. Yet, at the time the Naviglio Grande already operated and played other functions. It was short: it branched off the Ticino River and was used for the irrigation of fields, and later for transporting various goods. As members of the Naviglio Grande Association proudly emphasise, it was the first 'hydraulic work' in Milan and Lombardy; it originated in the 12th century and was later improved also by Leonardo da Vinci himself. Although the chronicles that describe the work on the extension of the canal towards Milan provide contradictory information on details, they agree as to the fact that the works conducted in the 1170s were a true fight of human beings against nature. In 1177, work was interrupted due to heavy rains and the inability to regulate the banks. Certain facts and numbers found in chronicles allow better understanding of the scale of operations and the conditions in which they were carried out. The canal had not been completed before 1365, and the first blocks of marble were transported along it on 15 March 1386: the construction of the Duomo, the cathedral founded by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, began. The date marked the new role of Naviglio Grande as the first and most important water transport route into Milan. It also marked the beginning of the construction of an entire network of lesser and greater canals throughout the region and the beginning of the new era in land transportation. Some transport along the canals was in a sense institutionalised, as it came under new tax regulations. Construction of the Duomo continued. Wars, conflicts with other states and principalities of the Peninsula, numerous outbreaks of plague and other natural disasters resulted in the degradation of the canals. The upswing started in 1603, when following the decision of Count Fuentes, the wet dock (Darsena) was built. From that moment, the canals were to serve primarily navigation within the city, and the taxation of this route was to feed the sovereign's treasury. The death of Fuentes (1610) interrupted the modernisation works, and the Great Plague of 1630 entirely wiped out any plans for extending the Navigli. Nearly 200 years were needed to open the new canal in 1809, following the decision of Napoleon. Soon Milan was taken over by the Austrians. Having commenced work on the expansion of canals, only a few years later Naviglio Grande extended nearly 50 kilometres and was connected to 101 other canals and 81 navigable water routes. Together, these provided a system of water transport of the total length of 232 kilometres. The canals were a gate of Milan: through them stone, sand, wood, coal, and food reached the city; the same routes were used to remove waste, sewage and ashes. Registered

from 1830 to 1900 in the Darsena di Porta Ticinese were approximately 8,300 incoming and outgoing barges whose total load amounted to 350,000 tons annually.

It is not a coincidence that the history of development of the canals as presented up to this point lacks people: the Ticinese community. This is not by coincidence: for a long time most people connected to the canals were those who made decisions concerning them from the perspective of Milan's government and workers who performed the actual tasks of building and running them. One can venture to say that until the 19th century, we know little about the Navigli community. It is a fact, however, that the quarter known as Porta Ticinese had existed in the city since Middle Ages. "It took its name from the city of Ticinum, the ancient Pavia"[90]. The southern edge of the district were the Spanish defensive walls with a gate, Porta Ticinese, looking towards the canals.

Beyond doubt, the existence of Porta Ticinesethe city gate towards Pavia whose ancient name was Ticinium – and the fact that the Naviglio Grande connects Milan to the Ticino river influenced the naming of the area where the canals entered into the city, yet no later urban planning and administrative efforts managed to liquidate the symbolical, social, and cultural differences between the Ticinese quarter and Porta Ticinese, which are clear and marked for the Milanese even today. Before, however, the processes of 'opening' the city to the external canals occurred, the Navigli operated as transport routes, and also providing irrigation for agriculture. There had been no attempts to expand the city itself southwards nor to incorporate the scattered settlements situated along the canals by the 19th century. This is understandable due to the turbulent history of Milan and its military and political importance: in the struggle for dominion, whoever held the city preferred investing in the reinforcement of its defences, rather than opening them up. The situation changed in the latter half of the 19th century, in the context of the Italian Risorgimento. For the entire peninsula, it was the period of rebellions and uprisings, liberation movements, war against Austria. The process of unification of the Kingdom of Italy, which in substance concluded in 1861, was completed with the conquest of Rome in 1870. Taking into account this political and ideological context, it is not coincidental that the Ticinese became an administrative part of Milan in 1873. Let us add that the urban development processes that occurred at the time in many European cities were the reflection and consequence of social, economic changes, and the awareness of them that took place all over Europe.

8 June 1873 marks not only the date of administrative inclusion of the Ticinese district in the city, but also the beginning of a period of intense economic and social de-

velopment. It was at that time that – following a royal decree that included in the city the settlements lying outside the ancient Spanish walls known as 'Corpi Santi' – a fast process of transformation of the area began. It was a process that left a profound mark not only in the files and documents but also in the memory of reality that has continued to this day, and of witnesses who are still alive or recently deceased. The traces of the change that continues to take place may not be looked for or explained in a single dimension: they are economic, social, cultural, and administrative in character, and sometimes it is hard to tell the difference between the individual elements forming the layers of memory[91].

It was at that time that the intensive process of transforming the area outside the ancient Spanish walls began. The land underwent fast urban development. The settlements included in the city in 1873 were typically rural in character, yet with the passage of time they began to be the site of new construction investments, as there was no free space left within the city walls[92]. An answer to the increasing density of settlement was the Beruto Regulation Plan of 1889, which envisaged the potential development of Milan in a manner similar to the growth of tree branches. That plan actually influenced the urban development processes for a number of decades[93]. It contained decisions important for today's Ticinese area: in the plan, the district was situated between the greater ones, not yet in existence, radiating from the centre of the city. It was assumed that this area would undergo expansion and its spatial potential would be used to support the developing industrial city. Drawing inspiration from the aesthetic canons of the plan of Berlin, Beruto assumed that there should be a powerful relation between streets and development plots, as he emphasised in the introduction to the *Project for the Regulation Plan of Milan* (*Progetto del piano regolatore della citta' di Milano*) of 1885. As Mazzette[94] wrote,

> the arguments supporting bringing [the Plan] back to memory is the fact that it is one of very few urban development plans that had been implemented to a great degree, and which to a great extent answered the challenges that Milan faced – becoming at that time Italy's largest industrial and trade centre (...). Despite the fact that neither the plan put forth by Beruto, nor the one presented by Pavia-Masero [in 1912 – MS] provides a uniform, coherent vision of transforming the city (...), these plans were the 'tools for control and rationalisation of development'.

In the plan, the area of Ticinese was divided into two parts, along the line of the Spanish wall. The reason for this decision might have been the urban and architectural features of space noticed by the authors of the plan. Following Vargiu's comment, "the presence of the borders that – to use the terminology of the Chicago School – could be called 'natural'" was discovered in the document.[95] In the zone

marked as the 3rd Administrative Tax District[96] there were actually various barriers (walls, canals, wet dock), routes and communication hubs (gates, squares). All these physical and architectural elements had the ambivalent value and function typical of a border:

> They are the linear elements of the space that the observer does not consider to be roads…These borders are clearer, if the limitations are not only visual in their character, but may not be transversely crossed. Some of them may however not divide but connect if visual contact is maintained, as is the case with two attractive parts of the city situated on the two sides of the river, whose banks are carefully developed[97].

The walls and moats of Milan separated one or more areas from one another, yet with the passage of time they began to be used for communication purposes: gates were opened in the walls, thanks to which trade developed dynamically, and canals provided not only barriers and waterways but also places of gathering. To quote Pellegrino[98],

> on 6 March 1900, the City Council of Milan decided to tear down the Smiths' Gate (*Pusterla dei Fabbri*) – greatly devastated and the only one preserved, besides the Gate of St Ambrose, of the 12 or 13 lesser gates and six main gates that had for centuries been part of mediaeval city walls[99].

We are speaking here of the place that formed the last architectural barrier between the internal part of mediaeval Milan, known as Porta Ticinese (from the name of the gate) and the lands beyond, extending towards the Spanish walls and the wet dock. The decision was preceded by long and tumultuous discussions between supporters of opposing positions. The 'pragmatic' group justified the need to remove the barrier with the necessary development of the city, while its opponents referred to artistic and historic values that they believed worth preserving. "Of those who were fighting to the very last to protect the historical ruin, chronicles mention first of all the distinguished painter Luigi Conconi and the architect Luca Beltrami"[100]. A further fragment of the tale illustrates well the specific character of this area early in the 20th century: the *Pusterla dei Fabbri*, partially obscured by country cottages, stood by via Cesare Correnti, and the mouth of the De Amicis and Caminadella streets, where the road that went under it, known as Sant Girolamo, led towards the rural areas and the canals.

> It consisted, much like other towers, of a passage limited by two arcades, with a space of approximately a dozen metres in between. Its name commemorated the artisans, the 'smiths', who used to have the workshops here and who (…) due to the craft they practiced kept far away from the centre of the city"[101].

At the beginning of the 20th century and even during the Second World War, the canals still played an important role in land transport. It was thanks to them that this part of the city maintained its position, and faced with the need for spatial development, its role was even reinforced. The Ticinese was becoming an attractive area for investment, and yet – a fact that is emphasised by Italian researchers – despite many plans for introducing changes, the actual changes were "unplanned in their character". Following Mazzette's conclusion, documents from the turn of the century (pertaining to the Ticinese area) show that urban and economic expansion were the only criteria of city development and management, yet at the same time the decisions of authorities favouring industry did not cause the liquidation of what had existed there earlier. The effect of such a policy in Ticinese was the simultaneous presence of rural and modern development, of crafts and industry, and of traditional and new social groups. The significance of the Navigli did not diminish after the city was bombed by the Allied forces: the damages were quickly repaired, and the port and the canal continued to organise the social life in Ticinese. The fact that the Italian classification of all commercial ports in 1953 ranked Darsena as number 13 witnesses its standing.

If the 20th-century history of the Ticinese district were to be described schematically, one could say that in the first half of the century it continued to be almost a rural area within a city; it would become the goal for the settlement of throngs of immigrants in the latter half of the century. This must be emphasised as it was highly significant for shaping the present day identity of the area[102]. Demographic changes will be analysed below, but let us mention their main characteristics here. The Second World War did not interrupt the life of the local community which was poor and simple but formed tight, and well integrated groups. This is the basic difference between the Ticinese and Kazimierz. Nevertheless, when the poor residents of the Navigli were joined by the poorer immigrants from southern Italy, both the physical and economic degradation of the district increased. The poor population arriving from the south occupied the empty flats in the *di ringhiera* houses and became neighbours of the former residents from the lower classes. The second wave were the so-called immigrants of the political left. Anarchist groups that arrived at that time helped develop the image of Ticinese as a 'tolerant' and politically active district, yet to many it appeared that that political activity and crime were coming ever closer[103]. The third wave of immigrants arrived at the turn of 1970s and was the harbinger of change in the life of the district. The newcomers were artists, architects, and students.

In the meantime, on Friday 30 March 1979, the last barge berthed in the Darsena, and the last load of sand left the port. That event closed the stage that most powerfully defined the identity of the place, and it must have been a symbolic turning point in numerous personal biographies. The Navigli had provided the physical and symbolical axes along which the community grew: canals allowed and determined its life; they were the most crucial element on which local identity focused, and which today constitutes an important element in the sentimental reminiscences of residents remembering "the old Milan".

Fig. 27. Kazimierz
In recent years the New Square has been the centre of activities which link elements of happenings, interactive performances and social meeting. Their spontaneity, creativity and eccentricity are highly valued

Fig. 28. Kazimierz
Except for the happenings reminiscent of Jewish culture, it is the "new traditions" (like the Soup Day in the New Square) that form the identity of Kazimierz.

Fig. 29. Ticinese
The backyard where the seat of the Associazione del Naviglio Grande is located.
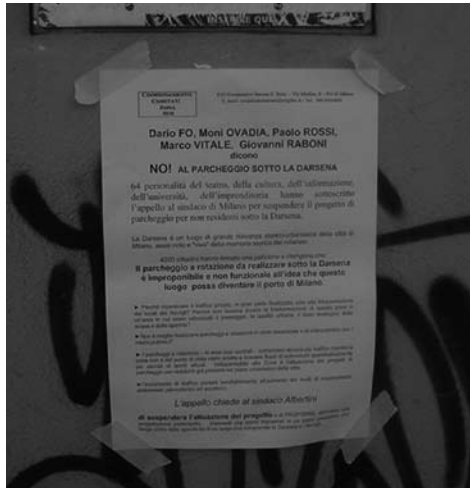
Fig. 30. Ticinese
The Association in company with some other organizations battle against the projects of covering the canals prepared by local authorities.

Fig. 31. Ticinese
"Return to tradition" has been a central element in the Ticinese revitalization. The famous flea market, among others events, is part of the Ticinese brand.

Fig. 32. Ticinese
Vicolo Lavandai [Laundresses' Corner] is a relic of the traditional practices of
a poor and simple community. Today this place is the local icon – its image is
duplicated on pictures and postcards bought by tourists.

Fig. 33. Ticinese
In recent times at the Navigli "daytime" activities have disappeared and evening life
is growing. During the day a casual passer-by would not suppose that there are pubs
and discotheques on the ground floors of the buildings at the Naviglio Pavese.

Fig. 34. Ticinese
Clubs are opened in the early evening and they are soon full of clients from all over
Milan. In the late evening, especially during the weekends, all the streets along the
canals are full of people.

Following the assumptions outlined in the first paragraph of this study, I connect the beginning of the process of *revitalization of urban space* with a more general social and cultural change, from the culture of modernity towards the culture of late modernity. The symbolic capital contained in the space considered forms the potential for production and reproduction of new social and cultural standards and patterns. The sources of this process should be looked for in human consciousness, emotions, and resources – this is why its beginning and individual stages are characterised by time ranges that are blurred and difficult to identify. One cannot call these changes revolutionary, but rather we refer to them as an incessant accumulation and differentiation of micro-transformations and micro-processes conducted in the social and economic tissue that enter the life of the city – in a manner hard to observe. For this reason, it was difficult to define the temporal framework for the research. Singling out the areas of research proved to be easier, even though the Ticinese, as Italian researchers claim, "was and is more of a mental than physical place"[104], while many people in the world find Kazimierz a place of *solely* symbolic significance, a sign of emptiness and absence noted down by Scharf: "I venture into all those corners... Their desertedness glares in the eyes, even though before my eyes I see these throngs of people, hundreds of faces that I used to know by the name or just by sight, the humanscape of my childhood and youth"[105].

How then were the research areas and chronological borders of life in the chosen and defined?

1. Kazimierz and the Ticinese as natural and cultural areas

What Kazimierz and Ticinese have in common – despite the very significant differences, at least in the historical and contemporary metropolitan contexts – is the fact that both districts are realities having a marked identity, which allows treating them as natural areas. The arguments supporting the treatment of today's Kazimierz and the Ticinese in that category are: first, the marked physical disjunction of these places within the physical order of the entire city – the 'cracks' in the urban tissue – and second, that these places are specific and unique configurations of material (architectural and urban characteristics) and symbolic (building up the Kazimierz 'brand' and the Ticinese 'brand') values[106].

Kazimierz

At present, the separate character of Kazimierz resulting from its urban planning and cultural tradition has not been lost: it is perceptible in the plan of the city, it is visible in official statistics, it is expressed by the residents of Kazimierz and of the city of Krakow. My interlocutors did not find it a problem to indicate the borders of the area:

> Kazimierz continues from the Grunwaldzki Bridge, then along the Vistula up to the Powstańców Śląskich Bridge, and then along Starowiślna Street to Dietla"; "in the south and west, this is the Vistula, in the North – Dietla Street, Stradom is already the Old City, and then comes Starowiślna. Well, sometimes – sometimes but stretching the interpretation, people said that it extended to the railway tracks, because no one knew what to do with that area otherwise. It is neither Grzegórzki nor Kazimierz. But as I say, with these railway tracks, it is all a very stretched interpretation". (M, resid. bus.)

The certainty that Kazimierz was a distinctive entity was expressed directly: interviewees spoke of "a district", "an enclave", and a place that was "distinct", "other", "as if enclosed". To what or to whom does Kazimierz owe its special character? The interlocutors point in most cases to two sources, both of which are strongly related to the *past* of the city. The two are the history of the "Jewish district" and – brought up almost as often – the tradition of the place where "two cultures, Christian and Jewish, lived side by side". The statements also emphasise the indivisibility and interpenetration of the specificity of the physical and symbolic space:

> [Kazimierz] differs, is different... it is definitely a district that has an atmosphere that is perceptively different from those of all other districts of Krakow. Simply, it doesn't happen often that there is an enclave in the city, which is as if almost untouched for so and so many years. (M, resid. 1)

The interviewees find damaged and destroyed buildings a characteristic feature of Kazimierz, yet the *spatial degradation* carries two-sided meaning: on the one hand, it is a mark of the "bad" condition of Kazimierz, while on the other, it is the record of history and the proof its original character. Being separate also means having a situation outside "the mainstream" of city culture and local colour, attractive for "searching people" who are looking for something that is not popular, non-mass, non-commercial: "a feature of Kazimierz is that its space seems enclosed; there is a marked difference when you pass from Kazimierz into non-Kazimierz. Emotionally, it is highly distinctive, underground, for the people searching for an alternative space." (F, NGO).

Mrs Wanda, also known as 'Królowa Kazimierza' ['the Queen of Kazimierz'] seeks for the sources of this distinctiveness in the informal ethical code that developed in the past; this code divided people into "us/our own" and "them/aliens":

> Kazimierz developed itself from itself (...). This is an enclave; though it doesn't lie beyond justice, it is governed by its own common law. And so I am so folksy, colourful, and it was much like that too. (...) This is such a home-like place, so natural. Kazimierz used to be an isolated district, specific, there were certain rules here, and certain principles, no outsider had the right to encroach, unless he was tough and knew how to enter. Knew how to make friends. It was such a suburban district." (F, resid., bus.).

The centre of the district is pointed out in far less explicit terms than its borders and characteristic features. In the research conducted in 1995, four central places were mentioned: Nowy Square, Wolnica Square, Krakowska Street and Szeroka Street. Wolnica Square was indicated as the symbolic centre, important as "the historical market square of Kazimierz". For some, the square is the case–argument against perceiving the district as entirely Jewish: "let us not forget that Kazimierz is a Polish city, and it is no good that only Jewish places are mentioned as centres". Yet the interlocutors must have felt a dissonance when they added that Wolnica Square is a "dead" or "empty" place and "one that you pass across". On the other hand, already 10 years ago, Nowy Square was defined as "living" or "lively", one with "a lot of people, and much movement", while Krakowska Street was defined as the trading centre of the district. At that time, Szeroka Street was considered the place "attracting tourists". In the research conducted in 2003 and 2004, answering the question about the centre of Kazimierz, the interlocutors made their reservations: "it depends what centre..." and nearly all of them differentiated "the Jewish centre" in Szeroka Street, and "the normal one, where everything happens", that is Nowy Square. Neither the research conducted in 1995 nor that conducted most recently indicated any place from the so-called Christian part, situated between Krakowska Street and the Vistula River, as the centre of Kazimierz. The Christian Kazimierz is beyond doubt considered part of the natural area of the district, yet it lies in area considered peripheral, whose main function is a residential one. Some respondents, nearly solely those who have lived in Kazimierz for a long time, noticed elements that are characteristic for this part, and for a variety of reasons symbolic or important for the entire district (and the city); they include especially the Church "na Skałce", and also the Youth Cultural Centre in Wietora Street, and the kitchen of St Friar Albert, serving food to the poor. These are, however, individual opinions that are rare in comparison with the many that extoll Nowy Square and Szeroka Street.

Ticinese

In its past, the Ticinese has never been a space with administratively defined borders, even though since time immemorial it has always been inhabited by a specific community that formed an intelligible local culture. The comparison of results of research conducted by the Centro in the latter half of the 1990s with the general observations from the interviews that I conducted in 2004 is interesting indeed. Due to the difference in the scale of research, it was difficult to translate the results, nevertheless, the information gathered makes it possible to conjecture that during these few years major changes have occurred in the mental maps of the space.

One of the first tasks that Italian researchers decided to tackle in the 1990s was testing whether the Ticinese was a separate area with identifiable borders. The 1999 study proves that the interlocutors found it no major problem to point out the centre and characteristic places of the area. The map on which the borders suggested by the interviewees were plotted proves first that there is a Ticinese, which is "more Ticinese" than what surrounds it, and second, that the area comprised between Carobbio and Piazza XXIV Maggio is intersubjectively defined as "the true Ticinese".

Interviewees found it easier to point out the typical features than the physical borders of the area. Many would first define the axes of the district to consider its borders only later: "according to those questioned, the area of Ticinese is mostly articulated along two axes: the one running north to south is defined by Corso di Porta Ticinese and Corso San Gottardo, while the one going from east to west, stretches along the Darsena and viale Giangaleazzo"[107]. Doubtlessly, the sources of the imprecision and differences between the definitions quoted by the interviewees lie in the history of gradual assimilation of the Ticinese into Milan. Despite the intensive processes of urbanisation that the city underwent at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the borders between the 'city' and the nearby villages remained blurred, and Ticinese long preserved a suburban character, which continues for many of its residents thanks to the characteristic architectural structures, and especially to the houses with outside corridors (the *case di ringhiera*[108]). In such a house, the border between the private interior of 'home' and the public space of the street becomes indistinct, and for that reason the architecture of Ticinese has always influenced the way of life of its community: "The balcony (*la ringhiera*) provided an awesome opportunity to tighten relations." Yet the most important element of the space, which the interviewees used to define the Ticinese, are the canals. The genetic ties between the Ticinese and water are another reason why it is easier to point out

the 'skeleton', on which the entire area is based rather than define its borders. Canals are a literal and symbolic landmark. They used to be "the driving force behind the development of Ticinese as there were barges operating until the outbreak of the war"* (M, urban planner) Today, they are the meeting place, the backdrop for painting exhibitions, flower fairs, and antique markets. Besides these, they are the theme of paintings and books by local artists. One more place cropped up in the social map of the Ticinese AD 2004, which was not mentioned by the interlocutors from the late 1990s, namely the Vicolo dei Lavandai – the Laundresses' Corner, where women are said to have met while doing the laundry no longer than five decades ago. Today, the 'setting' of this little side canal with stone washboards provides a perfect example of the so-called aesthetisation of everyday life: decorated with azaleas, with pleasant paths, it is surrounded by stylish restaurants and cafés.

Much as in the case of Kazimierz, the special character of the Ticinese area was also connected to the "underworld" living within its territory: criminal groups strongly related to the territory, with strong culture, specific values, and code of behaviour. The local parish priest recalls:

> And there were houses than one was not supposed to enter, because they were inhabited by the so-called *lôcch* of Porta Cicca. (...) That was a special term to define the thieves, and those who went for shady business, they normally belong to the underworld, but in that place they would not commit any horrible crimes. The *Lôcch* of Porta Cicca was a specific phenomenon in that place, they had their own ethical code, also in the sense that they did not harm one another."* (M, resid., pastor)

On the basis of data already acquired from qualitative research (on architectural features and the layers of social representations) the borders of the area may be described with considerable approximation, even though there are various administrative and mental divisions overlapping within the space of Ticinese. According to Vargiu, it would be more proper to distinguish at least two ways of defining borders of a territory: restrictive and "flexible". The first refers to the area adjacent to Corso di Porta Ticinese, to a great extent following the *Piano di Inquadramento Operativo* of 1976. In the broader definition, Ticinese is a triangle whose upper vertex touches the Carrobbio, the western side goes along via Correnti up to Porta Genova, crosses the Stazione di Porta Genova, and stretches to the Naviglio Grande, reaching the crossing with viale Cassala. The ring road, that is viale Liguria and viale Tibaldi, provides the base for the triangle and runs towards another vertex between the Giambologna and Castelbarco streets. These connect into Col di Moschin, which together with the Aurispa and Calatafami streets defines the eastern border of the

district, which runs to the northern vertex along the eastern edge of the Park of the Basilicas and the area of Piazza Vetra[109]. Vargiu noticed that such a definition of the borders is related in a certain way to the borders of an area referred to in numerous Istat[110] publications.

No more than a few years ago Mazette noticed that in "the preservation of what there had 'earlier' been in the Ticinese, there is no undertone of yearning" (i.e. nostalgia for what there was yesterday). The research conducted in 2004 shows a more marked divide between the Ticinese "that there used to be" and "that there is". Those who knew the "bygone Ticinese" emphasise the dividing line between the present and the past, referring to the latter as possessing as a distinctive and specific character as well as very strong social ties. The talks I conducted in 2004 with 12 students from Milanese universities indicated that the young generation defines the Ticinese in a new way. Due to the low number of interviews, and the way I selected interviewees (the snowball method), the talks may be treated as an inspiration for new, broader research of the changes in the Ticinese, on the "shifting" of the central places, and the subjective "shrinking" of the area. My interviewees equated Ticinese with the area of the Navigli, that is the place where the nightclubs, bars and restaurants are situated. They considered the part situated between Piazzale XXIV Maggio, and the first ring-road as the centre of the city with "normal atmosphere, prices, clubs – almost like by the Duomo". Such changes in the definition of space were also noticed by one of the female interviewees, who has lived all her life (approx. 35 years) by the Naviglio Grande: "Because 'it is fashionable to be in the Ticinese', the district has been divided. There is no single Ticinese, now there are the Colonne di San Lorenzo, Corso Ticinese, the Naviglio Grande, and the Naviglio Pavese."

2. From crisis to new vitality

An analysis of the revitalization process must include a previous stage of degradation of the space in Kazimierz and Ticinese, which in neither case is an obvious matter. Pointing to the beginnings of the crisis in Kazimierz, historians refer us back as far as the 17th century, to the times of the city of Kazimierz. Nevertheless, I consider that the weakening of the city at that time was a part of a succession of events and overall trends that affected the entire country. Factors resulting from the general political and socio-economical situation brought about the fall of the entire Polish State, which is why I have not taken that period as beginning of my analysis. The difficulty in pointing out the beginning of the crisis in the district results also from the fact that the criteria of 'modernity' and 'urbanisation' applied in Western

societies cannot be transferred directly to Polish conditions and reality. Complex political, economic, and ideological factors not only slowed those processes down, but also influenced their specific content. In any case, the processes of modernisation and urban development *alla polacca*, for nearly two centuries, went on in the changing conditions of political and/or ideological subjection. Towards its end, Krakow and Kazimierz operated in the socialist state, much like hundreds of other Polish cities. Yet few Polish districts (and none to such a degree) would experience the tragedy of extermination of nearly its whole population. Though in fact long before the Second World War Kazimierz began to lose its importance and splendour, somewhat arbitrarily and not without hesitation, I decided to take the beginning of the Second World War as the beginning of the crisis. I treat the years of the war and the tragedy of the Holocaust[111] as a turning point in the history of Kazimierz, and the nearly five decades of socialist ideology and modernity (in a specific, Central and Eastern European version) – as the erasing of memory, intensification and amplification of the fall. Most inhabitants of Kazimierz were murdered during the Second World War, and the few who survived emigrated soon after it was over[112]. Trying to account for the effects of the war in the city of Krakow, Andrzej Chwalba remarks that "the Shoah did not lead [...] – as it did in so many smaller towns – to a settlement vacuum, or – as it did elsewhere – to the emptiness of ruins. The Jewish tenements and flats were almost immediately taken over by Poles, who did it despite the summons of the clandestine underground government not to do so."[113]

Succession in the physical space continued parallel to the displacement of Jewish culture from the collective memory. The first wave of immigrants who illegally occupied the flats arrived immediately after the war, and the successive waves in the 1950s and 1960s when, following a decision of the authorities, families of the lowest social standing were quartered in the degraded (literally and metaphorically) district. Taking over the neglected flats of very low standards, their new tenants degraded them further. The vicious circle of negative synergies (the culture of poverty, the lack of a 'landlord', and the state ideology focused on the 'eradication' of the historical memory of the district, etc.) brought about a true crisis of the space. Planned devastation – as happened for example during the filming of *Noce i dni* (*Nights and Days*), when to provide the backdrop for a few shots, an entire quarter was burnt down – may be considered an indicator of the symbolic status of Kazimierz. Symptoms of interest in Kazimierz appeared early in the 1990s, together with the first Jewish Culture Festivals, preparation for the opening of the Centre for Jewish Culture, and devising the draft action plan entitled *Kazimierz – Plan Działań*[114]. These

pioneer initiatives blazed a trail, and the avalanche of changes followed only a few years later, more or less in the mid-1990s. The culmination occurred, as can be seen from today's perspective, in the years 2002–2004.

Let us now consider the Italian case. First, let me emphasise that taking into account the pace and intensity of the processes of industrialisation in post-war Italy, it is almost unbelievable that this enclave of suburban character survived nearly in the heart of metropolitan Milan. The more so as the latter half of the past century was the period when northern Italy very quickly became one of the most industrialised regions of Europe, and – for hundreds of thousands of residents of the south of the Peninsula – the destination of their migration for survival. The economic progress of the country was, however, only one side of the coin. The other was the often dramatic ideological and political conflict, the deepening social stratification, the increasing power of the Mafia and international and national pressures on the political system. After a period of quick economic development, there came the crisis of the state, in political, social, and – though for a brief spell – also in the economic sense. The end of the 1960s and the early 1970s (the so called 'leaden years') saw a time of increased activity of neo-fascist groups, bombing attacks, strikes, protests, and political extremism. Despite these destabilising events, Italian economy was in fairly good condition, and the possibility of overtaking France and the United Kingdom in economic terms was frequently a subject of conversation. The unsolved political problems and deep conflicts in Italian politics remained. The 1990s were a time of establishment of successive political groupings that preached a programme of putting an end to the past including the mafia, links to the communist world, corruption of the governing parties; it was the period of developing alliances in strongly divided political space, and – if the situation may at all be summed up – the time of a new political stabilisation in the country. These elements provide the background for the processes occurring in the post-war Ticinese, as this period is at the centre of my interest. Whereas a fairly clear chronology of social change from degradation to revival can be seen in Kazimierz, in the case of the Ticinese, the chronology of change is not so obvious. First, unlike Kazimierz, the continuity of social life in the Italian district was uninterrupted, and therefore changes were of an evolutionary character. Secondly, from the Second World War to the 1980s, signs of unparalleled dynamism of change in various dimensions – in the social, the economic, and the physical space – could be observed. This makes an unambiguous assessment of the changes in the Ticinese and its condition difficult. The stages of transformation in the district are marked by the migratory waves. The first two waves from the post-

war years until the 1970s, i.e. first the poor people from Southern Italy and later political activists, correspond to the period of gradual and increasing degradation of the district in the physical, economic, and social sense. Although there were a few locations where houses were restructured and taken over by the middle class, this fact only expanded the spatial and social segregation between the groups at the top and the bottom of the social ladder. The same period also marked the final demise of the Ticinese area's original function, namely as a port and craftsmen's district. The end of 1970s and the entire 1980s meant the arrival in the district of artists, architects, and soon the representatives of new professions too. This is the period that I take as the beginning of the cultural, economic, and physical revitalization of the Ticinese.

To sum up, in both cases there is a visible parallel between the changes at the macro level (urban, regional, and state) and the changes occurring in the districts. Analysing the Ticinese, I focus on the period beginning with the end of the Second World War and ending in 2004 (when the last field research was conducted). Referring to Kazimierz, I assume that from the Second World War to the end of 1980s it continued to undergo total degradation: social, economic, symbolic, etc. The first harbingers of cultural revival appeared early in the 1990s, while the stage of lively and general revival (cultural, social, and economic) began in the district near the end of 1990s.

VI. Changes in physical space

In the model of the revitalization process I have distinguished spatial changes that can be referred to, generally speaking, as renovation, rehabilitation and aesthetic improvement. I have generally assumed that, in the dimension of physical space, the process of revitalization means change from the status of degradation to that of reconstruction, renovation, restoration, and modernisation. I assume that space constitutes a tool, a means through which an individual can satisfy his/her fundamental needs (concerning home, consumption, work), as well as needs of higher order, for example the need to communicate, co-operate with others, and participate in social life. Space also constitutes a context and the building material for the construction of both individuals and groups. I consider the status of the space to be both a result of social actions and the factor that structuralises individual and collective identity.

1. Kazimierz

Data from the National Census of 1988, although it refers to the distribution of apartments in buildings according to their age, do not allow us to doubt the cultural value of the urban space of Kazimierz, as it is comparable to that of the Old City. At the same time, taking into consideration the condition of the buildings and investments made, Kazimierz was found to be one of the most disfavoured areas of Krakow.

Age of housing stock: construction dates (%):	Kazimierz	Old City	City Centre	Krakow
before 1918	70	88	32	11
1918-1944	21	10	18	13
after 1944	9	2	50	76

Table 1. Kazimierz and Krakow (with the Old City and the City Centre [Śródmieście]
Age of housing stock by construction dates (in %; data from the National Census of 1988).

A few renovation initiatives were completed from the end of the war to the end of the 1980s: the reconstruction of the Old Synagogue (Alte Schul, 1955–1959), tidying up the Remuh Cemetery and redecoration of the Church of the Holy Trinity (at the turn of the 1960s). New investments, mostly from the 1980s (in Jakuba, Skawińska, and Wietora streets and in Bawół square) were in answer to the short-

age of housing, and their socialist realist architecture further marred the already degraded district. The Grunwaldzki Bridge, constructed in 1972 at the extension of Dietla Street (built in the place of the filled-in branch of the Vistula river that separated Kazimierz from Krakow) opened a new transit track through this part of the city, although at the time it did not have any major influence on increasing attractiveness of the district itself.

"The monuments will fall apart"

In 1978, Kazimierz with the whole centre of Krakow was placed on the UNESCO World Culture Heritage List, which, however, did not result in the authorities' implementing any major renovation initiatives. In the same year, the Civic Committee for Restoration of Krakow Heritage (Społeczny Komitet Odnowy Zabytków Krakowa, SKOZK) was established, and it was thanks to the involvement and financial assistance of this organisation that individual buildings were renovated in Kazimierz. However, still in 2000 the Deputy President of SKOZK drew attention to the Committee's limited possibilities for action:

> all sacral complexes of Kazimierz, both Jewish and Christian, were, or have been supported by the finances of the Civic Committee. Very often these finances have provided the main means for conducting restoration works (...). But [the Committee] can allocate its resources only (...) when there is a specific request for financial support and a specific partner. The predominant situation in this district, namely lack of a partner and a volume of housing stock whose ownership status is unclear, simply makes it impossible for the Committee to act. (...) everybody only keeps saying that it should be dealt with and cared for; if this issue remains unsolved, the monuments will be falling apart[115].

In 1987, a Local Spatial Development (Zoning) Plan for the Historical Districts of Kazimierz and Stradom (*Miejscowy Plan Zagospodarowania Przestrzennego Zespołu Zabytkowego Kazimierza i Stradomia*)[116] was created, yet this document had no significant application then, and as it still remains in force – even though it is inadequate for example for presenting requirements and functional expectations – it actually hinders activities[117].

The sources, the course and the results of the changes in the urban fabric of Kazimierz of the 1990s indicates that if they do not correspond to social attitudes and cultural imponderables there will be a lack of effective changes at the institutional level. Two aspects of the revitalization of Kazimierz are indications in this sense. First, when the source of change is institutional and when its actions remain mostly in the sphere of plans and postulates; second, and much more difficult to define, while it is

developing and when change results from a dynamic process of colliding, clashing, and negotiation of social activities (the effects of this process are often observable after a certain period and in the context of other activities).

What was the course of 'revitalization' in the first case, as a result of institutional initiative? In 1993–1994, when works on the second stage of the Spatial Development (Zoning) Plan of Krakow (*Plan Zagospodarowania Przestrzennego Krakowa*) were conducted, Kazimierz was included on the list of the areas of economic activation (so-called 'strategic areas'). In May 1994 the decision was formally confirmed by the resolution of the Krakow City Council and in the General City Plan (*Plan Ogólny Miasta*) ratified in November 1994. At first, the documents concerned only the area enclosed by św. Wawrzyńca, Gazowa and Podgórska streets: the "Quarter of Św. Wawrzyniec" was acknowledged to be "exceptionally favourable for objects of culture and science with national and international significance". The consequence of the resolution (having the force of local law) was to oblige the authorities of Krakow to promote Kazimierz, which included preparation of specific legal instruments, as well as inspiring the establishment and co-founding of institutions dealing with the revitalization of urban space. The means for achieving these aims included the "Kazimierz – Action Plan" prepared as part of the ECOS EU programme[118], the supervision of which was delegated to the Task Force for Revitalization of Kazimierz, appointed by the Mayor of the City of Krakow in 1993. However, the actions and so-called hard investments (connected with spatial intervention) planned in the project have not been carried out (due to legal constraints, such as unregulated ownership status, and other reasons); neither did the other ideas for restoration have direct impact on the physical status of the district. Despite the fact that legal instruments prepared by the City authorities did not bring about the expected effects, the Krakow Real Estate Institute (*Krakowski Instytut Nieruchomości*, KIN) observed at the end of the 1990s a gradual increase of construction activity in Kazimierz. Present-day percentage distributions of buildings in respect to their age are different from ones included in Table 1, to the advantage of new buildings. I did not manage to obtain the latest data[119], but information on construction and reconstruction permits issued in the later half of the 1990s showed that up to 1997–1998 construction activity was not as common as in the other areas of the city, although later the number of investments grew markedly. In 1999, 24 permits were issued for Kazimierz (as compared with 275 permits for the whole Śródmieście, which gives a ratio of 1:11). Comparing the ratio of Kazimierz area to the that of District I (1:17), one can speak of signs of a rising real estate market in this part of the city.

Why did this not happen earlier – even though the transformation of the system launched appropriate market mechanisms, and the institutions of local government declared Kazimierz to be a "strategic area"? Civil servants and persons connected with the Activity Plan of 1994 indicated factors that can generally be divided into those of institutional and legal character and those of institutional and mental character. The former category includes, first and foremost, the following: unregulated ownership status of buildings, inadequacy of legal regulations in respect to the post-transformation reality and lack of appropriate rules and regulations (e.g. the Head of the Task Force for Revitalization of Kazimierz had no appropriate tools for supervising the completion of tasks). The second category, the institutional and mental one, comprises what the interviewees called an "unfavourable political atmosphere" and "lack of political will". One of my interlocutors talked about lack of interest on the part of the authorities and councillors, another one about "generally unfavourable atmosphere around Kazimierz, the reason for which is hard to define".

A member of the Task Force reported that

> everything depended on the good will of heads of particular departments, who by the way were not held accountable for this part of their activities, and did not enter these obligations in the job descriptions of their representatives (whom they quite often made do the work, even though they themselves were nominated members of the Task Force), most obviously considering these obligations to be extras, even a hobby at times (some of the heads would not even give these persons leave to participate in the meetings of the Task Force)[120].

Up till now, after approximately a decade, the institutional situation has not changed much: Kazimierz does not have its local spatial development plan[121] (as is the case with most of the city), and the effectiveness of the Task Force for Revitalization of the Area of Kazimierz, established on 8 July 2003 (led by the Deputy Mayor of the City) has not increased in comparison to ten years ago. By the way, the Task Force formally existed until spring 2005, but even then in the Municipal Office it was hardly possible to find anyone who would admit to knowing who directed the Task Force, who belonged to it or where the documentation was.

"They are renovating, a pity that it is only the façades"

But Kazimierz was changing. One of the earliest signs that 'something' was going on was the general redecoration and restoration of a building at the Meiselsa street, where the Centre for Jewish Culture is located. The image of Kazimierz from the turn of the 1980s has thus been remembered by one of originators of the Centre:

I remember when I came here first, and saw it, and it all looked as hopeless as in the photo documentation, and then I thought: it must all be demolished, levelled, something new must be built. Fortunately, of course, this was not the case. (...) And for three... four years... from 1989 to 1993, work on saving this ruin was carried out, on its adaptation, on its extension and adjustment to present needs... In November 1993, this building was opened[122]. (M, NGO)

This is the investment that the respondents, asked in 1995 about the most noticeable changes in the district, referred to. According to the authors of the report, for the inhabitants "the most noticeable investments are ones in the historic buildings related to Jewish culture (redecoration of synagogues, the Center for Jewish Culture, construction of a kosher restaurant)"[123]. The inhabitants also noted other investments, emphasising that improvement of the status of the buildings is sometimes cosmetic in its character: "trade has changed, elegant shops began to appear on Krakowska street, constructions have filled up gaps between buildings; they have been renovating, a pity that this are only the facades". Still, however, the general status of the district was evaluated as disastrous: "It is enough to turn from Józefa street, ruins everywhere, take for instance Ciemna Street", "Everything is infested with mould, horrible; houses, churches, synagogues – everything falls apart, simply falls apart". These answers show an asymmetry in the development of Kazimierz – all indications point to the so-called Jewish part, very few changes were observed by the inhabitants of the Christian part; the differences were explained by the observation that investments were connected to the development of tourism "following the traces of Jews".

