Representing Communism:
Discourses of Heritage Tourism and Economic Regeneration
in Nowa Huta, Poland

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Abstract

This geographical case study of the 'new town' of Nowa Huta – a Soviet-financed district of Kraków built for Poland's largest steelworks and its workers in the 1950s -- explores the nature of the representations of place produced for tourist consumption, and the relationship of those representations to local, neoliberalizing discourses of economic regeneration. My project identifies ways in which space is opened for producing and circulating alternative discourses about Nowa Huta that challenge its dominant representation as a dreary urban wasteland and a failed social experiment. Implicit in this ideological battle for control of space is a much larger issue that resonates through all post-socialist countries: how the communist past is reframed to support specific representations of national identity. With promotional materials produced for tourists and transcripts from commercial tours, I employ textual and discourse analysis to identify the themes and narratives through which tourism professionals represent the communist past: the struggle for economic and religious self-determination; the "Othering" of the residents by bourgeois Cracovians; and the ideological connection of the urban ensemble to British and American ideals of city planning. I argue that the interpretation of these urban landscapes is constantly in flux, thereby promoting very different histories of Nowa Huta than its founders envisioned.

Nowa Huta, conceived as the Polish 'ideal city of socialism,' was a tourist attraction from the beginning, drawing architects and planners to see how the tenets of socialist planning could be given architectural form. Since the fall of communism, however, it has suffered from unemployment, lack of investment, and a tarnished image due to its associations with the repudiated communist regime. In the last several years, local entrepreneurs have begun to organize tours for Western visitors eager to see beyond the mass-market tourism of Krakow's Old Town and other nearby sites, and local residents, dismayed by the image of their district in the popular imagination, have begun to find new ways of rebuilding its reputation.

This project makes an important contribution to understanding political, cultural, and economic transitions in post-socialist countries. The heritage of communism imposes particular constraints on the ongoing political project of constructing identities at multiple scales – local, national, and European. On one hand, the material remains of communism potentially could contribute to significant economic growth in the tourism sector in post-socialist countries. On the other hand, this case study makes clear the desires of the state (at multiple scales) to marginalize emphasis on the communist period in order to forge new national identities and to attract global capital. Understanding the congruence (or lack thereof) between tourist-driven entrepreneurship, local (grassroots) identity formation, and economic development activity is essential in assessing the long-term viability of communist heritage tourism, and indeed, the potential for these states to rise out of positions of marginality within the European Union and within the global economy.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

In the last decade, an interesting new brand of tourism has arisen in central and eastern Europe: what Light (2000) and other urban geographers have termed "communist heritage tourism,"[1] or, the marketing of sites and objects associated with the communist past to tourists from the West. This manifestation of niche tourism (the appeal to narrow, specialized tourist interests) presents different aspects of experience from the communist era. Some induce a disturbing fascination for tourists (compare Foley and Lennon 1996; Seaton 1999) because they are the material products of repressive communist regimes, such as the Palace of the People in Bucharest or the remaining fragments of the Berlin Wall (Light 2000). Alternatively, tourist attractions may function to preserve, disseminate, and even celebrate collective memories of daily life in the communist era by assembling tableaux of ordinary objects – furniture, kitchen implements, audio recordings, food packaging -- as is done in the volunteer Ostalgie Witnesses to History project in Leipzig (Berdahl 2006), the DDR Museum in Berlin (DDR Museum), or the Museum of Communism (Museum of Communism (Prague)). More complexly, such sites may be spatial reframings of communist-era artifacts, such as the Sculpture Park in Budapest (Light 2000) or the *Gruto Parkas* exhibition in Lithuania,[2] in both of which sculptures of now-discredited communist leaders have been removed from their locations in urban public spaces, collected, and re-presented in newly-commissioned settings designed specifically for their display, often with a sly, ironic twist.

[1] This neologism was coined by geographer Duncan Light (2000; pers. comm. 2006) to identify a specific niche in heritage tourism that focuses on sites associated with communist regimes or communist ways of life to tourists.

[2] My thanks to Renata Blumberg for sharing information about this museum.

Other sites associated with communism offer a broader set of interpretive possibilities for the history of communist regimes and daily life under them. Nowa Huta, Poland, the subject of the current study, is one such site. Nowa Huta is a district of Kraków (Poland's fourth-largest city, located on the *Wisła* (Vistula) River in southern Poland), with a population of about 250,000, which was built at top speed from 1949 to 1955 east of the historic city center by the new communist regime. Nowa Huta, sometimes ironically called "Stalin's gift to Kraków," was intended by the communist government to be a an independent municipality and a showplace of socialist urban planning ideals as well as the foundation of the new Polish industrial economy, in the form of one of the nation's largest steelworks. In fact, Nowa Huta has been a "one-industry town" since its founding; Stenning (2000) estimated that up to 110,000 of the 250,000 residents of the district were economically dependent on the plant and ancillary services, not including retail and other services in the district. However, the steelworks reached its employment peak in the late 1970s; since then the focus of centrally-planned investment has shifted to the newer Katowice steelworks in nearby Silesia, and conditions in Nowa Huta (including labor strikes by the Solidarity movement throughout the 1980s, capital disinvestment, and worsening work conditions) have spiraled downward. Since the fall of communism in the elections of late 1989, Nowa Huta has suffered increasing unemployment and lack of investment due to restructuring and de-industrialization at the steelworks and a tarnished image in the popular imagination due to its social problems and its associations with the repudiated communist regime.

In the last several years, however, there has been increased interest in this district and its surroundings. Two areas have been designated as special economic zones in order

to encourage investment (particularly foreign investment); the Municipality of Kraków has invested in infrastructure projects such as updated utility lines, street and sidewalk reconstruction, and restoration of a local lake; and descriptions of the district have begun to appear in locally-produced brochures for tourists.

The opportunity to promote Nowa Huta to foreign tourists as an off-the-beaten-path aspect of Kraków has not gone unnoticed by local entrepreneurs, who have created a niche market by selling tours to visitors who are eager to see beyond the mass-market tourism of the Old Town so strenuously promoted by the local authorities and the painful but obligatory pilgrimage to the Nazi concentration camp in nearby Auschwitz. These specialty tours of Nowa Huta are conducted by tram or in authentic vintage automobiles (for example, East German Trabants), and offer stops at the main square, the headquarters of the steelworks, and the church (*Arka Pana*, the Ark of the Lord) built in defiance of communist laws; coffee breaks in an "authentic" restaurant or café; and a visit to an apartment decorated 1970s-style that is rented for the purpose. Despite the overblown rhetoric of advertisements for such tours ("Real Iron Curtain Adventure!" "Escape the tourist traps and experience Stalin's gift to Kraków!"), the tours actually present a multi-faceted, serious look at the creation of the district and the struggles that ultimately led to the overthrow of the communist regime. Visiting Nowa Huta offers a window into the process of creating the "ideal city" based on socialist ideology, as well as the opportunity to see how the resistance against the government that began even before construction was completed reached its apogee in the events that led to the dismantling of the communist regime in the elections of 1989.

This case study of Nowa Huta explores the nature of the representations of the district that are produced for tourist consumption, their relationship to parallel discourses promoting Greater Kraków as a locale for investment and economic regeneration, and the emerging counter-narratives that are being produced by residents of the district. With promotional materials produced for tourists, transcripts from commercial tours, and interviews with key stakeholders, I employ textual analysis to identify the themes, narratives, and rhetorical strategies through which the communist past is represented and framed. I focus on three main themes: the struggle for control of the spaces of daily life, both religious and economic; the portrayal of Nowa Huta as 'Other' by bourgeois Cracovians; and the reframing of the architecture and urban plan as an heir to Western, not Soviet, ideologies. Second, I explore a parallel set of discourses – the boosterist narratives constructed by economic development professionals – in order to understand where the congruences and dissonances between these sets of discourses lie, and how tourism may be understood as one component of local economic development practice.

As a landscape architect and city planner visiting Nowa Huta for the first time in 2005, I was struck by the practicality and rationality of its urban plan, the graciousness and human scale of its architecture, and the greenness and intimacy of its neighborhoods. I also noted the lack of public investment in improvements (compared with Kraków's Old Town) and felt the barely suppressed anger and desperation of unemployed men standing around in small groups and drinking in a park across from the entrance to the steelworks. Despite warnings about the personal dangers of visiting a district supposedly plagued by high crime rates (see Chapter 6), I visited again and again, intrigued about

how such a place was presented to tourists. What would this place mean to Western visitors? What narratives would they hear, and what impressions would they form?

These questions form the heart of my investigation. They are contextualized within a broader understanding of the role that tourism has begun to play not only in supporting economic regeneration but in producing identity. This dual role presents unique opportunities and challenges; tourism in Nowa Huta exemplifies what Tunbridge (1994) has called the 'identity versus economy' paradox: the tension between the desire to exploit the material remnants of the communist era as a resource for tourism and thus, economic development, and the will to forge new post-communist identities through retrospective reshaping (and even selective erasure) of the narratives of the communist past. The cultural landscapes of Nowa Huta have become the scene for a struggle between local entrepreneurs, who either want to exploit it as a spectacle for "communist heritage tourism" or to explain the sometimes grim "reality" of the sacrifices that its new inhabitants made, and local government officials, who wish to capitalize on the district's potential for market-driven redevelopment while downplaying its connections with the former communist regime. Implicit in this ideological battle for control of space are two much larger issues that resonate through all post-socialist countries: how the communist past is reframed to support specific representations of national identity; and how citizens and governments build democracies and market economies among the material remains of communism.