Let us compare the impressions the inhabitants had about the condition of buildings with the official data of 1988. Apartments in Kazimierz were generally perceived to be much worse than apartments in Krakow and in the Old City (where there were buildings of comparable age).

facility \ district	a) Kazimierz	Old City	City Centre	Krakow
sewer	b) 98 %	97 %	98 %	97 %
WC	c) 85 %	87 %	91 %	93 %
gas	d) 92 %	90 %	93 %	94 %
bathrooms	e) 70 %	81 %	85 %	91 %
central heating	f) 14 %	30 %	56 %	78 %
hot running water	g) 76 %	82 %	87 %	91 %

Table 2. Kazimierz and Krakow – housing conditions (data from the National Census of 1988).

One of the factors hindering renovation of buildings is that out of 677 houses in Kazimierz, 500 are considered to be historic, which means more rigorous limitations on intervention activities[124] and much higher costs of redevelopment. However, despite the still appalling status of buildings and infrastructure, the research conducted by the KIN at the end of the 1990s confirmed the impressions of interviewees concerning the growing interest in the district at the end of that decade. According to the KIN, the increase in the real estate trade (usually resulting in the renovation of its object) was driven by the sale of apartments by the Municipality of Krakow (a third of transactions in real estate). Among the investments, the majority were modernisation activities in already existing buildings (e.g. adaptations of attics, addition of storeys) and adjustment of buildings for tourism and services. In the KIN's list containing descriptions of 15 investments from years 1988–2000, six are redecorations (plus one construction) of real estate for hotels.

The focus of modernisation projects shaped the new map of Kazimierz. To quote KIN experts, "comparing [...] the number of permits issued for the Jewish and Catholic parts of Kazimierz, one notices that the majority of permits pertain to the Jewish part". Szeroka Street was regaining its function as the Jewish centre in Kazimierz, or rather it began to have a new function – that of a "cultural centre" in a specific, late-modern "services & tourism" version. The restoration of Szeroka Street has been both a factor that favours tourism, and a result of the tourist interest in the 'Jewish district'. In the latter half of the 1990s, a functionally new sub-division of the 'Jewish Kazimierz' into two further parts began to be visible and has remained so to the present: one of the parts in centred around Szeroka Street, and the other on Nowy Square (better known locally as *Plac Żydowski* – Jewish Square). Nowadays, the asymmetry of development and functions of Kazimierz is visible to the naked eye. Maps of Kazimierz issued by the Municipal Office of Krakow and by private publishers show concentration of restaurants, pubs, and cafés and hotels in the so-called Jewish area, and differences between maps from different periods reflect the dynamics of changes – some businesses disappear and new ones emerge in their place; still the proportions between the 'Jewish' and 'Christian' parts remain unchanged.

Dynamic changes in the 'Jewish' part comprise not only the quantitative increase of activity, but also a very clear differentiation of the service profile that organises this part into a new map. Until the beginning of this decade, Szeroka street and Nowy Square mentioned above constituted the two centres, while in the last three or four years a third centre has developed: Józefa Street, renowned for its galleries and antique shops. In all three hub places ruins turned into neat and tidy buildings.

Owning premises there is considered to guarantee success. Therefore entrepreneurs agree to conditions that in other places would be risky. For example, an owner of a coffee shop leasing premises near the Nowy Square admitted to having agreed to pay 25 years' rent in advance.

Besides renovation of buildings for housing and service purposes (e.g. hotel and restaurant complexes) executed by private bodies, one successful investment in which the Municipality of Krakow participated deserves attention. The Św. Wawrzyńca Tram Depot, which has existed since 1982, now operates as the Museum of Technology (*Muzeum Inżynierii Miejskiej*). In 1997, a limited liability company was founded with 100% shares owned by the Municipality. The objective of the company was defined as renovation of the historical site, and the effects of the renovation are visible today. Renovation of the physical tissue has continued beside non-commercial cultural, educational, and exhibition activities. However, despite progress, the Tram Depot is far from reaching the plans outlined a few years ago for revitalization, which were to turn a former industrial plant into a place "teeming with life".

These changes in the physical space by no means reflect the whole picture. In buildings adjacent to the renovated streets walls crumble, roofs rot, plaster flakes off. Every few metres, we encounter 'no-man's lands' – such as dirty pseudo-playgrounds for children overgrown with shrubs and saplings, flower beds used as dumps, and stinking and shabby-looking staircases with flaking paint. And there is a vertical division between renovated and degraded space: in several places, if we raise our eyes above the level of the renovated ground floor, we see walls falling apart and rotting window frames.

"It makes sense to invest here"

But those who invested in real estate four years ago agree that they have been blessed by luck. In 2004, an employee of a real estate agency estimated:

> Prices? Well, within a few recent years they have gone up by 100%, more or less. I am speaking about ordinary apartments, for example filling in gaps between existing buildings. But there is already a shortage of apartments. There are also more expensive ones, for instance in Kupa Street there is a luxury apartment house under construction now (...) one square metre costs € 1400. And they all went like hot cakes. (...) If a district is popular, there is demand both for purchases and renting. And as for renting, both apartments and premises, e.g. for pubs or things like that are sought for. (M, resid., bus. 1)

New inhabitants and patrons of businesses consider the changes to be positive or somewhat positive. Some of them notice, however, the superficiality of the renovation:

there are some, no question about it, it is enough to look at Józefa Street, how it chang-
es, here, for instance, the number 12 was renovated, I mean... from outside, the facade,
well, still it's something... now on the side of Bożego Ciała Street one building will soon
be finished, also two buildings are under renovation on Kupa Street. (M, publ.inst.)

"This investment is scandalous"

According to some interviewees new investments are not only a superficial renova-
tion of the district's façades. In 2004 and in the first few months of 2005 a few local
activists organised protest campaigns against investments or investment plans they
considered illegal. It was a signal that changes in the space of the district had reached
a critical moment, unaccepted by hundreds of persons (although motivated by only
a few activists, as we discuss below).

In a few recent years (from the end of the 1990s, with an escalation in 2003–2005,
due to the immense increase in the market value of all forms of real estate in Ka-
zimierz) one could observe symptoms of a peculiar fight for space with the par-
ticipation of the Municipality of Krakow, the Jewish Community, investors, and
private bodies. Time and again the media brought up the issue of the building at 12
Szeroka Street[125] or the luxury apartment house in Kupa Street. Having their beer,
customers talk about methods of making investments. Investments that a few years
ago made the inhabitants happy have now begun to be evaluated less unanimously.
Some, especially the better educated interviewees, focus on the results of the new
architectural styles as not appropriate to the particular atmosphere of the district:

> This investment near the Isaac Synagogue is scandalous. I have absolutely nothing against
> renovation, whether filling gaps or renovating old ruined buildings. But completely new
> constructions here in Kazimierz are a mistake. Just like that thing built in the back of
> Nowy Square, this big block of flats. In my opinion it does not really fit the atmosphere.
> It not only takes away the light, it is also gigantic (...) And what is under construction on
> Szeroka, what is under construction on the Square, and that thing close to the Synagogue
> – in my opinion they disturb the atmosphere very much." (F, resid. 1).

A few interviewees concentrated more closely on the legal aspects of new invest-
ments, suggesting, or directly expressing opinions on the illegality of modernisations
of buildings and informal ties between institutions and investors – and finally on the
existence of "a real estate mafia in Kazimierz". Already in July 2003, during the meet-
ing of inhabitants with municipal and district authorities, one of the inhabitants
blared: "ownership issues of the buildings should be dealt with, as there is a mafia
which openly buys out whole buildings. (...) We must unite against the mafia!"

At the same time, along with the growing outrage related to how buildings are sold and renovated, another belief prevails, namely, that Kazimierz has changed thanks to private initiative and not thanks to the Municipality:

> The City does not exercise its basic functions as far as Kazimierz is concerned. The City benefited by the discovery of Kazimierz by tourists, from the fact that people opened their businesses there, made it more colourful; they gradually ... are getting rid of the drifters (...) But there is no contribution of the City to Kazimierz whatsoever, because renovation of one pavement, a pavement!, not a street! per year! well, this is not a proper contribution... (M, resid., NGO)

2. Ticinese

A glance at the table showing the age of buildings in the Ticinese is enough to cast doubt on whether the district is a place of a particular historical value – Italy is, after all, associated with cities whose architecture reaches back to the Middle Ages and even ancient times. However, if we take the context of Milan – a city that suffered considerably during the bombing of 1944, and later was subject to extensive industrialisation that destroyed much of the historical fabric – the historical value of the district becomes more obvious.

Age of housing stock: construction dates:	Ticinese	Milan
before 1919	34.8%	13.0%
1919–1945	24.7%	20.9%
1946–1960	21.3%	31.3%
1961–1971	14.9%	26.5%
1972–1981	2.4%	4.4%
1982–1991	1.9%	3.9%

Table 3. Ticinese and Milan – age of housing stock (based on G. Rovati[126]).

The differences are visible. While in the whole city of Milan a third of the housing stock dates from before 1945, in the Ticinese area, the proportion reaches two thirds, with some houses dating back even to the 16th century. To be precise, it should be stressed that the age of the housing stock itself cannot be considered the only criterion of cultural value, as it is hard to compare old, simple houses of the Ticinese with the lavishly decorated palace-like places of residence for aristocratic families in the northern part of the city centre. The buildings of the Navigli are simple and the building material is typical of poor suburbs.

It is worth returning at this point to the 20th-century regulation plans and reports on their completion. In comparison to Kazimierz, whose original (and devastated)

buildings survived only thanks to the fact that no attempts at repairing them were made, the survival of the traditional architecture of Ticinese must be connected with attitudes of local communities. The aim of the regulation plans of 1927–1935 was to implement the vision of a "healthy" city, in the sense used in fascist ideology (*risanamento dell'epoca fascista*). The conception of city zoning was at that time popular all over Western Europe, and enjoyed its highest point of popularity in fascist Italy. It was very important for urban planners to make the zones uniform, a desire which found its expression in, among others, precise instructions pertaining to the distance between the buildings and lots, and also in the style and architectural detail. The planned "cleansing" was to be applied to the whole city. However, as the author of one of the plans comments,

> not all the zones 'conformed' in the manner required. (...) The zone that has a problem with adapting to this type of change is the Ticinese; there the 'fascist *risanamento* [healthification]' clashes with the diversified forms of local community. This results in the incapacity to implement the cleansing plans. (...) Creation of uniform districts is practically impossible. The local community is strongly attached to the land: after demolition of a house, they move to the neighbouring one, and after demolition of a subsequent building – people move close by, but they do not go away[127].

It is impossible to conduct a complete analysis of spatial changes in the Ticinese after the Second World War – the great complexity of these changes was influenced on the one hand by plans of public institutions, and on the other by initiatives, ambitions and potential of private entities. Let us, however, try to reconstruct the most important stages and features of spatial changes within the district.

Attempts at fragmentary revitalization

During the war, the district was not bombed, unlike several other places in the city centre and in northern districts, yet the photographs from the "Milano dopo la guerra" ("Milan After the War") exhibition show how devastated it was. Despite the fact that most of buildings had owners (who often lived in other parts of the city), income from rental did not cover current expenditure, let alone the costs of redecoration and/or other investments. Ruggerone and Volonté relate that in the 1960s many of these buildings were not only unsuitable for residential purposes but residence there posed a direct threat to life[128]. The status of the buildings did not change after the arrival of the first wave of immigrants looking for sustenance, who either moved into uninhabited flats or rented flats in the *di ringhiera* tenements. It was only in the 1970s that the idea of decentralisation of power/authority began to

gain momentum, and it also included the idea that local authorities should take over competences in spatial planning. Unfortunately, as Italian researchers have determined, besides the mere idea of streamlining the management process, the municipal authorities did not have appropriate legal tools, expertise, institutions or human resources to implement these plans.

How did these plans influence the Ticinese space? Public institutions dealt only with a fragment of the district, the above-mentioned Vicolo Calusca, while the remaining part of the district was a subject to the regulations of market economy in a natural way: business in the real estate market of the Ticinese began to pick up at the end of the 1970s, gathering momentum only in the 1980s.

The conclusions of the Centro's research on Vicolo Calusca – the only case in the Ticinese where the public administration undertook the revitalization of a part of the district – are interesting. In this case, municipal authorities planned to reach two goals: first, to renovate the existing tissue with historical value; second: to create rotational publically owned residence[129] for the poorest families. It was considered that as soon as the Commune (i.e. the municipal council) had became the owner of entire buildings (previously with fragmented ownership), it would be possible to develop a reasonable policy for public housing. The wish to reconcile a range of objectives including obtaining social apartments, retaining a simple [*popolare*] character of the district, and restoration of old buildings resulted in the creation of a very densely built-up space. In places that previously had public and private functions (courtyards, backyards), and thus were conducive to establishing and maintaining social bonds, ordinary blocks of flats were built. The existing houses were renovated, but due to "shortage of funds", that treatment was mainly limited to their façades. Poor families from the territory of the whole city were moved to flats that were to provide temporary lodgings. This, from the very beginning, resulted in Vicolo Calusco's becoming a ghetto of families that did not know one another. Researchers who analysed this case of public intervention also mention the ever growing "politicisation" of housing policy and the "loyalty/patron" arrangements. Soon after renovation and/or constructions of houses it was difficult to define the criteria that the city used to allocate the apartments, and the manner of their redistribution was becoming more and more dependant on the 'colour' of the party dominating municipal government[130]. The results of the revitalization plan for Vicolo Calusca were both unexpected and unwelcome, and therefore after a few years the City decided to do away gradually with public housing, and to sell the resources to private persons. Thanks to their very good location and the rising reputation of the district,

the apartments were purchased mostly by representatives of upper middle and upper classes.

Aside from Vicolo Calusca, the whole district was changing slowly in accordance with market economy mechanisms, while the rhythm and the character of spatial change was tightly connected to the various kinds of immigration waves. As Rovati states, waves of immigrants from the south of Italy (in 1950s and 1960s) did not change the landscape of the district: it remained poor, ruined, and popolare. Nor were there any significant changes in the status of buildings after the wave of the so-called political immigration, during which the district became a centre of the political extreme left. The changes started occurring with the emergence of the so-called new middle class in the Navigli.

"Conquering meter by metre"

Students, artists, representatives of new professions connected with the third sector (architects being the dominant group in the case of the Ticinese) subsequently continued to move into the houses by the canals for a number of years. The result was not only an observable, though slow, renovation of the space (new owners and tenants renovated apartments and interiors of buildings) but also changes in the division and functions of the space. Borders between closed and open spaces were redefined. The backyards that used to be open became private enclosed space, borders between workshops previously turned into artists' studios were obliterated, ateliers became open outside, windows were reorganised so that a passer-by could observe the artist's work, and the artist participate in the life 'outside'.

In the beginning, the traditional community of the Ticinese (including assimilated immigrants from the south of Italy) still lived in the ruined *di ringhiera* houses and a few simple buildings constructed especially for them. The middle class gradually occupied prestigious new mansions, and from the 1980s the *di ringhiera* houses also, as the previous inhabitants were gradually moving out.

> "[In the history of the Ticinese] changes were introduced, as the poorer families that inhabited buildings not belonging to the City were resettled from here. The apartments, often small and poor (single rooms, even without a bathroom), are being joined and bought either by persons needing a pied-à-terre in this district, or by families that connect four or five rooms and thus create a beautiful, luxurious apartment. (...) While some time ago you could get a flat for peanuts here, now they cost a lot." * (M, resid., pastor)

As assessed by an owner of a real estate agency from San Gottardo Street, a factor that increased the dynamism of changes in the Ticinese and, moreover, indirectly

influenced the improvement of the status of buildings, was the great fragmenta-
tion of ownership, divided to a much greater extent than in other parts of central
Milan. Thanks to the fact that private persons bought and renovated single apart-
ments, renovation of buildings occurred much faster. The informant emphasised
further that an effect parallel to this phenomenon was the "mosaic" character of the
whole, in respect to the quality of decor, style and function. A similar opinion was
expressed by a municipal urban planner:

> The first impulse that made this everlasting reality [lack of spatial changes – MS] budge
> was the fragmentary privatisation. Here, there were people and activities that lasted for
> years, and the mechanism that allowed these people to remain here was renting apart-
> ments. If we look at the statistics of 1951 and 1961, the percentage of house renting in
> Milan reached 75% or 76%. Now we have 40% tenant occupied apartments and 60%
> owner occupied apartments. Therefore, within 20 years, a profound transformation was
> made, as owning an apartment completely changed relations between people, places,
> and activity. In the beginning, the owners were mostly the so-called *redditieri*, an old
> group of tenement owners. Before the establishment of the municipal law (of 1924),
> which allowed partial sale, the whole house had been in the possession of a single per-
> son only. These houses were handed down from one generation to another. (...) When
> the sale of apartments started – on the scale of the whole city, in the 60s and 70s – a
> burning issue appeared: that of old central districts inhabited by the *popolari* strata, who
> were incapable of buying their lodgings. It undermined the whole traditional system.*

The space was occupied by representatives of the middle class, who in the 1990s
still could afford to buy a big apartment or an attic. From the mid-1990s, and in
particular at the beginning of the 21st century, the battle for space was won by the
economically strongest: because the restoration of the oldest houses (the most pres-
tigious ones) is very expensive, and because the demand exceeds supply.

A symbolic revaluation (increasing the value) of districts, with the key role of artists
as the group forming role models for the middle class, resulted in changes in the
physical space:

> The old *casa di ringhiera*, in poor condition, dank, with a shared toilet, i.e. with all
> the inconveniences, with an old paved courtyard, has now become the most beautiful
> house, a desired object, with apartments consisting of five or six former flats. Thus com-
> pletely redecorated, grand houses, with renovated courtyards, where the old Lombard
> pavements were reconstructed, with elaborate ornaments at their sides, with lawns and
> flower beds designed by architects (...) It all begun with socialists, with the stage of 'Mi-
> lan to be drunk'[131], the European Milan. (...)... which means, on the one hand, fascina-
> tion with the past, and on the other the potential in renovation of these houses – best

when they are raised by one or two storeys (...) as well as some other reasons. All this led to a conquest metre by metre. * (M, CC).

The changes were radical, but not revolutionary, as they were consistent with the tradition and atmosphere of the place.

In the 1950s, at the other side of the Darsena, the most horrible urban planning interventions began to take place and blocks of flats were built, but fortunately on this side of the Navigli there were no destructive interventions from the architectural point of view. This saved this zone. In this way, the soul of old Milan was saved, the scent of old Milan: the same canals, river banks, houses over canals are still the same, with the same colours and features.* (M, resid. 2, bus., NGO).

Despite the change of the local community (at least partial), the district entered the stage of late modernity with a clear identity, retaining its fundamental features.

3. Summary

The fact that motivated revitalization activity in physical space was the character of Kazimierz and the Ticinese as natural/cultural areas. Their character was defined primarily on the basis of the cultural and social specificity of their former inhabitants, and second, on the condition of the districts, as devastated 'islands' within the municipal space. The suburban character of a space preserved – at first perceived only in the physical sense (*case di ringhiera*, tenement houses, little squares, fairs and markets), buildings symbolising minority cultures (synagogues, *mikveh*), and the lifestyle of lower social strata (artisans' workshops, fairs, *osterie*, and backstreets) – attracted a new type of resident: the denizen of the large city in search of a different and unorthodox space: 'a place with a memory'. What had earlier been perceived as drawbacks, namely the degradation of buildings and public spaces, not only ceased to be one, but was considered a major forte. Worth noticing, however, is the fact that in both cases 'degradation' plays an important role in today's process of developing the identity of the two districts, even though, as a phenomenon, it actually belongs solely to the past. Kazimierz and the Ticinese were or had been degraded, yet this 'disgraceful' past is highly functional: first, it gives the district 'authenticity' – a unique history, which becomes an element of its status – and secondly it provides an element of identity for its residents. For the traditional residents it is a part of their biography whether they want it or not; but for the new ones it constitutes part of a *myth* that they will use in developing of their own identity project, in 'living their lives'.

In both cases, the rehabilitation of the district's physical tissue was conducted thanks mainly to private initiative and capital. This brought about a positive effect: a fairly

high pace change, especially in the case of Kazimierz. The changes in general cannot be considered fully positive, as the space – as it became gradually object of market economy initiatives – was unmbalanced. This is visible today especially in the case of Kazimierz, where renovation of buildings has been carried out in an "insular" manner. The unbalanced development of space also means growing disproportions between its functions. In the Ticinese of 1980s and 1990s, the multifunctional character of space (residential, service, recreational, etc.) was preserved, and the appropriation of space by leisure facilities has been visible only since the late 1990s. In Kazimierz, on the other hand, the change of functions from residential to services (hotels, restaurants, pubs) was very fast. The consequences of changes brought about by renovation – objectively speaking, very positive in themselves – may not be evaluated unambiguously in the case of the Polish district. On the one hand, they are a mark of increasing value of space and a part of the desired process of improvement of the appearance of Kazimierz. Yet on the other, the fast pace of changes, the legal loopholes, and the sense of absence of a holistic vision and control over the changes add up to a climate that favours abuse, conflicts, and struggles for space.

VII. Social changes: "rewriting history"

Following research on the Ticinese quarter, completed by the end of the 1990s, sociologists from the Milan Centro discovered and highlighted a new function of the district regarding the city: it is the place where experiments in the creation of new lifestyles, consumer practices and fashion (in the general sense) take place[132]. The interviewees' feedback, observation findings and analysis of documents and plans showed that the Ticinese has a certain inner quality, a peculiar *genius loci*, resulting from the combination of historic buildings and public spaces, diverse social and cultural forms, and the presence of old and new forms of activity. According to the researchers, the revitalization of the district involves "the ability to make the present using the past" and "the rewriting of local history, in an overwhelmingly spectacular manner"[133]. A similar phenomenon has occurred or is taking place in Kazimierz. The district, long a dark spot on the Krakow city map, has been transformed radically, becoming the home of the city's cultural avant-garde. Undoubtedly, recent years (the last dozen or so in the case of Kazimierz) have seen an increase in the number of economic, cultural, and political activities regarding both production and consumption of avant-garde culture. However, the significance of the Ticinese and Kazimierz as cultural laboratories is just one aspect of their transformation. Surely, their new vitality is linked to their new function within the city – they act as a secondary cultural, entertainment, and tourist centres (alongside the Main Square and Piazza del Duomo). In that respect, the two districts can be perceived as collective activity agents, acting and constantly creating new kinds of 'city life'. On the other hand, those districts are subject to changes and external pressure. External pressure has various aspects, and influences demography, awareness, economy, etc. The traditional residents leave their districts or their living conditions change (including for example their sense of security) and new residents – educated, young, relatively stable financially – arrive. These are the residents of metropolises who seek 'authentic' and 'non-anonymous' places. They choose places like Kazimierz and the Ticinese, whose identity means more to them than comfort, because the tradition of place is the groundwork for their own individual and collective identity. But the 'past' is not 'given', static or defined. Elements necessary to create the 'here and now' may be retrieved from the warehouse of history. The dialectic between those structural circumstances and the agents' characteristics leads to a closed circle, where individual elements are mutually linked, defining the 'present' of the district.

The analysis of social change describes the actors involved in the life of districts, characteristics of their activity, and the relations between them.

1. Transformation of district resident and user profiles

Gentrification[134] is an analytical category which provides a very accurate representation of the transformation in Ticinese and Kazimierz resident profiles. The term is derived from the word 'gentry' which had a specific meaning in English society, referring to non-noble but well-off land owners who had many responsibilities in local government. Max Weber, in his analysis of patriarchal and patrimonial reign in England, used it to describe "local luminaries – practically, and soon legally, originating mostly from the class of land owners in a respective region, leading a knightly life and meeting the minimum ground-rent requirements"[135]. English-language dictionaries describe 'gentry' as "people of high social status or of good birth". The concept of gentrification, strongly related to urban processes, is used when central city areas (less often empty spaces, such as warehouses and lofts), so far inhabited mostly by classes/groups of low social status, are coming to be populated by members of the middle and/or upper classes. The causes of the process are ascribed primarily to transformations within the urban middle class, including the growing number of nuclear families, singles, and independent educated women, for whom living in the city centre appears more and more advantageous – mostly because it allows them to choose a lifestyle. Another explanation points at market mechanisms: the general transformation of the so-called Fordian city into the post-Fordian city (including the establishment of workplaces in the city centre). The third factor relates to the mechanisms of the real estate market (degradation and depreciation of buildings, used by real estate companies who buy them up, renovate, and sell at a profit).

The interpretation of the effects of gentrification is ambiguous due to the way the middle class is defined in sociology. On the one hand, it is commonly accepted that the middle class is the base of civic society: the large social and cultural capital of the new residents brings a chance to improve the quality of public life. On the other, they are referred to as the new middle class, a class whose 'newness' does not involve just the new activity types used as sources of income. The new middle class is comprised of young, educated, hard-working people, often living alone. The centrally situated old districts are an optimum place for them to live, but they are not necessarily willing to take part in local social life. Therefore, the 'refinement' of the district may result in 'self-ghettisation', isolation and shutting off the middle class, e.g. in order to improve the sense of security.

How have the social profiles of Kazimierz and the Ticinese changed? What are the causes and trends of the changes? How do they relate to social changes occurring at the macro level? Perhaps the case of the Ticinese, where transformations began earlier than in Kazimierz, can serve as an edifying *exemplum*.

Kazimierz

Who lived in Kazimierz[136]? Before the Second World War, Kazimierz claimed approximately 37,000 residents, 70% of whom were Jewish[137].

> In most houses in that district – with the exception of the caretaker who lived with his family in the basement, and one other person of whom more later – all the tenants were Jewish: the wealthier ones in the front, the poorer in the back, a microcosm of the Jewish community. On each floor there was a little world of its own, with its human comedy, loving, feuding, intriguing, gossiping – a seething cauldron[138].

Non-Jews were mostly engaged in service, cleaning, and house supervision. The Second World War eliminated the entire population of Kazimierz, so in spite of the small quantitative differences between the pre-war and post-war populations, we tend to recognise two radically different populations of "Kazimierz". The data describing the populations of Kazimierz and Krakow in a diachronic manner – from 1950 to 1998 – show desolation of an area located in the centre of a dynamically developing city. Krakow was subject to urban redevelopment, but the population of the whole city centre was decreasing, mostly due to the establishment of Nowa Huta, a new industrial centre on the city's outskirts.

	1931	1950	1970	1988	1998
Kazimierz	37 100	31 900	25 200	17 800	16 589*
City Centre	—	—	184 778	163 779	—
Krakow	219 286	343 638	611 717	746 627	740 700
proportion of the population living in: Kazimierz/Krakow	16.91%	9.28%	4.11%	2.38%	2.24%

* total number of permanent (15.669) and temporary residents (921)
Table 4. Kazimierz and Krakow – changes in population[139].

The process slowed down in the two final decades of the 20th century. As there are no current data on the population of Kazimierz, it is difficult to provide a quantitative description of the demographic changes affecting it. However, the population

density data for Kazimierz in 2004 suggest that the average number of residents per hectare is decreasing. Considering the growing popularity of Kazimierz, it would be a mistake to perceive this trend as an indicator of an 'escapist' depopulation. It can, however, be recognized as a very likely indication that there are gentrification processes taking place in the district. It is safe to say that the essence of the current changes in Kazimierz lies within the domain of soft values, lifestyles, and attitudes. Therefore, the process will largely be described using subjective impressions, opinions and definitions of situations expressed by the participants in Kazimierz social life themselves.

"Street girls, pimps and thieves"

In 1950, the population data show that Kazimierz quickly filled with new residents: at first they were squatters seeking refuge after war exile. Later, the authorities pursued a peculiar accommodation policy – those who 'marred' the image of the city were sent to Kazimierz: the poor, as well as "street girls, pimps and thieves", as listed by one of the interviewees. Although the population of Krakow appeared to be increasing in the following years (the statistics were pumped up by the growth of Nowa Huta and accession of surrounding villages and towns), the number of residents in Kazimierz was falling. Those with opportunity and aspirations moved out of rotting flats that did not even have lavatories. Despite that, Kazimierz was still one of the most densely populated areas of Krakow – in some parts (northern and eastern regions), the population density exceeded 400 persons per hectare.

Population density	Kazimierz	Old City	City Centre	Krakow
persons/hectare	179	75	52	23
persons/flat	2.6	2.6	2.7	3.1
persons/room	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0

Table 5. Kazimierz and Krakow – population density (1988); Source: the National Census of 1988

Data from NSP and the ECOS study show that the percentage of persons of productive age grew to 61.4% (not unlike the figure for the entire city) in the beginning of the 1990s. However, there was a simultaneous rise in the percentage of people over 60. The percentage of families with children was significantly lower than in the rest of the city, probably due to spatial conditions unfavourable for their upbringing. According to a survey conducted in 1995, Kazimierz "is the dirtiest district of Krakow; coal-burning stoves, lack of greenery; this is not a place for children."

In 1995, respondents expressed the opinion that the social status of Kazimierz was worse than that of other parts of Krakow. The opinion was based on both objective criteria and the reputation of the district. Residents of Kazimierz taking part in focus group interviews pointed out three categories of residents: poor and elderly, "average", and "the underclass" or "dregs", and believed that the first group prevailed. Authors of the report dedicated little space to "average" residents, "not characterised by anything in particular", but the impression is that the interviewees counted themselves among as belonging to that group. The "dregs" (also referred to as "lumpenproletariat" or "drifters") were said to stand out particularly. Interviewees added that there were also famous people living in Kazimierz: "(…) it is a complete blend, lumpenproletariat, thieves, and top-ranking artists."

"...and top-ranking artists"

That common opinion mentions only the 'underclass' aspect of Kazimierz proves that, back then, the 'artistic' aspect was unknown outside the district, or known only to a small group of people. The resilient cultural avant-garde of Kazimierz in the 1970s and artists living in the district were described several decades ago by Jolanta Antecka. Her article deserves extended quotation:

> On the same side of Krakowska street, just a few blocks closer to Wawel, is where the Grupa Wprost originated and finally crystallised into a four-person line-up (Grzywacz, Bieniasz, Sobocki, Waltoś) [and] remained the sharpest and most radical formation of the 1970s. When Obrzydowski and Grzywacz [...] attended the Academy, PALMA, an institutional harbour for artistic Bohemians was established in Kazimierz. The exotic name of the building at the intersection of Szeroka and Józefa streets consists of the first letters of its "contents": Polish Artists, Literati (Writers), Musicians, and Actors. Whoever didn't live here? Krzysztof Penderecki, Konrad Swinarski, Ewa Bukojemska, Eugeniusz Fulde, Zofia Jarema, Jerzy Madeyski – an art historian and critic, honouring our columns, Kazimierz Mikulski, Maria Więckowska, Andrzej Stopka... Jerzy Panek was a permanent and noticeable tenant. (...) Panek, visited both by young draughtsmen and famous, respected people from around the world, commanded respect among local drifters. Sometimes jumped on by a dog (there were two – both small and not exactly hospitable), the visitors crossed the threshold and fell into that remarkable Panek atmosphere. Elżbieta Dzikowska was also a frequent visitor"[140].

One can see that the artistic and cultural activity of Kazimierz is noticeably similar to activity in cities and metropolises of Western Europe, where the wave of contestation of the 'system' assumed the form of a collective, even institutional, artistic and intellectual avant-garde. The fundamental dissimilarity of the social and political

backgrounds behind those activities defined their aims and methods. Kazimierz was not only an inspiration for artists. It was also – perhaps above all – a 'harbour', a destination for those wanting to escape from the area of reality controlled by political authorities.

"Artists addicted to it"

Kazimierz was therefore a place full of artistic life, albeit hidden, even some time ago. It was not until the end of the 1990s that Kazimierz gained the reputation of being Krakow's Montmartre. The entirely negative image of the district had begun to break down earlier: thanks to the filming of *Schindler's List*, the Jewish Culture Festival and the opening of the Center for Jewish Culture. However, it is now evident that these events had little impact on the residents' everyday life. Tourism and the interest in Jewish culture have gradually expanded, but the life of the district remained unchanged.

In mid-1990s, in the shadows of government plans (such as the Kazimierz – ECOS Plan), the first clubs and service institutions opened. The first to appear, thanks to a growing number of tourists, mostly foreign, were the restaurants and hotels on Szeroka street. Later, the "Łaźnia" Theatre Association was established on the 'Christian' side (in 2004, after a conflict with the Jewish Commune regarding the premises, it moved to Nowa Huta). Cafés and pubs – "Singer", "Propaganda", "Alchemia" – some of which still exist, started to appear around Plac Nowy. In this way, the final years of the last century were a milestone for the revitalization of Kazimierz, thanks to the arrival of 'new cultural agents'. They represented the culture of late modernity but drew on local roots; they were fascinated by the crudeness of conditions, yet aware of the new needs of young residents of the metropolis and of the new opportunities brought by a globalised reality. Others soon followed those pioneers:

"The place is vibrant with life, moving towards this district. Young people from Krakow and beyond come and create an extremely interesting, bizarre, underground climate." (F, NGO). By the end of the 1990s, the demographic structure began to change. The district was no longer associated with social welfare clients: "artists are addicted to [Kazimierz]. They live and create there, making the place exceptional. New pubs continue to appear. New people arrive, willing to experience the magic of this place." (F, resid.1, bus.)

The arrival of artists in Kazimierz showed a snowball effect. For about five or six years artists, musicians and writers rented and bought flats, visited local bars and some-

times opened their own. Owners of the most popular clubs included a philosopher, an expert in Oriental Studies, a physicist, an ethnologist, and an actress. Kazimierz gave them the chance to fulfil their dreams of living in an "authentic place with soul". On the one hand, it had a soul of its own. On the other, the relatively low prices and the fact that "one could insert a couple old G.I. chairs and tables and the climate was there..." made it possible to start with a very small initial outlay. Gradually, people known from TV series and popular musical groups started to appear. Their presence enhanced the atmosphere of Kazimierz and acted as a self-fulfilling prophecy. That, in their turn, representatives of the middle class would be attracted.

"People from outside"

The decrease of population continued into the 1990s: the population density in 1988 in Kazimierz was about 189 persons per hectare; by 2004 it dropped to 176.[141] That decline, as we have mentioned, cannot be perceived as an indicator of population 'escaping' from the degraded Kazimierz[142]. It is rather one of the first signs of gentrification. The decrease in population density can be linked to changes of legal status and differentiation of property function: buildings were returning to private owners. After restoration, old tenement houses became hotels, guesthouses, or at least were occupied by fewer inhabitants. This aspect is characteristic for new residents. Although there are no data concerning the number of new (permanent and temporary) residents in the last decade, observation and tens of conversations show an increase in the percentage of middle and upper class members and professionals. They represent new lifestyles, connected with more powerful consumer capacities and expectations (occupation of larger apartments, created by connecting smaller flats) and with alternative family lifestyles (nuclear families with one child, couples, singles)[143].

The middle-class received a fairly warm reception, but it was clear in the conversations that the "new" category includes both "new residents" and "businesspeople". Interviewees said: "pub owners arrived, as well as new residents"; they referred to "the Plac Nowy pub owners' community". Residents and 'users' of the district melt into one category called "new":

Most of the pubs opened are run by people from outside; some of the older ones may be run by someone who lives here, but moved in several years ago. Those who lived here in the 1970s are the underclass of society – only drifters and rogues. Those who move in – young people – usually rent old and non-renovated flats as they are the cheapest. They usually work in all these local pubs and study somewhere else; more: they are hardly ever from Krakow. (F, resid. 2, bus.)

For newcomers, the presence of old residents is a virtue that allows the district to retain its traditional character. During interviews, the "new" residents emphasized that it is good that "those old residents are still here; thanks to them Kazimierz retains its former character". At the same time, it is quite obvious that the newcomers find the need to live in a socially (and culturally) diverse space neither unlimited nor unconditional. The distance is small, because individuals and families of lower status give local colour, but "the others" are "well assimilated" and do not manifest unacceptable lifestyles: "Our tenement house is quite diverse as far as tenants are concerned. We have old families of doctors, a well assimilated, trouble-free Gypsy family, lots of new couples, intelligentsia families, couples making money." (F., resid.). At the same time, the newcomers are aware that the "fad for Kazimierz", the limited space and the increase in flat prices make the district exclusive, allowing only the richest to stay: "Students move in, but the rent is becoming increasingly expensive [...] Only the richest can afford a flat. Apartment buildings, for instance on Kupa Street, are incredibly expensive." (M, resid., bus.2). The new residents – who usually come from socially and economically privileged groups and benefit from the "climate" – notice the dangers of gentrification. They are more or less conscious that the changes may transform Kazimierz into a ghetto of the rich.

The 'invasion' of individuals from higher rungs of the social ladder is happening very quickly, but it cannot be compared to the revolution that took place in many European districts, where local governing bodies pursued a policy of quick relocation of tenants or where legal instruments allowed the owners to effect quick termination of rental contracts. But Kazimierz has yet another face.

"Tenants stealing electricity"

Another face of the process is the growing culture of poverty: it is the large number of the poor, the elderly, and the non self-reliant people depending on social assistance; the presence of families often displaying problems of addiction and violence. According to an employee of municipal social service care facility (MOPS) in Śródmieście, the poorest residents may have become less visible in the new snobbish context, but "poor Kazimierz" still exists. Data suggests that a large share of residents live below the minimum subsistence level and that the percentage of those on social assistance in Kazimierz is significantly higher than in the rest of the city. The collection ratio of rent, advance payments, and media payments is also below the average. District Councillors, social assistance staff, and the manager of a local Daytime Sociotherapy Centre for children all mention the extreme poverty of many

Kazimierz families. Their life is marked by a sense of danger, as they have common attitudes of helplessness and their strategies are based on claiming social help.

	number of residents	number of MOPS clients	% of social assistance clients
Krakow	740,000	21,513	2.9%
Stare Miasto	54,800	2,414	4.4%
Kazimierz	16,589	1,154	7%

Table 6. Kazimierz and Krakow: MOPS clients in 2003
Source: Municipal Social Assistance Centre in Krakow.

The 2003 Municipal Social Assistance Centre report states that

> the average apartment [in Kazimierz] is smaller than in other parts of Krakow, most apartments consist of one or two bedrooms, and the area per person is below than 10 m^2 [...]; many flats are occupied by more than one family. On the other hand, Kazimierz is a typical example of a badly utilised housing space: elderly persons occupy large flats of over 100 m^2.

The poverty of Kazimierz is also visible in the subjective opinions of the interviewees. Participants of a Forum dedicated to changes taking place in Kazimierz express this quite emphatically:

> [One shouldn't be worried the 'original' climate of Kazimierz is gone] (...). I mean the temporary shelter building in XXX street. I recommend especially the backyard. Our city's excellent housing policy has saved Kazimierz!!! By lodging the evicted, alcoholics, the poor, and people living on the dole or officially unemployed, the city preserves the climate of the 1950s and 1960s. [...] the sights are very interesting: broken glass, windows clogged with old rags and papers, piles of rubbish thrown out of the windows, especially leftovers and bottles with urine". (Maryla, 23 June 2004, re: *Kazimierz. Reaktywacja*; 9 years in Kazimierz).

However, usually only the representatives of welfare institutions and people whose neighbours are poor or addicted are aware of the extent of poverty, addictions, and pathologies. "Dregs of society" withdraw from the public, touristy and prestigious places, but do not disappear. They are simply less visible to the tourist or the restaurant patron.

"Kazimierz hasn't freed itself from that"

One more group of actors displays an unusual ontological status: the paradoxically "present – absent", namely the Jews of Kazimierz. "There are plenty of them – no-

where": Scharf quotes Ficowski. This quotation can be used to describe not only the tragedy of pre–war Jewish society, but also the ambivalence in the definition of Kazimierz's 'Jewishness'. The crack in the collective sense of the 'reality of Jews' is expressed by the view that "they are no longer [present] in Kazimierz" and that they belong to its history and that there are plenty of them, albeit often "invisible". The generalized "Jew" takes shape of the Jewish Commune, the tourists and the American Jews, "buying out the tenement houses" and "taking over Kazimierz". This issue can be associated with the ontic status of Jews in Kazimierz – as existing outside the district and the city, but having a very special form in Kazimierz.