Incipient tourism in Nowa Huta seems to be not only a perfect exemplar of the growing new trend in international tourism towards attracting niche customer markets (Urry 1990), but also an intriguing entry-point to investigating some of the distinctive

problems in post-socialist economies in central and eastern Europe: how are tourism industries responding to the pressures of the global tourism marketplace, especially when they are showcasing periods of "difficult history" such as the legacy of communism in Nowa Huta? How does communist heritage tourism fit with other visions of Krakow's identity and even Polish national identity, given the 'identity versus economy' dilemma identified by Tunbridge (1994)?

I hypothesized that promoting Nowa Huta as a tourist destination might present conflicts with more established touristic expectations on the part of official tourism promoters. That is, tourism in Nowa Huta might be perceived as drawing customers away from attractions that had been heavily subsidized or supported in the main part of town. More importantly, the focus on the communist era would possibly be an awkward or delicate one, since it represents a period of history that Poles are anxious to move beyond, and possibly even to forget.[3] The Polish sociologist Piotr Sztompka (2006), for example, has spoken of the desire in 1989 "to draw a thick black line," and essentially to consider the past a closed account. My field observations, as well as interviews with informants, confirm that there is indeed a great reluctance on the part of local officials to promote tourism in Nowa Huta, although they also have bowed to external pressures and added brochures and other descriptions to their suites of tourist materials.

Like Eisenhuettenstadt in East Germany, Stalinvaros in Hungary, and Dimitrovgrad in Bulgaria, Nowa Huta was intended to represent "the ideal city of socialism," a *tabula rasa* upon which the ideology of the new political order would be inscribed, the centerpiece of Poland's first Six-Year Plan to build a modern industrial

[3]See Huener (2003) for a parallel discussion of the problems in representing Jewish and Polish martyrdom in the exhibits at Auschwitz.

economy and "to create the new socialist man"[4] by virtue of the strength of social engineering in architectural design and urban planning. However, as emerging narratives are now pointing out (for example, the exhibition on the ancient village of Kościelniki at the Nowa Huta branch of the Historical Museum of Kraków), Nowa Huta was not a blank slate at all; it was built on the site of several agricultural villages and estates (the richest agricultural land in Poland (Domański 2006)).

Nowa Huta's role in serving as an ideological counterbalance to the intellectual, bourgeois elite of Kraków, the former historic capital of Poland, is described in greater detail in Chapter 6. Of the tours I took that were led by professional guides, Lukasz's (Cooltours) was the most detailed in explaining the rationale for locating the steelworks in the Kraków area. Referring to an early postwar aim to modernize and rebuild Polish industry, he explained that although the original plan had been to build the steelworks in northwestern Poland (other sources locate the original plan in Silesia, in the southwest of Poland), this decision was suddenly reversed, in order to build the steelworks in its current location not for economic or scientifically rational reasons, but for purely political ones.

From the beginning, Nowa Huta was a showplace for architects and planners who were being schooled in the tenets of the new Socialist Realism movement. Most of the district (excluding the unrealized government center) was constructed according to the original 1940s plan, and today it presents a nearly intact urban assemblage of radial streets and vistas, spacious tree-lined parks, a classically arcaded central plaza, and a variety of housing types set in garden-style courtyards. Beyond this stage-set of socialist

[4] Even with socialist rhetoric about empowering women and expanding their social role, this aim is presented in gendered terms in contemporary manifestos.

realism, potential tourist attractions include the twin headquarters buildings of the steelworks (now owned by the multinational corporation Arcelor Mittal), the Renaissance Cistercian abbey and medieval wooden church in the adjoining village of Mogiła, the summer house of nationalist painter Jan Matejko in the village of Krzesławice, and the first new church in the district – *Arka Pana*, or the Ark of the Lord - that was built after nearly twenty years of sometimes violent struggle for the freedom of religious expression.

My study -- understanding the dynamics of communist heritage tourism in Nowa Huta – draws on several distinct theoretical approaches. The major contribution of the tourism geography literature is to conceptualize the underlying economic processes of tourism as an ongoing series of adjustments between tourist demand for the commodity (i.e., seeing Nowa Huta) and industry supply of it (i.e., tours, attractions, books, and souvenirs). Tourist attractions are a special category of commodities, of course, because they are fixed in space (Urry 2002) yet subject to the caprice of tourists constantly seeking out the new, trendy, or authentic. The quest for authenticity is related to the concept of social carrying capacity: the more tourists in a place, the less desirable it becomes, because crowded with tourists like oneself. Nevertheless, in economic terms, tourism in Nowa Huta is clearly well-situated to take advantage of its proximity to the major attractions in Kraków, both in terms of benefiting from its tourist streams and in terms of increased potential for employment in the service sectors, including (at least currently) a relatively open field for the play of entrepreneurialism.

To answer the question of how Nowa Huta is marketed as a tourist commodity, compared with other "products" in Kraków, I examine how information about Nowa

Huta and about the possibility of visiting Nowa Huta is disseminated to tourists, and exactly what information is presented to motivate them to take a tour. This supply-side analysis, taken from interviews, field observations, and textual analysis of brochures, guidebooks and tour narratives, is complemented by a demand-side analysis of the desire for such tour attractions, prepared by examining tourism statistics and by interviewing tour promoters and tour guides.

Second, I place the rhetoric about Nowa Huta that is produced for tourist consumption in the broader context of critical debate about structural changes in urban economies. This orientation draws upon literature in critical geography that views entrepreneurialism in cities as, at least in part, a response to neoliberalizing governmental policies (Harvey 1979; Lovering 1995; Hall and Hubbard 1996, 1998; Leitner and Sheppard 1998). This position is necessarily also informed by recent work on the economies of transition and postsocialism, because it is important to recognize that Poland's economy is a product of a very different economic trajectory than, for example, the boosterism of the US or Britain (Hardy and Rainnie 1996; Pickles and 1998; Burawoy and Lukács 1992).

Last, my work incorporates theoretical frameworks that seek to explain the representation of historic sites as ongoing formulations of collective memory and the creation of national identity (Lanfant 1995; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Light 2000; Till 2005). Early work in this regard asked the questions: what draws us to historical sites? What need do they fill in the human psyche (Lewis 1975)? More recent work looks for the gaps and absences in the discourse: whose heritage is being left out? Who is disinherited, and what are the consequences (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996)?

Recapping then, my dissertation addresses the following questions: What is the nature of the representations of Nowa Huta in the tourism field? What role does communist heritage tourism in Nowa Huta currently play in the tourism economy of Kraków, and what role do tourism professionals and civic leaders believe it could play in the future? How do the representations of Nowa Huta fit with other visions of Kraków's current and future identity, especially its vision and strategies for economic development, and what factors explain these complementarities? Where is there space for contesting the dominant discourses that seek to marginalize and ignore Nowa Huta as a relic of a now-discredited period of history?

These questions are important, I believe, because they allow us to approach a broader understanding of the current and future legacy of the physical remains of communism in central and eastern Europe. This is a significant subject to address, given the current European project of integrating these countries into the European Union and indeed into the global economy. If post-socialist democracies are being built "not *on* the remains of communism but *with* the remains of communism" (Stark 1996), then the case of Nowa Huta informs us about the ongoing legacy of communism in central and eastern Europe and its potential not only for contributing to the global tourism market but also for helping citizens negotiate and come to terms with "the difficult past" of communist regimes.

This volume is divided into four parts, the better to explain the relationships between the discourses of tourism and its impacts on the local economy. In the remaining chapters of Part I, I continue the work of introducing this project and its relationship to ongoing conversations about the potential for communist heritage tourism

in central and eastern Europe. In Chapter 2 I situate my research questions at the intersection of three strands of geographical literature: the geography of tourism, with special focus on unique economic conditions of supply and demand posed by the tourism sector; place promotion literature generally, and in post-socialist economies; and the geography of heritage, with a particular focus on how identity is constructed in response to the remnants of the communist past. Chapter 3 details the methods and materials used in this study, and provides a rationale for the use of textual analysis as the primary tool for understanding and explaining the representations of communist heritage tourism.

In Part II, I turn to my empirical work on representational strategies, covering in turn the three major rhetorical themes that comprise touristic representations of Nowa Huta. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of how the urban forms and architecture of Nowa Huta are presented as the outcome not only of Soviet-oriented ideologies about the ideal socialist way of life, but also of early 20th century Western ideals for city planning and of traditional architectural forms drawn from the Polish Renaissance. In Chapter 5, I analyze the narratives of resistance that are built around Nowa Hutans' struggle to build churches and to overturn the communist economic system. In Chapter 6, I analyze the ways in which Nowa Huta is spatially, temporally, and demographically "Othered" in comparison to Kraków, in an attempt to minimize its ideological importance as a symbol of communism. Each of these three rhetorical strategies may be seen as an attempt to disconnect Nowa Huta from communist ideologies in order to reconnect it with Polish history and tradition, minimizing the influence of Soviet models and portraying Nowa Hutans as hard-working people who built this ideal city not to further an abstract, Soviet-

driven notion of social relations but as a individualistic project to rebuild their lives and to provide for their families after the devastation of World War II.

With the foundation of understanding tourism rhetorics as set out in Part II, the chapters in Part III examine communist heritage tourism as an economic sector as well as a type of economic development strategy. Chapter 7 assesses the business practices of the companies that offer tours of Nowa Huta, and compares the economic impact of their present operations and future plans for expansion with those of conventional tourism in Kraków. Chapter 8 examines the linkages between the discourses of communist heritage tourism and the discourses of place promotion intended to attract jobs and investment, particularly foreign investment. Here I find that, although there are few personal connections between tour promoters and the local government agencies involved in marketing Nowa Huta/Kraków to investors, there is remarkable complementarity between the messages they have created. I argue that theoretical arguments about the international prevalence of neoliberal economic practices provide powerful explanatory tools to help understand how these messages are crafted and disseminated.

In the concluding Chapter 9 (Part IV), I sketch out some of the future directions that I think this line of research could take. Chief among these is further comparative work about what is unique about tourism in Nowa Huta (and Poland) compared with other types of attractions of communist heritage tourism in other locales. What aspects of the political, cultural and economic situation in Poland are unique to tourism in Nowa Huta, and conversely, how are its features similar to what happens elsewhere? This question is particularly salient at a national comparative level because, while it is the only "new town" in Poland to exemplify the ideals of socialism, Nowa Huta has analogues in

the other Soviet-bloc countries: Stalinstadt in East Germany (now Eisenhüttenstadt); Sztalinvaroś in Hungary; Nova Ostrava in the Czech Republic; and Dimitrovgrad in Bulgaria -- all of which are based in some respects on the model of Magnitogorsk, which was built in the Soviet Union in the 1930s (Lebow 2002; see also Kotkin 1991; Kotkin 1995). By understanding the dynamics of communist heritage tourism in these other cities – work that has not yet been undertaken by any researcher – it will become clearer which are the general features of central and eastern European tourism and the dynamics of national identity formation, and which are specific national features unique to Poland or the other countries.

This project makes an important contribution to understanding political, cultural, and economic transitions in post-socialist countries. On one hand, the heritage of communism imposes particular constraints on Poland's ongoing political project of "rejoining" Europe through membership in the European Union, marketization of its economy, and democratization of civil society. On the other hand, heritage tourism holds enormous potential for supporting economic growth in post-socialist countries: tourism is said to be the world's largest economic sector, and is a major focus of the European economy. If the central and eastern European countries can attract even a tiny fraction of anticipated tourism growth, it will enable their economies to compete much more successfully in the global marketplace. Understanding the congruence (or lack thereof) between tourist-driven entrepreneurship and the desires of the State (at multiple scales) to promote a particular view of the communist past is essential in assessing the long-term viability of communist heritage tourism, and indeed, the potential for these nations to rise out of positions of marginality within the EU and within the global economy.

Chapter 2: Theoretical frameworks: placing communist heritage tourism research

Introduction

My goals in this chapter are to show how my project connects to current research about communist heritage tourism and place promotion, and to situate my research questions within the body of theoretical frameworks that seek to explain why tourism and place promotion are taking the particular forms that I have observed in Nowa Huta and in Kraków more generally. I draw on several distinct literatures to inform and situate my research questions, including perspectives from tourism geography, theories of representing place, and a body of critical literature on urban entrepreneurialism.

In the first part of the chapter, I provide a brief overview of research approaches to tourism geography in order to show how my work connects to the major strands of the sub-discipline. My own approach is an eclectic one that reflects the eclecticism of the subfield: I draw on traditional approaches such as tourism supply versus tourism demand (more recently sometimes categorized as production/consumption); the concepts of niche tourism and authenticity taken from behavioral approaches; political economy frameworks about the human relationships embedded in production and consumption of tourism; and from the 'cultural turn' the idea that tourism is a set of social practices that both create and reflect dominant discourses about identity.

In the second part of the chapter I review the scholarly literature on representing place, paying particular attention to how the exercise of power shapes discourses and the means by which dominant discourses shift and can be modified. I draw upon concepts from structural linguistics and post-structuralism and employ the 'circuits of culture' model (Johnson 1986) in order to account for the iterative and non-linear process by

which tourists, tourism promoters, and local residents collaborate in producing discourses that respond to the eternal question of the tourist, "what is worth seeing?" In the last part of the chapter I sketch out the relationship between tourism promotion and economic development, focusing on the practices of place promotion as a component of economic development activity and assessing the theoretical gaps in local place promotion scholarship.

Conceptual frameworks of tourism geography

In the first part of this chapter I provide a brief overview of the major conceptual frameworks of tourism geography that have influenced the structure and conduct of my project. Tourism geography as a sub-discipline of geography has traditionally been dominated by quantitative approaches borrowed from traditional economic geography. These frame tourism primarily as a set of economic relationships (Rojek and Urry 1997), overlaid with a prescriptive turn borrowed from public policy. Thus the subfield of tourism geography has tended to be applied and uncritical, devoted to improving the quality and quantity of tourists' experiences through analysis of tourism supply and demand and their intersections in the statistical world of room-nights, visitors per day, and multiplier effects. Borrowing concepts from marketing science about human behavior and about policy frameworks from urban and regional planning, tourism research has sought to identify better management practices, better coordination among attractions, better coordination between attractions and infrastructure (hotels, restaurants, transportation, etc.), and more recently, better ways to protect historic resources and the environment (heritage tourism and ecotourism, respectively), while still maximizing tourism revenues.

This applied, uncritical framework has been the subject of much criticism in the last two decades on three fronts: its under-theorized frameworks; its lack of connections to other major strands of geographical research (see for example Selby 2004; Page 1995); and its unsystematic, unreflexive nature (Hall 1991; Pearce 1987; Page 1995; Pearce and Butler 1993). Pearce (1987) asserts that the emphasis on ideographic case studies has inhibited the development of more robust explanatory frameworks. Page (1995) points to circular causation: the lack of quality empirical research discourages public sector investment in data collection, which in turn creates a lack of data for quality empirical research.

The dichotomous nature of supply-side and demand-side approaches to the study of tourism has also been an issue of theoretical concern, and some have called for a reintegration of this binary (see, for example, Ateljevic 2000; Selby 2004). In fact, Page (1995) has proposed a systems-based approach that integrates supply, demand, impact analysis, tourism management, and place promotion into a single comprehensive whole. Nevertheless, much empirical work continues to focus on supply *or* demand,[1] and the supply/demand paradigm persists in tourism geography, as will be shown below.

The major contribution of this traditional approach in tourism geography literature for the current study is to conceptualize the underlying processes of tourism as an ongoing series of adjustments between tourism demand for attractions (viewed as commodities for consumption) and industry supply of these attractions. In this approach,

[1]Studies that attempt to do both usually do neither particularly well. For example, Airey's study of tourism in Kraków (1998) develops a spatial model that focuses on supply-side issues, including the number of hotel beds (vis-à-vis visitorship), length of stay, and the spatial and temporal configurations of the most popular attractions. His attempts to address demand-side issues, by categorizing tourist "types" based on his inferences from temporal patterns, are highly problematical. He provides no data about visits to the most popular attractions, and most importantly, cannot provide the trip linkages (e.g., a person who visits the cathedral does/does not visit St. Mary's Church) necessary to profile tourist "types."

the supply side consists of the tourism promoters, attractions providers, and the hospitality sector, all of whom decide what services should be provided, how (and possibly why), and how (when, where) to inform tourists about them. The demand side examines tourist motivations – what do tourists choose to see and why? – often through proxies such as visitation statistics and hotel stays as well as more direct data collection methods such as tourist interviews and surveys.

Understanding this approach (and how it might be applied) provides the necessary context to situate my first research question: how do tourism discourses describe or envision Nowa Huta as a site for communist heritage tourism? Although my research primarily focuses on supply-side issues, I have supplemented these data with a limited number of informal interviews of tourists asking why they chose to visit Nowa Huta. As a way to "break the binary", however, I modify the traditional static model of supply and demand to reconceptualize production and consumption as a mutually constitutive discourse in which tourists are receptive in varying degrees to varying amounts of detail about tourist attractions. Moreover, I see this as an ongoing, reciprocal process, not a fixed, passive flow of information from promoter to tourist.

The 1980s brought a broader interdisciplinary perspective to tourism, and increased attention to a different set of socioeconomic relations: those between producers and consumers, mediated by the commodification of the tourist experience. MacCannell, a sociologist, in a magisterial study of the motivations for tourism (demand-side), postulated that the most important relationship in modern society is between humans and their productions, not between humans and other humans. Commenting on tourism experiences as a product of human labor, he noted that "pure experience, which leaves no

material trace, is manufactured and sold like a commodity" (1989, 21). However, in what he called a departure from traditional Marxist political economy, he conceptualized the value of tourist experiences not as a function of the labor required for their production, but rather of the "quality and quantity of *experience* they promise" (23, italics original). In MacCannell's view, the most valued sights are easy to recognize: "…the collective determination of 'true sights' is clear cut. The tourist has no difficulty deciding the sights he ought to see" (42). Because MacCannell was writing at the end of the era of mass tourism (Urry 1990), it may indeed have been true that the selection of sites to be commodified was quite clear. (Go to Paris: climb the Eiffel Tower and see the Mona Lisa.) However, in the intervening decades, tourism has become much more sophisticated and specialized as tourism professionals seek to differentiate their products from those of others. The process of assessing value by the tourist is no longer as clear-cut as MacCannell had suggested.[2] In fact, I claim that answering the question of "what is worth seeing" is the *raison d'être* of all tourism literature productions; it is an actively constructed discursive process by which some sights are endowed by tourism promoters with value and others (through negative remarks or even absence) are not. Thus my second research question asks: what are the possibilities for and dynamics of change in how the "message" about Nowa Huta is produced, disseminated, and received?