This ontic status has evolved. In 1995, residents were asked to express their position with respect to the statement that Kazimierz is a Jewish district. According to the report:

> all agreed that such a definition exists, but that it is only a matter of history: 'Only the buildings remained, the Jewish community no longer exists'. Most interviewees did not perceive 'that part of Kazimierz history as something laudable: 'The stamp of the Jewish district – Kazimierz didn't free itself from that'. Only the intellectuals stated that the Jewish past 'enriched the nation and the culture'"[144].

Thus, a 'Jew from Kazimierz' was treated almost like a character from a 19th-century novel – real in the past, today just a symbol. The creation of the Centre for Jewish Culture was the first sign that forced the residents to redefine the 'reality of Jews'. Authors of the report quote a commentary regarding creation of the Centre: "Now that the Jews got in, they will never get out". Several other sentences are an excellent indication of the momentary collective social consternation (as in: are the Jews really here, or aren't they?) and attempts to stay calm: "People are afraid that the Jews will come and push them into the street. They need to realise that this isn't possible. The fear intensifies as tenement houses are being returned to their previous owners"; "Competent people should assess who owns the buildings, who can buy them and who can't, and if the Jews can throw us out."

In the following years, the status of the Jews was further defined – society became aware of the 'reality of Jews' – both 'authentic' and 'contractual' Jews are entitled to that status. The 'authentic Jews' are cantors performing during the Jewish Culture Festival, groups of tourists in skull-caps, members of the Community (especially its President, with an extensive media presence). But also the 'invisible' buyers of apartments are 'authentic' – "Every now and then, someone appears – the Jewish Community, a private owner (sometimes a Jew) – claiming they purchased a property but they cannot show the necessary documents, or the documents are not credible."

(M, resid., RDz2). The 'contractual' Jews are the waiters and klezmer musicians in restaurants and cafés – "normal blokes with the payots [sidelocks] glued on", as explained by one of my interlocutors. They become an element of a tourist and entertainment microworld, dubbed "Jewland" by a representative of the Community. That situation may resemble the march of simulacra described by Baudrillard where a contractual, "counterfeit reality" (hyperreality) gains the status of true reality. Residents, businesspeople, tourists and customers constantly redefine their attitude towards "Jews in Kazimierz". Jews are not just one of many equivalent groups involved in the changes of the district, they are also an exceptional reference point for the construction process of individual and collective identity.

Ticinese

The post-war years saw an intensive development of Milan[145] – the population was gradually growing, thanks – among other factors – to the waves of immigrants coming from southern Italy.

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Ticinese	67,987	64,360	56,995	49,076	39,104
Milan	1,274,245	1,582,534	1,728,564	1,603,150	1,369,231
Population Ticinese/ Milan	5.33%	4.06%	3.29%	3.06%	2.85%

Table 7. Ticinese and Milan – population changes[146]

Although some immigrants stayed in the Ticinese, more people emigrated – the statistics show a small decrease in the district population. However, thanks to the new arrivals, Ticinese, always bustling and colourful, became even more socially diverse.

"The rich have never been here"

The natural, gradual process of incorporating the Navigli area into Milan made it possible for the community of the Ticinese to retain its suburban character for a long time. Before the war, it was inhabited by craftsmen and tradesmen and their families, who were gradually joined by workers. "The district was very poor, with old families, old residents of Milan, small and rather neglected houses occupied by craftsmen." * (M, resid.1, bus., NGO).

The Second World War did not cause a social upheaval in the Ticinese to the extent it did in Kazimierz. The district was characterised by the continuity of population

and of the residents' activities – they were still trades people and craftsmen: "My father used to run this workshop, it was established before the war. My father used to sell the same things as I do – tools necessary to repair or build – with the addition of stoves and metal beds. It looked back then just as it looks now." (M, resid.2, bus.). The oldest interlocutors emphasised that the proletarian and craftsman profile was connected to a specific ethos of work: "It used to be a district of the working people. Work was valued, it was a tradition..." (M, resid.2, bus.).

The first immigrant wave not only did not disturb the labour profile of the community; on the contrary, it served as reinforcement. According to the 1959 census of the Ticinese population, 48.1% of the professionally active residents were workers, 28.7% were officials, 14% were craftsmen and merchants and fewer than 2% were entrepreneurs and so-called professionals (others accounted for 5.4%)[147]. The newcomers were faced with expressive examples of everyday culture, to which they tried to adapt. But the culture they brought along was just as strong: "Two realities met and at times clashed – both very simple, with a strong component of conflictuality induced by the sharp difference of southern Italian culture, hard to accept for the Milanese environment."* (Pastor1). Coexistence was possible thanks to common foundations: sharing of traditional values, similar experience, and social status. In order to make this idyllic picture fit reality we must mention one more social group which existed before the war.

"They were rogues, not criminals"

Similarly to the situation in Kazimierz, the unwritten exemption of the Ticinese from institutional control allowed unconstrained operation of a petty crime 'underworld'. Members of the underworld took over the decrepit houses, and marked certain places with their presence: "At the same time, some places still showed features always associated with the Ticinese. Via Cesare da Sesto, located at the back of via Conca del Naviglio, comes to my mind. It could once be called the den[148] of the underworld, and it continues to serve as the base for prostitutes, transvestites and the *zanza* – a Milanese dialect term referring to thieves." *(M, resid., CC). Once an element of everyday life, today treated like a legend, it is part of the romantic image, discussed further in this study.

The 1960s saw the beginning of the next phase of community recomposition. Some old residents moved out of the decrepit houses and the adolescent children of the native residents moved to the newly-built satellite districts. The Comune di Milano

prepared plans to renew and 'clean' the district, but their sole effect was the development of the previously discussed Vicolo Calusca condominium.

Although another 'political' wave of immigrants arrived in the district, statistics show a further decrease in the number of residents. In the 1970s, the district became home to leftist and anarchist organisations. Some anarchist centres and libraries still exist. Ticinese, exempt from law, in its informal, criminal dimension, attracted illegal or 'alternative' political organisations:

> The first, undiscovered headquarters of the Red Brigades (*Brigate Rosse*) were also located in the Ticinese. Those new district residents used its resources without introducing changes. Thus, they caused no conflicts with the old residents, in contrast to anarchist groups in other places, trying to open and operate new structures, such as bookstores and bars, contrasting and competing with the existing structure*. (M, resid., org. unpubl., historian)

Mazzette points out that this phenomenon

> cannot be analysed without considering the political climate, which had a vast influence on local authorities. One may notice that the exceptional situation in Milan (and Rome) became a paradigm for the entire country. It is enough to recall the strong relations between the urban politics and the Milanese left wing (PSI, PCI[18]) or between the left wing and other political forces, regenerated in the 1970s and 1980s. An unwritten but respected distribution of "territorial competences" was created within this relationship. As a result, the Ticinese (as well as the Isola-Garibaldi district), with its simple and traditional community, became the field of activity of the extreme left wing[19].

"Architects who pounced on the case di ringhiera*"*

The population of the entire city began to decrease after the crisis between the 1970s and the 1980s. If we examine the proportion of the Ticinese population to the total Milanese population we see that during the 1980s, during just a decade, the population fell by about 20%. The oldest residents of the Ticinese were dying out, the poor tenants could not afford renovation or rental, and they were moving out of the decrepit tenement houses. New residents, however, were already moving in. "And from the 1970s up to mid-1980s [Ticinese] was mostly a red, leftist district. Later Socialists appeared, together with simple architecture and plans to restore the district to its original state – including the nightclubs and the architects who pounced on the *`case di dinghiera`*."[151] (M, resid., CC)

The newcomers had diverse reasons to live in the Ticinese quarter – ranging from practical to emotional or aesthetic. Today, it is difficult to construct the factors

which attracted artists to Ticinese because memory filters out the threads, leaving, above all, the romantic ones: "And that's what our activity is about (...) that's it!, it must be said that the charm of this place, that Bohemian aspect has attracted the artists." (M, resid.2, bus., org. nonpubl.)

Some people, including artists and architects, admit that their motivations were rather pragmatic: "It was cheap and spacious. We didn't come because of the magic. It [was] practicality. Flats were split into studios, they were high and very cheap." (M, resid.3)

The arrival of artists, who served as a reference for the middle class (as far as taste and lifestyle is concerned) meant a 'legitimization' of space. As a result, other social groups followed – journalists, academic staff, designers and, later, businesspeople and managers. The 1980s and 1990s saw the arrival of the so called new cultural agents – generally speaking, "entrepreneurs running business in services, horeca, entertainment, fashion, tourism, interior design and communication sectors, that is ones that could be described as involved in "the production of culture" [152].

> [The district] became (...), in some respects [more] innovative, with new life forces originating from the district itself, as a combination of the simple character of the place and the activity of new professional; their professions involved creativity, they were connected with art; architects and artists have arrived*. (M, bus.).

The data describing the Ticinese residents in the late 1950s and in the beginning of 1990s prove that what was once a working-class district has become the residence of the upper and upper-middle classes[153]. It also confirms that, on average, Ticinese ensured the presence of proportionally more businessmen and so-called professionals than other parts of the city. A comparison with results of the district business profile research[154] shows that Ticinese is an area concentrating the so-called new middle class.

Similarly, demographic data from early 1990s for the Ticinese and Milan suggest that the percentage of the elderly (over 74) was higher in the district than in the entire city (the Ticinese: 9.3%, Milan: 8.1%), and that the percentage of young and middle-aged people was higher as well (30% of the Ticinese residents are aged 25 - 44, compared to 28% in Milan). The Ticinese also had more nuclear families and singles (41% one-person households, compared to 32% for Milan); 12.4% of the Ticinese residents declared that they had received higher education, in relation to 9.3% in Milan[155]. All this proves that the Ticinese has been affected by gentrification. However, research performed by Rugerone and Volontè shows that Ticinese displays an "Italian variant of space gentrification", gentrification *all'italiana*. The

main difference is that the middle class occupies only fragments of the space and that it is a case of "gentrification in spite of everything" (a combined effect of natural social transformations and municipal plans – "in spite of counter indications")[156].

"Now only for the rich"

In recent years the Ticinese has entered another stage, as pointed out by all my interlocutors. Official statistics do not show any radical quantitative changes: there is a slight fall in the number of residents, but it is hardly noticeable in the context of the changes taking place in most urbanized areas[157]. The last few years differ because of qualitative changes, detected by the interviewees. Those changes involve the 'climate' of the Ticinese district, as well as the well-being of the residents.

Young people did not express any particular comments concerning the social composition of the district, as their evaluation of the Ticinese is based on the leisure possibilities (this includes young residents). Two out of four students who have a flat there expressed the definitive will to move out due to "the things that are now happening", "all this mess and swarms of people". Older residents observe that here "rich children study and sleep, but at night they party." (M, resid.2, bus.). Young residents also openly admit: "I think that soon it will all die out, all this fashion will force the residents to move out sooner or later. The older generation will die, and the new ones do not care where they live." (F, resid.2, bus.)

2. Different and changeable activity patterns

I treat districts as interpretation frameworks for the changing patterns of activity, yet naturally not as complete explanatory frameworks. The original sources of changing patterns in human activity are to be found in the complex and long-term political, economical, and psychological processes which were different in Polish and Italian cities and districts, and whose discussion is impossible within this work. This is why I assume the existence of a 'macro' context but focus my research on the two districts. I want to present their life from a perspective that focuses on the activity in the district as it changes in time, motivations, significance, and results.

The sources of the new forms of activity that appeared in Kazimierz and in the Ticinese, and which constitute their 'new vitality', are to be sought, on the one hand, in the past of the districts and in the local culture: Jewish, artisan, proletarian, local, and on the other, in metropolitan and global culture. The new forms of activity are creative work/fun, a peculiar *bricolage* that forms a mosaic of projects and undertakings, in which the local character provides the roots, while globality 'opens',

assures differentiation, and stimulates dynamism. The variety of activities rooted in the past cannot be analysed in isolation from the *distretto* category which, even though originally used in economics (for the Italian reality), appears to possess a more universal explanatory value, including the reference to the social and cultural dimension. In the language of Italian economics, the term *distretto* refers to a model typical of a entrepreneurial area of northern Italy[158]; to a certain cluster of entrepreneurial activities concentrated within a specific area (a district) and composed of various complementary forms of business. In the traditional model, the *distretto* was characterised by powerful ties to a specific territory and the local community, which provided the human capital gathered there. The cooperation between producers, suppliers, and consumers of various goods and services developed a network of horizontal links, on which mutual trust was built and reconfirmed. The influence of such past models on today's social life is discussed later in this work.

Let me emphasise another aspect of territorial concentration of enterprise, namely its value for contemporary business life, before I go on to analyse the models. As Brioschi and Cainelli showed, the *distretto* model may replace of a centralised industrial economy, currently undergoing a major crisis. Today we see that the district model has traits that let it develop into a perfect environment for work based on knowledge, innovation, and creativity[159]. Referring to the contemporary version of the *distretto* concept, Camagni and Capello use the term *milieu innovateur*. Preserving the idea of territorial concentration, it allows making use of local factors and employing their synergic potential on a supra-local scale. Collective activity is crucial for creating a *milieu innovateur*; it both results from territorial characteristics and impacts on them[160]. The former artisan and merchant traditions of the two districts seem to become the contemporary and creative version of such a concentration. Is the revival of the Ticinese and Kazimierz indeed based on the revival of this pattern? What are the activities that form the new vitality of the two districts?

Kazimierz

The "new life" of Kazimierz consists of a spectrum of various activities along a special timeline. Seen over the last several years, the events show the dynamics of the process, its changing sources, and rhythm. The logic of the process shapes the changing topography of the district: agents identify borders and internal divisions of an area, its centres, and peripheries according to the kind of activities carried out there.

"The power of this address is unique"

For a number of years (possibly throughout the 1990s) Jewishness' was in fact the only element of the past that shaped the image of the district. This shaping followed two courses, closely related to the ways of defining the ontic status of the 'Jews' mentioned earlier. Let us reiterate that still in 1995 the authors of the report entitled *Kazimierz w oczach mieszkańców* [Kazimierz in the eyes of its residents] agreed that for the residents of the district, 'Jewishness' was a drawback or obstacle, which formed a map of negative associations. 'Jewishness' as a positive factor can be seen in the case of the Center for Jewish Culture (CKŻ). For the both CKŻ and the initiators of Jewish Culture Festival 'Jewishness' was both important and an objective. Triggering demystification of the socially negative myth operated in cultural, social, intellectual, and also political dimensions. It provided a divide between successive systems:

> The institution [CKŻ] developed in a certain very strictly defined cultural, social, and institutional context. Most probably, the idea that was born at the University in 1980s, early in 1980s, should be assumed as the starting point. [...] It was such a spin-off of this grand euphoria of the first Solidarnosc; well, it means that among the intelligentsia, the academics, it was sometimes discussed whether this reality falling into pieces may one day actually fall apart – none of us could expect that it would happen so quickly – and a situation would develop that would provide the proper conditions for the construction of this Polish dream-home, following the best scenario. [...] And it must have been one of such elements – as I believe – to consider, to try to make such a historic stocktaking of the past 50 years... later on, it turned out that not only of the last 50 years... to deal with the questions that were taboo for political or ideological reasons, so as to make an inventory, so as to know where we are. And among the matters that had to be considered, and that would be reintroduced into a certain circulation of thoughts and ideas, there was also... there was what is called the "Jewish issue", or the "issue of Polish–Jewish relations". The more so that from 1968 on those issues had hardly come to the surface, unless one counts certain niche phenomena as "Więź", Znak, and "Tygodnik Powszechny"[161]. (...) naturally, access to those was limited. And that was the first element. The second element – possibly owing to the persons who dealt with that in the Krakow milieu – it was such a historian's reflection that it is high time that this important segment of cultural and historical heritage be brought back into circulation, because its absence hurt all the interested parties. Both the Polish side, and the Jewish side..." (M, NGO)

By definition, the project was to be related to general culture and the general public, yet it was the local context, the reality of Kazimierz, that allowed for the initiative to take root. This fact today seems obvious, and yet it was not so only slightly more than a decade ago:

> What could be done so that these [Jewish] issues (...) would somehow become something interesting for the proverbial Johnny Q. Public? Through such thinking another element appeared: well, in Krakow, we are in this privileged situation that we have Kazimierz, i.e. the city and later the district of Krakow has that unbelievable history, which the drama of the war cast its shadow over, and after the war it became the, the... slum of Krakow... unlike Krakow itself, which always was the salon and society – and there was that lumpenproletariat; it was a district where one should not be out after dark, and so forth, and so forth... yet it was as if one intuitively sensed that the power of this address is unique, for somewhere there, there were hundreds of years of Jewish presence... and that Jewish district... and that Jewish community... was one of the, well, mythological signs of presence of Jews in this part of Europe, in Poland over the space of centuries. (M, NGO)

Projects and undertakings related to Polish-Jewish dialogue were pioneering in every respect: they addressed a social and cultural taboo; resources and funds were lacking, and there was practically no infrastructure. This initiative, born at a Kazimierz address, succeeded thanks to external models and support, thanks to the experience and thanks to the network of friends and acquaintances – all rooted in global reality: "There was no reference point whatsoever. I just thought: every major Italian city has a cultural centre or an information centre (...) absolutely elementary things, which today sound ridiculous! Yet at that time it was a revolution, for both our listening and our thinking were retarded."

What followed was a fight against stereotypes, financial problems, and the lack of broader support throughout the first years of these initiatives. The first Jewish Culture Festival was held outside Kazimierz, and the "spectre of bankruptcy loomed large" over the Centre for Jewish Culture. Initiatives were slowly becoming institutionalised, to be counted among the most important institutions of Jewish culture in the last years of the 20th century. Their activity that today involves an extensive programme of lectures, concerts, and workshops was another important factor in the development of the entrepreneurial cluster based on the 'Jewishness'. These are primarily the hotels: out of the nine hotels operating in Kazimierz, the names and appearance of six refer to Jewish culture[162]; restaurants too advertise 'kosher food'[163] and there are restaurants, pubs, and cafés that from the beginning concentrated around Szeroka Street. There are also tourist guides, 'klezmer bands' accompanying dining tourists, souvenir and book sellers, and horse–drawn carriages.

The changes that have occurred in Kazimierz since mid-1990s may be defined as a tourist revival: the consumers of the events are primarily tourists, especially foreign ones. There is even the notion of "sentimental tourism": the children of former inhabitants of Kazimierz come to visit the district, and so do Jews from all over the

world – they come to visit the micro-world of Kazimierz in search of their own roots and to find their identity. Also the non Jews, for whom 'Jewishness' suggests exotic mystery, are coming. The new type of entrepreneurship has changed not only the look of the buildings but also the daily life of Kazimierz: the sight of people wearing skullcaps taking a leisurely stroll in the streets has gradually became normal and natural for the residents, even though their acceptance may show specific kinds of rationalisation: "let them come in greatest numbers, and let them leave their money in Kazimierz" (quote from the 1995 research), or a mixture of mythologisation and naivety. One of my interlocutors said: "let me finally see Jews with sidelocks. Let them have at least a week to walk in peace, where their grandfathers and great-grandfathers did."

Thus, Kazimierz is viewed from the 'tourist view' perspective. This is how it is seen by visiting Jews; yet for the residents of the district, Jews still remain the peculiar 'others', the visitors from 'another' world, towards whom it is always best to keep a safe distance.

"And this is what functions as a revitalization of Kazimierz"

The first years of the third millennium mark a turning point in the 'Jewishness' of Kazimierz in at least two senses and two dimensions at the same time. First culture and leisure activities that consciously dissociate themselves from the Jewish tradition are emerging, although – as their promoters admit – the Jewish tradition of the district is an important element of the atmosphere. Second comes the spontaneous activity of the former residents, showing all the traits of an urban movement, as a reaction to the intensive changes in the district. The concern of the residents and their ensuing defensive stance resulted especially from the intensive development of enterprises working at night and the destabilisation of the tenants' situation. The existing residents interpreted the operation of market economy mechanisms and general changes in real estate law through the 'local code': Jews became one of "the parties at fault", while the manner of reclaiming real estate by the Jewish Community was quoted as the example confirming that "the district is taken over by Jews". The other group on whom the rebellious energy of the locals focused were owners of restaurants, pubs and cafés, and their patrons.

"Performance is such a great holiday, such a unique phenomenon"

Let us start with the changes in 'cultural and leisure' activity. In parallel – though according to some interviewees in opposition – to the developing industry of Jewish tourism, there emerged an alternative current of niche culture, addressed primarily

to the residents of Krakow and the new residents in Kazimierz. A cultural offer outside the mainstream began to appear: theatrical productions, concerts, happenings and actions:

> What is offered in the places where you can eat and drink is very varied... it is mostly based on friends, on some friendly artists, and you definitely won't find here any bogus, such a... pop-culture... commercial... building your image on... those well-tested, large-format Polish stars (...) Here, they are either looking for niche artists, whose concert or performance is such a great holiday, such a unique phenomenon. No major concert tours reach us here, but this is caused mostly by the fact that we've not even got a big enough stage here. (F, resid., journalist)

The alternative Kazimierz first revealed itself in "The Łaźnia" in Paulińska Street, later in the pubs and bars surrounding the Nowy Square, and finally it arrived in the Square itself.

In the minds of restaurant and pub owners opening their businesses here, "Jewish culture" was clearly separated from "the culture (the cultural life) of Kazimierz", which found its reflection in the geography of the district:

> [The Jewish Culture Festival] is super; it is one of the best ideas for Kazimierz. Yet it is [in] Szeroka Street. And we must distinguish these. Szeroka Street and Nowy Square. These are two different worlds, two different places. For some, they become blurred, and from the beginning these were two different places, almost as if they were separated by a wall. They are still separated. Well, a bit thanks to "The Alchemia", the Jewish Culture Festival arrived at Nowy Square, and I hope that it is going to be so the next year as well. (M, resid.,bus. 2)

The Festival symbolises the past and a culture that for a few days is offered to the public. It is the past that becomes 'the present', 'the conventional present' that does not correspond to content of the lives of Kazimierz residents: neither the old nor the new ones. It is more than certain that the collective enthusiasm, the sense of community, and the 'positive energy' experienced by Festival participants influenced the emergence of other collective activities, oscillating on the edge between suburban and metropolitan culture, and combining elements of culture and business:

> The Jewish Culture Festival has always been such a centre of events here, in the entire year; and this is something that even the organisers told me, that is, that from year to year, it enjoys an ever greater interest, and they're capable of attracting ever greater stars. And I believe that in the last five years the Festival has grown so that people feel like coming here, even from the other end of Poland. For more or less three years, the community of restaurants and pubs in the Jewish Square[164] has been highly active. I mean restaurateurs, pub owners. This is why some years ago, they invented the action of mak-

ing Kazimierz clean, for two years we've had the Soup Festival – such a big mass event, so that they themselves took to the organisation of large mass events. When I moved in here four years ago there were not so many places to eat and drink in Nowy Square. I remember that four years ago there must have been only "The Alchemia" and "The Singer". (F, resid., journalist)

The younger residents of Krakow and Kazimierz associate the phrase "culture in Kazimierz" far more often with small, spontaneous concerts and artistic events advertised over the grapevine. Culture and leisure industry means myriads of ideas "with an address", ideas that *happen* and are not a static and/or definitive project. Activity is both the means and the final objective:

For something is happening there [in 'The Alchemia'] every day. And it is at the highest level [...]. The regular exhibition openings at 'The Baraka' and the exhibition openings at 'The Kolory'... there are no more concerts there – they used to organise concerts of French song and now they are gone... One of those little places, [...] 'Café Młynek', is very active, they have very good openings, and there are meetings with psychologists, there are discussions, there are exhibitions of sculptures and photographs – it's really great there... [...]. 'Łaźnia' used to do fantastic things, but because they quarrelled with owners [of the property], 'Łaźnia' was closed and moved, and this is a great loss for Kazimierz [...], the concerts at 'The Warsztat'... they are very spontaneous piano concerts. (F, resid., journalist)

The dynamism of cultural and leisurely life forms through intensive interaction, in which the borders between the producer, provider of services, and client blur. Thanks to the fact that the public participates in the production of meanings, culture forming activity intensifies and enhances interaction. It is not only that everyone may *participate* in the activities, everyone may participate enjoying *equal rights*. Interviewees turned their attention to the fact that this is a property specific to the pubs gathered around Nowy Square and in Józefa Street. Differences in status that are binding elsewhere become null and void here:

Here, we work the same way for everyone. Very well known people feel privacy here, too. It is not that somebody recognised comes in and we immediately hover solicitously over them, and try to do something better for them. We make good coffee for everyone, and not good coffee especially for someone: the rules are binding for everyone. Nobody gets served at the table. Even if the Pope were to come here, he would have to come up to the bar and order. This is how this place operates. There is no solicitous hovering, no toadying. They feel normal here. Just normal." (M, resid.,bus.2)

One of the most important principles of the internal, informal code of behaviour while participating in cultural and social life is "being yourself", "being authentic".

These values, and not for example elements of formal or economic status, form the criterion for the recognition of 'us' and 'them'. In this, a certain analogy with the ancient, informal law of Kazimierz is visible. Openness on the one hand, and clear though subjective criteria of full participation on the other are reflected in the organisation of space. The division into public and private space has been redefined. Cafés and galleries are not treated as ordinary public places, because the *key* to the place is the atmosphere of privacy and daily presence, and the potential of direct, personal contacts, which is also favoured by the attitude of the staff to the clients ("the barman knows who likes their coffee with whipped cream, and who with cinnamon") as well as the way the space is organised: pubs are often furnished in a home-like style, and the owners take pride in decorating and furnishing a place in a way that makes it individual. Even the shape of the bar is important:

> It was simply to be a French café opened in Kazimierz. But soon it turned out very well here: everything is nice and friendly; and thanks to what is characteristic for French cafés – there is a long bar here – one may relatively easily strike up a friendship. The atmosphere is so relaxed that you don't come here to get your coffee or beer and be anonymous. Well, I don't know... once you have come here, they say, you stay. You come here to meet. (M, resid.,bus.2).

At the same time the border between the enclosed and private space is obliterated: the windows opened in summer eliminate the border between the interior and exterior of the café, and the roofed stalls of the Nowy Square – serving as counters by day, and as tables and chairs by night – instil meetings with an air of privacy, even though they themselves are part of an open space.

Nowy Square is worth a closer look. Until the end of the 1990s, it was solely a trading place, preserving the climate of a small town and the traditions of the pre-war 'Jewish flea market' both in its offer and its schedule (the butchers' stalls in the *okrąglak* [the Square's round, central structure], the flea market for clothes on Sundays, and the pigeon market on Tuesday), and in its customs (good-natured haggling over the price). In the summer of 2002, the Square began to play the role of the 'agora of late modernity'. The tradition of daytime trade survived but was complemented with "new traditions", as Giddens would call them:

> All this did not mean that there were people sitting and drinking beer: there was regular socialising and discussions, there were casual concerts by musicians and buskers who got there by chance, there were girls selling flowers – roses and other flowers, and postcards... people played footbag... there were some primordial residents of Kazimierz...

the local speakeasy type, you know... to have a beer... to find some empty beer cans... yes, there was the Queen of Kazimierz sauntering at her leisure..." (F, resid., journalist)

The metal stalls were a perfect backdrop for interaction: a place where the local atmosphere and uniqueness met the metropolitan and the 'European'. Here, one could hear people talking in many languages, and see variety of styles in clothing and behaviour. For many, and especially for the young, Nowy Square meant not only the centre of Kazimierz but also its night-time centre; to quote a resident living in Paulińska Street: "I just walk 200 metres, and there I am in the centre of Krakow's night life." In 2003, the tradition of meetings in the stalls ended as a result of the intervention of local residents, who first associated themselves into a protest group, and later developed into a group exerting pressure on local authorities:

> People were writing complaints to us by the hundred, with 100 or 150 signatures. That they cannot live there, as the pub next door is opened 24/7, serving alcohol. And those talks to the residents and tenants started, also talks with businesses started – and everyone wanted to draw the District Council to their side. We wanted to remain as if neutral and arbitrary in these matters. (M, DC 1)

The authorities reacted by exercising stronger control in the Square, mostly with the help of Police and Municipal Police patrols. The Square that from the perspective of the new ones was perceived as the centre of 'positive energy' and vitality, for the residents and District Council was the symbol of pathological consumption: "When we introduced only patrols in 2003, and provided funds amounting to PLN 100,000, the youth who consumed drugs, drank beer, drank alcohol in the Nowy Square disappeared. Disappeared."

The consequences of the regulations and institutional control were seen differently by the clientele and staff of the restaurants and pubs who in fact had no interest in maintaining the tradition of meetings in the Square, as they found it a natural and self-made business competitor. They remarked that solving the noise problem resulted in the re-creation of an empty zone:

> I understand that people want to live in peace, but it looked like this: police frightening people, registering names and events, and withdrawal of sales permits. The municipal police would pay visits and check whether every restaurant and pub displayed notices that alcohol must not be taken out of the premises. They took photos, then would approach and fine; [people who were] frightened that they had proof [against them]. [Earlier] there was no lawlessness, and everything was finally safe, and last August was super-safe, people were sitting there all nights, and it was finally safe. As soon as all that was over... people disappeared because the Municipal Police would chase them and a

friend of mine was beaten up. By the thugs, when he went for a hot snack. For a single reason only: because the Square was empty. (M, resid.bus.2)

The years 2002–2004 marked the apogee of activity, traffic, and interest in Kazimierz. The growth of intensive cultural-business and cultural-social activity began with pioneering niche artistic projects that legitimised other types of activity: activity distancing itself from mass culture (although not necessarily related to art *stricto sensu*) and becoming the *art of developing conditions* for social contacts. Working on simple, though at the time new, solutions, the newly opened restaurants and pubs introduced a simplistic, traditional aesthetics and connected it to their natural leisure function, adding another functionality, for example, using old Singer sewing machines as tables or purposefully removing electric light from the interior. In this way, these businesses stimulated one another and drew new participants into the life of Kazimierz. The initiatives and activities, however, required ever better ideas and greater creativity; establishments that initially focused on a single type of activity diversified their offer, combining activity from a number of fields (leisure, culture, education). On the one hand, innovation resulted from the need to keep up with the competition, yet many people considered (and still do) 'thinking out' such concepts to be a deep imperative. They do not find financial gain the overriding objective: "to tell you the truth, the attitude that one must assume is not making money or making big bucks, but the climate. When you start pouring cheap vodka, beer, and cheap coffee, the place will naturally be full, because people will come to get cheap coffee, cheap beer, and cheap vodka. But what people are they going to be?" (M, resid., bus. 2)

From a diachronic perspective (over three or four years) it can be clearly seen that the content of activity has increased its variety and ingenuity. During my research I perceived a change in the quality of relations between the actors, especially those related to the establishments. These changes will be discussed below, yet here let me only mention that what I observed was the switch from competitive but spontaneous cooperation towards rivalry based on rationality. In hubs of ideas the struggle for 'copyright' had been born.

In a very short time, Kazimierz became the place of a social and cultural experiment. First, as the location for the new forms of cultural production and consumption of late modernity (with its clash between local and global values). Second – and indirectly related - Kazimierz became the site of the game for space, whose participants were individual and collective actors: it is to be noted that such a phase is characteristic of European districts during the process of gentrification. In the case of Kazimierz, the game – which the media related to as *Kazimierz-Reactivation* and *Kazimier-Revitali-*

zation – continued in a specific manner, as the opponents developed a very tight and dynamic structure of belonging. What surfaced as the conflict became structuralised and during its containment, were the hidden motivations and dependencies between the participants, and the attitudes and biases rooted in the past. In the first stage, groups of inhabitants become integrated thanks to their efforts against the owners of enterprises, to be soon joined by the authorities of the district. Following various incidents (as for example storeys added to a house in Szeroka Street, or a concert held by a Polish band in the same street) new, though more short-lived, tensions developed between the groups, some of which truly came into being *ad hoc*.

"And now we have a problem: unfortunately, they became privatised"

Towards the end of the 1990s, and early in the 21st century two processes occurring in Kazimierz had significant impact on its former inhabitants. First, the cultural and leisure revival of Kazimierz brought about a boom in the real estate market described earlier. The sense of jeopardy that the privatisation of tenement houses brought upon the tenants increased after the Polish parliament passed acts awarding specific rights to owners of tenement houses (regulations concerning deregulation of rent, conditions for dissolving the tenure contracts, etc.). Secondly, another major agent became obvious in the physical tissue of the city and the district – the Jewish Community [*Żydowska Gmina Wyznaniowa*]. Naturally, it already existed earlier: first as the Jewish Social and Cultural Association [*Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturowe Żydów*], reactivated after its dissolution in 1968) and since 1995 under the new name. The research conducted in 1995 is a testimony to the fears and hidden prejudice towards Jews ("Now the Jews have come here, they won't leave again."). The tension was reduced by the conviction that "the Jewish character of Kazimierz is only history". Reclaiming buildings that used to house public institutions (healthcare centre, culture centre) by the Jewish Community turned out to be a time bomb:

> Problems with ownership are at the moment tragic. Let's take the eviction by the Jewish Community of the Krakowiacy musical ensemble from its premises in Meiselsa Street. And now it has come to a point that the physicians working at the healthcare centre at the 4 Estery Street will most probably give up and leave the place. And please just imagine the situation of those old people living in Kazimierz (a handful of them remains: they are poor and old, and cannot afford any improvement in their living standards) – where will they now go for medical treatment? Medical treatment is what they need... and now there is a problem – unfortunately, the centre became privatised. This is why the municipality doesn't really have a place to move them to. (M, resid., DC 2)

During the public debates held in August 2003 with the participation of residents and authorities of the first district (which, significantly, quickly turned into aggressive exchanges of opinions) the president of the Jewish Community assumed a peaceable attitude, using the right to real estate as the argument. To the very general charge considering the "unclear policy of acquiring property back" he retorted saying that "before the buildings are taken over, talks with the current users are conducted (with long notification period), and in the transition period, favourable renting conditions are offered." A feature highly characteristic for the representative of the Community during both the public meetings and sociological interviews was the unique sense of diplomacy: he declared eagerness to cooperate with every party, and his utterances – a fact noticeable only after a more careful analysis of the recordings of these conversations – were very general, balanced, and ambiguous, which made them not very meaningful:

> There are still plenty of unregulated property questions, and no one feels like investing in something that's not his. It seems to me a bit that these legal owners should undertake certain steps, for this for example exposes one to the cost of renovation, and then suddenly the owners crop up, and this causes a problem. But I think that these matters should end in a near future... and we shall move to the Podgórze area– after all, for some time this was the place when most of the Jewish people were gathered. (M, resid., NGO, J)

In public discourse, matters connecting 'money' and 'Jews in Kazimierz' are taboo. The subject is discussed only behind the scenes and in informal talks. The Jewish Community avoids the subject too. To the question whether, in comparison to other Jewish communities, the one in Krakow is strong, the answer focused on investments in cultural heritage: "Well, it's hard for me to tell... [with reluctance]. Well, we are... or rather, we are trying to be a Community that... well... has something to boast about... our achievements."

In the general social perception, the Jewish Community is defined more through its position and economic interests than through its role of a religious institution. In the game for Kazimierz, the community is to be a partner of activity – and is listed as one of the partners of municipal projects – but the character of mutual (and hidden) relations suggests that institutions treat each other as competitors, economically and politically:

> Generally speaking, there is no cooperation with the Jewish Community, I would rather say that we are on two sides of the barricade... that is... maybe there are no conflicts, well, this is how I would put it. There is no conflict, but there is no cooperation either. Of course, we stay in touch... I appealed to President [XX] a number of times... un-

fortunately, they take a very hard stance claiming what is theirs, and here, well, we are as if standing on the two sides of the barricade, for I, in turn, am fighting... I believe that these sites should be the Community's or should continue to remain in the Community's administration, so that I do not fully agree with their conclusions, that there was some small prayer room, and that because of that they were practising their faith there... and that for that reason they feel it due to them... this is the case we have at 10 Podbrzezie Street, were they applied to the Regulatory Commission, they also applied to take over the building at 13 Wietora Street, where we have the Staromiejskie Culture Centre. At the moment, we are giving back the building at 18 Meiselsa Street to the Community, the building that they took over via the Regulatory Commission, as there once used to be a prayer house. I would not mind that at all! OK! They have the right, there was a prayer house – so let it stay so! But I know that as soon as we get the Krakowiacy out of the building, on the very next day a bank will move in. I already know Bank [XX] has signed a pre-agreement with Bank Y, and there will be a big bank in Meiselsa Street. (...) Well, he wants to have a bank, because he wants to have profit from that bank! And all the rest is of no interest for him.(M, DC 1)

From the perspective of the Jewish Community, the changes in Kazimierz are positive, although who benefits from them is less clear. Although a direct criticism of changes would be hard to find, the pejorative ring of the term 'Żydoland' [Jewsland] is rather obvious:

I pity the fact that where the Jewish community used to live, there is a void today, that things are done by other people – glory and praise them for that, let them do it; such a term as 'Żydoland' crops up, this is what it looks like to me, a bit. When we come up to a restaurant and see that there is soup, coffee the Jewish way – this has some bearing, if this is not done by Jews, for me it is a bit of a matter of Żydoland. Possibly, this is a marketing effort... but it is good, that at the moment all this is alive, and it's not as a dead construct, so I am glad. (M, resid., NGO, J)

So the return to Jewish culture has not only positive consequences, such as making elements of Jewish culture known better, as society again becomes aware of it, and even contributing to the economic development of the district and the city, which is at least useful as it leads to a rise in the numbers of jobs, volume of business tax and investments. A representative of the Center for Jewish Culture turned his attention to the negative and supra-local consequences:

This possibly also makes all this sentimental inbound tourism – due to their poor knowledge, due to their poor understanding of all our reality – perceive everything only superficially. This is how it all is formulated: 'well yes, not only that all Poles are primarily anti-Semitic' (which I do not agree with if we use a broad logical quantifier

"all"...) 'and now these Poles are making gescheft [business] on the Jewish graves and ashes, disguising themselves with yarmulkes and sidelocks...' (M, NGO)

Ticinese

"There was a bit of everything"

The history of the Ticinese after the Second World War is an example of the process of a traditional, artisan and work district becoming a district symbol of metropolitan culture. A space that during the period of industrial development seemed sentenced to oblivion proved to have values that in different periods and with differing effects have been highly appreciated by various social groups, each of which left a sign of its presence. Looking for the reasons of the fascinating revival of the Ticinese in the 1990s, Italian researchers focused on the variety of its former social forms:

> [it was] primarily an artisan zone, there were plenty of every kind of craftsmen there: from printer to goldsmith, from basket weaver to knife sharpener, to the – as they call them in the dialect of Milan - *giustapignatte*, who mended pots, to the person that sold cooked pears. The entire district was strongly suffused with the work of human hands (...), there was a bit of everything there. * (pastor)

The variety of walks of life, activity, and jobs of the historic community provided the content of the district's everyday life, while the pluralistic atmosphere was accepted and confirmed by successive generations and waves of immigrants.

"The world of 'activists' appeared where there used to be the world of popolari"

The degraded space and the unfavourable image of the criminal Ticinese did not discourage members of left-wing political parties who arrived at the district at the beginning of 1960s. Thanks to their activity that was connected with the rebellious movement of the 'flower children' and the Spring of 1968, the first functional transformation of space occurred:

> Political factions rented empty storehouses [...] The osterias were filled to the last seat by persons from various organisations, the ground floor workshops of artisans were disappearing, and legendary personages of the district leaving its houses, as they were relocated by the Socialists to the uncomfortable houses in Barona or Gratosoglio [districts of Milan], and then [the empty flats] were taken by these activists. The world of 'activists' appeared where there used to be the world of *popolari*. These activists would develop workers' communities and political communities – this had immense influence on the social function of bars, trattorias, osterias, and shops.* (M, resid., NGO, historian).