Critical approaches from political economy have also recently gained theoretical traction because they are concerned with the commodification of culture and place and the spatial particularities of tourism production and consumption (Shaw and Williams

[2]To be fair, MacCannell's stated goal is ancillary to studying tourism: it is to use the practices of tourism as an entrée into understanding the anthropology of modernity (taking up Lévi-Strauss's challenge that such an intellectual task is not possible).

2002). Tourist services are unique in an economic sense, because they are spatially fixed – they must be produced and consumed in a particular location, while simultaneously tourists are ever more mobile (Urry 1990). In addition to this tension between fixity and mobility, the tension between labor and capital also plays out in distinctive ways in the tourism sector: while owners and managers try to reduce labor costs in order to become more competitive in the marketplace, they must be cognizant that the labor force in tourism is required to produce culturally appropriate interactions and must meet cultural expectations (Urry 1990). Thus cost-cutting strategies that have been employed in other industries (offshoring, outsourcing, de-skilling, etc.) are not generally appropriate in this sector.

Moreover, tourism can be termed a positional sector of the economy, in which demand-side competition at any particular destination is zero-sum: there is only a certain amount of tourist satisfaction to go around, and those who "get more" prevent others from getting "as much" (Urry 1990; Selby 2004). Demand-side competition is relational and based on notions of inherent scarcity: one's satisfaction with getting "more" tourist experiences depends on the amount others are getting or have gotten. Looking at tourist experience through the lens of practices of consumption in this way suggests that there are limits to expanding the tourism sector at any one particular location. This concept of social limits to tourism growth and "geographical space as a strictly limited resource" (Mishan 1969 and Hirsh 1978, cited in Urry 1990) has similarities to the ecological concept of carrying capacity that has emerged in the study of ecotourism. There is a potential conflict between attracting more tourists and preserving the tourism resource indefinitely and sustainably; too many tourists (too much "success") can damage the

tourist's experience of the site, through congestion, overcrowding, or actual physical damage to the resources. Thus there is a powerful motive in tourism behavior to "see it now before it's ruined" (Urry 2002: 40). Such an attitude can be seen in the discourses of a privately-owned Nowa Huta tourist website that positions its attractions as worthy of a tourist elite:

> Nowa Huta forms a kind of a magic gate to the era of socialist realism. Undoubtedly, it will arouse the interests of *more demanding tourists* searching for *something new or different* with a specific aesthetic sensitivity, and for *a deeper look* at architectural, social and political issues because it is these together that made Nowa Huta (Nowa Huta website; italics added).

In this formulation, Nowa Huta will be *less* worthy of being visited if it is overrun by hordes of tourists gaping ignorantly at the monuments to socialism.

The processes of globalization have also changed the political economy of tourism. The integration of the European economy through the expansion of the European Union has reduced the number of tourism firms through mergers and acquisitions and vertical integration (Urry 2002, 46). On the other hand, demand-side decision-making counters these trends towards consolidation and standardization with a trend towards differentiation and individualization. Instant access to information from around the globe makes it easier to learn about faraway places and to assess the relative worth of visiting one or another, with the result that different countries or even regions within countries have come to specialize in providing certain kinds of objects for the tourist gaze (Urry 2002, 45).

Behavioral approaches borrowed from other social sciences like psychology aim to understand the processes whereby tourists decide where and when to go, what to see there, and why. Lury (1996) describes new trends in tourist consumption that favor the above-referenced product specialization, niche marketing, and more individualized consumption patterns. Such new patterns are tied to what Urry (1990) and others have called post-tourism, or post-Fordist tourism, in which mass tourism of the early and mid-twentieth century (the production and consumption of standard, packaged holidays) has been superseded by tourists' abilities to custom-design unique experiences tailored towards their own narrow, specialized interests. Such niche tourism takes a variety of forms: extreme tourism (seeking thrills or danger through physical exertion, often in remote locales); socially conscious tourism (for example, working on a fair-trade coffee farm); and hyper-specialized heritage tourism (marketing sites associated with particular events and historical periods to groups of consumers who share narrow, focused interests, such as tourism associated with sites and events of the Holocaust (Young 1993; Huener 2003; Charlesworth 2004; Till 2005). As introduced in the preceding chapter, communist heritage tourism is beginning to occupy a similar niche, with new museums and tourist attractions opening throughout Central and Eastern Europe (Berdahl 2006; Light 2000).

Niche tourism can be fickle, leading to popular, yet fleeting interest in exotic locations and ever newer ways of satisfying desires for tourist 'thrills.' In part, this capriciousness is driven by a relentless quest for authenticity. In a world in which experience is increasingly mediated through images and text, and our understanding of places has been pre-structured by advertising and other media interventions before we ever set foot in these places (Fainstein et al. 2003), tourists wish to avoid tourist

attractions that have been staged or contrived; they seek out "real" places that offer "off the beaten path" or "behind the scenes" experiences free of other tourists like themselves. On the other hand, postmodernism ('post-tourism' (Feifer 1985)) recognizes that "tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience" (Urry 1990, 100). One can, for example, know that the "World of Nations" exhibits at Walt Disney World are fake, yet still enjoy the experience; the recognition of inauthenticity itself functions as a sort of postmodern privileged knowledge that marks the knower as distinct from the mass of tourists. As I show in Chapter 7, tour promoters in Nowa Huta capitalize on both of these concepts – niche tourism and the desire for authenticity – in advertising their products for the discerning tourist.

These behavioralist approaches focus on pleasure as the primary motive for tourism. Other scholars have postulated deeper motivations, especially when historic or cultural sites are involved. Poria et al. (2004), for example, argue that the binary of motivation to visit heritage sites (either education or recreation) is incomplete; that there is another motive, which is engagement with one's own personal heritage. For Urry (1990), tourism is constructed in relation to its opposite, non-tourism: the world of daily life and especially, the world of work. In modern society, humans are defined through their work; because tourism is a departure and a difference from normal social routines, with definite habits and structures, through the study of tourism practices one can make sense of their opposites, that is, "what is happening in 'normal society'" (2). Thus tourism makes possible the gaze upon the 'Other,' allowing clarification of the Self in the process. Examples such as the popularity of tours of the Paris judiciary, sewers and

abattoirs, and factory tours everywhere are for Urry evidence of this fascination with the daily life and work of the 'Other' and the way in which stepping outside one's own daily life and work through tourism can bring sharper focus to one's sense of identity. This concept of 'Othering' is central to my analysis; as a tourist attraction, Nowa Huta is construed as 'Other' in spatial, temporal and social terms (Chapter 6).

MacCannell also focuses upon difference, but of temporality; for him, *"[S]ightseeing is a ritual performed to the differentiation of society*. Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience" (1989: 13, italics original). In his view, sightseeing can be seen as an attempt to push back the chaos of modernity and to reconnect with older (and presumably less complicated) times: since humans see the present as unstable, inauthentic, and fragmenting, they look to history for stability and authenticity. The American fascination with colonial villages such as Plimoth Plantation, Sturbridge Village, and Colonial Williamsburg, and the draw of preserved or reconstructed 19th century industrial landscapes of Britain and the United States (e.g., Birmingham in the UK, or Lowell, MA in the US) are evidence, for MacCannell, of the power of history to serve as a stabilizing counterpoint to the uncertainties of modern life.[3] Following this logic, the decaying landscapes of the steelworks in Nowa Huta represent a prospectively powerful (yet currently untapped) symbol of a unified past, a point to which I shall return in the final chapter. These strands of behavioral theoretical inquiry are relevant because they offer

[3] Lewis (1975) had anticipated this thinking by more than a decade, musing that Americans longed for the past because of (in part) the human scale of the built environment and the comfort of seeing the visible roots of American culture and history.

potential insights into why tourists would be interested in visiting Nowa Huta. Brochures and other advertisements for seeing Nowa Huta promote the uniqueness and authenticity of the experience, presumably tapping into the traveler's desire to see 'behind the scenes' of the tourist experience in Kraków that has been constructed for the mass tourist, and to have a privileged experience that is not available to all.

However, the critique of behavioralist approaches has been that they focus on the individual and his or her agency rather than on understanding how individual decision-making about which attractions to visit is shaped by political, social, and especially, cultural structures and practices (Selby 2004). MacCannell has suggested an intriguing model in which discourses are "built up" from individual desires and preferences:

> The structure of modernity is composed of a system of linkages attaching specific bits of information to concrete representations of society and social relations. Each individual act of sightseeing must replicate one of these linkages more or less exactly, or modernity will eventually decompose. A close examination of the act of sightseeing does reveal the individual making his own sight-marker linkages and constructing (or reconstructing) his own part of the modern world. As is always the case when it comes to social behavior, the energy that is devoted to the tasks, and the accuracy of the results, varies from individual to individual – structure is a collective accomplishment" (1989, 136).

With the 'cultural turn' of the 1990s, attention has turned to other ways of explaining the draw of tourist attractions. These approaches focus on the ways in which relations of uneven power, not collective energy, structure the formation of discourses.