The districts, whose heartbeat had earlier been work underwent a sudden revolution after the coming of the leftist activists: the natural border between day and night began to blur, as the 'non-parliamentary' far left "had the idea to open the number of establishments, typical osterias (...) and this is how they gave origin to the new configuration of the Navigli district, which continues to this day."* Such people believed taverns to be the perfect place for political action. First, they filled the social space that stood empty since the time of the war and, second, they made reference to the tradition of the inns from the days when Ticinese lived by and on its port, and third, they allowed a combination of social functions with disputes and propaganda. The arrival of the leftists changed the rhythm of life of the district, yet that was only the beginning of the revolution that was still to take place in the Ticinese. Initially, the revolution had a Marxist face, and neither the source of changes nor their course differed at all from the characteristic clash between the welfare state and capitalism. Privatisation of municipal property brought about the deregulation of rental charges, which in turn resulted in mass protests of the poorer population: this problem initially affected the centre, yet soon after artists and architects had moved to Ticinese, the protest engulfed also that area: "This is how resistance started, populist ideologies. I remember the slogans used and all the strife of those days: "No! for selling out property!", manifestations, occupation of houses, flags in the streets." * (M., resid., CC)

"It all began with the artists"

The other face of the revolution was social and cultural. Towards the end of 1970s and the 1980s, the preserved original character of the Ticinese and low property prices attracted new social and professional groups. The space – degraded but recognisable – acquired both material and symbolic value. The 'new' Ticinese – the district of Milan's symbolic culture – was coming to life. "The changes began in the 1970s, 1980s, I still remember that a bit. Painters were the only ones who believed in the Ticinese. Yes, it all began with the artists. (...) They began to organise exhibitions, actions, opening nights." (F, resid. 2, bus.)

Initially, artistic actions were spontaneous, and the participants were artists, artists–craftsmen, owners of galleries and their friends – a vast network of informal relations. The first small exhibitions were organised along the canals, and so were happenings, and art fairs. In 1982, the artists of the Navigli established the LAMON Association (*Libera Associazione Milanese Operatori Naviglio*, i.e. Independent Milanese Association of Persons Active in the Naviglio Area), later transformed into

the Associazione del Naviglio Grande (ANG). According to its articles of associa-
tion, the LAMON was to be an institution for coordinating all activities that were
taking place in the district and for the promotion of the Ticinese district. The As-
sociation defined its objectives as follows: protection of historical and social values
of the area, cultural and tourist promotion, promotion of district revival projects,
dialogue and cooperation with the residents, stimulation of public institutions for
the renovation and revival of the district[165]. These objectives had been followed even
before the association was established, yet after 1982 this activity gained momen-
tum and defined its own pace and rhythm. To this day, ANG organises:

- "The Great Antiquarian Fair on the Naviglio", held on the last Sunday of each month
with participation of over 400 exhibitors from all over Italy and the number of visitors
reaching approximately 150,000[166];

- the action entitled "Flowers on the Naviglio Grande", organised every April – at this
time streets along the canal turn into many kilometres of walkways among flowers,
plants, and garden benches. Participants of the action are nearly 200 florists and tens of
gardening schools from the entire country. Each exhibitor is obliged to prepare a special
design to help in the creation of the exceptional atmosphere;

- the "Art Exhibition" organised every May, transformed from a spontaneous event into
an organised action in which 300 invited artists from all Italy participate.

During the expositions, the workshops, art studios, and establishments open early in
the morning and stay open till late in the night; and the visitors have an opportunity
to have a closer look at the artists' and artisans' work. In addition, the Association
organises another famous event: throughout December and early in January the
canals are lighted with 20,000 little lamps. This sight attracts thousands of walkers
and photography aficionados.

"And plenty of people arrived, such a fashion developed"

Initiatives of the Association were very carefully thought through: they were inno-
vative projects combining tradition and folklore on the one hand with technology
and modern art forms on the other. The consequence of the ANG's artistic and pro-
motional activity was the opening of new establishments other than taverns: cafés,
pubs, and restaurants. Their owners were trying to link to the highly differentiated
climate of the Ticinese district, basing their businesses on clear allusions to local
history and culture from outside the mainstream. During the research conducted
by the Centro, inhabitants recollected that:

> And plenty of people arrived, such a fashion developed. In 15 years so very many people came, who enjoyed a simple house, and who enjoyed a pseudo-courtyard, bringing to mind something of those beautiful, old times [...] In the Ticinese, there are pubs and restaurants with the best jazz, interesting bookshops, shops with antiques, and there are artistic and pseudo-artistic workshops, studios, and ateliers [...]. In this sense, the Ticinese is extremely rich.* (neighbourhood group)

Even towards the end of the 1990s the 'Ticinese fad' was evaluated rather positively. The interviewees emphasised that the potential of the district was its variety of functions and social norms, and the combination of the local with the cosmopolitan. The effect of synergy between these values became something of a self-propelling mechanism: vitality kept on attracting new users, who brought in new values, differentiating and increasing the dynamism of the district even further. Thus cultural, social, and economic activity fused, merged, and interconnected, giving the rise to new configurations:

> This is not a mono-functional district. It is a highly diversified zone; here operate both small and big trade, many types of craft – beginning with production and ending with artistic professions; all this intermingled with highly varied social strata. This makes the district – and this is a very positive feature – cosmopolitan in a sense. Zones that are abundant with social variety and activity (social blend) are a feature, such a specific ferment that is absent from other parts of the city. * (M, city urban planner)

> This is a district of many faces (...) One of them is linked to the establishments, whose taxation brings big money. One who lives here always has this sense of ambiguity: on the one hand, there is hardship – as thousands of people are attracted to this place like locusts; while on the other it gives a sense of security that is absent from other parts of Milan: there are always people here.* (M, resid., NGO)

The Ticinese in the latter half of the 1990s continued to be the site of experiment; it changed very quickly – both during the day and night – and was becoming a place of intensive consumption of symbolic goods. The profile of the district was becoming markedly service-based, as is shown by the results of research on businesses operating there: while from 1991 to 1997 the total number of Milan's businesses dealing with culture decreased, in the Ticinese it rose, especially in the service sector. In December 1997, there were 48,139 businesses related to fashion, tourism, catering, transport, leisure and IT in the entire city, accounting for a third of all the enterprises in the city. Towards the end of 1997, there were 11,422 businesses operating in the Ticinese, which accounts for a fourth of all those active within the city. The city did not differ much from the district when macro-sectors were compared: 40% of businesses operated in services, 35% in trade, and 20% in production. It

was observed that the sectors of fashion, transport, and leisure (e.g. PR companies, catering, visual arts, printing, etc.) were increasing in importance in the Ticinese: in just a decade the number of these businesses grew by 17%[167].

At the same time, the 'traces' of the past and the historical identity of the district were slowly becoming lost, or at the least of they were losing their leading role. In the research conducted at that time some opinions already confirmed commercialisation and unification of forms of activity. Following market economy principles, those poorer economically continued to disappear, and the dynamism of the process ceased to produce new qualities, only changing the agent:

> five years ago, everything was still quiet, more mixed, with people selling things. There was still a greengrocer's at the front, and a bakery, and things. But now we've got all those idiotic boutiques. (...) The place has now become the street of boutiques which continue to be closed, and replaced by new ones. * (a group of architects).

Commercialisation also brought a slow change of rhythm to the life of the district: it was transformed from a place living throughout the entire day into one that was predominantly the centre of night entertainment: "there is no alternative to these nightclubs." (F, resid. 2, bus.). Until that time, 'locality' meant, among other things, regular, daily interactions with participation of members of the local community – in shops, in taverns, on the sidewalks. The social succession in the space – by the upper classes who consider their place of residence mostly as lodging space or an investment, and by the young Milanese who find the Navigli the symbol of every night fever – resulted in the slow obliteration of social life.

> The rest of Milan, but not only of Milan – also the suburbs, peripheries – they all come here for the evenings. To the canals, to the Ticinese. If you come here in the evening, you would see the never ending procession of people, it was never so intense in the past. The shops have changed. There are no longer any of the characteristic shops with handicrafts that used to be here, there are plenty of bars, very many bars. (...) Much has changed: there are no more craftspeople; some died, others ceased to operate, yet others went away as they could not cope with the very high, astronomical rents. And the type of activity of the people changed, as these new residents are specialists, they hold diplomas, they hail from the upper-middle class. * (pastor)

"Normal life is over here"

When in 2004 I examined the changes that had occurred in five years since 1999, my interviewees saw the situation as a catastrophe. Both those who had lived in the Ticinese from birth and those who moved there in the 1990s saw it the same way.

The opinions of interviewees from various social groups and in different ages (students, people of 30, people of 70, barmen in pubs and members of the Association including its president and a number of artists) were similar. They spoke of "utter chaos", "the decline of the district", "catastrophe", and even about "the end of the Ticinese":

> The Pavese [the part of the Ticinese district along the Pavese canal – MS] declined even earlier, for there it all began with the cafés and restaurants! The Naviglio Grande for a time defended itself with galleries and painters' studios, but when some began to move out as the rents were intolerable, establishments would open. It was a horror along the Pavese from the very beginning. There, and on the Naviglio side, and on the St Gottardo side there were nightclubs from the very beginning. And one more difference: there, the open cafés and bars in the courtyards, and here [i.e. along the Naviglio Grande] these are all closed, which means there are no cafés and bars inside. There, there are cafés and bars, and fashionable shops everywhere. People come and go. (F, resid.2, bus.).

The Ticinese – whose capital was the local identity of the place, its specific aura, the *genius loci* that allowed individuals to take root and build individual and group identity in reference to the space – became, the opinions of interviewees suggest, a space of flows where "in the evening from 20 to 30,000 people are walking the two streets along the canal to have some fun". Participation in the space ignores its social (cultural, political) dimension, it ceases to be co-participation and co-creation, and assumes the form of consumption: of entertainment and the very possibility of "having fun along the Navigli":

> Crowds of drunk youth mark their daily presence among the establishments, the yelling, the music! (...) And none of these has any connection to the character of the district! Why don't they play classical music, traditional music or jazz, but all the hammering and disco music? (F, resid.2, bus.).

A break in the continuity of tradition is perceived in the ethical dimension as well:

> I have here special baskets, in which I collect bread, ham, all the best, and what students – children of the rich – almost throw out the window, can you imagine that? Only here, in the vicinity, I can collect an entire basket in the morning. (M, resid.2, bus.)

The district that used to be devastated 20 years ago, and which was later considered a stimulating place for activity and a friendly social life by the art creators and brokers, begins to be perceived as an "empty" space even though it is full of people and activity:

> Normal life is over here. In the real estate market a noisy place, without appropriate infrastructure fetches a lower price. Here, the situation is the other way round: the noisier

the place, the higher the price. If one opens a normal shop, he immediately closes it. In the day, the district is empty. So there are no customers, and there is no business. (F, resid.2, bus.)

The changes described pertain primarily to all the spaces along the Grande and Pavese canals and the streets adjacent to the canals, that is primarily to the area identified through research as the "most Ticinese". Yet still much suggests that what used to be the connotation of Ticinese in the district's symbolical dimension, namely its original and authentic character and local folklore combined with modern forms of expression, is moving to the periphery of the district. In spring 2004 I participated in an event that, I believe, gave a taste of what was so awe-striking in the 1990s, and what is today considered bygone or passing away. Six young residents of one of the tenements lying virtually on the southern border of the Ticinese (at viale Tibaldi) organised the T-Une project consisting of a series of open artistic meetings and exhibitions of paintings, photographs, sculptures, and multimedia in private flats, on balcony–galleries, and in the courtyards. Nearly all residents of the tenement, including families of Albanian immigrants, joined the action. The motivation to organise the meetings, as one of the T-Une group members told me, was the eagerness to "find the authentic space and authentic interpersonal contacts, to show others one's 'own' world". Both the attendance and the reactions of the visitors – the conversations that I heard around me – were a proof that the needs of the other side were similar.

3. Social relations: dialectics of perspectives and definition of situation

"The becoming of a society" is expressed, among other ways, in the dynamism of relations between the particular (individual and collective) social actors. I assume that revitalization of urban space (and of any other social space) is related to the constitution of new relations and/or reconstruction of existing ones that, however, are characterised by decreasing force, leading to their disappearance, and consciously evaluated or only sensed by the society as dysfunctional for the society itself and for the space it occupies. Revitalization of space is a process of changing social relations within a specific space in such a way that, overall, they are perceived as increasingly more satisfactory by the actors themselves and result in positive changes in the quality of the physical space.

In characterising the quality of social relations, let us use the category of "social capital", marking the 'something' that is extra-economic and extra-political, and which takes root in the social relations and serves the community. Even though there is no

general acceptance of the definition of "social capital", especially when defining its sources, empirical research confirms that this 'something' exists – the 'something' that helps individuals to work together and that provides the individual with the sense of safety and social belonging. Thus, social capital is, on the one hand, a category frequently used as a tool for empirical research[168], but at the same time it is also a category around which more general social concepts and theories are developing[169] – including the concept of trust, especially significant for this analysis.

Despite differences in approach (e.g. in naming the sources of social capital), researchers agree that the notion of social capital refers to a specific type of social relations, and especially these in which the individuals manifest and practice mutual trust and follow the principles of co-operation, solidarity, and reciprocity[170]. For James Coleman this is a property of a social structure, even though it is produced and used by individuals following the principle of rational choice. In this way social capital is produced to the extent to which this allows and/or facilitates activities whenever individual action would be ineffective or would require greater outlay[171]. Robert Putnam makes reference to such a definition, counting into the social capital the aspects of social life that allow individuals more efficient cooperation to achieve common goals: trust of others, solidarity, cooperation, and civic involvement[172]. In *Making Democracy Work*, a fascinating account of research on Italian institutions, he points out how social context and history (whose constituents include patterns of cooperation networks) strongly shape the effectiveness of operation of institutions[173]. Francis Fukuyama follows a path that is close to Putnam's, yet he puts more emphasis on the normative character of social capital, related to its symbolical and religious roots: for Fukuyama it is not civil society that produces social capital, but it is social capital that produces civil society; therefore this type of capital can exist also in the places where the canons of civil society in the modern sense of that term are not respected[174]. Trust is of special importance here, as Fukuyama emphasised in the title of his work, because it is thanks to the presence of trust that social capital can take root in a society or in a part of it[175]. Trust is a "mechanism based on the assumption that honest and cooperative behaviour (based on norms that all parties share) is characteristic for other members of a given society[176]. The conclusions of Fukuyama's considerations imply that trust and social capital are linked in an inalienable manner, and that each of them provides a *sine qua non* condition for the other. It is to be added that the absolutisation of the positive nature of social capital is disputable, and that critics use the argument that discourse on to social capital may in practice lead to praising informal relations whose connotations include 'loy-

alty', with the danger of legitimising 'Mafia' style relationships, lying close to the grey zone of illegal market activity and corruption[177].

In all definitions of the concept, the key element and condition for the emergence of social capital is trust. For Piotr Sztompka, trust is of such a great significance for the functioning of society – and the condition for its agency[178] – that he proposes a separate sociological theory of trust[179]. Sztompka's concept follows a current of considerations examining the nature of contemporary society, where risk is related to every activity undertaken by the individual. Trust, and likewise lack of trust, are treated as resource–indicators, thanks to which the results of planned activities may be foreseen. Trust and distrust provide a sure tool for betting on the future and a basis for undertaking decisions or abandoning them. Sztompka uses the term 'culture of trust/culture of distrust' to refer to fixed unquestioned attitudes of trust/distrust. From the point of view of dialectic dynamism, the mechanism of developing a culture of trust or a culture of distrust is much like the model of social becoming and structuration. A culture of trust is based on tradition, structural context (including stability and efficiency of norms, transparency and durability of social organisation, the state of agents' knowledge of social organisation), and equipment and resources of the agents (their social, cultural, and personality-related resources). And the reverse: a culture of trust, providing a context for the life of social actors, influences and co-creates tradition, social accountability, individual resources, etc.

The process of revitalization of urban space may be considered in this theoretical context: trust is a basic trait thanks to which the resources of space and of the actors involved can be set in motion and utilised. If we consider the process of revitalization in theoretical model categories, revitalization would comprise the construction of social relations on the basis of mutual trust among individual and collective social actors. Thanks to trust, activities aimed at the *improvement of the quality* of public and private space can be undertaken and negotiated; this process is taken here to mean the improvement of quality in physical space, living conditions, and the symbolic value of the place. Observation of changes occurring in a specific space and time makes it possible to examine the dynamism of the process and identify factors that favour developing a culture of trust or – on the contrary – that hinder it or even render it impossible.

In my research I was interested in the characteristic features of participation of individuals in the process of change in Kazimierz and Ticinese. In this respect, I focused especially on the quality of relationships between the individual and collective

agents manifested in their declarations and the actual results of their activities: did they cooperate and how? What is the efficiency of their activity? What is their sense of influencing the changes? Do they trust each other? I was also interested in their level of familiarity with local matters, related on the one hand to transparency and access to information concerning what is happening and why, on the other, with their interests and ability to understand information and use knowledge.

Kazimierz

The last 15 years in the history of Kazimierz provided an opportunity to carry out nearly laboratory-like observation of how new 'post-transformation' actors emerge: the District Council, non-government organisations, developers, investors, entrepreneurs, private property owners, new residents, and users. The media, including local media, turned out to be important actors, frequently proving their power of impact on the district. Finally, Kazimierz is still inhabited by a gradually diminishing fraction of its former residents. This mosaic-like picture is all the more complex because divisions were and still are superimposed one on top of another, and because the agents used to belong (and still do) to various groups, whose interests and principles of operation are frequently contradictory. All this makes presenting an analysis of social relations in progress extremely difficult. In most cases, attempts at explaining a culture of distrust, using the categories of 'path dependence', led researchers to identify the destruction of ties between power and the citizen rooted in the past (and especially in the period of the Polish People's Republic). My observations have shown that in the case of Kazimierz, this is only a partial explanation: today's path was to a great extent already defined in the post-transformation period. To present and justify such an assumption, in the first part of what follows, I present the plans and activities of local authorities pertaining to Kazimierz in the 1990s. In the second part, I reconstruct the transformations in social ties as seen from the perspective of the major agents in the process.

Context of the analysis: revitalization plans for Kazimierz

"Action Plan 1994"

As soon as Krakow's local authorities had been established, they expressed their awareness of the necessity of dealing with the area of Kazimierz. This is proved by the volume of official documents (resolutions, directives, guidelines, action plans, and minutes) produced in the 1990s. The most spectacular plan for revitalising the degraded district was the "Kazimierz Action Plan"[180], prepared as part of the EU

ECOS programme in the years 1993–1994. Considering that part of the project focused on one area, and that it was prepared within a network of a number of European cities, in cooperation with experts who were not part of the municipality, it must be considered a revolution, especially when compared to the policy of city management during the Polish People's Republic. Yet after more than a decade, we cannot but ask why it was impossible to implement it. Basically, it is a plan for interventions in the urban fabric: interventions that were impractical at the time (due to the legal status of property among other things) and are inadequate today, as changes in Kazimierz continued independently of the Plan and, moreover, in a different direction. Actually, only a section of the programme was put into practice, namely the Lokalne Biuro Kazimierz [Kazimierz Local Office][181]. It was opened to become the platform for civic activity of Kazimierz residents and an "instrument for revitalization". The Bureau operated for a number of years as a

> permanent place, where residents may come with their problems, investors to obtain basic information, local institutions to implement projects, and where any other persons interested in development of Kazimierz may come, including groups of specialists (mostly architects), Polish and foreign journalists, representatives of non-governmental organisations, and even tourists lost in Kazimierz.[182]

Following initiatives of the Office, as a person involved in its operation said, actions for the benefit of children and residents were undertaken and organised, sociological research was conducted, exhibitions and competitions (e.g. "The Garden of my Dreams") were organised, and an 'Open Day' was provided for the residents. What did its operation look like in practice?

> At that time with the bureau – there was no political will. The Mayor was interested neither in Kazimierz nor in the office, so in the beginning, we operated normally, in difficult conditions. Who in the municipality would then hear about civic initiatives, NGOs, partnership? Civil servants – it's generally known who they were – had absolutely no idea what we were after. [...] And then they ceased to bother us, so we continued by the force of momentum. Until 2000 when the Office was disbanded." (F, resid., NGO)

Ironically, the report for the UNESCO World Heritage Centre of 1999 shows that the failure of Krakow was considered "good practice" in the international milieu: "The experience of the Kazimierz local office, notwithstanding its lack of achievement, is considered important in any exchanges concerning specific management units for World Heritage sites. [...] The office does not function effectively at present."[183]

The Kazimierz Local Office remained in the memory of the civil servants and contemporary residents; the idea of re-establishing it began to take concrete form in 2003 when, following the order of the Mayor of the City, the Task Force for Revitalization of Krakow's Kazimierz was established. As a group of sociologists from the Institute of Sociology of the Jagiellonian University we observed the activity of the Office of the Municipality of Krakow while working within the framework of the Demos project (which included a few months of participative observation, when I myself became a half-time civil servant): we could detect very slow changes in the way city management was being thought about. Knowledge of the participative model of city management was spreading among civil servants. Unfortunately, this was limited nearly solely to the higher ranking officials, who had access to cases of so-called 'best practice' presented during international meetings and conferences. The civil servants themselves declared that they were aware of the poor co-operation with the local community. At one of the small meetings held in July 2003 with representatives of Kazimierz business establishments, one of the civil servants was honestly concerned and declared that:

> Our great weakness is the hopeless operation of horizontal structures. Cases that should be processed automatically at the same level in different units continue to be blocked, this doesn't work at all. Something must be done about it. [...] When people say that the municipality is unfriendly, it is I that should be beating a breast ... though not mine - but we know that people are right. We do not want to impose anything on people... (turning to owners of establishments) It is important for us that you define your expectations towards the city, what your ideas are, what is important, what the Municipality can do – maybe not really in financial terms – for we are hard on that, but maybe in some other manner?"[184]

Kazimierz 10 years later

The changes in Kazimierz, whose pace quickened towards the end of the 1990s, were in their early stages enthusiastically welcomed by the residents of Krakow and lovers of the district, its history, architecture, and atmosphere. Developments were observed in silence by its residents. The District Council did not show any major interest, focusing on investments in the city centre. The turning point came in summer months of 2003, when various events coincided to make the development of Kazimierz look 'problematic'. The steps taken by the Office of the Municipality of Krakow (especially the establishment of the Revitalization Task Force) were among the factors that, as it turned out, triggered social tension around the changes in Kazimierz, along with series of provocative press articles, declarations made by public

persons in the media[185], and the season of the year itself – good weather was favourable for the night life and entertainment in Nowy Square, which put the residents' patience for the changes to the test. During those few months, it became obvious that Kazimierz had already become a strategic space for the struggle, for the play for power between the institutionalised and informal social groups.

One of the moves in that struggle was the District Council's declaration of the opening of the Local Bureau. The Council made the announcement in August 2003, during a specially organised meeting, to which local media were also invited. The peculiarity of the situation included the fact that the Bureau had no premises but – to quote a representative of the District Council – it was to operate in the form of a "virtual civic initiative", and the question of a seat was to be resolved at a later date. It was emphasised that the opening of the Bureau was "an answer to the residents' needs". Yet the haste and the mode of preparation proved that the District Council was keen to anticipate the decision of the Municipal Office, and manifest the range of its power. The observations and talks that I conducted proved that the attitude of local society towards the Office was ambivalent: average residents were satisfied that "something that will care for their interests" would be established, yet they were also confused, and most of them did not understand the meaning of 'virtuality' and the 'civicness' of the Office, nor did they understand how it could operate. A group of the sceptical and the diffident became apparent. The sources of their distrustful attitude were different. They were related to different levels of knowledge of mechanisms of operation of municipal institutions, resulting from a variety of experiences following personal and institutional contacts with the District Council and the Office of Municipality of Krakow. Briefly, past experience led to suspicious treatment of institutionalisation of any activity for the benefit of the district and to searching for symptoms of the 'hidden game' for financial resources and/or the resources of power. The 'operation' of the Bureau ended with its spectacular opening; yet the emergence of a public "problem with Kazimierz" set into motion machinery that could no longer be stopped.

"Forum Kazimierz"[186]

Initially, those residents who found the new nightlife of Kazimierz disturbing followed 'routine' paths to solve the problem. Depending on their competence and patterns of activity they were familiar with, they wrote petitions to the District Council, phoned the police or "threw eggs and potatoes at the people sitting on the stalls", while the local activists, thanks to their contacts, alerted the media, and through them expressed

their opinions about the situation. The intersection of the conflicting view points of the actors involved would cause the escalation of the conflict, whose solution was a 'civic debate' concerning Kazimierz. From the formal point of view, the debate was organised by public institutions, and especially by the District Council of District One, and was their reaction to the tension growing among the residents and entrepreneurs. During one of the first meetings, a representative of the District Council declared that "what is necessary is the joint development of solutions and the future of a district, and reaching a compromise". Before taking up the analysis of perspectives and points of view of individual actors, let us read some passages from the records of one of the meetings. Its participants included residents, representatives of local authorities, the Municipality of Krakow, policing services, local organisations, and businesspeople:

> Resident 1: "It is a fact that the uncontrolled issuance of permits continues, new establishments develop with a snowball effect, which only increases the noise and the chaos, residents cannot sleep, and go to work after sleepless nights. My intention is not to close the establishment, but to account for the rights and expectations of the residents.

> Representative of the District Council: "I believe that the way out is to increase control, and we are trying to increase the number of municipal policemen, yet this can be done only by taking them away from other places, as the city's budget is limited." (...)

> Establishment owner 1: "Following what has been said: the question of ownership is important, subsidising the tenements... [interrupted by comments of outraged residents] I have heard what you had to say, and we can't speak like that, because you have your own version, and you will not let anyone who wants to present another opinion speak. And this is the true problem.

> Resident 3: "For you're suggesting that [there are] subsidies for the tenement, and I'm an owner, and nobody subsidises anything for me."

> Establishment owner 2: "I did not generalise, I did not speak about all the buildings, but I was not allowed to finish..."

> Resident 4: I would like to sum up the meeting: there is no sense in establishing the 19th District[187] if the District Council has in fact no competence, as this was presented by Mr Chairman, and this is only a way to generate expenditure. Yet, if this increased the funds in the district, one could consider it. Yet, I believe that it is not illumination and implementation of the ideas presented in the programme that are the priority, but it is safety and cleanliness that are the priority. Kazimierz is dirty, the services operate horribly, and tourists see faeces by the synagogues. (...) It is good that there are valuable concerts (...) but only up to, let us say, 10 p.m. Let us once and for all put an end to the fiction that some events promote culture, as for example during the Jewish Culture Festival, or the Soup Festival, 'mobile-pubs' were put up and these were beer festivals

(applause in the room). (...) I promised to use my right as a co-owner of the building, and to start court procedures.

Another telling moment was the closing of the meeting:

> Representative of the City Council: I believe that this meeting only begins the general discussion concerning Kazimierz. I invite everyone to the meeting at 'The Alchemia' at 5 p.m. on 27 July to continue discussing the problem.

> Representative of the District Council [ignoring the previous speaker]: Ladies and Gentlemen, let me announce that the next official meeting is to be held on 6 August, and I invite to it all the present! Let me add that the current meeting was organised by the District Council, and XY [representative of the City Council] may decide neither about when nor where it is to be held, as this was agreed earlier.

> Representative of the City Council [ignoring the previous speaker]: Once again, I am cordially inviting [you] to the meeting on 27 July!

In 2003 I participated in several larger and smaller meetings, whose course, when it comes to the quality of discourse, resembled the exchange of opinions quoted above. The period was very important for the research that I was conducting, as events related to two questions overlapped at the time. The first was related to the general changes in Kazimierz, and the other – more detailed – to the idea of the Local Bureau. Observing the attitudes of individual actors towards the (virtual) Bureau I considered that they might be treated as a reference point – a way of measuring social trust and expectations, towards local authority institutions too. I decided to examine this question more deeply, and gather opinions about the Local Office among residents, business community, local leaders, social experts, and civil servants. My plan was to reconstruct the subjective definitions of situations created by individual actors, including how they portrayed each other and their respective expectations. The material that I gathered at the time was crucial for the initial diagnosis of the level of trust/distrust and readiness to co-operate.

Perspective of municipal institutions:

"With prominence of Kazimierz, but in no special way"

One of the answers of the Office of the Municipality of Krakow to the ever-growing popularity of Kazimierz was to open of the City Information Point [CIP] in Józefa Street, in the premises that housed the Local Office. The possibility of aligning the interests of the CIP and the potential Office was debated, yet for reasons that were not clarified at the time such co-operation never occurred. Nonetheless "revitaliza-

tion of Kazimierz" was becoming a slogan automatically enunciated by representatives of public institutions. To quote an employee of the Bureau:

> Generally speaking, for some time Kazimierz has enjoyed a certain popularity, and for a number of years an idea of the revitalization of Kazimierz can be observed. This is what [the Krakow 2000 Bureau] subscribes to... Also a number of other things... quite a few bars, pubs, and restaurants opened, and this attracts tourists. And this is what operates under the term "revitalization of Kazimierz". (...) We [the CIP] do not follow the principle of serving Kazimierz, we only want to serve all Krakow (...) Naturally, with prominence of Kazimierz, but in no special way.

In reference to the Local Office, the statement by the staff member of the CIP proves what a profound lack of information and lack of communication there was even at the level of local authority units. Little wonder that residents were disoriented, if even civil servants referred to information quoted in the media and associated the 'virtual' Local (or, rather *de facto* 'delocalised') Office with problems, complications, and vagueness:

> That question was fairly *complicated*, because apart from its [the Office's] operation here, there were quite a few people phoning here, and they wanted to contact persons from the Kazimierz Local Office. This initiative of the Office was quite strong and well advertised. And the address was the same. So when they found the contact, they automatically phoned here and wanted to talk to someone from the Office. Besides this, was also a problem because they published that newsletter *Kazimierz*. [...] The problem was that they quoted our data in the information about the publisher. *Problems* were *vast*, for this reason because people were *disoriented*. [...] Well, there was that Office, *as I remember from what I read*, and that was quite a time ago, and it was opened with quite a lot of pomp here in Kazimierz [...] Yet what was later happening to it, and on what lines it was operating... *I have no idea*. And in fact, they simply *dissolved into thin air*. [...] Simply said – they're like *spirits* now." (my italics–MS)

In June 2003 "in reference to the activity of the Municipality aimed at the development of a new programme related to Krakow's Kazimierz", to quote the minutes, the first "meeting with the external partners of the project concerning the revitalization of Krakow's Kazimierz" was held. The goal behind the meetings was primarily to invite to the project persons from outside the Municipal Office. During the keynote speech, a representative of the Municipality emphasised "the need to take a stance in the direction of change and with respect to phenomena that have become evident in the culturescape of Kazimierz and the need for their diagnosis" and presented "a draft of an action plan for Kazimierz, to be conducted according to a formula of partnership between the public sector (represented by the Munici-

pal Office) and various institutions representing the local community of Kazimierz, groups conducting business within Kazimierz, and institutions that have influence on activities related thereto"[188].

Today, I believe that at that time it was informally confirmed, in a 'soft' manner, that the previous patterns of operation of public institutions would remain in force. This I realised only in the following months. A literal interpretation of the declared intentions of the Municipality would indicate the reorientation of its policy towards participative democracy: involvement of the local community, co-operation with non-public agents and bodies, and co-operation beyond sectors. Testimony to this was the list of 29 invited guests. Their number included representatives of municipal, voivodeship, public, and non-public institutions of culture, tourism, science and local community as well as the chambers of commerce. All the 20 people who participated in the meeting declared their will to cooperate for the benefit of Kazimierz. The final conclusions stated that

> there is a need to establish the 'steering committee of partners external to the Municipality of Krakow' and also problem teams [...]. Being close to the problems that Kazimierz tackles, the team of external partners will indicate the way to proceed to the task force established in the Municipality of Krakow (by the steering committee and the ad hoc working teams); the formula of the Local Office is to be returned to, which – according to majority of those present – should be situated on the premises at 7 Józefa Street (...).

An outcome of the meeting was the Order of the Mayor of the City of Krakow of 8 July 2003 establishing of the Task Force for Revitalization of the Area of Krakow's Kazimierz of the Office of the Municipality of Krakow. The civil servants were allowed to invite the cooperation of persons from outside the Office of the Municipality of Krakow, who were to act as consultants.

The experience and knowledge I gathered in the following months provided me with a key to a more thorough interpretation of the records from the first (and other) meetings. First of all, I turned my attention to the contacts the municipal government had decided to focus on. The list of invited guests was long and seemingly varied, yet in fact half were from municipal or voivodeship units (and persons obliged to carry out specific activity "ex ufficio"). Non-governmental institutions and persons who were connected with the Office in the 1990s while preparing the Action Plan accounted for a fourth of the list. The remaining fourth were the new persons and organisations, who, because of barriers in communication with the municipality, would soon be weeded out in a seemingly natural manner. They did not receive information about the further steps taken by the Municipality, were not

invited to further meetings, and in great majority did not participate in the work of the special task forces. The energy of those who were initially eager to co-operate was gradually being lost. At the same time, those who did change Kazimierz would learn about the activity of the Municipality from the media or at small, unofficial meetings, giving the impression that they were lower ranking. Secondly, the hierarchical structure of the municipality was reflected perfectly in the structure of the Task Force as it sprouted new special units: groups, committees and teams. The documents prepared did not reach the "top" of the Task Force: the individual groups worked separately, partially duplicating one another's efforts. The consequences were in direct contradiction to Weber's model of bureaucracy: documentation remained scattered, successive officers would persistently dissociate themselves from responsibility for the work of the Task Force, and changes at managerial level resulted in the Task Force being 'orphaned' a number of times. The organisational chaos and lack of information effectively demobilised the persons from outside the Municipal Office who were initially strongly involved. Finally, after nearly 2 years of ineffective existence, the Task Force was dissolved in March 2005.

The history of the Task Force, presented very briefly here, could be the subject of a separate analysis of how local authority institutions can lose the trust of community and institutions. What further conclusions can be drawn? First, despite the declared changes in methods of management, the Municipality reinforced rigid, formalised, and ineffective work patterns, ignoring those 'soft' factors that influence the course and results of activity (as e.g. responsibility, loyalty, transparency, and mutual respect). Second, the municipality reinforced current patterns of activity based on lack of trust: non-officers who begin co-operation with the Municipality assume a certain level of trust and soon become mistrustful fairly easily – not only towards a specific administrative unit that they contact. They extend their mistrust to all public institutions. This is how a negative feedback system develops. So dysfunctional was it that mistrust extended even to those who had no official status but tried to co-operate with the Municipality (as I experienced personally.)

Perspective of the District Council:

"To attempt to carry out the revitalization of Kazimierz"

From the beginning of the new term, the District Council[189] was faced with important tasks. In reference to Kazimierz, these had to address first the situation of the tenants (the residential act that allowed rent to be raised), and second, the above

mentioned "problem with the development of cultural and entertainment life of Kazimierz". The strategy of the District Council was as follows:

> When I came here and assumed the post, I decided that the first thing to do is to do the contrary of what my predecessor had done: I would not forget an entire district. My predecessor focused only on the very centre of the city, that is the Main Market Square, the vicinity of the Main Market Square, and the first ring – and he was interested in nothing more. He was keen only and solely on the restoration of roads and pavements, and on nothing more. I believed that first of all, these are people who need defending, for these are the difficult cases, and that was the time when the issues related to the Act (which I know well indeed) surfaced, and I knew that the district had to help people evidently in acquiring council housing. (M, DC)

For many other agents as well, this was when they became aware that Kazimierz is a space of higher than average potential that many actors had identified and were striving to monopolise. This is how the representatives of District Council treated the idea of establishing a separate District of Kazimierz – perceiving it as an attempt at succession and appropriation of resources. Similarly, the success of business people – independent, creative, and de facto not belonging to the electorate of the council (due to differing political views and/or to being registered outside the city centre) could also be considered a threat to the District Council's zone of influence. And yet the representatives of the District Council were not eager to 'negotiate' the conditions of life in Kazimierz:

> On top of that came the problems with the mushrooming pubs... people would file complaints to us by the hundred, (...) that they cannot live, for the pub nearby, continuous sales 24 hours a day, that they serve alcohol. (...) We wanted to remain neutral and act as arbitrators in these matters, that... the very reconciliation of lives... And I said to the pub and bar owners, if there are no residents, you will go bust. Initially, they would not understand that fully. Yet, by now, we had reached a certain compromise. And in that place the main activity started... activity that has been discussed for many years... about the revitalization of Kazimierz. Yet this was only talking; nothing was being done. (M, DC)

Comparing the statement above with talks I conducted with the owners and managers of the pubs and restaurants, one sees the wishful (not to say 'naïve') thinking behind it. First of all, the typical traditional residents had not been and were not the clients of the establishments (mostly due to their age, resources, and cultural capital)[190]. Second, 'negotiation' on behalf of pub and restaurant owners is rather a rational calculation of strength and potential gains and a strategy of 'avoiding trouble' conducted on the grounds of experience rather than the effect of a partnership co-

operation between local authorities and entrepreneurs. To quote one of my interlocutors: "it is better to step aside, and yield in certain situations, than to be broken".

The definition of 'revitalization' assumed by the members of the District Council interviewed is more than a particular understanding of "the life of the district". It is also a reflection of the action plan:

> I began slowly to attempt to carry out the revitalization of Kazimierz... And, well, I recognize that first of all, the renovation of roads and pavements is to be conducted according to the plan, but one should also begin with talking to the agents, and also organise the traffic." (M, DC)

The conclusion to be drawn from a statement by another councillor of District One is that the foundation of his activity for the benefit of Kazimierz is the marriage of elements from two social orders: belief in the efficiency of top-down, central planning on the one hand, and the 'promotion' of a particular understanding of innovativeness and entrepreneurship on the other:

> Well, first of all we want to enliven this Kazimierz somehow. There even used to be huge problems with the open market in Kleparz. We wanted to 'shift' them partially to Wolnica Square, so as to enliven it slightly, so that life there could at least acquire some colour. At yesterday's session, the resolution was passed, in relation to an application we received, to organise there [in Wolnica Square] an oceanarium. (...) We also organise such things as the festivity of the district, and currently we are also attempting to organise the pre-Christmas trade somehow. (M, resid., DC)

In the interview, a representative of the residents expressed his particular understanding of democracy alla polacca: as an instrument used to express one's own opinions and manifest civic disobedience. The councillor unmasked the particular motivations of his contesting attitude towards authority, contesting it irrespective of the rationality of his motivations:

> I cannot imagine one more thing – that the Polish Parliament passes this idiotic Act that allows evicting people into the streets and announcing freedom of rental charges from 2005 onwards[191] (...) I talked to a friend of mine, who is a reputed member of the City Council: – Listen, if I find myself in the street too, I will come and break the windows of Mr Mayor, let them incarcerate me, I will be fed, have my washing done, a small TV, and aquarium, and a library – what else do I need, if I'm already 70!? And then – I said – you will have to maintain me from the taxes you pay. (M, resid., DC)

On the basis of the interviews and the observation of "civic debates" we may conclude that the District Council faithfully represents the attitudes of the majority of the traditional residents in another important respect: the generalised distrust

towards all who are "not one of us". The lack of trust towards the Municipality is rooted in previous experience with local authorities, when the first "property scandals" (e.g. those concerning the building in Szeroka Street and the investment of municipal funds in the renovation of property that was later recovered by the Jewish Community) took place. The lack of trust towards specific persons extends to the entire institution:

> I do not know what the city authorities are going to do, but for at least two terms, the 'residential question' has been upset. During the previous term, the Housing Commission was liquidated, and only the Construction Commission, chaired by Mr XX, remained. Today, it is known that his case has already been taken to court, because the main goal behind his operation was to acquire good locations for his wife who runs a development company. (M, resid., DC)

In a radical direction, represented by a member of the District Council, emphasis on the past becomes a positive point of reference (even if it is symbolised by baciary i hycle – ruffians and cutpurses); the present receives a bad mark, and such notions as market economy, promotion, and competition are seen negatively:

> I believe [funds to be necessary] especially for community housing, to ensure that people can live. Let them build these hotels, only let it not be done at the expense of people. For these are human tragedies that nobody realises (...) From what I see, the majority of residents in fact are waiting to see what will happen to them later. Such apathy. And now the question of organising the Józefa Street Festival was discussed and a resolution to support it was passed. Although I don't know what there is to make a festival about, as I was brought up on the corner of Bożego Ciała and Józefa Streets, and that was the gathering point of the worst Kazimierz ruffians; the worst cutpurses would band there. [...] For me (since I know who's behind all that, and there are a few gallery and pub owners among the organisers) this is a bit of self-promotion, because at that moment Nowy Square has become a major competitor for them... (M, resid., DC)

The attitudes of suspicion and mistrust expressed by some residents and members of the District Council involved in the life of Kazimierz are closely linked. During the public meetings and in interviews people spoke of the "real estate Mafia", "cases of corruption", and "liberty in awarding permits"; in informal conversations the interlocutors named actual persons (some of whom held public posts) that they believed to be connected with "shady businesses".