Such work calls for expanded ways of theorizing tourism geography that draw on important cultural concepts in other social sciences. Franklin and Crang, for instance, have written that "the theoretical net needs to be cast much wider so that tourist studies is constantly renewed by developments in social and cultural theory and theory from other disciplines" (2001). Squire has called for an increased engagement between cultural geography and tourism geography in order to integrate "more qualitative and interpretive dimensions of touristic experience" (1994, 81). Pearce (1995) calls for a wider scope in tourism studies, with a particular focus on the social relationships between tourists, the people who serve them, the places they visit, and the people who live in those places. In the following section I draw on these disciplines, as well as on linguistic theory, to establish some frameworks for understanding how meanings of place are constructed, disseminated, and modified.

Representing place

Much recent geographical scholarship has centered on how places are represented and what meanings are conveyed by such representations. Claims about how political ideologies and power relationships have been embedded in representations of landscapes (see for example, Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Duncan 1990; Rose 1993) are central to the 'cultural turn' in geography of the early 1990s, and have more recently been taken up by tourism geographers, although it has largely been left to other geographical sub-disciplines, as well as other social science disciplines – for example, history, anthropology, and sociology – to develop more substantial theoretical frameworks and a more critical stance toward the processes of tourism and their relationships to other social and cultural processes. These ongoing conversations about the actors and processes of

representation are germane to the current project because it is mainly through touristic representations that attitudes towards the communist era and its place in Polish history are carried to an international public. The construction of identity is integrally bound to tourism discourses; tourism says "here is what we *are* (or *were*)"; thus the construction of tourism discourses is itself a process of constructing identity (Lanfant 1995).

I take as a starting point the post-structural proposition that meaning is not fixed: different texts can mean different things to different readers, depending on their positionality -- their background, their choice of texts to read (relative to other possibilities), and their expectations (Gibson-Graham 2000). However, meaning is not a matter of "whatever you like"; dominant discourses are created by those in power (Rose 2001). As Cresswell has noted, "place has no determinate meaning. The meaning of a place is the subject of particular discourses of power" (1996: 60). These discourses are maintained and reinforced by institutional apparatuses (Foucault 1972; 1977) to which those in positions of marginality have limited access. These representations mediate and control perceptions of reality: "…people know the world and act on it not through brute empirical interrogations but through coded 'readings.' People always 'confront' representations rather than a real world in gazes, conversations, and interactions; these powerfully stand in for the world. In this context, discourses [seem to] offer realities and suppress rich possibilities for 'seeing' alternatives, trapping its [sic] contentions in its own web of 'truths'" (Wilson 2005:9).

However, I do not mean to say that discourses are completely monolithic or fixed for all time; there is always room for competing alternatives; and meanings of place do shift to reflect the particular political, economic, and social conditions of the moment.

The events of late 1989 in Poland opened up spaces for the production of various new discourses that have continued to develop and change even now, nearly 20 years later. From government-controlled discourses about Nowa Huta as a progressive symbol of socialism (Stanek 2005), residents, politicians, entrepreneurs, and other stakeholders were liberated from their previous scripts, free to imagine new ways to portray the economic, political, and social relations under the new state regime, as well as its relationships with its neighbors, the European Union, and the world. In the next two sections, I take up the relationship between the discourses of tourism and the discourses of economic growth, with particular attention to how the processes subsumed under the heading of 'urban entrepreneurialism' have played out in the discourses produced by economic and governing elites.

Representing heritage

The relationship between heritage tourism discourses and economic development discourses is an uneasy one. Both seek to produce and circulate particular ideas about the identity of a place, but in places where heritage is contested or "dissonant" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) as in the case of communist heritage tourism, what is also generated is what Tunbridge (1994) terms the "identity versus economy" dilemma. On one hand, post-socialist governments are eager to repudiate communism, in order to show that they are following popular mandates for democracy and to legitimate their own agendas; on the other hand, they desperately need the revenues that tourism can provide, and the heritage of communism provides clear, definable attractions for tourist promotion. While communist heritage tourism engages visitors – local, national, and international – in thinking about and understanding the ideological legacy of socialism and how it took

physical form in the Soviet-bloc states, it is also, as a means of national identity formation (and re-formation), heavily contested in the ways in which citizens and nations of the former communist countries are forging new representations by which to market and identify themselves to the world (Light 2000).

Light (2000) has documented some ways in which this dilemma has been mediated. He has described the place-making strategies and rhetorical stances that have been used to represent the communist era (primarily to tourists) at three sites in Central and Eastern Europe (the Berlin Wall, the statute-park in Budapest, and the Palace of the People in Bucharest). In Table 2.1, I create a typology of place-making strategies and resulting rhetorical effects, and I classify Light's examples within that framework. Thus, in Berlin, the Wall has mostly been destroyed (fragmentation), and its remnants are "museumified" as if they were in glass cases, divorced from their original social, cultural and political context (spatial reframing). The Budapest sculpture park (the repository for civic monuments from Communist days) was built on the outskirts of town (spatial isolation) with an ironic design that teeters between legitimating the prior regime and mocking it (narrative reframing). In Bucharest, the history of the government palace built by Ceausescu is now recast as a story of the palace of the people, built by the very best of Romanian architects and craftsmen (narrative reframing and selection).

Table 2.1: Place-making and rhetoric in communist heritage tourism

Site	**Place-making strategy**	**Rhetorical effect**
Berlin Wall	Tear-down; fragmentation	Spatial reframing; museumification
Budapest sculpture park	relocation; spatial isolation	Narrative reframing
Bucharest Palace of People	Narrative selection	Narrative reframing

Source: after Light (2000)

These are useful descriptions of the ways in which discourse works on place; of special value is his emphasis that the meaning of places is dynamic and can be modified to suit the needs both of inhabitants and outside promoters (see also Herrschel 1999). However, what is missing from Light's account is attention to who specifically is employing these strategies, what (empirically) their motivations are, and what meaning visitors (other than himself) take from them. His descriptions therefore suffer from a curious absence of agency and offer limited insight into the processes by which such discourses were formulated and negotiated. His focus is on discourses *in situ*, not on connecting those discourses to the much wider field of discourses that occur in national and international advertising, news media, tour guidebooks, and other productions that mediate the tourist's expectation and image of a place long before he or she sees it (Fainstein et al. 2003). Moreover, his catalog considers only sites associated with the exercise of state power. This is useful when considering the role of the state in shaping discourse, but it fails to consider vernacular landscapes in which identities are constructed through the everyday experiences of ordinary people.

Thus my work diverges from Light in three important respects. First, I foreground the processes and actors involved in producing and disseminating the rhetorical strategies about Nowa Huta, not just the rhetorical effects thereby created. This shift in focus is akin to what Crang (1997b) has emphasized in studying tourism through the practices of the tourist gaze in photography. Second, I consider a much wider field of texts about Nowa Huta than simply those produced in and around the district itself in order to understand the universe of representations from which tourists draw to form their images and expectations of Nowa Huta. In this I pay particular

attention to the evaluative function of tourism texts: the ways in which they guide visitors to certain attractions; and discourage visits to others. Last, because Nowa Huta is a community of people still living ordinary lives amongst the material signatures of 'the ruins of communism' (Lahusen 2006), not a museum of communist-era artifacts (Light 2000; Berdahl 2006), nor even a historical urban planning ensemble (Handler and Gable 1997), my approach must be mindful of the processes by which discourses change and the meanings of places are modified. These representations are formed through the interactions by humans with differing amounts of political and economic power and varying amounts of media access, which controls the scale at which representations are broadcast.

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) offer a useful model for analyzing these contestations in how places are represented for heritage purposes (Figure 2.1). Conceptualizing heritage as of the present, and shaped to serve present and future needs, they further describe it as "a created phenomenon continuously recreated anew according to changing attitudes and demands" (10). Because these attitudes and demands are primarily shaped by the dominant power elements in society, and because they function by simplifying narratives and discarding elements that do not advance the legitimation of dominant interests, Tunbridge and Ashworth began to ask not only "whose heritage is this?" but also, "who is disinherited here and what are the consequences of such dispossession?" (1996: xi). Given the asymmetrical power relations between authorities in the district government of Nowa Huta and the dominant institutions of governance shaping tourism in Kraków, these questions are excellent prompts for discovering the discursive absences about Nowa Huta in tourism texts.

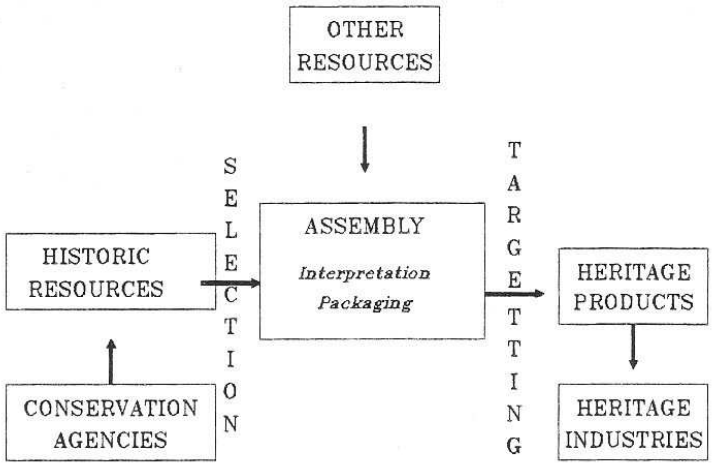

Figure 2.1 Modeling heritage production (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996)

Studies by Huener (2003) of the changing Polish representations of the Holocaust over time in the exhibits at Auschwitz and by Handler and Gable (1997) of the tensions inherent in representing difficult subjects such as slavery at Colonial Williamsburg are good models for examining the motivations of participants in the processes that create and disseminate narratives of the past, especially for sensitive or discredited periods of history. However, such studies tend to privilege expert representations prepared by museum curators or historians, which are ostensibly based on objective, systematic methodologies. As Lahusen puts it, "Historical expertise plays a particularly important role in the ways a place is remembered and reconstructed. 'When 'universal,' rigorous, scientific techniques are applied to the classification of objects and places, archives and archaeological traces, they tend to predominate over local memories or even efface them'" (Lahusen 2006: 739, in part quoting Edensor 2005: 129).

The processes of successive occupation of space by different groups also creates difficulties in representation. Charlesworth (2004) has documented varying interpretations of place associated with the use of a Nazi labor camp in Kraków (KL

Płaszow) that was formerly an Austrian fortification, then a quarry and industrial area, then a stage set where Steven Spielberg filmed *Schindler's List*, and now a parcel of neglected open space. Which era(s) should be commemorated here? Charlesworth asserts that, since all of Poland was in a sense a killing field during the Nazi occupation, limiting and bounding the sites of commemoration is necessary to make life possible in the present. Moreover, because there are other people who have legitimate claims on this space in the present, he argues that it should not be made into a memorial space (displacing their activities), at least not without some discussion. "Only a deliberate act of memory could reconnect [events with the sites of killing], [and] reinfuse the sites with a sense of their historical past (Young 1993: 119, quoted in Charlesworth 296). Charlesworth's ideas have particular salience in the context of Nowa Huta, where the entire district is potentially available as a site of remembrance of the communist era, yet it is crucial to remember that present residents also have claims on the meanings of place.

Charlesworth's approach to reconstructing the various claims and meanings of the site for different groups over time also supports the idea that meaning is also actively constructed by visitors: it is not a static, *a priori* idea "out there" for consumption. Johnson's (1986) model of the circuits of culture is also a useful one for this project, because it establishes links between the production and consumption of meaning: how meanings are changed as they are produced, disseminated, and consumed (Figure 2.2). Summing up, my approach to unpacking how the meanings of place are constructed is that they are structured by dominant power relations, yet open to individual influences and predispositions, as texts and images circulate through the networks of communication.

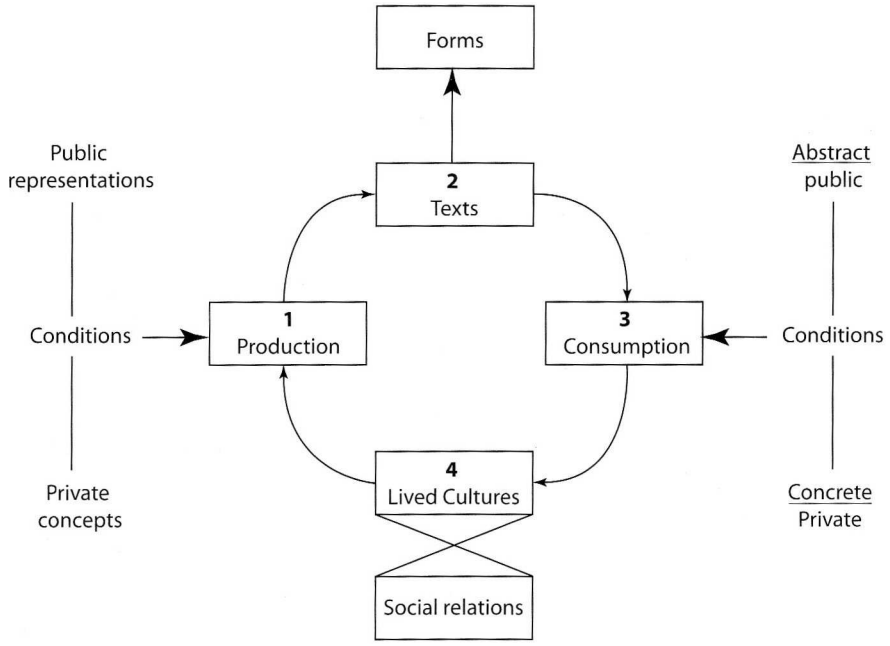

Figure 2.2: The circuits of culture (Johnson 1986)

Representing place in economic development contexts

My third research question asks about the nature of the connections between discourses of tourism and discourses of economic development in Nowa Huta. An analogous process to representing heritage is the process of constructing and promoting urban identity for economic development purposes, known as place promotion or marketing the city. Tourism promotion thus also has links to local economic development practices (a point that appears to be ignored by most tourism geographers, but a secondary focus of my research plan). For Nowa Huta, the question is how tourism efforts will either be integrated with or remain peripheral to local and national efforts at economic restructuring. As Greater Kraków strives to attract new investment and to restructure its employment base, it is turning to what Harvey (1989) has called 'urban entrepreneurialism,' a shift in urban governance from management and redistributive efforts to mute the spatial economic inequalities of capitalism, to greater encouragement

of local growth and economic development (Hall and Hubbard 1998). Although there is some debate about national variations in urban entrepreneurialism, the extent to which pro-growth coalitions coalesce for specific purposes or exist over the long-term, and the degree to which these coalitions can actually influence local growth, given the spatial scope and influence of decision-making by transnational corporations (Hall and Hubbard 1996), most scholars agree on the fundamental characteristics of urban entrepreneurialism. These include: public-private partnerships between local governments and local business elites; the use of public resources to encourage private growth; the focus on attracting certain economic sectors like high-tech and research and development; expenditures of public funds on a built environment that will be attractive to tourists and the professional class; property-led (piecemeal) redevelopment, and place promotion (Leitner and Sheppard 1998).

Place promotion by local authorities, while not a new phenomenon, has increased in scope and kind in Western cities in the last 25 years due both to the policies of national states, who have adopted neoliberal strategies that have reduced federal aid to cities and regions, and the consequent efforts by cities to increase their competitive advantage relative to one another in order to attract increasingly mobile transnational capital[4] and to deal with structural shifts in sectoral employment patterns. A considerable body of literature documents the processes of and strategies for place promotion (Gold and Ward 1994; Kearns and Philo 1993; Kotler, Haider, and Rein 1993; Short and Kim 1998). Promoters of place select the most desirable attributes of a city, such as locational attributes; a favorable business climate; quality of life; the presence of cultural

[4] It should be acknowledged, however, that there is scholarly debate about whether investments by transnational corporations really are more mobile, given the extent of fixed capital in plants and equipment.

institutions; and high-tech or otherwise prominent firms (Watson 1991; Holcomb 1994; Barke and Harrop 1994; Burgess 1982; Ward 1994). These attributes are used to create advertising campaigns incorporating slogans, testimonials, independent surveys, and carefully selected images showing the natural beauty, quality architecture, historical and recreational amenities, festivals, and nightlife scenes if appropriate (Short and Kim 1998).

Place promotion is now being studied in the cities of Central and Eastern Europe as well (Young and Kaczmarek 1999; Coles 2003; Domanski 1997), and from these empirical accounts it is clear that city marketers in the former Soviet-bloc countries are closely following neoliberal Western models. As I will detail in Chapter 8, the Municipality of Kraków has developed a sophisticated suite of marketing materials designed to cast a wide net in targeting potential investors, tourists, and quaternary-sector workers.

There are two major theoretical gaps in the place promotion literature (which, unfortunately, cannot be solved here). First, it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of place promotion as a component of economic development activity: what amount of growth is directly attributable to place promotion? What growth would have occurred without place promotion? These are difficult, if not impossible, questions to operationalize. Second, there is debate about the most appropriate spatial scale at which to conduct place promotional activities, or even whether place promotion should properly be considered economic development. Lovering (1995) classifies place promotion as a component of the 'new localism,' and argues that, as an offspring of regulationist approaches, it improperly views local economies as autonomous and primary, rather than

being connected to other scales of economic activity and the government policies that are generated at such scales (113). Further, he finds the term 'entrepreneurialism' misleading, writing that the word implies increasing productive capacity through innovation, when what is really meant lately for cities is commodification – packaging and selling the existing conditions of the locale.

Hardy and Rainnie (1996) have applied this critique of the 'new localism' in their empirical work on economic restructuring in Kraków. In their view, the Polish national government's emphasis on creating small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) is misplaced. SMEs do not have sufficient political and economic power to exert meaningful local control over restructuring processes. Moreover, they compete with each other rather than collaborate, and because of the focus on attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) in the region, the Cracovian firms are small and dependent, either doing the work that transnational corporations (TNCs) will not, or functioning as dependent TNC suppliers rather than independent, autonomous firms. In Chapter 8, I provide a more detailed account of the place promotion efforts in Kraków, how they are congruent with the place-images created by tourism promoters, and the ways in which these critiques are meaningful in the context of considering the discourses of economic development.