The Jewish Community enters the competition for space. That organisation is perceived not only as a religious institution, but also as a specific, real partner, whom some see as a threat to the area of local authorities: "Only that this culture goes, as I believe, in most of the cases in one direction – the Judaic... this is the appropriation

of land by the Jewish Community..." (M, resid., DC) In the struggle for Kazimierz, the means believed to be most effective are resorted to. These may be the 'transformation' (or disfiguration, or falsification, etc.) of the district's history or development of an appropriate ideology to justify the actions taken:

> Well, for at one time it happened that... the persons who operate as if on Judaic premises begin to dominate... and the entire Kazimierz becomes Jewish. (...) Yes! This could be felt! Annexation... annexation... as I say, the border that like a natural one shifted; the true area of the Jewish city in Kazimierz ended in Żydowski Square; and already at that time talk began that it also includes Augustiańska Street, Paulińska Street: we have reached Skałka, so what? And further on there is Wolnica Square, Skałka – is all that Jewish? Time will show... I say, funny, for in this year (...) Jews celebrated the 700th anniversary of chartering Royal Kazimierz. This is slightly, well, overstretched, because to tell the truth, Jews came in the 18th century, it was only then that they arrived in Kazimierz[192]. Yet this begins to be forgotten. I went that way to show that also the Christian culture in Kazimierz is very important, that the majority there after all are Christians... they are primarily Poles. Stop differentiating: I am a Jew, and I am a Pole. For there is nothing like that. Either we are Polish or we are of different nationality. We may be of different denominations. (M., DC).

The residents' perspective: "Promotion is no longer needed"

The research yields an ambiguous image of relations amongst the district's residents. On the one hand, the community character of relationships continues – both in the form of traditional neighbourly contacts (especially among the long-term residents), and, in the new version, in the form of voluntary co-participation in the cultural, entertainment, and social life of the district (characteristic for the young residents). On the other hand, the 'revitalization' of Kazimierz, and the gentrification of the district resulting from it, has been a shock for many people who lived there earlier. Those who still reside in Kazimierz and were unable to acquire their own flats (because they could not or did not want to) have a sense of threat to their own existence and, also, that the world built on long term relations with the neighbours is disappearing gradually and irrevocably.

Transformation of social ties was noticed by the residents already in the mid-1990s: at that time ties were perceived as strong, even though "they used to be stronger, when people living in the entire building were invited to nameday parties, baptisms or wedding receptions".[193] Recent years (especially after 2000) brought a true revolution to the everyday life of the residents, and the attitudes that they assumed to a great degree restructured the social life of the district. The residents–tenants assumed a passive or adaptive stance towards change. On the one hand, they are "waiting for the next day" in silence and anxiety, undertaking no collective or public actions. At the same time,

they are striving to survive thanks to individual activity, that is looking for assistance from specific institutions, including the District Council and organisations providing aid and assistance, both municipal and non-public. The social anxiety of the poorest is cushioned by the District Council, which declares support and legal assistance when tenants' leases are terminated. Despite that, the interviews prove that the level of knowledge of residents concerning the changes and their ability to foresee the outcome are very low. Reality, perceived solely from the angle of personal experience, is seen as inexplicable, complicated, unsure, and changing:

> I do not know, I don't know what is going to happen to us, for different things are said... I was trying to learn from the administration whether this owner wants to keep us or not, yet all this is very unclear... Some purchased their flats several years ago, they could do it at reduced rates, but to do, so, you've got to get funds, and to know what to get done and where... (F, resid.3).

The interviewees sense a growing lack of transparency and instability of binding norms, inefficiency of the regulations, the arbitrary character of administrative decisions, confused and contradictory information or a lack of access to it:

> We, for example, have no owner of the house... There are definitely going to be problems. They say we are now going under a different administration, I know nothing about that. Tenants are not informed about that at all. I have a friend who lives in Dietla Street. Someone is rumoured to have purchased that house, and the residents knew nothing about it. So that there are fantastic histories concerning property. Many people move out. (F, resid. 4)

In the case of people of lower social and economic status, the decrease in trust towards the generalised 'social system' results from a sense of lack of social protection and a drop in the sense of existential safety. Lack of information leads to developing personal interpretations and obtaining information through the grapevine. A sense of exclusion and injustice is born:

> One has lived here for 55 years, and no one has asked us how we envisage these further rental charges here... I realise that this is a large flat, that there is rent, but you know, I understand everything, to increase the rent and do something about the house, but the house is... here is a leak, and yesterday it was pouring down like the Niagara (...) the money charged for 55 years, where did it go? And secondly, you know, there are very many of those who administer these buildings, and are not owners, because our owner is in America, and she imposed on us American rent. (F, resid.3).

Economic marginalisation combined with the lack of understanding of surrounding reality and lack of belief in the possibility of changing one's own situation led

to self-exclusion, depression, and treating one's life as a failure: "They raised [the rents] in many places, you know, *yet only ours so drastically*, now I don't even feel like washing the windows at all, cleaning the place at all... I'm laughing as we speak, but generally I don't feel like living." (F, resid.2).

The residents/tenants perceive the potential Local Bureau from this perspective. They believe the Bureau to be very useful to the extent it acts as an assistance organisation: "it should primarily deal with assistance to the poorest families, giving away clothes, food, and school books rather than money (as parents would often spend it on alcohol), and to the unemployed... those living in poverty don't feel like being involved in aid programmes." (M, resid.2).

According to many residents/tenants, the institution should be a tool for defending tenants' rights and a means for preserving the district's *status quo*: "Certainly, such a bureau would be useful. I believe that there would be many people eager to act and use such an organisation. Maybe this would help a bit in matters of property and rents." (F, resid. 4).

Opinions of the residents are in line with what the district councillors say: "[the Bureau should focus] especially on assisting those people who live there. (...) Promotion is no longer needed, for to tell the truth, these pubs are mushrooming." (M, resid., DC) Frustration and uncertainty of former residents, used to the 'peaceful Kazimierz' is growing, yet with the passage of time, their presence is less and less noticeable: they manifest it ever more feebly or move out from the district.

What are the attitudes of those who may be considered victorious? Do those who enjoy a higher social and economic status actually participate in community life? And if so, what does their participation address? Can we refer to them as the basis for the local 'civic community'? Among the factors that have a positive correlation with civic attitudes[194] are education, independence in action, commitment to business efficiency, recognition of legal norms, acceptance of democratic 'rules of the game', and negotiation and mediation skills. For these reasons, one might expect that the 'new arrivals', whose individual resources include (to a greater or lesser degree) a range of those properties, will use them to build a personal, mature local civic community, by using their own skills and their readiness to act for others and for the common good in the public debate. A particular gap in this attitude became visible in the research: the declarations and potential of interviewees appeared not to be coherent with their practices.

A large and increasing deficit of trust of the newcomers towards local public institutions becomes evident. The residents lost the trust in the Municipality as an administrator. Many people believe the activity of the Office of the Municipality of Krakow to be a scandal (according to research conducted for a number of years, so that the evaluation is not limited to the last term). One long-term resident – who purchased his flat, and works in a real estate agency – calmly remarked:

> It is good that the Municipality was standing aside, it was passive, not because they intended to but because they forgot. Thanks to this, everything gained momentum. But it must be said that the Municipality ignored the tenants altogether. This should have been done earlier, something should have been done about those poorer tenants, so that there was no tragedy, for they all are living in fear. (...) One should have done that reasonably, looking what is happening all over the world, this is a normal process. I lived for a few years in the United States; it is normal that the richer gain, and the poor and uneducated are weaker. (M, resid., bus.1)

At the same time the process of losing trust in the Municipality as a public institution continued. The attitude of many interviewees from this group towards institutions of self-government evolved from generalised trust in democratic institutions in the 1990s to the distrust expressed today towards public institution as such, and towards specific persons (the interlocutors quoted names of decision-makers and civil servants). The experts I talked to perceived the sources of decreasing public activity of the residents in their lack of trust: "People don't feel like doing anything, because even if they don't have economic problems, which means that they can live somehow, they do not have to fight for survival, they see that doing anything more is a kind of Quixotism. They keep withdrawing somehow..." (F, resid., bus. 1).

A paradox was noticed and described by one of the experts: "Despite the seeming increase in civic awareness — for there are more and more of all those different organisations — people do act, they find niches... it is like I said, there is less and less true involvement in that." (M., resid., bus.3) Similar feelings were expressed by a man who had lived in Kazimierz for 40 years; he confirmed the local origin of civic power:

> A [civic] bureau should have been established here in Kazimierz a long, long time ago. There should be a separate venue. Once, when the first 'Solidarność' was established, there was such a bureau in Wawrzyńca Street, close to where there is the bakery in Starowiślna Street, and I was actually active in that bureau, these were Civic Committees of 'Solidarity', and they worked well: but you see, all that disappeared later, got

washed away as so many factions were born in all those right-wing parties, following the principle of 'Solidarność', based on 'Solidarność', and all that got blurred." (M., resid.3)

The loss of trust towards public institutions does not mean – in the case of these interviewees – a diminishing sense of personal existential security, but it is related to the conviction that "The City [municipality and local authorities] does not care about Kazimierz as our common good and heritage, everyone there is only looking for an opportunity to bake their own pie, or to pretend that they are doing something." (F., resid., NGO). The interviewees referred to their own experience and observations of the deepening confusion in standards, the arbitrariness of administrative decisions, secrecy of information, and – what was often emphasised – the simulation of activity by both civil servants and councillors. A resident of Kazimierz for a number of years, an activist, and employee of a large non-governmental organisation provides the following example:

> Yes, there were consultations in Kazimierz about traffic, where there was a tent for a week (...). So I went to have a consultation [laughter] and I'm asking: what is this, what is that... they had a map hanging, could I then have a printout of this map? 'Well, there are no printouts'. OK then, we will be consulting in real-time then. 'Oh, no! We will be consulting nothing, well... we will present to you the changes that will take place.' Do you want in writing, what I think about it? Maybe a notebook for the residents to enter their opinions, a book, a sheet of paper and a ballpoint pen? If I have come, there is a chair and table, and a map... 'Well, there is nothing like that. You can e-mail me.' Well, and this is what those consultations concerning changes in traffic organisation in the Department of Transport were like. But how could I write the e-mail without a map, that is, not knowing what I'm writing about [...] It is certain that 99% of the residents of Kazimierz will not do it. This is what consultations were like there [...] It was a sad-faced lady from the Municipality who informed me what the changes would be... (M., resid., NGO)[195].

There is another feature that coexists with a lack of trust. Let us call it a *passive interest* in common matters. For it is to be emphasised that in Kazimierz there is a growing number of individuals who observe and perceive the operation of institutions negatively. And there is also a small group of those who react actively to the manifestations of pathology in public life:

> there is a general outrage, as I saw it in the case of gathering signatures, only there is a lack of faith that anything can be done – that is general. (...) [The existing organisations] only verbalise. Much like XX who raised a scandal that... Kazimierz is being sold and so forth. But he did nothing. And of course he will sign, but he will not go anywhere to support his ideas. (M., resid., NGO)

Most residents assumed a NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) attitude, and react only when the changes pertain to their immediate neighbourhood, when they jeopardise tranquillity and living standards. Patterns of democratic co-participation in the life of the local community are approved in declarations, yet poorly implemented in practice. Nearly all of the 30 young residents interviewed (students and recent graduates) initially declared their readiness to act for the benefit of the community, remarking after a while that they didn't know what, if anything, they could do. It is also significant that in this group of residents (young owners or tenants in Kazimierz residences) the sense of belonging to the district – whose basic element is staying in local establishments and meeting with friends over a beer – was often emphasised. In the context of Zygmunt Bauman's remarks on the disappearance of the "citizen" and establishment of the "consumer", one could say that for these young people a sense of being citizens is simply built on the basis of "being a consumer". "Consumer citizenship" is best rendered by the statement obtained from two female students who have lived for three years in Kazimierz: "we identify with the district, for here we meet our friends, and have our favourite pubs, where you can have a lot of fun."

The considerations presented above reveal a pessimistic image of the district. Although it could be supposed that the links between the residents and local authorities were poor, I assumed the existence of intensive and efficient relations between the individual actors. Would the image of Kazimierz as a place of intensive, direct, and spontaneous relationships turn out to be no more than a romantic projection by its residents and aficionados? My research shows that this question cannot be answered univocally.

In Kazimierz, there is concrete network of intensive and direct social contacts between individuals linked by intersubjective agreement as to the unique character of the place, its traditions, and values. That such a specific "community of conviction" exists was declared by very many people whom I interviewed in 2003; significantly that group included people who had lived in Kazimierz for many years, new arrivals, and activists "from outside the district" (acting for the benefit of Kazimierz), people of lower and higher social status, young and old alike[196]. Hope is raised by the presence of symbolic, charismatic persons, as for example the famous Mrs Wanda, the Queen of Kazimierz, who perceives the changes as not only tragic, and with her own example gives a testimony to the possibility of becoming successful in the district. She refers enthusiastically to the idea of the Office:

> If an office were here, I would stand at its head. I am such a bureau. I am the one you come to with problems. People of Kazimierz are very ambitious. They do not need aid.

They needed something to happen here. (...) It would make sense to establish such a bureau, for something beautiful would grow out of that. I am already envisaging it, it is being thought in my head. (F, resid., bus.3).

But this is an exceptional, spectacular case of success in the new reality of the district: a success deriving from many factors, from the 'Queen's' personality to the social 'need' for such a person (developed also by the media promoting the Queen). Her zeal is a reason for optimism, but juxtaposed with what the other residents say, it is a reason to be cautious: the Queen does not represent the passive, marginalised residents even though she is considered a peculiar symbol of 'the old Kazimierz'. She already belongs to the new type of entrepreneurship, based on planning, creativity, perfect intuition and social skill. The former 'Queen of the Kazimierz speakeasies' who used to run a horse stall in the round shambles known as "The Okrąglak" and standing in the centre of Nowy Square, is today's 'Queen of revitalised Kazimierz', the owner of a cult off-licence, who graces the openings of new establishments, events, and festivals with her presence. She herself declares:

> The people who now live here will disappear, because they find it hard. All these flats should undergo an overhaul, and I believe that if the Municipality takes a better consideration, they will leave this place for the future is here. It is our pride that this place is here, and the Municipality must think about giving the little elderly ladies other places, and turn this into a gallery, into restaurants, into a pizzeria, so that people can talk to each other here. [...] One should develop here a street of restaurants, pubs, galleries. [...] the fact that it is so quiet is only damaging development here." (F, resid., bus. 3).

Social networks are being built around such colourful, charismatic, and involved persons: around Queen Wanda, among the poeticising owner of the bar/take-away known as 'The Endzior', and people working in establishments or galleries (who often become residents of the district). Yet these interpersonal relations are first of all neither as strong nor so deeply rooted in the local dimension as the interviewees themselves state optimistically. True, people probably have greater potential for making contacts, favoured by the architectural features of the district and presence of a variety of public places. Meeting each other makes it possible to maintain and continue interaction, yet their goal is socialisation and entertainment, and does not have a direct connection with reinforcing ties with the local community. What is more, in the pub/café reality, groups of supra-local character operate: for them the local character of Kazimierz is no more than a pretext for a meeting [197]. Secondly, Kazimierz owes the impression it gives, of having an intense social life, to a few agents: a significant and ever increasing number of agents assume the attitude of

'freeloaders' or 'consumers' of the capital of the space, as will be demonstrated be-
low. Thirdly, symptoms of mistrust crop up between those who, so far, expressed
true eagerness to co-operate. This aspect of the process, namely the replacement
of trust with mistrust, and of co-operative with individual strategies was especially
evident among owners of establishments.

The perspective of entrepreneurs and representatives of non-governmental organi-
sations: "May they not interfere!"

Probably, the structuring and restructuring of attitudes in this group is quicker and
easier to register because the dynamics of decision-making and activity are thrust on
entrepreneurs by market economy principles. Moreover, Kazimierz's entrepreneurs
are faced with values that are difficult to match. On the one hand, 'unique Kazimi-
erz' is a value, on the other, the economic success of the company must be pursued.
The entrepreneurs, in a sense thrown into a reality where, in fact, there were no com-
mon patterns for co-operation, were faced with a choice which amounts to a social
dilemma: shall I – if I am unsure of the strategy assumed by others – undertake to
cooperate, or shall I act on my own?

The research conducted in 2003 recorded attitudes that confirmed the division be-
tween 'power' and 'society' born under the communist period. Many entrepreneurs
simply expressed their distrust of public institutions: "You must still be romantic.
Do you know how it is? There will be a few... ready-made reports are already here...
and everyone is only waiting for confirmation... and to take the white envelope into
their hand, and officially it is for the development [snort] of the district." (M, bus.).
Mutual friendship, trust, and readiness to co-operate were declared towards other
entrepreneurs and representatives of non-governmental organisations. Owners
maintained friendly contacts, visited each other in their establishments, "eavesdrop-
ping and spying on the new things that the neighbour has done". They would also
frequently meet over the issues relating to the future of Kazimierz, and especially
of Nowy Square. Competitiveness was treated as a factor stimulating growth and
improvement of the establishment's offer, which did not eliminate working towards
a common goal that is the development of a cluster rather than exceptional atmos-
phere: "All the restaurant owners meet, and advise one another. They experience
exchange and enjoy the fact that they draw people here, to us all. The more competi-
tion, the better the business." (F, resid., bus. 3).

The objective has been achieved. To quote one of Kazimierz residents, professional-
ly involved in cultural questions: "[Life in Nowy Square] might have been Kazimi-

erz's only grassroots initiative. Designed by no one, it did not have a single author, everyone enjoyed it, and everyone felt it." (F., resid.). At the times one of the more crucial elements integrating the owners and patrons of the establishments was the attitude taken by public institutions (Municipality, Police, Municipal Police) – the "common enemy" was there to unite everyone else. Moreover, co-operation grew beyond doubt from the fascination of the place, which resulted in joint initiatives: photographic and charity actions for the poorest residents, and the Soup Festival that has already gained major renown.

In 2004, entrepreneur interviewees emphasised the civil, disinterested co-operation of local restaurateurs:

> I, dear Madam, for example, I know all the restaurant owners around, we know one another. And here, dear Madam, we for example introduced the "Children's Day" Action; we come together and put something into the kitty as I call it, it may be a hundred or two [zlotys], we buy toys, someone provides the stage, someone does the acting, someone buys the toys, and this is a joint initiative. And, dear Madam, we do not bicker over the fact that you donated a radio, you donated a balloon, and you donated a ball. You gave away what you could afford at a given moment, what you had at a given moment. (F, resid., bus. 1)

Thus the co-operation between the entrepreneurs from and around the Nowy Square was more civil than commercial in its character, although this activity indirectly favoured the increasing popularity of the area and the business success of the establishments.

A network directly oriented towards maximisation of profit was developed by hotel owners and managers (especially around Szeroka Street). They declared that in their daily work they co-operate with other hotels – for example recommending one another to their clients and sharing information – and with cultural institutions (for example during major events). Those establishments whose trademark is already recognized supra-locally (e.g. "The Alchemia", "The Singer", "The Les Couleurs") co-operate with the hotels, and so do institutions that have powerful links with the Jewish culture of Kazimierz, whose offer is also designed for supra-local clients[198]. Examples are the Jewish Culture Festival or the Center for Jewish Culture. This network of cooperation organised around the tourist and cultural activity in the district, and connected primarily with the theme of Jewish culture, is well organised and resembles the *distretto postindustriale* model: diversified functions and forms of operation build synergy, thanks to which added value is developed.

During the research that I continued in 2005, I noticed symptoms of change in the socially oriented' networks. I was already at the final stage of gathering empirical materials, so my intuitive remarks require corroboration. Nevertheless, the data I gathered show that another stage of 'revitalization' had begun in Kazimierz. In the interviews, many representatives of the catering sector admitted that the wave of popularity of Kazimierz helped the financial success of those who invested in the district.

A few people also noticed what the "critics of change" had already drawn our attention to in the media, namely, that the other side of the 'popularity coin' is the commercialisation of Kazimierz:

> And then a tragedy occurred... [...] It means, suddenly, Kazimierz appeared in the media... and everyone decided to make money out of the fact that Kazimierz is fashionable, that the media write about it, they speak about it on the radio, you can read about it in the press... foreign broadcasters come, and not because this is a Jewish district, but because this district has what no other place in the city has [...] Full commercialisation began; opening new establishments without any ideas. (M, resid., bus. 2)

A few turned their attention directly to the fact that hand-in-hand with the popularity of Kazimierz, the quality of the contacts between establishments, institutions, and individuals began to change. The tale of one of the barmen strongly rooted in the 'culturescape' of the Square testifies to those 'soft' changes, occurring already, even though they may not yet be experienced acutely:

> We [the establishments – MS] are together all the time, but unfortunately... the places that used to co-operate with one another *begin to compete*. And as each of us offers something entirely different, there is not a single place whose owners should be envious that something is happening somewhere else [...]. There is co-operation between some. It is so that *not everybody wants to co-operate*... Luckily, we have succeeded in organising two Soup Festivals, the first one was superb, the second – slightly poorer, and the third one will most probably never happen [...] this year, *it was all so mingled*... In the first festival, all the pubs and bars and restaurants contributed to the kitty: those that were closer and those that were further, and we organised the Soup Festival. And in the second one, actually already at the first meetings, if one put in 50 zlotys, *he or she wanted to have the right to decide* how everything will look [...]. So different things began to happen later on... when individual places began claiming that they invented things, *and bickering began*! That it has been we and not they, for it is we who are best known here. (M, resid.,bus. 2)

Many interlocutors directly expressed the feeling that Kazimierz has become an area where a zero sum game is being played. The actors who participate in it "behaved as if they were at Granny's birthday party, where everyone wants to eat the largest piece

of the cake... to grab and fill the stomach, they think only about that, and not about baking new cakes." (M, bus., NGO)

> Yes, thanks to the pubs and bars all this social exchange happened, all this revival. But you know how it is: Kazimierz is not made of rubber, and those who entered here first, made the first step – they earned a lot from that. And now there are plenty of those who want to jump on the bandwagon, want to grab all they can now. Hence the plots, scheming, shadiness, and trickery aimed at getting involved. (M, resid., bus. 1)

While discussing the direction of changes in Kazimierz, one of the establishment owners explained his strategy of action, openly and not without a certain self-satisfaction:

Development goes on all the time. We will have an event here on Saturday. Do come, but privately. No plans are necessary. It's all about the clients, that they continue to come (...) [smile] "Oh, naturally. [winking an eye to the barman] No problem. Let them give me 100,000 [PLN]! I will expand this here for development..." Barman: "The car park." Owner: [amused] "A car park, sure, a larger garden!" ('The Ulica Krokodyli')

The results of the research do not yet allow us to conclude that atomisation has taken place among those thanks to whom "Kazimierz experienced a revival". Moreover, it is impossible to provide an unambiguous answer to the question whether the links developed in recent years, and based on common convictions and the fascination of the place, are condemned to be forgotten. Yet there is much to suggest that individual actors now consider single-handed activity (or operation in ever smaller groups) a more profitable strategy. Kazimierz developed as a cluster of establishments (and this is what its image used to be in the media); and the owners have had the positive experience of co-operation. Nevertheless, in recent years, the development of trademarks of individual establishments, rather than of the entire place, has been visible; examples are the clusters of establishments in Nowy Square and in Szeroka Street. Józefa Street, with its active Association of the Friends of the Street, is an exception; in 2005 the Józefa Street Festival was organised for the second time. Yet this case may be explained both by the presence of a powerful leader, and the fact that many owners of the establishment situated in the street live it, as was emphasised by one of the interlocutors:

> They are aliens, they have their businesses and they care for those businesses, so that all the supplies are brought in, so that there is no mess, and so forth. So it would be hard for them to be keen on such things, if they to not come from here, which is the first thing, and secondly, not everyone expresses such a will. When there is the Soup Festival, for example, 'na Żydzie' [i.e. in the Jewish/Nowy Square], they have a major problem there: for example, they had been doing it for three years, and when it suddenly became

known that there are 13 pubs, restaurants, and cafés and that together they are making a festival or a children's day, or something else – they have been discussing for three years that they should start an association, so that they can be 'a legal entity' to participate in talks, 'a legal person' to be able to acquire money, small money, really small money. They will do something, but they haven't managed to gather together. There was no single leader who could inspire the trust of everyone, so that they would follow him; one who could mediate with everyone. And they held a festival, because everyone could earn so and so much, yet it was all beset with problems. (M., resid., NGO).

To be a resident of Kazimierz: "For it does no harm to sign something, does it?"

For a number of years, the media devoted a lot of space to collective actions in Kazimierz, for the good of Kazimierz, and in relation to Kazimierz. Can we then speak about a powerful local civic community? The presence of this type of action should testify to the existence of a local civic movement and/or powerful horizontal networks of cooperation (depending on the character of the initiative); in the new institutional approach, it would simply be an indicator of social capital. The successive stages of research proved that the situation is not that clear.

First of all, practically each of the actions that have become trademarks of Kazimierz has an individual author. This is so in the case of cultural activity and social actions. The condition for undertaking activity for what is broadly understood as the common good is the presence of a powerful leader who not only gives the first impulse to act but also implements a great share of the tasks: "If there is a leader, everyone will sign up. For it does not harm a thing to sign something, does it? It is important that this guy signed, that guy signed, that guy made a statement... and so will talk in front of the camera, and the other one will talk to the radio, and so forth." (M., resid., NGO).

Earlier, before all the media hype, disgust with spatial interventions was expressed by those in the nearest vicinity, so that the protest resulted from concerns – expressed openly or in a covert manner – that one's own interests (quality of the place of residence) might be in danger. A major portion of those questioned resorted to arguments about the danger to the cultural and symbolic value of the space[199] and admitted to a lack of faith in undertaking specific actions.

It would even be harder to consider the 'condensation' of pro-social initiatives in Kazimierz as an indicator of civic revival. It is true that new actions – for example the Christmas Eve Supper for the Poorest and the Children's Day – came along with the opening of new establishments, but other initiatives that the interview-

ees quoted as examples of social activity are in the tradition of charitable aid that has gone on in Kazimierz for a centuries, partially because of the milieux gathered around churches in the area:

> Initiatives are plenty, one can list here the private subsidies for the single mothers' shelter, the charitable Christmas Eve Supper organised by traders for the homeless, the 'big grubs' for the poor organised annually by restaurateurs, publicans, and owners of other establishments for the poor, camps and day-stays for the youth from disadvantaged families organised by Kazimierz's clergy, the activity of the Pensioners' Club for the benefit of single mothers and alcoholics, collection of goods in parishes, and operation of the Friar Albert Association. (M, resid 5)

One may then risk stating that, parallel to a new social and economic reality, no new significant form of local civic activity appeared. Activity in the public field is more and more often related to consumption in the public space and signifies a commercial 'organiser-client' system. It is obvious that these initiatives result in innovative values and forms of activity insofar as high dynamism in interaction favours creativity and the production of new cultural values. Nonetheless, in this activity, the local civil value is a resource to be drawn on, rather than a capital to be increased.

Ticinese

My research in the Ticinese was to a great extent *ex post*, building an image based on a variety of data rather than portrayal of an *in statu nascendi* process (the profound change in the face of the area continued from the 1970s to the 1990s). I observed directly only the stage of transformation that may be identified with the final stage of gentrification: the value of the space in the district was already so high that the place was becoming exclusive. Later too, after research began, my possibilities of observing the Italian district were far more limited than in the case of Kazimierz. Despite certain hardships, there were older data that I could make use of; as mentioned, they included records of interviews and broad analyses from the research conducted by *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale*. I could examine further the question of changes and social contacts in the interviews that I conducted in 2004. The reconstruction of changes in the scope of social relationships makes it possible to point out major features and indicate the direction of the process as well as tensions and probable reasons for change.

Relations: community – local authorities

As I showed above, the Ticinese district resisted the intervention resulting from municipal planning fairly effectively. The factors that favoured a certain 'conservation'

of its suburban character, were both exogenous (primarily the Municipality's urban planning policy focused on the development of industry, including the city's external areas) and endogenous (especially the specific features of the community inhabiting the Ticinese district: a community that though traditional was open to newcomers, was varied culture-wise, and characterised by powerful ties, encouraged by spatial forms). I did not succeed in obtaining access to the plans for the spatial transformation of the district, developed in the recent years by Comune di Milano. From one of the ANG members I received only one of the last drafts of the urban plan aimed at regulating transport within the area. The plan was of crucial importance as it concerned the question of automobile parking and placement of pedestrian precincts. This is a socially sensitive question of strategic importance for the residents and users of the district, as the following are difficult to reconcile: a) the interests of residents craving for 'normal life', including a place to park their car, and possibility of fairly free movement; b) interests of residents of other parts of the city, who treat the Ticinese as a parking lot by day and a nightclub by night; c) the interests of the Municipality, treating the district as a source of income that could be increased. The question of parking lots in the Ticinese provides a good indicator of the strategy of the Municipality. The city reacted to the problem of treating the Ticinese as a free car park with the idea of filling in one of the canals, so as to organise a spacious car park within the reclaimed space. The number of articles, meetings, sessions, discussions, and protests held in relation to car and pedestrian traffic in the Navigli might document a case of consultation and civic discussion of municipal policy. I did not, however, succeed in talking to any civil servant about the steps undertaken by the Comune towards Ticinese. The opinions of representatives of local society prove, however, that what happened in practice diverges far from any such an image.

In the interviewees' opinion, there are a number of recurring features in Comune's policy. They include, first of all, lack of concrete effects of planning: plans and projects cease to function as management tools and become a *sui generis* reality. According to the President of the Associazione:

> The city has plenty of projects – with another one being presented to us only a few days ago – which naturally encompass everything: cleanness, and lighting, and safety. But as I have lived here for 30 years, in the last 10 I must have seen at least several that have remained no more than drafts. The Municipality only plans and designs, but there are never any results from that. (M, resid., bus., NGO)

Second, it is not evident what goals the projects designed serve. As a consequence, Ticinese activists are mistrustful towards the interests of the city, and voice suspi-

cions (expressed as axioms and statements) that the plans are a source of income "for the experts who signed them":

> Last Saturday there was a manifestation. Only plans and designs all the time. I gather them all and one day I will make an exhibition entitled 'What can be considered as a project?' The only use of all these projects is for the person who signed here [shows]. That person earned money for the so-called 'editing'. As I said, I have seen plenty of projects, and none was put into effect. Reading all this is a waste of time, for all this must be only for the sake of formalities. (M, resid., bus., NGO)

Third, much as in the Polish case, Italian interviewees turned their attention to the lack of direct channels of information between the appropriate institutions and the people interested in specific questions and their course. The media, much as in Krakow, assumed the role of intermediary: a role that allows them to define and redefine the situation. For a number of months in 2004, I carefully followed all the information in the local supplement to the "Corriere della Sera", Milan's most popular daily. The Ticinese (Navigli) area was frequently the subject of articles, notes and interviews, and the manner of presenting the district was clearly oriented to provoke, shock, and evoke strong emotions. Members of ANG frequently mentioned that it was most often from the "Corriere" that they would learn about Comune's plans for the Navigli. What was declared to be the subject of public debate was presented in the paper as a closed question: "Have you read the "Corriere"? An action is being launched in the media, they are describing all this, but I don't know what the result is going to be." (activist 1)

> It is hopeless, it is always as it was last Monday: you could read in the "Corriere della Sera" what fantastic things we are doing for that place [a flower exhibition was held – MS], how beautiful it was, how many people came, how many families were strolling around, and so forth; and the next day we read that they want to cover the Naviglio [Grande] and turn it into a car park." (M, resid., NGO)

Underlying the talk is distrust towards the city and its spatial policy. The resentment of the inhabitants, who feel that the Comune ignores their needs, is not compensated by the generally good condition of Milan with its low unemployment factor, major investments conducted in cooperation with private investors (e.g. the vast new fair complex and the Bicocca project). In the understanding of an average resident, the image of the 'business city' simply has a negative tint. Both the younger and the more experienced express opinions confirming that what allows Milan to play in the league of global cities is perceived as dysfunctional in daily life. An eighty-year-old resident (the owner of a collection of nearly all articles and books published after

the Second World War about the Ticinese) summed up the discussion of change in the district in highly irritated voice: "Milan is no city of culture, the Ticinese is a place to make money, money, money! This is how the Municipality approaches it: where can some money be made, and get some to keep or to spend elsewhere." (M, resid. 2, bus.) A forty-year-old interviewee tried to penetrate more deeply into the question of financial interests:

> Here you are [showing posters on the cupboard, including among others the name of Dario Fo], these are the most recent problems: they want to make a car park in the Naviglio, so we are preparing a protest, we are supported by authorities. For the car park is a scandal. I understand the need but it is not so that there is no parking space by the Naviglio! There is a car park by the Darsena: huge and nearly empty. For this is a question of big money, big business that is even hard to imagine. Gigantic corporations want to pay someone to turn this area into a car park. When the car park by the Darsena was free of charge it was full, and then they started charging fees – and it's empty. So it is not so there is no room. There is someone who wants to profit from that. The Municipality continues to put forth similar ideas. Only recently we organised an action against covering the Naviglio [Gramde]. We continued to protest against some ideas. (...) And the Comune doesn't care at all! How many times do we write, do we go on, do we discuss, do we ask? We may want to do, and actually do a lot, but can't do everything. It is a duty of the Municipality to care for that. We have done some lighting, but we can't do it all. We are asking to clean the canals, and for barriers – for these are horrible, and the old ones were beautiful, yet somebody disassembled them long ago, and it's a lost cause. Gone! (M, resid., bus., NGO)

The interviewees assess public institutions negatively, not only because of bad decisions that, moreover, are not transparent, but also because of the lack of decisions when they are needed. The interlocutors found it irritating to see the indifference of the authorities towards the way architecture was renovated; the complaints concerned the dubious aesthetic qualities of the renovated buildings and premises, and the lack of sanctions when too much liberty was taken in choosing colours for the façades.

I was also surprised by the attitude of the interviewees towards lower-level units or local authorities, analogous to Poland's District Councils. The image formed during the research was far from the one described in Putnam's book. Obviously, this question was only one of many subjects of the interviews, and it did not surface in all of them, yet what I heard testifies to the symptoms of crisis of these structures in Milan. I expected to hear declarations that the cooperation between the residents and councillors is satisfying, and what I learned was that:

There is the District Council VI, yet in Milan, such an organisation has neither major competences nor the will to act. The persons who are there are mostly involved politically, and this is where they see their interests, their personal interests. This is why the District Council does not play any role in this situation [in solving the problems of local community – MS]. (M, resid., NGO)

When it comes to the cooperation with the District Council, we would rather inform them about our activity than do something together. It is not in their interest to cooperate with us. Moreover, political views are important too, and even though politics has nothing to do with activities here, still the District Council is strongly oriented to the right, it is centre-right, while we are rather centre-left. And this has a bearing on the situation. (F., resid. 2, bus.)

"People needed one another"

The specific character of the social relations in the Ticinese was directly related to the rural and worker profile of the community living in the district in the 20th century more or less until the 1980s. That was when the process of invasion, and later of succession, of the middle class began in the area. The most evident indicators of the suburban character of the district were the spatial forms discussed earlier, which favoured the traditional patterns of life of the local community. Of specific importance in the shaping of social relations was the *casa di ringhiera* – the space 'in between' the private (flats), the semi-public (balconies) and the public (street) space. The sense of being a member of the community was intensified during traditional holidays celebrated in the district: "(...) Holidays in the Navigli. These were the moments when all the residents of the house would come down to the backyard, to the courtyard, to eat together, have fun together, and so forth. Thanks to that, the sense of social unity was very strong." * (M, resid. 2, bus., NGO)

Let us also reiterate that more or less since the late 1970s the Ticinese area was characterised by intensive and direct interpersonal contacts based on traditional values and social standards passed from generation to generation: "(...) initially, people would do everything together, because they knew each other, they had the tradition of living in a community, because their children were born here, and they needed one another."* (M, resid., pastor) The principles and social sanctions – informal but transparent and unquestioned by the local community – provided an ordered micro-world that was legible for 'us'. While conducting the research I would personally feel that the 'former Ticinese' today is idealised by the witnesses of that period, and yet what they said did not allow any doubt concerning the existence of the strong and intense social networks in the past. My interlocutors emphasised that there was

a very small social distance between the representatives of entirely different axionormative systems:

> I remember that in the first years, when there were plenty of prostitutes here, they would come to light a candle so their business would go well. In these matters, they had their faith, their sense of religion; they would come to pray to the Madonna, to pray for their business too. It was such an amalgamation of the sacred and the profane. Every Monday, I would go to pray in one school (...), and those women, even though in poor health, would stand outside; greet me with a great respect, with reverence, with high esteem; it was something like peaceful coexistence. * (M, resid., pastor)

Another characteristic factor was the coexistence and overlapping of two types of social capital: the 'pure', perceived as I presented it in the introduction to this chapter and 'perverse' or 'dirty' social capital[200], that is anti-social capital, whose results for the broader community are negative. The two types of capital were frequently hard to distinguish for the members of the community themselves. From today's perspective, the negative social capital present in Ticinese is at times justified by interviewees, first as not 'really detrimental', and secondly almost as a functional element, distinguishing and integrating the community:

> There were also the so-called *gratta* of Porta Cicca, because they *grattavano*, that is they stole. Yet if they stole a car, finding it was very easy: if you knew one of them, you would go to him and make it known by the grapevine. In an hour your car was back. It was a true chain or network – a means for a very intensive life of the district, of the neighbourhood. This is why all these things were known, and there was a certain tolerance from the public authorities, because all those *gratta* would never beat or hurt someone. They were rogues and not criminals. * (M, resid., pastor)

"The new ones too would 'borrow salt' after some time"

The capital of the district that in the 1970s and 1980s attracted new residents: artists, architects, and students valued the community patterns of life as well as such simple factors as low real estate prices. At least two questions characterised the arrival of 'the new ones'. First, the process of invasion may be described as a period when 'the pioneer artists' moved in relatively slowly; it covered nearly two decades (the 1970s and 1980s). Secondly, throughout that period the arrival of new residents meant mutual learning of social and cultural patterns. In the case of 'the new ones', powerful social links were immediately treated as the value of the place, capital that could be used for personal and professional activity. Adaptation processes contin-

ued slowly, yet, thanks to this, mutual recognition was achieved, and direct contacts with long-term residents turned into ever closer and stronger contacts that resulted in mutual trust. Yet adaptation never led to complete assimilation of 'the new ones': characteristically they possessed individual cultural capital, which allowed them gradually to come to be treated as the pattern-forming group:

> Some 15 years ago, the new ones were trying to understand the character of the district, they were trying to get to know the neighbours. Oh, I would say that they were thinking about the future together. After the time they would also 'borrow salt'. (...). I'll be honest and say that the new ones, who came here over a decade ago, when they were coming, you could also feel that they thought they were superior, but there was nothing malicious in it. Let me give you an example. That *osteria* on the corner: I remember that in the beginning, during summer, they would put up flowers around. It looked great, but of course this is our common space, so I asked whether we could contribute to those flowers. The owner, the father of the guy you met, said that no, they would do it – which was to say, see how this is done, we will show you. And I must say that indeed they provided plenty of new values, and in that sense of a "renewed" the district, and the old residents, artisans, learned a lot from them. That sense of being different between the old and the new was there, but there was no feeling that we were worse than they. (F, resid. 2, bus.)

"People don't know one another, even by sight"

Such a purely idyllic life of the district ended in the 1990s, in the view of the interviewees who had lived there for a bit longer. The 'long-term tenants' formulate the gravest accusations towards the latest arrivals: they are called snobs and egoists, and the words used to describe them – 'rich', 'individualist', and 'businessman' – acquire negative connotations. The differences in economic status are listed first among the factors that build distance:

> Now, when someone is buying a flat, he is looking down on the others, as if he were saying 'what is that with you, that you have lived here for 30 or 50 years, I bought the flat for a price tens of times higher, and I am the more important one'. Money is what now builds the difference. (...) [The young] have expensive flats, bought at crazy prices, and this is the only thing that counts. They are the children of entrepreneurs and bankers, they have unimaginable amounts of money.(M, resid. 2, bus.).