In this chapter I have drawn from multiple literatures -- tourism geography, representing places, and place promotion – to provide a more complete and nuanced picture of how the discourses of tourism and economic regeneration are constructed and circulated. Traditional and behaviorist approaches in tourism geography provide insights into individual decision-making about how tourism professions promote their attractions and how tourists choose to consume them, but do not account for how these decision-

making processes are situated within political, economic and cultural structures. To address this gap, I draw upon theoretical frameworks that view discourses as constructed by powerful interests yet open to contestation from others and particularly to open to modification through an iterative cycle involving producers, promoters, and consumers. The use of these frameworks allows me to connect tourism to other social practices, including the processes of constructing post-communist identities, accommodating difficult or contested heritage, and connecting the Kraków region to the global economy. In the three chapters that follow, I turn to more detailed accounts of the representations of Nowa Huta that are produced by the tourism industry. I consider the relationship of tourism discourses to economic development discourses in Chapter 8, and take up some potential avenues of contesting the dominant discourses in Chapter 9.

Chapter 3
Materials and Methods: from Texts to Discourse

"The limits of my language mean the limits of my world."
L. Wittgenstein, quoted in Olsson 1979:299.

In this chapter I describe my data and explain the methods by which I collected and analyzed them. My primary research focus was to use Nowa Huta as a case study to investigate the range of its touristic representations as a symbol of Poland's communist past, and to assess how those representations fit with other visions of Kraków's current and future identity, especially its strategies for economic development. Because this work focuses on how a place – Nowa Huta -- is represented in oral or written texts such as tour narratives or guidebook descriptions, I chose textual analysis as my primary analytical tool, although I have also incorporated analysis of visual materials (for example, tour tickets, tour posters) where relevant, and I suggest at the end of the chapter how textual analysis has the potential to inform and structure discourse analysis.

The case study "is a way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social aspect being studied" (Goode and Hatt 1952: 331, in Punch 1998:150). As such, the case study may be understood as an approach, not a specific method; the case study itself includes various methods chosen as required by the research questions (Punch 1998; Stake 2000).

The case study approach has several advantages for this research project. First, a case study allows for the investigation of a phenomenon where the boundaries between the object of study and its context may be indeterminate or unclear (Yin 1984). In my research plan, although I had conceptualized communist heritage tourism as a web of multi-scalar economic development networks, with funding linkages and technical

assistance connections at local, national, and even supranational scales, I was uncertain where the bounds of my inquiry should be placed. Early on in my fieldwork, however, it became clear that as a practice communist heritage tourism was entirely local (although of course theoretically it relates to larger-scale, more abstract ideas about post-socialist transitions, especially those concerning economic growth and national identity). Thus the case study approach allows the case of Nowa Huta to be bounded in geographical scale and in historical time.

Second, the case study approach is holistic; it allows the phenomenon of communist heritage tourism to be understood as situated in specific social relations and historically-contingent social practices. This characteristic is crucial for addressing the research questions, for it allows the textual analysis to be connected with a close reading of social relationships in the tourism industry and to be placed in relation to the surrounding world (Feagin et al. 1991) through its relationships to ideas about Polish romantic nationalism (Chodakiewicz 2003) and to economic development practice.

Third, the case study approach requires a justification of its particularity versus its generalizability. I envision the case of tourism in Nowa Huta as being most useful as an instrumental case (Punch 1998; Stake 2003), offering the potential for insight into theoretical considerations of the representational issues at stake in constructing narratives about the communist past. It also is useful as one part of a collective study (Punch 1998; Stake 2003), in that it is an example of new towns built after World War II by socialist governments, and it thus offers the possibility for the beginnings of comparative work on tourism discourses in other new towns. Thus I argue in Chapter 9 that although communist heritage tourism differs based on the host nation's historical circumstances,

cultural practices, and attitudes toward communism after World War II, this study can contribute to identifying and theorizing significant commonalities among post-communist societies.

I collected data for textual analysis through a variety of methods. These included the purchase or download of printed texts such as guidebooks and newspaper articles, transcriptions of my interviews, transcriptions of tours of Nowa Huta, and field notes memorializing other conversations, such as interactions with staff members in tourist information offices. Each of these data collection methods is described in further detail below. I also collected commercially available tourism statistics in order to understand the nature of the tourist population in Greater Kraków and Poland and to help to contextualize the phenomenon of communist heritage tourism as one small stream of more substantial tourist flows through Kraków and the surrounding region.

It was important to collect a wide range of source materials because each is by itself an incomplete representation of Nowa Huta, and many contributions are needed to be able to understand the whole picture of communist heritage tourism (Rose 2001; Hannam 2002). But a range of texts also serves a broader analytical purpose: allowing me to make the leap from textual analysis to discourse analysis. Where textual analysis treats texts as independent of the institutional structures that produced them and free from the considerations of how, where, and by whom texts are consumed, discourse analysis "assumes that all texts are produced intertextually in relation to other texts which are embedded within the power relations that give degrees of authority" (Hannam 2002:194). Because this project analyzes communist heritage tourism in relation to other economic

development practices, it is important to situate the analysis intertextually and to consider how and by whom the tourist "products" are consumed.

Data Collection Methods

I employed a multi-method strategy to assemble the materials for analysis, using interviews, tours, and participant observation to augment my collection of written texts, and matching the research method in each case to the kind of data being sought. One of the benefits of this multi-method strategy is that there is some overlap in data, so that information gained from one source or one method either supports or calls into question information gained from a different source or method.

Tourism texts.

In the last two decades, human geographers have broadened their definition of what constitutes a "text" to include visual materials and even landscapes and institutional structures (Barnes and Duncan 1992; Aitken 1997). My goal in collecting written tourist information about Nowa Huta was to assemble as comprehensive a set as possible, without any limitations as to medium, in order to analyze a wide range of authorial intentions directed at a wide range of intended audiences. I organized my collecting of texts according to various stages in the tourist's need for and access to information.

"Pre- Kraków" textual materials. The goal of this research phase was to understand how and what English-speaking visitors might learn about Nowa Huta during the course of their daily life, whether or not they were contemplating a trip to Kraków or more generally Poland, and what impressions they would form from commonly available popular books and periodicals. I collected and analyzed representations of Nowa Huta

available in a) travel magazines; b) newspapers, especially travel sections of major metropolitan papers; c) tour guidebooks; and d) the Internet.

For travel magazines, I read through a year's worth of three monthly, high-circulation periodicals aimed at opposite ends of the socioeconomic spectrum: *Arthur Frommer's Budget Travel* (February 2006 to June 2007), to assess information targeted towards budget-conscious travelers; and *Travel and Leisure* (January 2007 through August 2007 inclusive) and *Condé Nast Traveller* (February 2007-August 2007 inclusive), which are targeted towards wealthier customers. In these periodicals, I searched for feature articles about Nowa Huta, Kraków, Poland, or central and eastern Europe, and I also paid attention to advertisements for these destinations, focusing on the style of the ads, to whom they appeared to be targeted, and what entities were sponsoring them. Because I was browsing through and reading physical copies of these magazines (as opposed to targeted searches through academic databases), I also had the opportunity to form a general understanding of the range and nature of editorial content and advertisements in these periodicals.

For newspapers, I read through more than one year's worth of Sunday travel sections for the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* (3/12/2006 through 6/24/2007) and the *New York Times* (6/4/2006 through 7/1/2007 and also the travel magazine inserts Winter, Spring and Fall 2006; and Spring and Summer 2007). The *Star-Tribune* did not publish any articles on travel to Poland, but rather focused almost entirely on domestic travel and winter sun getaways[1]. The *New York Times*, on the other hand, routinely published

[1] I had incorrectly hypothesized that the newspaper might try to appeal to pockets of historically Polish settlements in Northeast Minneapolis and in St. Paul by publishing heritage tourism articles about Poland.

articles on out-of-the-way destinations in central and eastern Europe, including articles on Kraków (with a single paragraph on Nowa Huta) and Prague. As with the travel magazines, I also browsed through the advertisements and formed a general understanding of current travel trends as understood by the travel editors of these two periodicals.

I also collected a set of newspaper feature stories about Nowa Huta from a variety of international publications (see "Primary Sources – Newspapers" section of Works Cited) in order to analyze representations of Nowa Huta that are targeted toward a more general audience than tourists or prospective tourists.[2]

These two data sets -- magazines and newspapers -- were not nearly as fruitful as I had hoped when I prepared my research plan. I believe that this is the case for a number of reasons. First, these publications must cater to a broad spectrum of travel interests in each issue, thus lessening the possibility that a relatively obscure destination like Poland would be the focus of a feature story. Second, since Americans are a tiny percentage (less than 1%) of international tourists in Poland (see Chapter 7 for an analysis of origin patterns for tourists in Poland), these American publications tend to focus on what they perceive as demand destinations for Americans. Third, the need to match articles to climate-dependent seasonal changes in tourism patterns (focusing on tropical destinations during the fall and winter, for example) means that articles on central and eastern Europe have a narrow window of interest for editors. Last, each publication is clearly driven by a particular editorial focus: for example, the *Star-Tribune* highlights mainly North American (and in winter, Latin American) destinations, while the *New York Times*

[2] It appears that journalists on vacation in Kraków often take advantage of their location to file such feature stories – a busman's holiday of sorts, but probably one with favorable expense-account ramifications.

publishes information on hip, edgy destinations or lesser-known aspects of more popular destinations.