The "soft" differences, visible in lifestyles and meaning the negation of local customs, appear not much less important. The "rejection" of the traditional patterns of the district is remarked on by the interviewees even in petty, seemingly ordinary situations: "These new residents looked down on such behaviours [as borrowing

salt – MS] and there are question marks in their eyes... that this is 'plebeian'... (M, resid. 2, bus.).

The weakening of social ties is perceived as particularly significant because long term residents are becoming a minority, on whom the new arrivals impose new metropolitan patterns of behaviour that contradict the patterns operating until now. The interviewees remarked:

> They lead very 'pure' lives, they are far greater individualists, and – because they are new, they do not have many ties to this place, they do not have them, by the nature of things, but what is more they don't want to have them, because they bring here the clichés of the dormitory city, or the dormitory home, where people from the same floor won't even greet each other, they don't know one another. *

> People don't know each other; the new people, they don't know one another, even by sight, because they pass by looking down or holding their heads up. [The young] have no idea what was here before. No one asks them anything. And they don't care at all. (...). This is why I will sell this place, and that's it. (M., resid.2, bus.)

"I think all this is soon going to die out"

Already in the research conducted by the Centro in 1999, the success of the entrepreneurs operating in the Ticinese in 1990s was explained by the previously existing traditions of cooperation, similar to the already discussed *distretto industriale* model characteristic for the so-called Terza Italia. In Lombardy, these 'industrial districts' developed in the smaller cities (Cremona, Vigevano), yet this special type of 'competitive cooperation' developed in the Ticinese area too, primarily thanks to the crafts tradition that began there in the 19th century.

The results of research on the culture industry conducted a few years ago by the Centro are testimony to the marked continuity of cooperation patterns: initially, between artisans (cheese makers, furriers, tailors), and later between the 'new culture brokers' producing, processing, and selling symbolic values. As the Milanese researchers showed, a major role in the maintenance of this continuity was played by the generation of the children of the post-war artisans, that is people who became adults in the 1970s and contested the reality that surrounded them; later, as adults, they became a particular, natural link between the traditional culture on the one hand, and modernity and late modernity on the other.

The 'generation key' was therefore the starting point for the research on entrepreneurial change in the Ticinese, which was turning from a craftsmen's district into the place of production of symbolic goods. After the initial definition of the social

and demographic features of the entrepreneurs, it was assumed that some individual features favour development and the maintenance of cooperation networks. The average age of the entrepreneurs was about 45 years (with a major age group at 33–34 years), education was rather high, with 25% of the subjects holding university degrees and 33% a certificate of completion of upper secondary education; in most cases, the women were better educated. 60% of the respondents were born in the province of Milan, 80% in the north of Italy; 90% declared residence in Milan, and 61% lived and worked in the Ticinese. Half the respondents declared membership in associations (trade, industrial, artistic, etc.), and one tenth active participation in the life of a local association. One fourth of the companies working in the cultural sector was established after 1996. This, it was assumed, could be perceived as a major indicator of the district's potential and dynamism.

On the other hand, the average age of firms was 21 years, which would attest to a powerful and fairly long local tradition of entrepreneurship. This also makes it possible to claim that stability and intergenerational continuity of activity created conditions favourable for the development and reinforcement of links based on familiarity and trust. It is important that continuity and stability could not be considered in this case to be in opposition to innovation. The key to the understanding the eruption of creativity in the Ticinese were the biographies of the subjects, the aforementioned children of tradesmen, artisans, owners of small firms and service establishments. Those born in the Ticinese were educated on the grounds of bourgeois culture, against which they rebelled in their youth and – having acquired a part of their further experience abroad – were continuously in search of 'something new'. In their maturity all these factors brought about particular and peculiar effects. The respondents declared (and confirmed these declarations through their accomplishments) on the one hand, a yearning to return to family and local traditions, and on the other, openness towards what is new, what is unknown, and what is inspiring in private and professional life. The 'new culture brokers' maintained and preserved the existing local social networks, for which Vargiu uses the metaphor of the 'spider web' woven from tiny threads that are very delicate when considered individually, but which constitute a very durable whole. These ties also proved important for those who moved into the district to conduct their own business here. Taking into consideration the character of the new forms of activity in Ticinese, the individual agents and the entire district found the *distritto post-industriale* a perfect place to produce added value:

> We feel great in this building, for there is plenty of varied business, different from ours, and we have lots of contacts and links, and we are becoming integrated. This is a spon-

taneous gathering (...) This is interpersonal communication, this is broadcasting signals on the same waves by persons featuring the same type of interest and operating within the same field. And this is fantastic, because isolation is a different story, a different world. (...) I enjoy the fact that people are connected with me in a way; what results from this are emotions and cooperation; [I get to know] new ways of life.*

Here in our district, everyone knows everyone else. Since I moved in here (two months ago) everyone got to know me and I got to know everyone. I like it. This via Cesare da Sesto is like a village. Everyone is trying to help one another. Some, for example, come to me for wine, and I prepare a website for the restaurant opposite. *

Still in the research conducted by the Centro, the ties were made evident; the ties of their mutual openness between the 'new' victors, representing the modern fashion and powerful brands, and the ones who belong to the traditional artisan past: "Clients also ask us for advice, for example, where to have their pillowcases made, and we have the addresses of a few ladies who sew at home, and we send them there." *

The social stratum level of the Navigli is, let us say, fairly low [....] I am looking for a flat to live somewhere close by; for me the Navigli means that 'you do not live in the city, even if you are a part of the city' [...]. There are emotions in such centres, and the sense of community in such a dimension that one feels like living here (...) The Ticinese is like New York, for you can see a craftsman who speaks only in the Milanese dialect, and who is open minded and wants to understand what a guy with a hundred of metal body rings, recording something in a studio, is doing. *

For Ticinese, the 1990s meant a significant advancement, economic, social and cultural. The encounter between various configurations of cultures, traditions, and generations did not mean conflict between them but on the contrary creative exchange, from which – to a greater or lesser degree – all parties benefited:

A vast change has taken place here, from old artistic craft studios and old shops, which sold wood and coal to all those restaurants, to all the new activities that are emerging. [Yet this is] still coexistence, for it is not that this has been transformed from the artisans to the photographers, architects, and designers; if some disappeared, others have remained and coexist with the new ones; for example, across from here, there is an old annexe, where they sell wood and coal, for all those around have refurbished their homes and have fireplaces and so forth, so the owners of the [shop in the] annexe liver a better life than they used to. *

The interviews that I conducted in 2004 cast shadows on this image. From the very beginning of the interviews nearly all my interlocutors criticised, in general categories, the direction of change in the district. Attention turned to practical matters, the problems related to their daily lives (noise, cars parked everywhere), yet they

found even more serious changes that had taken place in the social dimension. They also complained, again in general categories, about the disappearance of social ties, growing anonymity, and a sense of alienation. When I examined these questions deeper, it turned out that what raised a strong sense of discomfort were the masses of new residents, and patrons of pubs and restaurants 'flowing' through the district; and so did the unrecognizable – due to the fast pace – changes of the pubs and restaurants themselves: of their signs, and the functions of places. The once perfectly identifiable area had become a space of flows and fluctuations, in which the 'new ones' did not take root, and with which the 'old ones' did not identify: "There are neon signs, which do not fit the character of the district at all. But these are places that are there today, and tomorrow there will be other ones to replace them. Same with the people." *

Of interest, attention to the threat that the great changeability of the district brings has been directed by social experts already involved in the research conducted by the Centro: the pastor, a group of architects, and a member of the city council. The residents felt the consequences of the changes when the process could no longer be slowed down. They themselves had ceased to think about the 'future together', and the links that had so far kept them together were weakened or had disappeared completely. I would risk stating that they themselves violated the links of trust, as was favoured by the axionormative chaos they lived in, and the quick pace of change.

Leaving the Ticinese – unthinkable in the past – today becomes the 'lesser evil' for many, if not the only way out. It is easier to leave the district because "today's Ticinese is not *that* Ticinese"...

> This is the culmination of the district. There can't possibly be greater chaos, and the Municipality has no plan for the district; the Associazione keeps to the idea of painting, which in this situation also becomes unnatural. I believe that soon all this is going to die out, and all this fashion is going to lead to the residents sooner or later moving out; the older generation will die out, and the new one is not at all interested in where they live. I myself and my sister love this place, but Stefania not to the extent that she would 'die for the Ticinese', I will go great lengths, but my fiancé hates this place in its present condition. He asks whether we should live in such conditions for such a price – literally and metaphorically. (F, resid. 2, bus.)

The research proves also that the social ties existing before the changes are now weakening. Since the district became popular, the changes between those who "have always lived in the district" and "the artists who arrived here 20 years ago", have acquired sharp edges and negative meanings. Talking to me after having gone

through the process of breaking the ice, my interlocutors would move from the general level to detailed criticism, criticising amongst others those who previously had been treated as partners in the competition for profit. There were stronger or weaker accusations of pursuing financial interests, including personal interests, behind activities, an unequal contribution to the public good, growing indifference, and conscious building of distance and detachment:

> Let me repeat, the painters began all that, but *they have their own interests*. Now they have the feeling that the district owes everything to them. They do not put the interests of the residents on the top – that is obvious – but there are paradoxical situations. For example: antique fairs or painters' exhibitions. Then the traffic stops and the pedestrian precinct is in force. Next to it, by the Stazione Genova there is a car park, with fees for entry. The exhibitors get a 50% reduction, and I – being a resident – do not! I cannot drive up to my own establishment to collect goods, and I must leave my car in the car park. Strangers get reduced rates for parking, and residents do not. This says something about the approach of the Associazione. Besides, the decoration of the district has been taken care of, the famous lighting of the Naviglio Grande. Yet such petty questions also served to divide people, for the lighting costs lots of money. Someone asked, and then made accusations that this money should have been spent on something else, this is how the divisions were born: someone tackles it from the left, another one tackles it from the right, and every party wants to have its interests cared for. This has become political. The Associazione developed its vision: exhibitions, exhibitions, and exhibitions. And nothing more. (F, resid. 2, bus.)

How was the question perceived by a representative of the criticised Association of the artists?

> We banded together also to be able to be in control of ourselves. There are clear rules and a high level in what we are doing. And here? Look: the banks are overgrown with weeds, the canal is dirty, there are scribblings on the walls, dirt and chaos, cars everywhere, and noise by night. [...] one could only dream about the Police or the Carabinieri intervening! A problem, for example, are the illegal stands put out a few steps away from each other. They put them up so close to each other that the residents cannot get into their own homes, and they trade like that till the small hours, and no one checks them! If everyone only did what they should, there would be no problem. But we simply cannot arrange certain things ourselves, because either we cannot do it for legal reasons, or simply shouldn't – after all the Associazione lives off the membership fees, and people hold us responsible and accountable. Such expenditure results in conflicts: how much, why, etc. [...] It is true that we (the painters) revived the district thanks to our arts, thanks to the exhibitions, but we ourselves cannot do everything here. Last year we were cleaning the canal with the money of the Association. We spent € 2600 on

that. Since that time nobody has touched the canal, and it continues to be overgrown. (M, resid., bus., NGO)

Summary

Research on the processes of constructing and reconstructing social relations points to crucial and interesting similarities and differences between the Ticinese and Kazimierz.

Let us begin with what is common, and what is contained in the conscious reception of the changes. Both in the Ticinese and in Kazimierz the interviewees noticed the disappearance of community ties, ties which in both cases attracted the new businesspeople and residents, initiating the process of revitalization in this way. This process may be examined from a number of perspectives, treating the conclusions in an a holistic way. Taking the environmental perspective as a starting point, one can consider this a natural consequence of the very quick increase in the number of new residents and the emergence of huge numbers of users of the district. Looking from an 'economising' perspective, what is seen in the districts is a process of commercialisation of space, activity, and social relations – a process of competition for capital; a process which has winners and losers. One of the Krakow interviewees provided an ironic comment about the changes in Kazimierz: "it has survived communism, but it will not survive capitalism". Colonisation of everyday life by trade was also noticed by the Italian interviewees, who emphasised that the rules of the market supplant any other rules of social life.

The similarities end there. If we focus on the cultural dimension, we perceive how different the paths the districts have followed are. First, looking at the question from the new institutional perspective, let us observe the degree of continuity and coherence of values and principles that regulate social life. 'Path dependence' undoubtedly determines the character and direction of change, and this principle is beyond doubt reflected in both cases. Currently, in the case of Krakow, one cannot help noticing the clash of two political and economic orders (real socialism on the one hand, and democracy and capitalism on the other), and the social divisions between 'power' and 'citizens', etched deeply in the social consciousness. These historically formed patterns continue to influence the social attitudes of the residents of Kazimierz (and are expressed especially by the poorest groups that have not managed to internalise the new patterns), yet there also emerged new sources of civic distrust, 'worked out' under the new constitution, the effect of decapitalisation of trust in democratic institutions. This lack of trust towards the local authorities expressed by

the new residents and entrepreneurs, as well as civic indifference are not necessarily the continuation of the distrust and indifference carried over from the previous system: many of my interlocutors either simply do not remember the previous system (for example because they are too young), or are aware of the difference between the two systems, and believe the new one to be "the best possible". It is my impression that the representatives of the local authorities not only failed to grasp the opportunity to co-create a civic society in Kazimierz, but also discouraged many of its original enthusiasts in a highly efficient way.

The development of the Ticinese followed a different path; compared to Kazimierz, it changed in a more evolutionary and balanced manner. Metaphorically speaking, the path of dependence in the process of change in the Ticinese was longer and straighter. The relative stability of the norms did not, however, result from the 'memory' of the institutions, lasting standards of institutionalised democracy, but rather from social 'memory', transmitted and preserved by successive social groups reaching the Ticinese. Our research shows that in the process of revitalization, the participation of local authorities was insignificant and limited to chaotic urban planning and social and residential decisions. The Ticinese was changing from the bottom up, thanks to individual actions that developed specific and stable social networks. This must to a great extent be ascribed to the new culture brokers, brought up on the lasting foundations of urban class culture enjoying powerful standards of civic activity. In the 1970s and 1980s, they found in the Ticinese district a space with good conditions for the development of territorial community as well as openness to the new values. When the value of space began to grow, this place too was appropriated by market principles, yet for a long time this process – thanks to its long duration – did not result in revolutionary changes in the area of local culture. Yet, in not that far distant past, the features that provided the sine qua non condition of existence for the 'community' of the Ticinese were strongly disturbed: direct and intensive social relations and the sense of identity with the local community were becoming weaker. The district has changed greatly over the last three decades, but the core of its identity has continued throughout that time. The infringement of that identity did not come about simply through a change in the economic profile or through demographic exchange, because this continued nearly incessantly throughout the latter half of the 20th century: simply, after those who 'revived' Ticinese, no strong social group arrived to reinforce the Ticinese trademark effectively for the common good. In their stead, there arrived a great number of those who want to use the Ticinese trademark for their short-term business reasons.

The category of memory seems to be extremely important for the explanation of the quality of social relations in Kazimierz. On the grounds of what the interviewees say, one may believe that what the new residents find important is the tradition of the society that used to inhabit the district rather than the 'museum' character of Kazimierz. Yet, the memory of the past turns out to be brimming with imagination. It is to a great extent a 'produced' memory. Tales of the past whose original function was to transfer knowledge of the destroyed multicultural community of Kazimierz are processed and assimilated by the new residents and users as 'their own', and almost as they had been 'experienced'. The broken social tradition is fairly quickly filling up with an imagined memory of the community which, furthermore, is considered unquestionable.

Let the pessimistic tone of these considerations be tempered by a statement referring to the Ticinese, which – possibly thanks to its simplicity – strikes at the essence, the core: how the district originated, what gave birth to its community, and what allowed its revival: "All this is going to die out, but the canals will be there forever. This is the only eternal thing, so some day something new will be born here." (F, resid. 2, bus.) The result of changes in Kazimierz has not yet been decided, although the path has been staked out to a great extent. The pessimistic version assumes at least three possible scenarios (and mixtures of them), differing one from another as to the character of social relations: as a residential ghetto for the wealthy, as a museum district visited mostly by tourists, and/or as an entertainment district living mostly by night. An alternative and more positive scenario would be as a mixed-functions district with a marked cultural and service profile, but also with a specific type of the local community or neo-community, composed not only of residents but also of associated representatives of cultural, religious, economic, and other institutions and organisations – active and organised not only to satisfy particular and short-term interests, but also to attain jointly defined goals. The key role will be played here by civic and non-governmental organisations that already operate in Kazimierz – both those whose aspirations are supra-local (as for example, the Center for Jewish Culture) and those that reinforce social ties at the scale of a single street (as for example, the Association of Józefa Street Lovers) – rather than by public or self-government institutions (as for example, the District Council). Those agents will find it important to know about the cases of districts where the process of revival began earlier: important not only for inspiration and good ideas but also for knowledge of the errors committed elsewhere.

The study of the process of revitalization of urban space conducted on the grounds of the cases provided by Kazimierz and the Ticinese brings significant conclusions, of theoretical and methodological, and practical nature, referring closely to the specific social realities in their temporal and spatial setting.

First of all, in reference to the theoretical dimension, the study strongly confirmed the explanatory value and usefulness of concepts formed within agency theory. I emphasise this fact the more strongly because all these concepts are still insufficiently used for research in urban sociology. I consider that their usefulness is validated in the subdisciplinary area where I used them – the city. At the same time, however, the research I conducted reinforced my conviction that it is necessary to study the city on the grounds of general sociological theories that not only 'refresh' the subdiscipline, but also provide a framework which allows us to coordinate our specific and complex research and gives it relevance.

The analysis of a society in the categories of dynamic "becoming", "structuring" and "restructuring" allowed me, on the one hand, to analyse the process of revitalization of urban space in the context and framework of a general theoretical reflection on a social reality, and on the other, made it possible to examine this process and propose explanations in its specific, empirically valid dimension. The relevance and translatability of all the levels of agency theory, from assumptions of a philosophical nature to methodological guidelines, not only allowed me to refer the process of change in the districts to mechanisms of general social, cultural, and mental changes, but also to reach towards understanding deeper sources of changes, lying within the realm of human motivation.

In reference to the process of revitalization, analysed on the basis of empirical material, my remarks will be wider ranging. The few years I spent observing various specific social realities confirmed the assumptions that I made while complementing my knowledge with many significant observations lying within this theoretical framework. But they also resulted in new questions, new issues, and doubts that I had not taken into consideration earlier. I would like to devote this final part of my work to the recapitulation of these results. Let me begin by reflecting on the general characteristics of the revitalization process: on what seems to be the core, the essence of the process, and what became evident during the research on Kazimierz and the Ticinese. Later, I shall consider what in both districts turned out to be specific and what, as I believe,

determined to a great degree the directions of changes that – for many aspects remain disparate in the two cases.

The factor that took both districts to the outskirts (literally and metaphorically) if not right outside the current of urban development, was their marked cultural and social profile that neither yielded to general social changes nor allowed adjustment to the requirements of industrial society. In the period of late modernity, this feature became stronger with the passage of time. A certain type of symbolic exclusion went hand-in-hand with the physical degradation of space, and turned out to be an important and valuable resource for individuals and social groups searching for 'their own' place in the globalised space of flows; a place that would allow them to re-create their lost or blurred identity. For this reason, when the revitalization of the Ticinese and Kazimierz began, it was accompanied by a "social re-definition" of their images. With this expression we refer to the process by which an area that, in the context of metropolitan culture, has so far been associated with a negatively perceived "small town character", "outlaw character", threat and danger, and a community of low social status is "redefined": subjected to social (individual and group) reflection and modification. The features of the cultural area (its unique and separate character) that so far have been perceived in a negative way, began to be recognized as a value and resource that can be used for the individual and collective (e.g. belonging to a professional or artistic group) process of developing a specific identity. Research on both the cases showed that local values, petrified during the phase of 'social oblivion', may provide a capital (rare and important due to its lack in the times of globalised, mass culture) that may be used both in the dimension of private life (in the 'life project') and in professional, economic, and social activity. In a word, the local factor, even if reinforced in a negative form, was of primary importance in what was broadly understood as the process of revaluation of both the districts.

The research also brought to light the markedly inter-subjective contents of this 'specificity' – beyond its physical, architectural, and spatial character. The 'tolerance', and the 'openness' of the space must be counted among them; such traits, according to the respondents, favour intensive and varied social contexts and result in a sense of community, innovativeness and creativity of individuals operating in the districts. The process of revitalization, or at least its first stage, may thus be described as the dialectic process of 'exchange' of values between the conditions found in the district and the values and potential of those who undertake activity in the district, which acts reciprocally on the space, increasing its symbolic, economic, and material value.

This proves that the 'history' of the place is of fundamental importance for the 'here and now'. The 'historical dimension' of destroyed buildings and decaying public space can become a forte. In a word, if a seemingly cumbersome physical heritage can be quickly converted into a major capital, the 'soft' heritage, taking the form of the attitudes and patterns of activity preserved in local culture, takes on another aspect. The research has not only shown that the revitalization process depends on the 'path' – both at the institutional and the micro-social levels (actually, a closed self-reinforcing circuit); but also forcefully shown how easy it is to stray off this path if following it requires thinking in the categories of a common past, present, and future. Whether we referred to the category of social trust or, more generally, to the axionormative patterns of activity, the changeable 'soft' human thoughts and emotions proved to be of fundamental importance in the process of revitalization. Fundamental, for they are not only decisive for beginning the 'revival' process in the district. As I demonstrated in this work, in both cases top-down projects had in fact a marginal influence on revitalization, if any at all, but determined the direction of further changes.

What are the other results?

In my research I assumed as obvious the differences in the history of the districts (and the cities). These differences cannot be compared at the level of facts, but they are comparable at the level of their social significance. In brief, on the one hand I examined a (once) poor district situated in a very rich Italian city, a district inhabited by poor people with low cultural and financial capital, who in the intergenerational transmission of culture preserved not only pathological patterns, but also positive patterns from the point of view of the common good, as they reinforced the sense of belonging, mutual trust, and solidarity. On the other hand, I dealt with a district of Krakow, whose deeper past was marked by the existence of a multicultural city; whose more recent past by the tragedy of the Holocaust and the destruction of its community; and later, at the time of the People's Republic of Poland, by a vicious circle of synergetic negative phenomena, related both to the characteristic features of its current inhabitants and to an entire complex of broader phenomena, from anti-Semitic tendencies to the condition and policy of the state. The history of the places turned out to be the source that explains not only their attractiveness and power today but also their weaknesses. The research on the Ticinese and Kazimierz, and especially on Kazimierz, showed how eager the social actors are to remember and use the 'power' of the place, and how easy it is for them to forget about its negative elements. Naturally, in the two cases, the process of reaching back to the resources of the past looked different, and the weight of social and cultural capital was distributed differently.

In the Ticinese, when the first 'new' people appeared, there was a continuity of social ties and cultural patterns, but that heritage did not stand out much in the context of Italian culture. It can be said that from the 1970s to the 1990s, social capital was being converted into cultural capital in the Ticinese: on the grounds of the popular, 'smalltown' aura of the place, artists and so-called culture brokers developed a powerful 'trademark' as an innovative district operating as a laboratory for lifestyles of late modernity. Characteristic of this process was the relatively slow pace, which definitely did not constitute a social or cultural revolution. It is significant that the people behind the changes were aware of the core – the capital of the district – and what they must not destroy. Hence the pace and manner of activity were subject to the objective of maintaining the community character of the space and its specificity.

In the case of Kazimierz, the beginning was – seemingly – similar: the respondents emphasised the small-town climate of the district, which (among other factors) was manifested in frequent and intensive social contacts. Reality was unveiled during the research. When revitalization began, Kazimierz possessed (as it still does) a unique world cultural capital: that of a Jewish–Christian city and district, within which the various patterns of community social life can fit. Yet that was a legend, a social myth, and a 'literary' archetype whose usefulness in actual life disappeared, consumed in the period of at least the 20th century. In the case of Kazimierz, a certain *qui pro quo* occurred: something present largely as 'a tale of the past' was fairly easily thought to be something direct, tangible, and 'given' once and for all. The consequences of using 'the legend of Kazimierz', without any major effort, were reinforced by the pace and manner of the realisation of changes. Whether we use the categories of 'objective' (years, months) or subjective social time, we must agree that the changes in Kazimierz happened very quickly. What we observe in reality are a few years in which the 'artistic' and 'touristy' Kazimierz ('the gold mine') was born – and a few years when the pre-existing community did not manage to adjust to the revolutionary changes, while the 'the new ones' had no time/skill/will etc. to work out deep and lasting patterns of co-operation. The cultural capital of Kazimierz was not employed in building social capital, or was thus employed to an insufficient degree. This is true both of individual and of collective or institutional actors who became involved in the consumption of what already existed rather than in the production of what could reinforce the future of the community.

I believe that the basic difference between the direction of the revitalization process in the Ticinese and in Kazimierz lies in how it was defined by the social actors. In the case of Kazimierz, there is much to suggest that a relevant part of the actors participat-

ing in the process approached it as a zero sum game. The rivalry between individual and collective agents did not begin immediately, but only when the value of the space became evident. The accumulating negative factors – mental (lack of fixed patterns for cooperation), institutional (e.g. legal loopholes), and economic (difficult general financial conditions) – strengthened the motivation to treat Kazimierz as a space of strife. The complex character of the game for Kazimierz resulted not only from the synergy of contrasting attitudes, expectations, and habits related to the functions of space, lifestyles, and cultural and social identity of the district. I believe the disorientation and lack of confidence among local authorities as well as the overlapping of the delayed results of constitutional changes provided additional factors.

In all these respects, Kazimierz seems to be a paradigmatic case. The local government institutions, established not much than a decade earlier, received specific competences for managing the city and the district. In the period when these institutions had full social acceptance these competences were not used efficiently. Kazimierz fell into further disrepair and its revitalization projects remained 'drafts', while the actions of the municipality towards the district were generally limited to social help, considered natural by its clients and ever more strongly criticised by taxpayers. The fact that private agents were adding value to Kazimierz was noticed and was used by public institutions in economic, political, and symbolic ways. Interest in Kazimierz and the crystallisation by the institutional 'leaders' of various visions of Kazimierz coincided with a developing climate of 'co-participation" of citizens in managing the city, which in fact would limit the power of the institutions. In the ideal model, the representatives of institutions would represent citizens, and empower their activity through negotiation and coordination, while the citizens would define the goals, suggest solutions, and undertake co-operation. Hardly any representatives of institutions, whether at the municipal or at the district level, managed to react appropriately to the changing situation. The research confirmed their lack of competence and commitment, and the power of activity patterns: on the one hand of 'leaders against all odds' and on the other of the 'term-serving officers' focused on safe 'survival' in their careers. Similarly, 'co-participation' assumed a specific form: groups of residents were established and became active mostly in situations of danger, which meant that activities were undertaken in defence 'against'. Owners of pubs, bars, cafés, and restaurants, integrated because of their interests or 'mental similarity' did not develop into a coherent group that could represent the 'culture and entertainment' Kazimierz, for example, in a dialogue with the institutions.

Referring to the attitudes that the community inhabiting the Ticinese assumed since more or less the 1970s, one can see that the game was for a positive sum. The focus on broadening or reinforcing the district's resources and developing of added value through exchange and synergy of the resources of individual actors brought about the development of a powerful image of the place. In this case, the collective power of 'the new' residents of the Ticinese was of fundamental importance; their power was built on the basis of integrated goals and activities. Possibly – and this is a conjecture based on intuition and looking at the order of the stages of change – this power, produced even before or in the early stage of the institutionalisation of local authorities, resulted in the fact that the local district council had no major influence on the fate of the Ticinese. The district was changing as if it were beyond institutionalised power, even though it conformed to the legal rules of political and market life.

Nevertheless, further change initiated a few years ago in the Ticinese and which has meant a re-orientation of attitudes is visible. What used to be co-operation has become more and more akin to rivalry. The former mutual trust has turned into mutual grudges and suspicion. One may conjecture that the decisive factor in this recent shift is the increasing differentiation of the residents and users of the district, who are more and more often connected only by the eagerness to 'consume' the capital of the district – whether through its offer of entertainment or as an attractive place to live or conduct business.

There is, however, a circumstance that is probably responsible for the difference in the level of "consumption orientation" in the Ticinese and in Kazimierz. Let us recollect the model of the Italian *distretto* and its important function, namely the development of a collective strength against external competition. The Ticinese has a powerful trademark, but it is not the only 'island' in the map of Milanese urban mass culture. In the case of Milan, the dynamism of 'discovering' new niche sites in the map of the city is far greater, for every now and then a characteristic street or district is elevated, be it thanks to the presence of ethnic groups, or the profile of services provided (e.g. environmental). The agents operating in the Ticinese (and especially artists, businesspeople, etc.) are after all aware of this competition, which stimulates them to care for the foundation of their activity, namely the capital of the space in the form of a clearly defined identity. The situation in Krakow looks slightly different: here, Kazimierz simply is unchallenged, not only because it is a world–unique Jewish district but also because, apart from the Main Market Square and the few adjacent streets, there are no other such cultural areas in the city whose specific character and identity could be used in cultural and economic production

in the same way. It is possible that Podgórze and Nowa Huta will evolve into such areas, but so far they have posed no major competition for Kazimierz. One may risk the claim that the exceptional, distinctive, and specific character of Kazimierz was and still is its basic strength, yet at the same time this market value 'lulls to sleep' the social and public spirit of individuals, and may be one of the reasons behind Kazimierz's acceptance of the 'lone-wolf' game strategy.

Finally, to recapitulate all these conclusions covering the various aspects of the process, let me return to the model of revitalization indicators presented in the work. In the model I proposed indicators referring to the physical dimension, characteristics of actors and the activity, and the meanings of space. I believe that in the context of this theoretical model, the dynamism of social life is even more evident. I built the 'ideal type' of revitalization – a process in which a space regains 'new life' in the conditions of late modernity, and becomes itself an emanation of that reality. This model facilitated the intellectual organisation of the research and also confirmed the naiveté of thinking about the possibility of developing an ideal place. In a word, it confirmed that social utopia is still active as a myth. In both districts, development followed a more or less unsymmetrical path. The improvement of physical conditions not only did not cover the whole area, but it was conducted at the cost of certain social groups. Renovation, even point-based, brought positive effects for the revaluation of the district's image, as it helped the emergence of other new, powerful, creative actors, yet after some time this had a bearing on the quality of social relations and infringed on the cultural identity of the area. Briefly, changes considered positive in one dimension, did not necessarily go together with positive changes in other respects; they might even cause negative impact. When we speak about "revitalization" we should realise that we are speaking about a theoretical construct. On the one hand, it defines the objectives of practical activity, and on the other it is an abstract matrix that allows assessment of the stage of the process reached by the space, what the successes and defeats of community actions are, and whether the changes occurring are indeed balanced. In the concept of revitalization, so very popular in today's vision of the city, there is an analogy with the attempts at developing an 'ideal city', which have gone on since ancient times. These are human representations of a good and friendly space, corresponding to the nearly archetypal yearning for a "paradise on earth"; and also to the belief that such a place can be created.

I would like to devote a few words to a question that has not been tackled in the work because its framework did not allow it, namely the urban *context* of the districts. So far, I have focused on the impact of metropolitan culture on the changes

in the districts considered. The 'new' Kazimierz and the 'new' Ticinese mean that there is also an influence acting the other way, namely an impact of the 'new' areas on the culture of cities. The districts in question have been those of a cultural avant-garde (naturally until places of a 'new avant-garde' emerged), and the values, practices, and lifestyles worked out in their space could become the values, practices, and styles followed and binding elsewhere. This means that they could be a source of inspiration, if not models to be copied in all cases. The 'revitalized' districts defined the standards, and became the touchstone in the assessment of what, for example, is 'good, valuable entertainment' and what is 'kitsch' and 'mediocrity'.

What I said above does not cover the entire range of all the changes, shadings, and undertones of the processes occurring in the two districts. My remarks may also seen overly pessimistic. My goal, however, was not only a double case study, but also tackling some seemingly "neutral" questions that from the perspective of applied sociology, are seen as acute, negative and dysfunctional for society. I want to draw attention to the danger inherent in the treatment of all the resources (social, cultural, spatial, etc.) as 'being there', constant, and permanent. The sense that this is a danger is reinforced by the last stage of change in the Ticinese, where the process of 'revival' created an image of the district which its most recent residents and users seem to consider a permanent fact. The presence of activities, lifestyles, and objects that make no reflexive reference to the past and to the specific character of the Navigli area seems to be accompanied by the conviction that one does not have to care about this specific character and/or identity, and that it is simply there to be used. I believe that in the light of the research results,, the consideration of urban processes within the framework of agency theory is even more strongly justified. Such a theoretical base should be used to redefine the categories used in urban studies and sociology of local communities. The research has demonstrated clearly that such categories as a natural/cultural area or the identity of a place may not be treated as static, and that the very process of revitalization or gentrification is not a simple sequence of changes. The history of the two districts has confirmed the dialectical dependence of historical elements and present conditions, structural properties and internalised properties of individuals, their axionormative orientations, habits, and convictions.

This is where the optimistic aspect of the research on the process of revitalization lies, for it means that individuals as agents of change can rebuild and reinforce the most precious resources of the place where they have chosen to live.

Notes

1   See, e.g., P. Sztompka (ed.), *Imponderabilia wielkiej zmiany. Mentalność, wartości i więzi społeczne czasów transformacji,* Warsaw – Krakow 1999; A. Giza-Poleszczuk, M. Marody, A. Rychard (eds.), *Strategie i system. Polacy w obliczu zmiany społecznej*, Warsaw 2000.

2   See www.unicatt.it/modacult
    In this study I use also the shortened name, and speak of the Centro.

3   Another name used to describe this theory is "the theory of social action", but to emphasise that the term does not mean what T. Parsons (T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action,* New York 1968, 1st ed. 1937) proposed, I decided to keep to the term as used by P. Sztompka (P. Sztompka, *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, Kraków 2002, pp. 526–537). See e.g. A. Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method: a Positive Critique of interpretative Sociologies*, London 1976; Id., *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration,* Cambridge 1984; P. Sztompka, *Society in Action: The Theory of Social Becoming*, Cambridge 1991.

4   Such "dual" thinking about the society, to quote P. Sztompka, results in there being "two sociologies" operating within one discipline. The first of them is the sociology of the social organism defined by the tradition of Comte, Spencer, and Marx, while the other focuses on the concept of activity and is developed on the theoretical foundations laid by Weber, Pareto and Mead. As a consequence of the axiomatic assumptions made, either of these can work only on an aspect, a dimension, and a defined scale of social life. Proponents of agency theory believe these epistemological limitations to be a result of an error committed while building assumptions on the ontic status of society. See P. Sztompka, *Trust. A Sociological Theory,* Cambridge 1999, pp. 1–3.

5   See especially Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method* cit; Id., *The Constitution of Society* cit.

6   Sztompka, *Socjologia* cit., p. 531.

7   Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* cit.

8   Sztompka, *Society in Action* cit.

9   See I.J. Cohen, *Structuration Theory and Social "Praxis"* in A. Giddens, J. Turner (eds.), *Social Theory Today*, Stanford 1987, after A. Manterys, *Wielość rzeczywistości w teoriach socjologicznych*, Warsaw 1997, p. 148.

10 See A. Appadurai, *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, Minneapolis 1996; Z. Bauman, *Intimations of postmodernity*, London 1992; U. Beck, A. Giddens, S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization* (eds.), Cambridge 1994; M. Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London 1991; M. Featherstone, S. Lash, R. Robertson (eds.) *Global Identities*, London 1995; A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge 1990; A. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity, Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge 1991; S. Lash, J. Urry, *The Economies of Signs and Spaces*, London 1994.

11 See Appadurai, *Modernity at large* cit.; Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity* cit.; Id., *The Consequences of Modernity* cit.

12 Id., *Modernity and Self-Identity* cit.

[13] For example, "abstract systems" that belong to the domain of reflexivity are a disembedding mechanism.

[14] See U. Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London 1992 and Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity* cit.

[15] See especially F. Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity,* New York 1995*;* Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, cit.; Sztompka, *Trust* cit.

[16] See: Z. Bauman, *Dwa szkice o moralności ponowoczesnej,* Warsaw 1994.

[17] P. Sztompka, *Zaufanie: warunek podmiotowości społeczeństwa*, in K. Gorlach and Z. Saręga (eds.). *Oblicza społeczeństwa*, Kraków 1996, p. 117.

[18] See A. Wilde, *Horizons of Assent: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Ironic Imagination*, Baltimore - London 1991, after: R. Sheppard, *Problematyka modernizmu europejskiego*, in R. Nycz (ed.), *Odkrywanie modernizmu. Przekłady i komentarze*, Krakow 1998.

[19] See M. Augé, *Nonluoghi. Introduzione a una antropologia della surmodernità*, Milan 1993. See also the comments on the severance of direct links between the between the individual and space in result of globalisation processes in Lash, Urry, *The Economies of Signs and Spaces* cit.

[20] Generally, it is R Robertson (See: R. Robertson, *Globalization: time, space and homogeneity and heterogeneity*, in Featherstone, Lash, Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities* cit.) who is believed to be the author of the term. See also the collection of texts in W. Kalaga (ed.), *Dylematy wielokulturowości*, Kraków 2004, especially the part entitled *Wielokulturowość: pogranicza, hybrydy (g)lokalności*. See also Z. Bauman's concept of 'glocalisation' in Z. Bauman, *Glokalizacja, czyli komu globalizacja a komu lokalizacja*, in "*Studia Socjologiczne*", 3/1997.

[21] M. S. Szczepański, *Społeczności lokalne i regionalne a ład kontynentalny i globalny*, in W. Wesołowski, J. Włodarek (eds.), *Kręgi integracji i rodzaje tożsamości. Polska, Europa, Świat*, Warsaw 2005, p. 134.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[23] See A. Bagnasco, *Tracce di comunità*, Bologna 1999.

[24] The category of space used in philosophy and natural sciences became a sociological category especially thanks to E. Durkheim and G. Simmel. In Durkheim, space is one of the categories (next to time, type, number, and reason), through which the human mind and community order reality. Simmel's input was to introduce and develop the idea of "space" as one of the forms of social life and a dimension for social interactions.

[25] Digressing, it should be added that the "social space" in sociology is also, if not most often, defined in the metaphoric sense, for example as a "network of dependencies and links between individuals". (See Giza-Poleszczuk, Marody, Rychard (eds.), *Strategie i system* cit., p. 28).

[26]   See R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, R. McKenzie, *The City*, Chicago 1925.

[27] F. Znaniecki, *Socjologiczne podstawy ekologii ludzkiej*, in "*Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny, Socjologiczny*", Poznań 1/1938, p. 91.

[28] The great significance of Znaniecki's findings dating back to 1938 is visible from the perspective of our time, yet to quote W. Mirowski, it was Wirth's work from the same year that "caused major response in the West and was considered a milestone in the sociology of the city. F. Znaniecki's work, that beyond doubt contributed greatly to the development of the ecological understanding,

remains unknown till this day." (W. Mirowski, *Koncepcja szkoły chicagowskiej a koncepcja ekologii F. Znanieckiego*, in K. Wódz, K. Czekaj (eds.), *Szkoła chicagowska w socjologii. Tradycja myśli społecznej i wymogi współczesnej socjologii empirycznej*, Katowice - Warsaw 1992.

[29] F. Znaniecki, *Socjologiczne podstawy ekologii ludzkiej* cit., p. 91.

[30] See B. Jałowiecki, M. S. Szczepański, *Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej,* Warsaw 2002, p. 18.

[31] See E. Mora, *Come studiare un quartiere: problemi di fonti e di metodi*, in L. Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda. Immagini e racconti del Ticinese a Milano*, Milan 1999, p. 221.

[32] See e.g. W. Piotrowski, *Społeczno-przestrzenna struktura miasta Łodzi. Studium ekologiczne*, Wrocław 1966; Z. Rykiel, *Miasto jako miejsce a przemiany jego architektury, symboliki i świadomości terytorialnej mieszkańców*, in B. Jałowiecki, A. Majer, M. S. Szczepański (eds.), *Przemiany miasta. Wokół socjologii Aleksandra Wallisa*, Warsaw 2005.

[33] H. Zorbaugh, after Mora, *Come studiare un quartiere: problemi di fonti e di metodi* cit., p. 221.

[34] Jałowiecki, Szczepański, *Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej* cit., p. 18.

[35] A. Wallis, *Informacja i gwar. O miejskim centrum*, Warsaw 1989, p. 15.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[37] B. Jałowiecki*, Społeczna przestrzeń metropolii*, Warsaw 2000, p. 9. See also B. Jałowiecki, *Społeczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni*, Warsaw 1988, where the author introduced and developed this system of space.

[38] J. Montgomery, *Cultural Quarters as Mechanism for Urban Regeneration. A Review of Four Cultural Quarters in the UK, Ireland and Australia* (Planning Institute of Australia National Congress, 31.03-02.04.2003, Adelaide), p. 4. Montgomery courts here the idea of D.Canter taken from *The Psychology of Place*, London 1977.

[39] Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* cit.

[40] Here, the idea of the "district-laboratory"- approach is taken from the research carried out by the *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale* . See Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit.

[41] In the United States, urban renewal programmes were initiated by Federal Administration in the 1940s. See e.g. S. Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, London 1988, pp. 23–57 and D. Harvey's introduction to the book.

[42] Due to the differences in social, cultural, economic, and political context of these phenomena, it would be hard to discuss the translatability of programmes coming from the two continents, and for this reason I shall focus on revitalization concepts and practice in Europe. See for example the texts from the collection M. Bogdani-Czepita et al. (eds.), *Managing Historic Cities,* Krakow 1993, and especially contained there in the article by F. Denieul, *Economy and Culture in Historic Cities: New Challenges and New Jobs*. A deeper analysis of the situation in US cities is contained, for example in N. Smith, *The New Urban Frontier. Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, London - New York 1996 and in Zukin, *Loft Living* cit.

[43] The definition quoted here is based on the common elements of definitions found in online English-language dictionaries. The verbatim, literal translation of the definition given in the Polish text is: "to revitalize something that has lost its vitality or health means to make it alive or healthy again"

44 [Translator's note]

See e.g. F. Bianchini, *Politica culturale e rigenerazione urbana*, in F. De Biase, A. Garbarini, M. C. Genovese, L. Perissinotto, O. Saggion, *Il nuovo manuale delle professioni culturali,* Torino 1999 and L. Bovone, M. Magati, E. Mora, G. Rovati (eds.), *Intraprendere cultura. Rinnovare la città*, Milan 2002.

45 Although the interest of sociologists in the questions of revitalization is visibly growing at present, there are a few sociological texts, written a few years or even a decade ago, concerning the city and treating the question of revival or restoration as one of key importance. Worthwhile is the article by K. Frysztacki devoted to the relations between social issues and the revival of cities. See K. Frysztacki, *Soziale Inhalte Des Stadtneuerungprozesses*, in W. Strubelt, B. Jałowiecki (eds.), *Stadterneuerung. Probleme, Perspektiven, Ziele*, Bonn 1997.

46 Thought out for large scale change, reforms of urban space proposed complex and radical interventions in the urban space, primarily in derelict and undeveloped post-industrial or brownland areas (production plants, warehouses, ports) and in degraded historical districts. The other type of reaction is the so-called soft revitalization project, conducted in accordance with the idea of sustainable growth and development. According to the the fundamental assumptions of these projects, basic human needs include not only the resources necessary to survive, but also democratic rights, civic rights, and the right to self-determination, and secondly that social development must be related to the satisfaction of the basic needs of the groups excluded from the mainstream of social life, for ethnic, cultural, and other reasons, including the young, women, and the disabled. Enhancement of urban space is a general objective achieved by long term activity focused on the goal of improving so-called empty spaces (no man's land) by increasing activity within local society.

47 See e.g. www.urbanaudit.org/index.aspx the Urban Audit website, collecting data concerning more than 250 large and medium-sized European cities. The data are gathered and analysed according to the model worked out in the Urban Audit Pilot Project (years 1997–2000).

48 R. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class. And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, New York 2000, p. 15.

49 See e.g. E. T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, New York 1966.

50 See Montgomery, *Cultural Quarters as Mechanism for Urban Regeneration* cit., p. 9. (The author refers to the work by K. Lynch, *A Theory of Good City Form*, Cambridge 1981).

51 See K. Frysztacki, *Między przestrzenią a publicznością miejską,* in Jałowiecki, Majer, Szczepański (eds.), *Przemiany miasta* cit., p. 152.

52 The term "point of no return" was proposed by Hugo Swinnen of the Verwey-Jonker Research Institute, a partner in the Demos project supported by the European Commission, 5th Framework Programme called "Cities of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage".

53 In a text quoted frequently above, J. Montgomery emphasised the importance of the 'cluster' for the process of reviving so-called cultural quarters. The term itself refers to M. Porter's *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, London 1990, but worth noticing is the similarity of such a grouping to the concept of *distretto industriale* – the industrial district – characteristic for central and northern Italy, a tradition which is believed today to be one of the most important driving forces in the development of the contemporary city (see e.g. F. Brioschi, G. Cainelli (eds.), *Diffusione e caratteristiche dei gruppi di piccole e medie imprese nelle aree distrettuali. Dove va il distretto industriale?*, Milano

2001).

54   See Znaniecki, *Socjologiczne podstawy ekologii ludzkiej* cit., p. 91.

55   See A. Wallis, *Socjologia przestrzeni*, Warsaw 1977.

56   J. Wódz, *Społeczna rola przestrzeni – wprowadzenie do rozważań socjologicznych nad przestrzenią*, in Id. (ed.), *Przestrzeń znacząca. Studia socjologiczne*, Katowice 1989, p. 22.

57   L. Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda. Immagini e racconti del Ticinese a Milano*, Milan 1999; L. Bovone, M. Magatti, E. Mora, G. Rovati, *Intraprendere cultura. Rinnovare la città*, Milan 2002.

58   I was able to utilize the work of students of the Institute of Sociology of the Jagiellonian University who conducted tens of interviews in Kazimierz with its residents, patrons of local cafés and restaurants, and business people. Not only did a few of these contain information I found highly interesting, but they were also very carefully written down, which made it possible for me to include them in full in my analysis.

59   I use an asterisk (*) to mark quotations from interviews conducted and published by the Centro.

60   As literature focused on the question of metropolises is abundant, I shall mention only a few of the most basic texts: M. Castells' famous *The Urban Question. A Marxist Approach*, London 1977 and *The Informational City. Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process*, Oxford 1989; G. Martinotti (ed.), *La dimensione metropolitana*, Bologna 1999; F. Moulaert, A. Rodriguez, E. Swyngedouw (eds.), *The Globalized City. Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarization in European Cities*, Oxford 2003; in Poland, the question of metropolises is dealt with especially by B. Jałowiecki (e.g.: *Społeczna przestrzeń metropolii* cit.). For obvious reasons, metropolitan issues often become the subject of American analyses and research, see e.g. S. Sassen, *The Global City. New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton 1991, A. J. Scott, *Metropolis: From the Division of Labor to Urban Form*, Berkeley 1990.

61   Sassen, *The Global City* cit.

62   K. Frysztacki, *Miasta metropolitarne i ich przedmieścia,* Kraków 1997, p. 24.

63   Researchers examining the development of Milan agree as to significance of the policy (also urban planning) of the Viscontis (L. Gambi, M. C. Gozzoli, *Le città nella storia d'Italia. Milano*, Rome - Bari 1982, pp. 2, 77–78).

64   See the differentiation is suggested by J. Rémy, namely *centration* – the significant point of reference, of symbolic importance for the community, and *centralité* – a specific place in the physical space; after Wódz, *Społeczna rola przestrzeni* cit.

65   Worth quoting here is the work by K. Frysztacki entitled *Organizacja życia społecznego w społeczności wielkomiejskiej (studium wybranych grup mieszkańców Krakowa)*, Wrocław 1982, resulting from broad research project conducted in the first half of the 1970s. The analysis of functions of the Main Market Square (and more generally – of the centre of Krakow) in the daily life of its residents, corroborates its unwavering primary position in the city's geography (see *ibid*., pp. 100–106).

66   This observation shows the speed of change in urban reality: the shops mentioned here could not have been envisaged in Ticinese even two or three years ago. During my stay in Milan in 2005, having already finished writing this part of my work, I noticed at least a few boutiques with such brands. Nonetheless I decided to leave this observation to help grasp the pace and direction of change.

67 *Darsena* (Italian) – wet dock.

68 Quotations come from "Gazeta Wyborcza w Krakowie", local supplement to Polish national daily (11 July 2003).

69 See articles and statements concerning the idea in the issue of "Gazeta Wyborcza w Krakowie", quoted above.

70 In this part, I make use of the information contained in analyses conducted by Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit., and A. Mazzette, *I mutamenti urbani: pianificazione formale e pratiche reali*; both in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit. The authors, and especially Vargiu, refer to the following work: E. Salzano (ed.), *Cinquantanni dalla legge urbanistica italiana*, 1942–1992, Rome 1993.

71 See G. Campos Venuti, *La terza generazione dell'urbanistica*, Milan 1988, Id., *Un secolo di urbanistica a Milano*, Milan 1990, after Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit., p. 45.

72 An interview with historian and sociologist Primo Moroni, in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit., p. 262 (annex).

73 I used especially J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, vol. 1, Krakow 1992; J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Małecki, *Kraków w wiekach XVI-XVIII*, vol. 2, Krakow 1994; J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Małecki, *Kraków w latach 1796–1918*, vol. 3, Krakow 1994; A. Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w latach 1939–45*, vol. 5, Krakow 2002.

74 This and the following quotes are based on Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., pp. 238–258.

75 See *ibid*., p. 240. The document of the Charter itself suggests that the King "was planning to charter the city anew" (*de novo incepimus locandam*), as if it had already been chartered before. He granted the law of Magdeburg to the *civibus ibidem commorantibus* – i.e. also to the burghers living there already. It is therefore to be understood that there had been certain urban elements (in the economic sense) present within the area of Kazimierz, and that it was a place of residence for artisans. The organisation of any municipality definitely preceded the privilege issued by King Kazimierz, which in itself was the completion of the chartering process rather than its opening."

76 See *ibid*., p. 238. Wyrozumski refers to the works by J. Szujski, S. Kutrzeba, F. Piekosiński, J. Dąbrowski, and others.

77 *Ibid*., pp. 238–239.

78 Developed initially was mostly the *suburbium* by Wawel Castle (today's Stradom), where monastic orders (the Brownfriars in the 15th, and Missionaries in the 17th century) settled; the lands stretching to the east functioned as the agricultural base, until the end of the 19th century; early in the 20th, they began to change their face and were filled with industrial development including the famous Schindler's Works (Podgórze).

79 R.F. Scharf, *Poland, What have I to do with Thee… essays without Prejudice*, Krakow 1999, p. 33.

80 *Ibid*., p. 31.

81 *Ibid*., p. 184.

82 Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., p. 95.

83 *Ibid*., p. 98.

84 Established by German authorities "so as to fulfil with unconditional obedience our [i.e. of the SS] orders and carry out our commands accurately in an accurate manner".

85   Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., p. 105.

86   *Ibid.*, pp. 107–108.

87   *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110.

88   "Gazeta Wyborcza", national daily, 29 June 2001; „Gazeta Wyborcza", national daily, 22–23 June 2002, quotation after Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., p. 113.

89   While reconstructing the history of Ticinese presented below I based my work primarily on the following sources: *Il Naviglio Grande*, Associazione del Naviglio Grande, Milano 2002; and the texts included in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit., and especially Mazzette, *I mutamenti urbani* cit. and Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit. I also refer to A. Vailati, *La Vecchia Milano nel Cuore. Racconti*, Milano 2000, and B. Pellegrino, *Porta Ticinese*, Milano 1996.

90   Pellegrino, *Porta Ticinese* cit., p. 3.

91   Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit., p. 47.

92   See Mazzette, *I mutamenti urbani* cit p. 59 (Mazzette refers to P. Sica, *Storia dell'urbanistica. L'Ottocento*, Bari 1980)

93   See L. Gambi., M. C. Gozzoli., *Le città nella storia d'Italia* cit., pp. 300 – 309.

94   Mazzette refers mostly to P. Sica, *Storia dell'urbanistica* cit., p. 519. (See Mazzette, *I mutamenti urbani* cit., p. 60.)

95   Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit, p. 48.

96   See *ibid.*, p. 48. Already early in the 20th century, the city was divided into Administrative Tax Districts (*Mandamenti Amministrativi*), stretching to the tax border established in 1898. In its south western part "the tax area" of the city ended by the present viale Cassala – viale Liguria – viale Tibaldi ring-road. Outside the tax line, the area was divided into "rural divisions" (*Riparti Rurali*) stretching to the territorial borders of the municipality. The territory within Porta Ticinese was comprised in the Third Tax District – highly heterogeneous historically, socially and architecturally. Following a comment of Andrea Vargiu, *ibid.* "it is not a coincidence that the statistical sources for 1911 refer to the division of the area into tax districts, and distinguish within it two subdistricts, one of which is defined as the 'Urban Zone' (covering the area between the internal moats and Spanish walls), and the other as the 'Suburban Zone' stretching from the Spanish walls to the external border of the tax zone".

97   K. Lynch, *L'image de la cité*, Paris 1976, after: B. Jałowiecki, *Koncepcja schematu wyjaśniającego społeczne wytwarzanie przestrzeni oraz jego ewolucja*, in M. Malikowski, S. Solecki (eds.), *Społeczeństwo i przestrzeń zurbanizowana: teksty źródłowe*, Rzeszów 1999, p. 52.

98   This is included in a chapter under a significant title, namely, *La Pusterla dei Fabbri, prima vittima della speculazione edilizia di questo secolo* [The Smiths' Gate – the first victim of speculations in the real estate market of the [20th] century]. See Pellegrino, *Porta Ticinese* cit.

99   *Ibid.*, p. 9.

100   *Ibid.*, p. 9.

101   *Ibid.*, p. 9.

102   See G.Rovati, *I cambiamenti sociali: tra ristruturazione abitativa e gentrification*, in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit., pp. 83–85.

103 From the recollections of the parish priest: "I came here towards the end of the 1977. And I found 12 groups of political extremists within my parish; the groups came to an agreement and were fairly well provided. Members of these groups were mostly not the children of the bourgeoisie or the upper middle-class, but the offspring of workers and peasants, who committed acts of cruelty in abundance, as for example violence and assaults." (From an interview contained in "Appendice" in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda*, p. 276.)

104 Mora, *Come studiare un quartiere: problemi di fonti e di metodi*, in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit., p. 221.

105 Scharf, *Poland, what have I to do with thee...* cit., p. 184.

106 In Poland and abroad, Kazimierz was developing its brand mostly thanks to Spielberg's *Schindler's List* and thanks to the annual Jewish Culture Festival. In both the local and national scale, Ticinese builds its brand especially on the exhibitions of painting, and antique fairs and markets held along the canals and attracting artists and customers from all over Italy. During the last three years, the Ticinese appeared a number of times in Polish media (spacious independent articles or chapters devoted to the district in tourist magazines and in the "Twój Styl" women's magazine). Observation of foreign tourist traffic around the Navigli justifies the belief that the reach of the brand is far greater.

107 Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit., p. 51.

108 A "casa di ringhiera" is a tenement in which the halls connecting the individual dwellings (1-2 rooms, bathroom in common) take the form of long open balconies at each floor on the inner courtyard.

109 Vargiu, *Confini fluttuanti* cit., pp. 54–55.

110 Istat - *L'Istituto nazionale di statistica* [National Institute of Statistics].

111 Especially tragic for Krakow's Jews were the years 1941–1942. The intensive anti-Semitic propaganda was propoagated to legitimate the murder (See e.g. Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., pp. 97–162) continued after the war, and provided the grounds for Communist propaganda.

112 When the war was over, many surviving Jews returned to Krakow; however, the anti-Semitic attitudes forced them to emigrate, which they did especially after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The scale of their exodus can be seen in the official censuses of Krakow population: in 1945, Krakow was inhabited by 500 Jews, in 1947, by 20.000, and in 1950 by 4.000. A. Legutko-Ołownia, *Krakowski Kazimierz. Miasto rozstań i powrotów*, Krakow 2004, p. 61.

113 Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., p. 447.

114 Although from the formal point of view, all these events (e.g. the opening of the Center for Jewish culture) may be dated in detail, it is to be remembered that they are the result of works of an almost clandestine character, planned at least a few years earlier.

115 From the minutes of panel discussion *Kazimierz – the Strategic Zone*, in "*Perspektywy rozwoju Kazimierza*", seminar report, Zeszyty Krakowskiego Instytutu Nieruchomości, Krakow 2002, p. 35.

116 Resolution of the National Council of the City of Krakow No. XXXVII/157/87 of 25 March 1987.

117 In the opinion of a representative of the Krakow Municipal Office (confirmed by most experts who I have talked to): "Doubtlessly, even today this document is of great value, but of a historic nature. Its provisions use terminology that does not fit present-day reality. Its provisions repeatedly refer

directly to the status of real estate existing at the time when the plan was developed. For an investor interested in renovation of a building these provisions impose limitations that are often incomprehensible. In some cases they may even prevent the implementation of certain investment plans." (S. Kozłowski, *"Wydział Architektury, Geodezji i Budownictwa UMK a działania na rzecz rewitalizacji Kazimierza"*, in *Perspektywy rozwoju Kazimierza* cit, p. 23).

[118] *Kazimierz Action Plan, A European Union, ECOS Funded Project carried out by the Cities of Cracow, Edinburgh and Berlin, 1993-94* [D. Cameron, Z. Zuziak, B. Krasnowolski, K. Trafas, M. Walczak, D. Beveridge, G. Gainey, D. Leslie, D. Geffers, J. Knoop (eds.)] (unpublished materials of the Municipality of Krakow).

[119] The reports of the Municipality of Krakow of 2004 repeat the information from the tables discussed. (By the way, the reports confuse the percentage of apartments in buildings of certain age with the mix of buildings of a certain age, yet everything is properly quantified with "approx.")

[120] K. Trafas, *Plan działań na rzecz rewitalizacji Kazimierza – sukcesy i porażki*, in *Perspektywy rozwoju Kazimierza* cit., pp. 15-16.

[121] The plans of 1987 remained in force until 2002; and in 2004, the Krakow Municipal Council approved the Resolution No. XLVIII/463/04 defining general criteria for selection and classification of drafting local topical spatial management (zoning) plans. ("They are now being prepared quickly and hurriedly. It is pure madness," one of the officials admitted).

[122] Let me add that both during the interview and in numerous public addresses, my interlocutor emphasised that the idea of the Centre could only be fulfilled after the change of the system and thanks to American financial aid, which covered 90% of costs.

[123] Report entitled *Dzielnica Kazimierz w oczach mieszkańców*, VRG Strategy, pp. 15-16.

[124] Unfortunately, there were also cases that allow casting a doubt on absolute observance of these limitations and rules. The most spectacular example of this is the investment in 12 Szeroka Street, as discussed below in this work.

[125] The case of the house at 12 Szeroka Street has become quite infamous. The Municipality sold it for a token price to the Nissenbaum Foundation on condition that the Foundation restore it, which the Foundation never did. When it fell into disrepair, the Foundation sold it to an investor who, being in possession of appropriate permits from the Heritage Preservation Officer, added two storeys to the building.

[126] Based on Rovati, *I cambiamenti sociali* cit, p. 91.

[127] Albertini's account, after Mazette, *I mutamenti urbani* cit., p. 63, which quotes D. Franchi, D. Chiumeo, *Urbanistica a Milano in regime fascista*, Florence 1872.

[128] L. Ruggerone, P. Volonté, *Vicolo Calusca: storia di un isolato*, in Bovone (ed.), *Un quartiere alla moda* cit., p. 206.

[129] The text refers here to the "temporary" places of residence, known in Italy under the colloquial name of "residential parking lots".

[130] See Ruggerone, Volonté , *Vicolo Calusca* cit., pp. 210-211.

[131] Reference to *Milano da bere*, a slogan reflecting the wave of consumerist attitudes that began noticeable early in the 1980s. E. Mora offers a very interesting analysis of the phenomenon in the chapter entitled "Stili di vita e consumi a Milano: città da bere", in E. Mora, *Culture metropolitane.*

Attraverso la Milano degli anni Novanta, Milan 2001. *Milano da bere* may be considered analogous to *Kraków – stolicą kulinarną Polski* [lit: Krakow: the Gourmet Capital of Poland] that has for a number of years been used to advertise a city, and that became a catchphrase that, not without a hint of irony, describes changes in the lifestyles of both residents and tourists visiting the "Cultural Capital".

[132] See especially the texts contained in: L. Bovone, M. Magati, E. Mora, G. Rovati, *Intraprendere cultura. Rinnovare la città*, Milano 2002, and devoted to the links between the renewal of urban space, the so-called culture industries, and new forms of entrepreneurship, analysed on the basis of the Ticinese.

[133] Mazzette, *I mutamenti urbani* cit., p. 76.

[134] The analysis of this phenomenon provided by N. Smith (*The New Urban Frontier*, cit.) is useful as it brings out the characteristic elements and stages of the process, and even though the empirical material refers to an American (USA) reality, a large proportion of comments and conclusions are valid for European cities.

[135] M. Weber, *Wirtchsaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, Tübingen 1972 (*Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, Warsaw 2002), p. 773. Weber explains that this is the layer or strata, "to which the ruler would initially fall back in his strife against the lords, and [therefore the ruler] made all the 'self-government' offices fall into their power, even though he would later become more dependent on it himself. The gentry held all the offices of local administration, as they held them free of charge in the interest of own social power. This was the stratum that saved England from bureaucratisation, which became the fate of all continental states." *Ibid.*, pp. 1030–1031).

[136] In the case of Kazimierz, the most recent data on population date back to 1998, and are to this day used by the Municipal Facility for Social Services (MOPS) and the Department of Residential Affairs of the Municipal Office; following the estimates provided by municipal officers, the latest data concerning the volume of population do not differ significantly from those dating back to the late 1990s, as the newly renovated space is often used for purposes other than residential. This means that the lively construction and renovation trend, combined with high demand for flats and apartments does not result in increased density.

[137] Chwalba noticed that during the 1931 census, 45.800 people (20.95% of Krakow's population) considered Hebrew or Yiddish their native language, while the number of persons declaring their denomination as Jewish was higher, and amounted to 56.500. Before the war and in its first days, the count of the Jewish population increased, as documented in the statistics conducted on the orders of the Nazi occupant (21 November 1939). Traditionally, most Jews resided in Kazimierz and the neighbouring streets, and a large share in Podgórze. See Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa* cit., p. 95.

[138] Scharf, *Poland, What have I to do with Thee* cit., p. 19.

[139] The data for Kazimierz are based on *Kazimierz Action Plan* and materials from MOPS, the data for Kraków are based on *Rocznik statystyczny Miasta Krakowa 1970*, City Statistical Office, Kraków 1970; and the censuses: *Narodowy Spis Powszechny z dnia 6 XII 1988, Ludność, warunki mieszkaniowe, Miasto Kraków, Województwo Krakowskie*, Chief Statistical Office, Warsaw 1990; *Narodowy Spis Powszechny z dnia 6 XII 1988, Ludność i warunki mieszkaniowe, Dzielnica Kraków*

– *Śródmieście, Województwo Krakowskie*, Chief Statistical Office, Warsaw 1990.

[140] J. Antecka, in "Dziennik Polski" , local daily – the supplement: "Pejzaż", 14 June 2003.

[141] Data acquired from the Housing Department of the Municipality of Krakow in 2004.

[142] A major fall of the population in the centres of West European cities that became evident after "the three golden decades" was explained by the degradation of space, yet the phenomenon of sub-urbanisation may not be considered in isolation from the process of middle-class formation, its economic progress, lifestyles (car, house with a garden). In Anglophone countries, gentrification is pointed to as a process "opposite" to suburbanisation; see Smith, *The New Urban Frontier* cit.

[143] For the forms that have replaced the traditional family in late modern society, see e.g. K. Slany, *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie*, Krakow 2002.

[144] From the VRG Strategy report.

[145] All the data concerning the populations of Ticinese and Milan are based on Rovati, *I cambiamenti sociali* cit., pp. 83–119.

[146] Based on *ibid.*, p. 94.

[147] Based on *ibid.*, p. 99.

[148] *Conca* is Italian for a valley, basin, jug, and washtub.

[149] PSI stands for the Italian Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Italiano*) and PCI for the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano*).

[150] Mazzette, *I mutamenti urbani* cit., p. 73., writing about the ties between urban planning policies and Milanese left, Mazzette refers to P. Gabellini, C. Morandi (ed.), *Progetto urbanistico e sinistra a Milano negli anni '70*, Milan 1985.

[151] In the context of Poland, the number and distinctiveness of architects, perceived as a social group, is hard to imagine. In the life of Italy, they are both a major and significant social group.

[152] Mora, *Culture metropolitane* cit., p. 119.

[153] See Rovati, *I cambiamenti sociali* cit., p. 101.

[154] Data from this research is quoted in the following chapter focusing on the changes in activity in Ticinese.

[155] See Rovati, *I cambiamenti sociali* cit., pp. 95–97.

[156] See Ruggerone, Volonté, *Vicolo Calusca* cit., pp. 192–194.

[157] Unfortunately, Grafy in Rovati, *I cambiamenti sociali* cit., p. 96 presenting the population in 1996 does not provide numerical values, and the 'visual' differences in the charts are almost imperceptible.

[158] See A. Bagnasco, *Tre Italie: La problematica territoriale dello sviluppo italiano*, Bologna 1977.

[159] Brioschi, Cainelli, *Introduzione,* in Id. (eds.), *Diffusione e caratteristiche* cit., pp.1–3.

[160] See R. Camagni, R. Capello, *Milieux innovateurs e processi di apprendamento collettivo*, in Brioschi, Cainelli (eds.), *Diffusione e caratteristiche* cit., pp. 284–285.

[161] The respondent is talking about the milleu associated with Znak (independent publishing house), "Więź" (monthly founded by a group of lay Catholics) and "Tygodnik Powszechny" (Catholic socio-cultural weekly). All these initiatives used to create the opposition during the Communist

period.

[162] Based on Legutko-Ołownia, *Krakowski Kazimierz* cit., pp. 230–237.

[163] As members of the Jewish Commune claim, only one restaurant (from among a few that advertise as such) offers kosher food.

[164] This is the name that many locals and new arrivals alike give to Plac Nowy; the only name under which it operates in the minds of traditional residents.

[165] Based on Statuto dell'Associazione del Naviglio Grande.

[166] Data on the basis of information materials of the Associazione del Naviglio Grande.

[167] Based on M. Magatti, *L'Industria culturale nel Ticinese. Un'analisi della demografia imprenditoriale*, in Bovone, Magatti, Mora, Rovati, *Intraprendere cultura* cit., pp. 59–72.

[168] See R. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy,* Princeton 1993; among works of Polish sociologists worth mentioning is Giza-Poleszczuk, Marody, Rychard (eds.), *Strategie i system* cit.

[169] See e.g J. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory*, Cambridge 1990; J. Coleman, *Podstawy teorii decyzji grupowych*, in M. Kempny, J. Szmatka (eds.). *Współczesne teorie wymiany społecznej,* Warszawa 1992; Sztompka (ed.). *Imponderabilia wielkiej zmiany* cit; Id., Sztompka, *Trust* cit.

[170] What I do not consider here is the individualist approach to social capital proposed by P. Bourdieu who, referring to the class vision of society, differentiates economic, cultural and social capital. For Bourdieu, social capital is a network of personal relations that may be activated directly by the individual to achieve his/her goal and improve his/her social standing. See P. Bourdieu, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, Geneva 1972.

[171] See J. Coleman, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, "American Journal of Sociology", Vol. 94 Supplement, 1988, p. 98.

[172] See R. Putnam, Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital, "*Journal of Democracy*", Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1995, pp. 65–78.

[173] See Id., *Making Democracy Work* cit..

[174] Social capital is formed and passed through such cultural mechanisms as religion, tradition or habits; see Fukuyama, *Trust* cit.

[175] *Ibid*. According to Fukuyama, social capital may equally well take root in a family, being the smallest and basic social group, and in a much larger section of the society, in entire societies, and in all the other intermediary types of groups.

[176] *Ibid*.

[177] A classical work on the subject is D. Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia. The Business of Private Protection*, London 1993; and among the analyses referring to contemporary Poland, the problem of 'dirty capital' is particularly well portrayed by K. Gadowska (*Zjawisko klientelizmu polityczno-ekonomicznego. Systemowa analiza powiązań sieciowych na przykładzie przekształceń sektora górniczego w Polsce*, Krakow 2002).

[178] See Sztompka, *Zaufanie: warunek podmiotowości społeczeństwa,* cit.

[179] See Id., *Trust,* cit.

[180] *Kazimierz Action Plan*, cit.

181 Kazimierz Local Office was established in December 1994 on the grounds of the agreement between the Municipality of Krakow and the Krakowskie Forum Rozwoju Association. To quote the contemporary director of the Office, its "operation (...) focused (...) to a great extent on 'social revitalization', although not without reference to 'physical revitalization'", M. Walczak, "Biuro Lokalne Kazimierz jako instrument rewitalizacji", in *Perspektywy rozwoju Kazimierza* cit., p. 31.

182 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

183 D. Rodwell, *The Revitalisation of World Heritage Cities in Central and Eastern Europe. Extracts from a report by Denis Rodwell for the UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, March-April 1999, in *Perspektywy rozwoju Kazimierza* cit., p.59.

184 During the unrecorded talks following the meeting, the entrepreneurs said jokingly: "Why don't they let us open café gardens in Nowy Square", and added in a more serious tone: "May they stop disturbing us!"

185 Much attention was devoted to the changes in Kazimierz by the local supplement of "Gazeta Wyborcza" daily, which provided provocative headlines for articles (e.g. the "Kazimierz. Reaktywacja" series of June 2003) and opinion polls (e.g. *Knajpiany Disnayland – sonda na temat Kazimierza* of 23 June 2003, and used quotes from interviews, for example the frequently repeated quote from one of the culture animators: "This place has prostituted itself!" After a series of enthusiastic articles concerning the changes in Kazimierz, the discussion in the on-line forum was initiated by the following statement: "The post office and library have been liquidated, the tenements are falling to pieces, and in return there are new establishments opening. Today, Krakow's Kazimierz is a chaos, where there is ever less space for residents." ("Gazeta Wyborcza", 23 June 2003).

186 I am using here the title of a series of meetings organised by the Centre for Jewish Culture in 2003.

187 A resident refers to the idea of one of the councillors, who presented in the local media his own plan of establishing a separate District of Kazimierz.

188 The quotations above come from official minutes of the Municipality of 24 June 2003.

189 Quite naturally, the members of the District Council of District One most involved in the matters of Kazimierz are those who either reside there or hold executive posts. For this reason, wherever I refer to the District Council, I refer to these persons (I interviewed two key personages, and one of them on a number of occasions).

190 An argument could be the statement by the director of a cultural institution, part of which calls for no financial outlay, and yet: "residents of Kazimierz take the least profit, they are marginalised in all this development of the new situation in Kazimierz; they are "uninteresting". They perceive it along these lines: "Oh, yes, there is no rest in the evening and at night, and in the bygone days everything was dirty, but at least everything was calm and known."

191 Interview conducted in March 2004.

192 These observations are completely unfounded and represent only the opinion of the interviewee (see below, Chapter IV).

193 Based on the report entitled "Dzielnica Kazimierz w oczach mieszkańców" by VRG Strategy.

194 See e.g. P. Gliński, *O pewnych aspektach obywatelskości*, in H. Domański, A. Ostrowska, A. Rychard (eds.*), Jak żyją Polacy*, Warsaw 2000, p. 363. and P. Gliński, *Aktywność aktorów społecznych – deficyt*

obywatelstwa wobec codziennej zaradności Polaków, in Wesołowski, Włodarek (eds.), *Kręgi integracji i rodzaje tożsamości* cit.

[195] This is how the same (i.e. so-called consultations with the society) is recounted by a member of the District Council: "In November, or was it in October, we organised A Day Without the Car, and there was the consultation, it was displayed there for an entire week... tents, where people could become acquainted with the blueprint for changing traffic organisation, we consulted over the media, over out local press, over the Internet... on the issue... whether to introduce parking fees in Kazimierz. 80% of the residents said "no". The Council accepted the "no". The will of the residents, of their majority, was sanctioned. So consultation has a place and an objective, for I believe that the reason behind the establishment of the district is to organise and cooperate with the residents of the given district. It simply acts to relay their will."

[196] The example of the Kazimierz.com association illustrated far-reaching inclusiveness: its members include university staff and secondary school students, the well off and the unemployed. Even the condition for membership is the readiness to act for the good of Kazimierz and not the fact that one lives in the district.

[197] To quote one of the respondents: "people who could not assimilate to the place would come here. For earlier, only the people who liked the place would come here, and later the place began to be known... in Krakow or in Poland... and people who believed that it is chic to be here, "the place is known, so it is becoming to show up here".

[198]   Hotel owners or managers admitted that, as the operation of hotels is tourist-oriented (and to a great extent foreign tourist-oriented), their contact with the residents and daily life of the district is limited.

[199] This aspect was noticeable in the letters addressed to the Mayor of the City and to the Voivodship Heritage Preservation Officer; the authors of the letters were representatives of the Kazimierz.com Associations mentioned earlier.

[200] See e.g. D. Wincenty, *Brudny kapitał społeczny – społeczne uwarunkowania i zagrożenia dla demokracji*, in M. S. Szczepański, A. Śliz (eds.) *Obywatel w lokalnej społeczności. Studia i szkice socjologiczne*, Tychy - Opole 2004, pp. 69–73.

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Estratto (Italian Summary)

Il presente studio ha per oggetto il processo di trasformazione oggi in corso in quegli spazi urbani che hanno conservato la loro identità locale grazie al fatto che nel Novecento si sono trovati per vari motivi (p.e. economici, politici) al margine della società contemporanea. Tale marginalità è stata da un lato la causa del loro degrado fisico, economico e spesso sociale, d'altra parte ha contribuito alla conservazione dei valori locali. In epoca tardomoderna si riscontra una rinascita di questi luoghi che vengono spesso deliberatamente scelti come luoghi di residenza e lavoro e anche preferiti per il tempo libero. Il valore locale conservato viene attivato e sfruttato anche attraverso meccanismi di provenienza extra-locale. L'unione di idee, valori e forme facenti capo a due dimensioni - una locale ed una globale – porta a nuovi elementi e modelli culturali che da un livello 'micro' penetrano in un giro sociale più vasto. Nel dibattito sociale un simile "ritorno alla vita" dello spazio degradato, trascurato, "malfamato" viene definito come riqualificazione dello spazio urbano. In primo luogo, il mio obiettivo è stato quello di costruire un modello teoretico di descrizione e spiegazione del processo di riqualificazione dello spazio urbano; in secondo luogo, quello di esaminare nell'ambito del modello proposto, due aree urbane: il quartiere di Kazimierz a Cracovia e il quartiere Ticinese a Milano. Kazimierz, città autonoma fino alla fine del Settecento e oggi parte del centro di Cracovia, è noto come il terreno di coesistenza di due tradizioni: quella ebraica e quella cristiana. Questa situazione fu interrotta bruscamente dallo sterminio degli ebrei durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale. Il degrado fisico e simbolico del quartiere si aggravò nel dopoguerra fino agli anni Settanta. La seconda metà degli anni Novanta del ventesimo secolo segnò una nuova tappa nell'esistenza di Kazimierz. Il quartiere divenne molto popolare e attivo grazie alla comparsa di nuovi utenti. Anche il Ticinese è entrato a far parte di Milano in senso amministrativo soltanto alla fine dell'Ottocento. Per secoli la sua economia si basò principalmente sull'attività artigianale e commerciale, e nel Novecento anche sul lavoro operaio. Negli anni Novanta, a seguito del processo di deindustrializzazione che ha riguardato tutta l'area milanese, i quartiere si è convertito ai modelli tardomoderni di produzione e consumo tipici della cultura metropolitana.

La metodologia qualitativa mi è sembrata la più adatta per la conoscenza e comprensione dei processi verificatisi nei due quartieri. Nello studio dei due quartieri e nello svolgimento dell'analisi comparativa mi sono avvalsa soprattutto dei dati raccolti tramite interviste, osservazione partecipante e documentazione fotografica, nonché

dei materiali frutto delle ricerche condotte dal *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale* dell'Università Cattolica di MiIano e di vari altri dati forniti dalle autorità locali delle due parti coinvolte.

La riqualificazione dell'area urbana è trattata nel presente studio come un particolare tipo di cambiamento in cui fenomeni e processi sociali, culturali, economici e politici, micro e macro, vanno ad accumularsi e potenziandosi a vicenda. Pertanto il fondamento delle mie ricerche è costituito soprattutto dalle teorie riguardanti il cambiamento sociale definito in base alle categorie della „strutturazione" (A.Giddens) e della „ società in divenire" (P.Sztompka). Ritengo che gli attori sociali sia individuali che collettivi intraprendano delle azioni sulla base della definizione di una situazione che dipende dalle condizioni preesistenti, dalle motivazioni e dagli obiettivi dell'intervento, mentre la loro attività riorganizza di riflesso il contesto in cui si inseriscono. La società viene trattata come un insieme dinamico, una risultante dell'attività dei soggetti e degli elementi situazionali in cui essi si sono trovati ad operare. Dunque la riqualificazione dello spazio è intesa non come uno stato di crisi ma come un processo dinamico di definizione e ridefinizione dell'ambiente sociale da parte dei soggetti operanti. Ho contestualizzato il processo di rivitalizzazione nell'insieme più vasto dei cambiamenti sociali connessi alla deindustrializzazione e all'entrata della società in una fase in cui la cultura sta divenendo il capitale della 'nuova industria'. La riqualificazione è legata ai fattori economici, ma il carattere di tali legami può essere afferrato e compreso soltanto tramite la ricostruzione dei cambiamenti verificatisi al livello della coscienza e della cultura. Nella tarda modernità la globalizzazione e lo sviluppo tecnologico tendono a separare l'individuo dal luogo, e compromettono i legami sussistenti tra il luogo e il tempo. La vita quotidiana è influenzata dalle nuove interdipendenze createsi tra la dimensione globale e quella locale, imponendo continue scelte aggravate per altro dal rischio di fallimento. La riflessività diventa una pratica di routine indispensabile a costruire l'identità dell'individuo. L'individuo riesce ad intervenire in una situazione colma di dilemmi, di incognite e di rischio solo grazie alla fiducia in grado di ridurre il timore. Un aiuto di tipo psicologico viene anche dal recupero della tradizione che permette all'individuo di piantare radici, di assumere il controllo sulla propria vita (oppure di aumentare la sensazione del controllo), di trovare un contrappeso alla realtà globale non soggetta all'esperienza diretta. Ho supposto che la scelta cosciente, di vivere in una zona degradata ma dotata di un esplicito codice culturale e di una propria tradizione, possa contribuire a una strategia di recupero di elementi del passato, creando un contesto favorevole alla costruzione dell'identità.

Il processo di rigenerazione dell'area urbana può essere visto come un indicatore del 'divenire' della società tardomoderna. Un tale processo si verifica (può verificarsi) in uno spazio le cui caratteristiche stimolano e rendono possibile l'attività degli attori – e viceversa: gli attori con i loro interventi contribuiscono alla riproduzione dello spazio urbano quale spazio sociale. La particolarità di tale processo dipende da tre fattori: 1) la riproduzione dello spazio avviene nel corso di una mobilitazione particolarmente intensa delle risorse disponibili nello spazio (in tal senso le azioni di rivitalizzazione comportano una specie di trasgressione culturale e sociale); 2) tra i soggetti attivi nello spazio si trovano i rappresentanti del 'vecchio' e del 'nuovo' sistema: individui, gruppi sociali e istituzioni che giocano, per usare metafora, in squadra, ma che stabiliscono diversamente le regole del gioco; 3) lo spazio in cui avviene il processo ha delle caratteristiche (risorse) che creano il contesto in cui i soggetti costruiscono il loro 'progetto di identità' (tali risorse sono composte soprattutto dal capitale sociale e dal capitale culturale). Tra queste tre caratteristiche situazionali/strutturali è riscontrabile un continuo collegamento da cui consegue il cambiamento qualitativo del contesto e dell'oggetto sottoposto ad intervento (ovvero dello spazio), delle risorse impiegate negli interventi nonché degli stessi attori in gioco, i quali incidono sul corso del processo pur rimanendo sottoposti all'influenza del medesimo. Il processo di riqualificazione costituisce dunque sia l'oggetto del cambiamento, sia il cambiamento stesso. Osservare tale processo vuol dire conoscere le fonti e la dinamica del processo di formazione dell'identità degli abitanti della città moderna , ma anche capire come l'identità dell'individuo partecipa alla trasformazione della realtà esterna.

Lo spazio sociale è inteso come un insieme dinamico caratterizzato da rapporti dialettici, composto da: 1) uno spazio fisico, 2) le azioni dei soggetti legati allo spazio, 3) il significato/i significati dello spazio. L'animazione dello spazio urbano si può rilevare in vari modi: una condizione sempre migliore delle forme tridimensionali (luoghi pubblici, di rilievo e di servizio nonché il loro adattamento alle richieste e alle aspettative sociali; la diversificazione delle funzioni tridimensionali); il cambiamento delle caratteristiche degli individui (incremento del loro capitale culturale e sociale) nonché dei gruppi sociali presenti nello spazio (ad es. l'aumento del capitale sociale collettivo); i rapporti sempre più forti tra la cultura e l'attività economica; le modifiche nelle mappe soggettive delle aree create dagli abitanti e dai consumatori (ad es. un evidente spostamento delle valutazioni, delle opinioni e delle associazioni di idee da pareri negativi verso altri positivi; il cambiamento del significato del quartiere dal 'passato' al 'presente'). L'operazionalismo dello spazio sociale è favorita

dai concetti di area naturale (nel senso della scuola di Chicago) e di area culturale (A.Wallis), ovvero di "una zona definita funzionalmente, soggetta all'interazione durevole e intensa tra l'insieme dei valori materiali, estetici e simbolici in essa raccolti e il gruppo concreto (società)".

Il materiale empirico è servito per trovare una risposta alle domande sugli stimoli e sul meccanismo di animazione dello spazio, sui protagonisti dei cambiamenti nonché sugli effetti del processo in questione. Ho trattato ciascun quartiere come un insieme dinamico, 'vivente', in cui dimensione fisica e dimensione socio-simbolica sono in costante collegamento, rendendo il quartiere al contempo contesto e soggetto delle azioni sociali.

Le ricerche confermano che il fattore che ha avuto funzioni rivitalizzanti nella sfera dello spazio fisico è stato il carattere di Kazimierz e del Ticinese quali aree culturali, definite sulla base della particolarità culturale e sociale degli abitanti di un tempo, nonché della stessa condizione dei quartieri, che costituivano una specie di 'isola' degradata nello spazio della città. Il perdurare del carattere suburbano dello spazio fisico (case di ringhiera, palazzi, piazzette, luoghi di mercato), gli edifici simbolo della cultura minoritaria (sinagoghe, mikvah) e gli stili di vita popolari (botteghe artigiane, mercato, osterie) hanno attirato nuovi abitanti della metropoli in cerca di uno spazio diverso, atipico, di un 'luogo dotato di memoria'. Il degrado, prima percepito quale difetto dello spazio, non solo ha cessato di costituire un fattore di disturbo, ma è stato addirittura riconosciuto quale atout. In entrambi i casi il degrado svolge anche oggi un ruolo fondamentale nel costruire l'identità dei quartieri, sebbene esso appartenga oramai praticamente al passato. Per Kazimierz e Ticinese tale passato inglorioso è funzionale: conferisce alla storia del quartiere il pregio dell'autenticità che costituisce un elemento del suo status, e conferisce anche un elemento di identità ai suoi abitanti. Per gli abitanti di un tempo il degrado è *nolens volens* una componente della loro biografia; per i nuovi abitanti è la componente di un mito da essi usato in un progetto di identificazione e di vita. In entrambi i casi il recupero del tessuto fisico dei due quartieri è stata realizzato principalmente grazie all'iniziativa e al capitale privato. Ciò ha comportato dei cambiamenti avvenuti in un tempo piuttosto breve, soprattutto a Kazimierz. La valutazione generale di tali cambiamenti non è però inequivocabilmente positiva, poiché lo spazio, divenendo gradualmente oggetto del gioco del libero mercato, ha iniziato a svilupparsi in maniera sbilanciata. Ciò è oggi osservabile soprattutto nel caso di Kazimierz, dove il rinnovo dei palazzi viene effettuato isolatamente, 'a macchia' (palazzi degradati confinano con altri rinnovati, mancanza di equilibrio fra la parte detta 'ebraica' e quella 'cristiana'). Si può

notare anche l'accentuarsi di alcune sproporzioni, intercorrenti fra le funzioni dello spazio. Nel caso del Ticinese negli anni '80 e '90 si è riusciti a conservare una certa polifunzionalità (funzione abitativa, ricreativa, di servizio e simili), e soltanto dalla fine degli anni Novanta lo spazio è stato ereditato dai locali di divertimento. Nel caso di Kazimierz il cambiamento di funzione degli edifici da abitazioni a luoghi di servizio (es. hotel) avviene assai rapidamente. Il caso di Kazimierz testimonia anche delle inattese conseguenze (non sempre obbiettivamente positive) dei cambiamenti indotti dal rinnovamento: da un lato abbiamo l'estetizzazione e l'aumentato valore dello spazio; dall'altro, tuttavia, il rapido ritmo dei cambiamenti, le lacune legali, la sensazione della mancanza di una visione globale e del controllo sulle trasformazioni in atto creano un clima favorevole all'abuso, ai conflitti e alle lotte per lo spazio.

La ' nuova vita' dei due quartieri è legata alla variazione del profilo demografico degli abitanti di cui è responsabile il processo di gentrificazione . Al Ticinese questa trasformazione ebbe inizio fra gli anni Settanta e Ottanta; a Kazimierz, più o meno alla metà degli anni Novanta, sebbene già negli anni Settanta questo quartiere risultasse già abitato dai rappresentanti dell'avanguardia artistica (ciò non ha però influito significativamente sull'immagine globalmente negativa di Kazimierz). In entrambi i casi è aumentato il numero dei soggetti partecipanti alla vita del quartiere e la loro varietà per quanto riguarda lo status sociale, la competenza, la provenienza e il ruolo istituzionale, nonché il genere di attività.

Anche nella dimensione degli interventi sono osservabili dei processi di cambiamento simili. Per prima cosa, nella nuova vitalità dei quartieri è visibile un certo ricollegarsi ai modelli di azione precedenti, nonché un loro consapevole impiego e riproduzione. Negli interventi individuali e di gruppo notiamo un'esplicita continuazione dell'attività delle generazioni precedenti. La funzione di tali interventi è destinata tuttavia a variare. Quel che un tempo era la quotidianità scontata e priva di alternative, diventa ora materia da impiegare in un progetto di vita avente un valore riconoscibile anche 'all'esterno' dell'area. La vecchia prosa del quartiere acquista lo status di leggenda, 'citazioni' dal passato legittimano e valorizzano le pratiche di oggi. La valorizzazione della cultura locale non è però sintomo di isolazionismo e di difesa della cultura rispetto all'esterno, ma vuole significare esattamente il contrario, poiché molta importanza è data anche agli elementi della cultura globale (simboli, tecniche e media). Un'ulteriore caratteristica comune ai processi di recupero dei quartieri è dunque il fatto che il contesto globale sia una delle fonti d'identità per i nuovi residenti e visitatori. Tra gli interventi un posto importante è occupato dalle pratiche legate alla cultura, alla produzione e al consumo di valori simbolici, di

cui fioriscono sempre nuove iniziative. Il motore principale dell'economia locale è costituito dai servizi di tale settore, la cui essenza risiede nel dialogo, nell'incontro e nello scambio con terzi. Se i contatti interpersonali sono fondamentali, la loro forma, la frequenza ed il contatto a distanza delle unità conduce all'instaurazione di dense reti sociali. La costituzione di una rete è visibile soprattutto al Ticinese, dove è favorita dal carattere dello spazio fisico (tra cui la vicinanza di abitazioni e botteghe, la collocazione di studi lungo canali); un secondo fattore, forse il più importante, è stata la tradizionale concentrazione delle iniziative (distretto industriale), che ha favorito la differenziazione delle attività imprenditoriali nonché il rafforzamento dei loro effetti . Dalle ricerche condotte sul Ticinese risulta anche che, dopo una lunga fase di venti anni in cui sorse e si rafforzò un nuovo profilo del quartiere (quartiere della cultura e dei servizi, delle nuove forme di attività sociale), l'immagine elaborata subì un processo di logoramento. Gli intervistati lamentano infatti l'eccessiva commercializzazione dell'area e l'allontanamento dalle tradizioni locali in direzione di una produzione e di un consumo di massa. Anche dalle ricerche condotte su Kazimierz risulta che questo luogo sia rinato quale spazio di un'intensiva comunicazione sociale: locali, piazze, mercati, risorgono come luoghi di riproduzione e consumo di beni simbolici, dove svariati attori si recano per soddisfare la necessità di contatti interpersonali, diffondere la cultura, svolgere un'attivià economica. Conseguentemente lo spazio viene colmato da una fitta rete di rapporti. E in relazione al carattere di tali interventi (che prendono la forma dello scambio simbolico) appare con evidenza la somiglianza che esiste fra Kazimierz e il Ticinese. Nel caso di Kazimierz è tuttavia fondamentale il fatto che il più vasto cambiamento culturale, giuridico e istituzionale, che aveva stimolato e reso possibile la trasformazione dell'area, in Polonia giunse a compimento in modo repentino e del tutto sbilanciato. Di conseguenza gli interventi effettuati a Kazimierz, come risposta alla necessità sociale, o stimolati dalla concorrenza e/o semplicemente dalla passione, ben presto innescarono un processo di diversificazione e di innovazione sempre maggiori. Tuttavia nel momento critico in cui per la formulazione dell' 'identità di Kazimierz' iniziarono a prevalere interessi particolari invece di modelli comuni e concordati, si creò una situazione di conflitto e la conseguente necessità di provvedimenti a tutela dell'area. Anche la funzione del quartiere sembrava messa in crisi: i valori locali come la cultura ebraica, l'atmosfera di apertura e di tolleranza, vennero inglobati dentro alla contesa per il diritto allo spazio, l'instaurazione di regole, il ricorso ai simboli.

Anche le osservazioni che riguardano i processi di costruzione e ricostruzione delle relazioni sociali testimoniano delle somiglianze e delle differenze, fondamentali

ed interessanti, che intercorrono fra il Ticinese e Kazimierz. In entrambi i casi gli intervistati notano la scomparsa dei vincoli comunitari che hanno attratto nuovi imprenditori ed abitanti, inaugurando così un processo di rivitalizzazione. Per concludere, questo processo può essere esaminato in base a diverse prospettive tra loro complementari. In una prospettiva ecologica è possibile riconoscere come la riqualificazione del quartiere sia la conseguenza di un sempre più rapido aumento dei nuovi abitanti e degli utenti del quartiere. In un'ottica di tipo 'economicistico, nei quartieri possiamo osservare un processo di commercializzazione dello spazio, dell'attività e delle relazioni sociali (un gioco di tipo capitalistico che prevede vincitori e vinti). Se invece ci soffermiamo sulla dimensione culturale, possiamo accorgerci di come i quartieri abbiano seguito destini diversi. Affrontando l'argomento da una prospettiva neoistituzionale, occorre prestare una particolare attenzione al grado di continuità e di coerenza dei valori e dei criteri che regolano la vita sociale. La 'dipendenza dal sistema' è indubbiamente un fattore determinante del carattere e della direzione del cambiamento, e questa regola trova riscontro in entrambi i quartieri. Nel caso di Kazimierz è osservabile lo scontro di due ordini politico-economici (da una parte il socialismo reale, dall'altra la democrazia e il capitalismo) come pure delle componenti sociali, percepite ancora come antagoniste, dei potenti e dei cittadini. Questi modelli storicamente plasmati influiscono ancora oggi sugli atteggiamenti (soprattutto degli strati più umili, che non sono riusciti a far propri i nuovi modelli), ma si sono create anche nuove fonti di diffidenza, derivanti dalla perdita del capitale di fiducia nei confronti di un'istituzione democratica. La diffidenza nei confronti del consiglio di autogestione locale nonché l'indifferenza per i propri concittadini non sono sempre una continuazione della diffidenza e dell'indifferenza tipiche del sistema precedente (ad es. molti degli intervistati non ricordano il sistema precedente a causa della loro giovane età). Lo sviluppo del Ticinese è avvenuto in modo molto più graduale. La relativa stabilità delle norme non deriva tuttavia, dalla 'memoria istituzionalizzata' quanto dalla 'memoria sociale', tramandata e conservata dai gruppi sociali che in tempi diversi si sono trasferiti al Ticinese. Nel processo di riqualificazione l'intervento delle istituzioni di autogestione è stato esiguo e si è limitato a caotiche decisioni urbanistiche Il Ticinese è cambiato dal basso, attraverso le attività individuali che hanno saputo instaurare delle reti sociali sufficientemente stabili. E' dunque merito dei nuovi intermediari di cultura, spesso con un elevato livello di istruzione e soprattutto appartenenti alla tradizione imprenditoriale locale, se il Ticinese è divenuto uno spazio per la costruzione di una identità territoriale e di una apertura ai nuovi valori. Quando il valore delle aree ha iniziato ad aumentare e sono

intervenuti i criteri del libero mercato, tale processo, distribuito nel tempo, a lungo non ha prodotto cambiamenti rivoluzionari nella sfera della cultura locale. Tuttavia nell'arco degli ultimi anni sono venute gradualmente meno quelle caratteristiche che costituivano la condizione *sine qua non* dell'esistenza della 'comunità del Ticinese': si sono indebolite le relazioni dirette ed intense, il senso dell'identità sociale e della sua costruzione lungo la linea che lega il passato al futuro. Il quartiere ha subito un forte cambiamento negli ultimi decenni del Ventesimo secolo, ma nello stesso tempo è stato conservato il nucleo della sua identità. Ciò che manca oggi è un forte gruppo sociale in grado di rafforzare efficacemente l'immagine del quartiere per il bene comune. Si è fatta avanti invece una folta schiera di individui che intendono sfruttare tale immagine per evidenti ragioni economiche.

La categoria della memoria sembra essere assolutamente fondamentale per chiarire la qualità delle relazioni sociali a Kazimierz. Dalle dichiarazioni degli intervistati risulterebbe che per i nuovi abitanti non è tanto importante il carattere 'museale' di Kazimierz, quanto la tradizione sociale che un tempo lo caratterizzava. La memoria del passato appare tuttavia ampiamente contaminata dall'immaginazione – essa è in grande misura una 'memoria prodotta'. Kazimierz possedeva e possiede tuttora un capitale culturale (di città e quartiere a carattere ebraico-cristano) eccezionale e spendibile a livello mondiale. Tale capitale è ancora vivo nella comunità, ma unicamente a mo' di leggenda, di mito sociale, di archetipo 'letterario'; la sua efficacia nella pratica quotidiana è scomparsa, si è esaurita prima della fine del secolo scorso. Nel caso di Kazimierz si è pervenuti ad un qui pro quo – ciò che era un 'racconto sul passato' è stato scambiato per un 'dato' ancora attuale.

Le ricerche confermano che certe categorie come l'area naturale/scientifica o l'identità del luogo non possono essere trattate quali fenomeni statici, e che lo stesso processo di riqualificazione o gentrificazione non è una semplice sequenza di cambiamenti. Il destino di entrambi i quartieri ha confermato l'interdipendenza degli elementi storici e delle condizioni contemporanee, delle proprietà strutturali e dell'interiorizzazione di tali proprietà, dell'orientamento normativo degli attori sociali e delle loro abitudini e convenzioni. I risultati ottenuti confermano inoltre che la riqualificazione dello spazio deve essere definita prima di tutto in termini idealtipici, come un modello dinamico che utile ad orientare gli interventi pratici e a valutare concretamente le condizioni dello spazio sociale.

Streszczenie (Polish Summary)

Przedmiotem pracy jest proces przemian zachodzący współcześnie w tych przestrzeniach miasta, które zachowały lokalną tożsamość, najczęściej dzięki temu, że w XX wieku z rozmaitych powodów (np. ekonomicznych, politycznych) znalazły się na marginesie społeczeństwa nowoczesnego. Skutkiem marginalizacji były, z jednej strony, ich fizyczna, ekonomiczna, często społeczna degradacja, a z drugiej petryfikacja wartości lokalnych. W epoce późnej nowoczesności obserwuje się renesans tych przestrzeni: wybieranie ich przez jednostki jako miejsce zamieszkania, pracy, spędzania czasu wolnego. Zachowany walor lokalny jest uruchamiany i wykorzystywany przez mechanizmy o ponadlokalnej proweniencji. W wyniku sprzęgania się idei, wartości i form pochodzących z dwóch wymiarów: lokalnego i globalnego powstają nowe elementy i wzory kultury, które z poziomu mikro przenikają do szerszego obiegu społecznego. W dyskursie społecznym taki „powrót do życia" przestrzeni zdegradowanej, zaniedbanej, o 'złej' marce jest określany rewitalizacją przestrzeni miejskiej. Moim celem było, po pierwsze, zbudowanie teoretycznego modelu opisu i wyjaśniania procesu rewitalizacji przestrzeni miejskiej, po drugie, w kontekście tegoż modelu, analiza przemian dwóch obszarów miejskich: krakowskiego Kazimierza i Ticinese w Mediolanie. Kazimierz, genetycznie autonomiczne miasto (do końca XVIII w.), dziś część śródmieścia Krakowa, znany jest jako obszar, w którym współegzystowały dwie tradycje: żydowska i chrześcijańska. Tradycja ta została przerwana wskutek eksterminacji społeczności żydowskiej podczas II wojny światowej. Fizyczna i symboliczna degradacja dzielnicy pogłębiła się w okresie powojennym. W 2. połowie lat 90. XX wieku rozpoczął się nowy etap w życiu Kazimierza, przejawiający się jego bardzo dużą popularnością, pojawieniem na jego obszarze nowych użytkowników oraz aktywności. Ticinese, obszar położony wzdłuż kanałów wodnych, do Mediolanu administracyjnie został włączony dopiero pod koniec XIX wieku. Przez wieki głównym elementem tradycji Ticinese była aktywność rzemieślnicza i kupiecka mieszkańców, a w wieku XX również proletariacka. Niski status obszaru zaczął zmieniać się w latach 70. i 80. ubiegłego wieku, by w latach 90. osiągnąć apogeum popularności. Praktyki tradycyjne zostały zastąpione poźnonowoczesnymi wzorami wytwarzania i konsumowania kultury metropolitarnej.

Jakościowe badania terenowe wybrałam jako metodę poznania i zrozumienia procesów zachodzących w obu dzielnicach. W budowaniu studium przypadków dzielnic oraz w analizie porównawczej wykorzystane zostały przede wszystkim

dane pochodzące z wywiadów, obserwacji (w tym uczestniczącej) i dokumentacji fotograficznej, materiały z badań zrealizowanych przez *Centro per lo studio della moda e della produzione culturale* (Università Cattolica w Mediolanie) oraz rozmaite dane zastane z instytucji municypalnych obu stron.

Rewitalizacja przestrzeni miejskiej jest w pracy traktowana jako szczególny rodzaj zmiany społecznej, w której kumulują się i osiągają punkt kulminacyjny zjawiska i procesy społeczne, kulturowe, ekonomiczne i polityczne, mające swe źródła w wymiarze mikro- i makrospołecznym. Stąd też teoretycznym fundamentem podjętych przeze mnie badań są przede wszystkim teorie odnoszące się do zmiany społecznej ujmowanej w kategoriach „strukturacji" (A.Giddens) czy też „stawania się społeczeństwa" (P.Sztompka). Uznaję, że indywidualni i zbiorowi aktorzy społeczni podejmują działania na podstawie definicji sytuacji określającej zastane warunki, motywacje i cele działania, a ich aktywność zwrotnie reorganizuje zastany kontekst. Społeczeństwo jest traktowane jako dynamiczna całość, będąca wypadkową aktywności podmiotów i trwałości ram sytuacyjnych, w których przyszło im działać. Rewitalizacja przestrzeni rozumiana jest więc nie jako stan statyczny, lecz jako dynamiczny proces definiowania i re-definiowania środowiska społecznego przez działające podmioty. Proces rewitalizacji umiejscawiam w kontekście szerszych zmian społecznych, związanych z deindustrializacją i wchodzeniem społeczeństwa w fazę, w której kapitałem „nowego przemysłu" staje się kultura. Rewitalizacja jako proces konstytuowany przez ludzi wiąże się z czynnikami ekonomicznymi, ale charakter tych powiązań można uchwycić i zrozumieć jedynie poprzez zrekonstruowanie zmian zachodzących na poziomie świadomościowo-kulturowym. Podstawą takich założeń jest koncepcja późnej nowoczesności, zgodnie z którą globalizacja i rozwinięta technologia rozdzielają jednostkę z miejscem oraz rozrywają związki pomiędzy miejscem i czasem. Nowe zależności pomiędzy wymiarem globalnym i lokalnym przenikają życie codzienne członków współczesnego społeczeństwa, wywołując konieczność ciągłego dokonywania przez nich wyborów obciążonych ryzykiem niepowodzenia. Refleksyjność staje się rutynową praktyką, niezbędną do budowania jednostkowej tożsamości. Podjęcie przez jednostkę działań w sytuacji pełnej dylematów, niewiadomych i ryzyka jest możliwe dzięki zaufaniu redukującemu lęk. Formą 'psychoterapii' jest również „powrót treści wypartych", wyrażający się między innymi zainteresowaniem tradycją – to pozwala jednostce zakorzenić się, przejąć kontrolę nad życiem (lub przynajmniej zwiększyć poczucie kontroli), równoważy nie poddającą się bezpośredniemu doświadczeniu globalną rzeczywistość. Założyłam, że świadomie dokonywany przez jednostki wybór miejsca

życia w przestrzeni zdegradowanej, ale posiadającej wyrazisty kod kulturowy i tradycję lokalną, jest elementem strategii „powrotu do treści wypartych" oraz kontekstem i budulcem dla tworzonej biografii i tożsamości.

W świetle tych koncepcji proces rewitalizacji przestrzeni miejskiej można traktować jako wskaźnik „stawania się" społeczeństwa późnej nowoczesności. Proces taki zachodzi (może zachodzić) w przestrzeni, której właściwości stymulują i umożliwiają aktywność aktorów – i zwrotnie: aktorzy, podejmując działania, przyczyniają się do reprodukowania przestrzeni miejskiej (jako przestrzeni społecznej). Szczególność tego procesu zawiera się w trzech aspektach: 1) reprodukowanie przestrzeni przebiega w toku szczególnie intensywnej mobilizacji dostępnych w przestrzeni zasobów (w tym sensie podjęcie działań rewitalizacyjnych jest rodzajem kulturowo-społecznej transgresji); 2) wśród działających w przestrzeni podmiotów znajdują się reprezentanci „starego" i „nowego" układu: jednostki, grupy społeczne i instytucje grające, mówiąc metaforycznie, w jednej grze, ale odmiennie określające jej zasady; 3) przestrzeń, w której proces się dokonuje, posiada cechy (zasoby), które tworzą kontekst budowania i realizowania przez podmioty „projektu tożsamości" (na zasoby te składać się będą przede wszystkim kapitał społeczny i kapitał kulturowy). Pomiędzy tymi trzema sytuacyjnymi/strukturalnymi właściwościami dochodzi do nieustannego zwrotnego sprzęgania, w konsekwencji którego następuje jakościowa zmiana kontekstu i przedmiotu działań (przestrzeni), zasobów wykorzystywanych do działania oraz samych aktorów gry, którzy wpływają na przebieg procesu, ale jednocześnie podlegają jego wpływowi. Proces rewitalizacji jest więc zarówno przedmiotem zmiany, jak i samą zmianą, a obserwowanie go - poznawaniem źródeł i przebiegu procesu kształtowania się tożsamości mieszkańców współczesnego miasta oraz, zwrotnie, udziału jednostkowej tożsamości w przekształcaniu rzeczywistości zewnętrznej.

Przestrzeń społeczna jest rozumiana jako dynamiczna, charakteryzująca się dialektycznymi relacjami całość złożona z: 1) przestrzeni fizycznej, 2) działań związanych z nią podmiotów; 3) znaczenia/znaczeń przestrzeni. O ożywieniu przestrzeni miejskiej świadczyłaby więc między innymi: coraz lepsza kondycja form przestrzennych (miejsc publicznych, znaczących i użytkowych oraz ich dostosowanie do społecznych potrzeb i oczekiwań; różnicowaniem funkcji przestrzennych); zmiany cech jednostek (wzrost ich kapitału kulturowego i społecznego) oraz cech grup społecznych obecnych w przestrzeni (np. wzrost zbiorowego kapitału społecznego); coraz silniejsze związki pomiędzy kulturą i aktywnością ekonomiczną; zmiany w subiektywnych mapach przestrzeni tworzonych przez mieszkańców i użytkowników

(np. wyraźne przesunięcie na skali ocen, opinii i skojarzeń – od negatywnych ku pozytywnym; zmiana znaczenia 'przeszłości' dla 'teraźniejszości'). Narzędziami pomocnymi w zoperacjonalizowaniu przestrzeni społecznej są koncepcje obszaru naturalnego (w rozumieniu szkoły chicagowskiej) i obszaru kulturowego (A.Wallis), czyli „określonej funkcjonalnie przestrzeni, która jest przedmiotem intensywnej i długotrwałej interakcji między skupionym na niej zespołem wartości materialnych, estetycznych i symbolicznych a konkretną grupą (społecznością)."

Analiza materiału empirycznego posłużyła odpowiedzi na pytania o impulsy i mechanizm ożywiania przestrzeni, głównych aktorów zmian oraz efekty tego procesu. Każdą z dzielnic traktowałam jako dynamiczną, 'żywą' całość, której wymiar fizyczny i wymiar społeczno-symboliczny nieustannie sprzęgają się ze sobą, będąc dla siebie wzajemnie i jednocześnie kontekstem oraz przedmiotem działań społecznych.

Badania potwierdzają, iż czynnikiem motywującym działania rewitalizacyjne w zakresie przestrzeni fizycznej był charakter Kazimierza i Ticinese jako obszarów kulturowych, definiowany na podstawie kulturowo-społecznej odrębności jej dawnych mieszkańców oraz samej kondycji dzielnic, które tworzyły rodzaj zdewastowanych 'wysp' w przestrzeni miasta. Zachowany podmiejski charakter przestrzeni fizycznej (*case di ringhiera*, kamienice, placyki, miejsca targowe), budynki symbolizujące kulturę mniejszości (synagogi, mykwy) i style życia niższych grup społecznych (warsztaty rzemieślnicze, targ, osterie) przyciągnęły nowych mieszkańców metropolii, poszukujących przestrzeni odmiennej, nietypowej, „miejsca z pamięcią". Degradacja, wcześniej postrzegana jako mankament przestrzeni, nie tylko przestała przeszkadzać, ale wręcz została uznana za atut. W obu przypadkach degradacja również dziś pełni istotną rolę w konstruowaniu tożsamości dzielnic, mimo że faktycznie należy już do przeszłości. Kazimierz i Ticinese były zdegradowane, ale ta 'niechlubna' przeszłość jest funkcjonalna: nadaje walor prawdziwości, oryginalności historii dzielnicy, co stanowi element jej statusu. Jest również elementem tożsamości jej mieszkańców, przy czym dla mieszkańców starych jest *nolens volens* składnikiem ich biografii, dla nowych: składnikiem m i t u, który dopiero wykorzystują w projekcie tożsamości, w „przeżywaniu życia". W obu przypadkach rehabilitacja tkanki fizycznej obu dzielnic dokonywała się głównie dzięki inicjatywie i kapitałowi prywatnemu, co skutkowało dość szybkim tempem zmian, zwłaszcza na Kazimierzu. Ogólna ocena tych przemian nie jest jednak pozytywna jednoznacznie, gdyż przestrzeń, stopniowo stając się przedmiotem wolnorynkowej gry, zaczęła rozwijać się w sposób niezrównoważony. Dziś jest to widoczne zwłaszcza w przypadku Kazimierza, gdzie odnowa budynków dokonuje

się w sposób punktowy i 'wyspowy' (sąsiadowanie budynków zdegradowanych i odnowionych, nierównowaga pomiędzy tzw. częścią 'żydowską' i 'chrześcijańską'). Zauważalne są również rosnące dysproporcje pomiędzy funkcjami przestrzeni, przy czym w przypadku Ticinese w latach 80. i 90. udawało się zachować wielofunkcyjność (funkcje mieszkalne, usługowe, rekreacyjne itd.), a dopiero od końca lat 90. widoczna jest sukcesja przestrzeni przez lokale rozrywkowe. W przypadku Kazimierza zmiana funkcji budynków z mieszkalnych na usługowe (np. hotele) następuje bardzo szybko. Casus Kazimierza świadczy również o niezamierzonych konsekwencjach zmian renowacyjnych (obiektywnie przecież pozytywnych): z jednej strony są elementem estetyzacji i oznaką rosnącej wartości przestrzeni, z drugiej jednak, szybkie tempo zmian, luki prawne, poczucie braku całościowej wizji i kontroli nad zmianami tworzą klimat sprzyjający nadużyciom, konfliktom i walkom o przestrzeń.

'Nowe życie' obu dzielnic wiąże się ze zmianą profilu demograficznego mieszkańców – z gentryfikacją, skutkującą przemianami rodzajów aktywności i wzorów działań. W Ticinese proces przekształceń na obszarze tych aktywności rozpoczął się na przełomie lat 70. i 80.; na Kazimierzu w mniej więcej w połowie lat 90., choć już w latach 70. miejsce to było zamieszkiwane przez przedstawicieli awangardy artystycznej (nie miało to jednak większego wpływu na ogólny negatywny wizerunek Kazimierza). W obu przypadkach zwiększyła się liczba uczestniczących w życiu dzielnicach podmiotów i ich różnorodność (m.in. pod względem statusu społecznego, kompetencji, pochodzenia, umocowań instytucjonalnych) oraz rodzaj aktywności: pełnionej zawodowo lub prywatnie, komercyjnie lub społecznie.

Również w wymiarze działań zauważalne są podobne rysy procesów przemian. Po pierwsze, w „nowej witalności" dzielnic widoczne jest nawiązanie do wzorów działań i praktyk istniejących wcześniej oraz świadome ich wykorzystywanie i przetwarzanie. Nowe jednostki i grupy podejmują działania, w których treści zauważamy wyraźną kontynuację aktywności wcześniejszych pokoleń. Zmienia się jednak funkcja tych działań. To, co niegdyś było codziennością oczywistą i bezalternatywną, zaczyna być traktowane jako materia dla życiowego projektu i jako wartość oceniana na podstawie konfrontacji z tym, co 'na zewnątrz' obszaru. Dawna proza życia dzielnicy nabiera statusu legendy, 'cytaty' z przeszłości legitymizują i dowartościowują praktyki dzisiejsze. Czerpanie z lokalności nie oznacza jednak izolacjonizmu i obrony przed kulturą zewnętrzną – jest wręcz przeciwnie, bo podmioty inspirują się również elementami kultury globalnej (symbolami, technikami i mediami). Kolejną wspólną cechą procesów ożywienia dzielnic jest więc fakt, że kontekst globalny jest jednym ze źródeł tożsamości nowych mieszkańców i

użytkowników. Wśród działań ważne miejsce zajmują praktyki związane z kulturą, wytwarzaniem i konsumowaniem wartości symbolicznych, czego oznaką jest rozkwit nowej przedsiębiorczości. Głównym motorem lokalnej gospodarki staje się sektor takich usług, którego istotą jest dialog, spotkanie i wymiana z innymi ludźmi. Działania stają się wręcz tożsame z dialogiem i kontaktami międzyludzkimi, a ich forma, częstotliwość i przestrzenna styczność jednostek prowadzi do powstawania gęstych sieci społecznych. Usieciowienie jest widoczne zwłaszcza w Ticinese, gdzie czynnikiem niewątpliwie sprzyjającym był charakter przestrzeni fizycznej (m.in. bliskość mieszkań i pracowni, usytuowanie studiów wzdłuż kanałów); czynnikiem drugim, być może najważniejszym, była tradycja skupisk przedsiębiorczości (*distretto industriale)*, sprzyjająca różnicowaniu się aktywności przedsiębiorców oraz wzmacnianiu efektów działań. Z badań Ticinese wynika też, iż po wieloletnim, bo trwającym około 20 lat etapie powstawania i wzmacniania się nowego typu profilu dzielnicy (dzielnicy kultury i usług, nowych form społecznej aktywności), weszła ona w etap konsumowania wypracowanej marki. Respondenci postrzegają to przez pryzmat komercjalizacji i odchodzenia od lokalnych tradycji w kierunku masowej produkcji i konsumpcji. Również z badań Kazimierza wynika, że miejsce to odżyło jako przestrzeń intensywnej komunikacji społecznej; lokale, place, stragany odradzają się jako miejsce wytwarzania i konsumowania dóbr symbolicznych, gdzie rozmaici działający aktorzy celują w zaspokojenie potrzeb kontaktów międzyludzkich, wytwarzanie kultury, powiększanie zasobów finansowych, a co sprawia, że przestrzeń wypełnia gęsta sieć relacji. I w tym charakterze działań (działań, których treść i formę stanowi wymiana symboli) widoczne jest podobieństwo Kazimierza i Ticinese. W przypadku Kazimierza istotne jest jednak to, że szersze zmiany świadomościowe, prawne i instytucjonalne, które taką aktywizację stymulowały i umożliwiały, oraz sama aktywizacja, dokonały się w Polsce w „wielkim skrócie" i w sposób niezrównoważony. W konsekwencji, podejmowane na Kazimierzu działania, będące z jednej strony odpowiedzią na społeczne zapotrzebowanie, a z drugiej stymulowane konkurencyjnością i/lub po prostu pasją, bardzo szybko zaowocowały rosnącą dywersyfikacją i innowacyjnością. Jednak w momencie krytycznym, kiedy w definicji 'tożsamości Kazimierza' sprzeczne definicje i interesy zaczęły przeważać nad definicjami wspólnymi i uzgodnionymi, doszło do wyartykułowania konfliktu, a wówczas treść działań poczęła być determinowana potrzebą obrony. Zmieniła się również funkcja 'lokalności' - wartości lokalne, takie jak kultura żydowska, atmosfera otwartości i tolerancji, stały się przedmiotem gry o: prawo do przestrzeni, określanie zasad, korzystanie z symboli.

Również badania nad procesami konstruowania i re-konstruowania się relacji społecznych wskazują na istotne i interesujące podobieństwa i różnice pomiędzy Ticinese i Kazimierzem. To, co podobne w obu przypadkach, a co zawiera się w świadomościowym odbiorze przemian: respondenci zauważają zanikanie więzi wspólnotowych, które przyciągnęły nowych przedsiębiorców i mieszkańców, zapoczątkowując w ten sposób proces rewitalizacji. Proces ten można rozpatrywać z kilku perspektyw, wnioski traktując komplementarnie. Wychodząc z perspektywy ekologicznej można uznać, że jest to konsekwencja bardzo szybkiego powiększania się liczby nowych mieszkańców i użytkowników dzielnicy. W ujęciu 'ekonomizującym': w dzielnicach obserwujemy proces komercjalizacji przestrzeni, aktywności i relacji społecznych (rodzaj gry o kapitał, w którym są wygrani i przegrani). Jeśli zaś skoncentrujemy się na wymiarze kulturowym, dostrzeżemy, jak różnymi drogami podążały dzielnice. Ujmując rzecz z perspektywy neoinstytucjonalnej, zwraca uwagę stopień ciągłości oraz spójności wartości i zasad regulujących życie społeczne. „Zależność od szlaku" jest niewątpliwym czynnikiem charakteru i kierunku zmiany, i zasada ta ma odzwierciedlenie w obu dzielnicach. W przypadku Kazimierza zauważalne jest zderzenie dwóch porządków polityczno-ekonomicznych (realnego socjalizmu oraz demokracji i kapitalizmu) oraz utrwalonych w świadomości podziałów społeczeństwa na władzę i obywateli. Owe historycznie ukształtowane wzory nadal wpływają na postawy społeczne (wyrażane zwłaszcza przez grupy najuboższe, które nie zdołały zinternalizować wzorów nowych), ale pojawiły się też nowe źródła obywatelskiej nieufności powstałej w nowych już warunkach ustrojowych i będącej efektem dekapitalizacji zaufania do instytucji demokratycznych. Nieufność wobec lokalnego samorządu oraz obywatelska obojętność nie zawsze są kontynuacją nieufności i obojętności z poprzedniego systemu (np. wielu moich rozmówców poprzedniego systemu albo po prostu nie pamięta/nie zna, choćby z racji wieku). Inaczej wyglądał rozwój Ticinese, które zmieniało się w sposób znacznie bardziej ewolucyjny. Względna stabilność norm nie wynikała jednak tyle z 'pamięci zinstytucjonalizowanej', ile z 'pamięci społecznej', przekazywanej i zachowywanej przez kolejne grupy społeczne docierające do Ticinese. W procesie rewitalizacji udział instytucji samorządowych był nikły i ograniczał się do chaotycznych decyzji urbanistycznych i socjalno-mieszkaniowych - Ticinese zmieniało się oddolnie, poprzez indywidualne działania budujące dość stabilne sieci społeczne. Duża w tym zasługa nowych pośredników kultury, wychowanych na trwałych fundamentach kultury klasy miejskiej, z silnymi wzorcami obywatelskiej aktywności, dla których Ticinese stało się przestrzenią

budowania wspólnoty terytorialnej i jednoczesnego otwarcia na wartości nowe. I tutaj, kiedy wartość przestrzeni zaczęła rosnąć, wkroczyły zasady wolnego rynku, ale proces ten, rozłożony w czasie, długo nie wywołał rewolucyjnych zmian w sferze lokalnej kultury. Jednak w ciągu kilku ostatnich lat silnie naruszone zostały te cechy, które stanowiły warunek *sine qua non* istnienia 'wspólnoty Ticinese': osłabione zostały bezpośrednie i intensywne relacje społeczne, poczucie tożsamości ze społecznością i budowania jej na linii łączącej przeszłość z przyszłością. Dzielnica zmieniała się w ostatnich dekadach XX wieku bardzo intensywnie, ale przez cały czas trwały był rdzeń jej tożsamości. Obecne naruszenie tej tożsamości wiążę z tym, że nie pojawiła się silna grupa społeczna, która by dziś ową markę skutecznie wzmacniała dla dobra wspólnego. Pojawiła się natomiast spora rzesza tych, którzy tę markę chcą wykorzystać z doraźnie definiowanych względów ekonomicznych.

Kategoria pamięci wydaje się niezwykle istotna w wyjaśnianiu jakości relacji społecznych na Kazimierzu. Z wypowiedzi respondentów wynikałoby, że dla nowych mieszkańców nie tak ważny jest 'muzealny' charakter Kazimierza, jak tradycja społeczności, która go niegdyś zamieszkiwała. Pamięć o przeszłości okazuje się jednak pełna imaginacji - jest w dużej mierze 'pamięcią produkowaną'. Kazimierz posiadał i posiada wyjątkowy na skalę światową kapitał kulturowy (miasta i dzielnicy żydowsko-chrześcijańskiej), w ramach którego mieściły się wzory życia wspólnotowego – ale jedynie na zasadzie legendy, społecznego mitu, 'literackiego' archetypu, których zdolność wykorzystania w życiowej praktyce zanikła, wyczerpana w okresie co najmniej ostatniego stulecia. W przypadku Kazimierza doszło do swoistego *qui pro quo* – coś, co obecne było bardziej w wymiarze „opowieści o przeszłości", zostało dość łatwo uznane za coś, co bezpośrednie, namacalne, a nade wszystko: 'dane'.

Badania potwierdzają, że nie można takich kategorii, jak obszar naturalny/kulturowy czy tożsamość miejsca traktować jako zjawiska statyczne, i że sam proces rewitalizacji czy gentryfikacji nie jest prostą sekwencją zmian. Losy obu dzielnic potwierdziły dialektyczną zależność elementów historycznych i warunków współczesnych, właściwości strukturalnych oraz zinternalizowanych właściwości jednostek, ich orientacji aksjonormatywnych, nawyków, przekonań. Wyniki dowodzą również o konieczności traktowania pojęcia rewitalizacji przestrzeni w kategoriach typu idealnego - jako dynamicznego modelu wyznaczającego cel praktycznych działań i umożliwiającego ocenę kondycji przestrzeni społecznej.

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