The next set of materials that prospective tourists would seek out is guidebooks available in bookstores or at libraries. I collected and analyzed texts from a dozen such guidebooks (see "Primary Sources – Guidebooks" section of Works Cited). An additional four guidebooks were examined that did not contain descriptions of Nowa Huta. My collection of texts includes those readily available in the United States as well as those available in Kraków bookstores, and it is inclusive in the sense that I did not sample guidebooks, but collected and analyzed all that I could find. My rationale in examining these texts was to understand how Nowa Huta is represented to a touring public that may know nothing about the place or its history, and to assess whether the representation in the guidebook would be likely to promote tourism there or discourage it. I was also interested in assessing to what extent (if at all) the rhetorical tone and focus of the guidebooks could be considered to be a function of the author's or publisher's (some guidebooks are unattributed) place of national origin. For two of these publications (*Rough Guide* and *Lonely Planet*) I was fortunate to have more than one edition (year), allowing for a consideration of shifts in representations over time.

As the Internet grows in influence and scope as a content provider, prospective tourists increasingly find travel information there (Buhalis and Schertler 1999; O'Connor 1999). Using Google (1.4 million hits for "Nowa Huta" on May 31, 2006), I identified five sites that provide relatively comprehensive information about Nowa Huta (see "Primary Sources – Internet Guides" section of Works Cited) suitable for textual

analysis. I did not collect or analyze web-based lists of attractions that provided only a few phrases or sentences about Nowa Huta.

In Kraków (but not yet in Nowa Huta). Materials for the second temporal phase of the model were of three kinds: guide books (bookstores and tourist information offices in Kraków sell a wide variety of tourism materials geared toward the city and its environs); ephemera (brochures, posters, flyers, etc.) at the many Tourist Information Offices (TIOs) scattered throughout the city; and verbal information available from staff at the TIOs (discussed below in the section on participant observation). I conducted a systematic search of bookstores and TIOs in Kraków, noting in each case the publications that were available, and collecting texts that described Nowa Huta. I also collected whatever brochures and flyers mentioning Nowa Huta were available at the TIOs, and assessed the range and types of other brochure and flyer information available.

Figure 3.1 Map-Kiosk in Nowa Huta's central square

Figure 3.2 Markers on Nowa Huta Route

In Nowa Huta. In the third phase of the temporal model, the tourist has arrived in Nowa Huta. Where will he or she find information there about what to see? What kinds of information are available? Acting out this role of a tourist, I visited Nowa Huta on numerous occasions, and catalogued the texts found there that represent it. These texts include my photographs of architecture and daily life, and photographic documentation of the features available for self-guided tours, which are of two kinds. First, there are two map-kiosks (Figure 3.1) in the central square that show the district's development over time, with photographs and short descriptions of its major planning features and important buildings. These are keyed (although incorrectly) to the map and descriptions on the City of Kraków's fold-out brochure. Second, there are blue-and-white stanchion posts (Figure 3.2) with photographs, sketches, and historical information at or near the

respective features. These are hard to find, sometimes defaced, and sometimes missing altogether. Because they do not bear the Municipal Kraków logo, and because their design "look and feel" is very different than the other materials, I inferred that they were not funded and placed by the City of Kraków, which is otherwise scrupulous about branding its promotional efforts. However, there is no information on these stanchions to identify their sponsors.

I also browsed in the one bookstore in Nowa Huta, and bought several books on the district that were not for sale elsewhere in Kraków.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is understood here as a method of ethnography that combines participation in the rhythms of daily life in a social group with stepping back from participation to observe and write, in order to understand ways of life and world views by experiencing life on the "inside" (Cook 1997). It involves being able "to open oneself up to different ways of constructing social life and knowledge" by learning to interpret behavior in context as well as behaving as others in the social group would expect (Bennett 2002b: 139). Bennett (2002b) also has noted the need for finding a balance between participating and observing. Over-participation (i.e., "going native") inhibits the researcher's ability to frame and understand daily life as a researcher, while over-observation (distancing of the researcher from daily life, or failure to monitor oneself constantly for compliance with local behavioral norms) may inhibit access to the most private and emotional experiences of the social group. At the end of the chapter I discuss one particular aspect of this method that presents some unanticipated challenges largely ignored by scholars writing about the method.

My access to the field and my role there (Cook 1997) were produced by my status as a student in Jagiellonian University's Summer School of Polish Language and Culture throughout most of my fieldwork. Students were explicitly expected by the school administration to be tourists in Poland's most historic city; it was natural and desirable that we would be visitors at the local attractions and would want to learn more about them. I spoke freely with my instructors, classmates, and dorm-mates about my project and my interests in Nowa Huta; this had an unanticipated benefit in that fellow students[3] knew me as "that woman interested in Nowa Huta," and made a point of seeking me out to tell me things they had learned about the district.[4] I also had nominal access to other faculty members at Jagiellonian University, although I quickly learned that the relationships between students and faculty in Europe are more distant and formal than those in the United States, and faculty I spoke with, in general, were not particularly interested in my project or in pointing me to additional resources. I kept detailed field notes of all my observations and interactions; this was easy to do under the guise of jotting down personal notes in museums, writing in cafes, or even taking notes during class.

The role of a student gave me "cover" when visiting tourist attractions, including my inquiries about Nowa Huta described below. I had some internal ethical conflict about "playing a role" as a tourist rather than disclosing fully the professional nature of my interest in Nowa Huta, but it was important to my research to have the "typical" tourist experience, and not to be treated specially as an academic or researcher.

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[3] There are roughly 400 students enrolled concurrently in the School each summer.

[4] Two examples: one man put me in touch with his *pilotka* (the go-to coordinator for a particular student cohort), who was from Nowa Huta; another student came to me to report that there was a new guidebook for Nowa Huta in the largest bookshop in the Main Square.

In addition to ongoing daily interactions with students, faculty and staff at Jagiellonian University and daily life interactions in public spaces like shops, cafes, and trams, my participant observations also took the form of short, standardized conversations about Nowa Huta with staff members at the Tourist Information Offices (TIOs) and participation in organized tours of Nowa Huta.

The conversations at TIOs were conducted in two phases. In June through August 2006, I visited all TIOs in Kraków (and the one in Nowa Huta), and had a short conversation in Polish requesting information about Nowa Huta. The custom in Poland (unlike the United States) is to display on the TIO racks only the commercial brochures advertising attractions, hotels, and restaurants. The proprietors of these establishments pay a fee to the City for the privilege of advertising their products (see discussion in Chapter 7). Brochures produced by the City are "held back" (kept out of sight behind the counter) and are brought forth only when a visitor requests them or asks for information that is available in the brochure.[5]

The suite of brochures (see "Primary Sources – Brochures" section in Works Cited) prepared by the Municipality of Kraków is extensive and includes a multi-folder, two-color flyer for Nowa Huta suitable for a self-guided tour. It is available in Polish, English, and German; however it is very difficult to find. Most of the TIOs did not have it in stock, or did not have it in all languages. Despite requests at all the TIOs, I was able to collect only a few copies of this brochure. When it was not available, I was simply informed that there was no information about Nowa Huta, or was referred to a different TIO where the staff member thought more information might be available.

[5] This was the case in six of the seven TIOs; the one in the district of Kazimierz was the only one that openly displayed the City brochures.

In May 2007, I tried a different approach, and tried the same standardized conversation in English, with more informative results, possibly because at this early moment in the tourist season, visitor flows in the offices were still relatively small, and the staff members had more time to talk. There were even fewer of the municipal brochures on hand than were available the prior summer, but staff members were more resourceful in finding other materials, public or private, that might be helpful, including a section on Nowa Huta in a brochure called "Three Days in Kraków" that had not been available the previous summer.

Organized tours of Nowa Huta generated the largest set of data about how Nowa Huta is represented. First, I acted as a participant observer in commercial tours; I took five tours ranging in length from two hours to four hours and transcribed verbatim four of them. The tour group varied in size from one (just me) to about 25 on the largest. I took multiple tours from the two private companies who have made a name for themselves in this niche market.

To participate in these tours, how I constructed the "tourist self" had to be carefully worked out. I signed up for tours as an "ordinary tourist" (not disclosing my research interests or asking for any special consideration) and paid the full ticket price followed by the obligatory tip. However, I thought it would be ethically wrong not to disclose the nature of my interest to the guide and other participants and it would be especially egregious to tape the tour narratives without permission. Thus, I explained to the guides at the beginning of the tours that I was studying tourism in Nowa Huta as a part of a school research project, and asked for their permission to tape the tours so that I could refer back to the information subsequently. This permission was immediately

granted in every case without any hesitation or surprise whatsoever. (Other tour participants videotaped the tours; my request apparently was perceived by them as a variation on memorializing a tourist experience for further reflection and consumption.) I did not seek permission from other participants to tape the tour, although certainly they easily could overhear my conversation with the tour guide, and could easily see during the tour itself that I was taping. I took care to ask only questions that would be considered "typical" of tourists engaged in such tours, and in fact asked very few questions of the guides, allowing the tours to unfold as they had organized them.

Second, I went on four "tours" of Nowa Huta with sets of colleagues from Jagiellonian University and elsewhere. My colleagues (Americans, Germans, Austrians, and Dutch) were aware of my research project, and were interested in seeing the district with someone knowledgeable, without paying for a commercial tour. I, on the other hand, was interested in observing their reactions to the district. I did not record these tours, but made detailed field notes immediately following our excursions.

Acting the role of "tourist," I made multiple visits to the newly-opened Nowa Huta branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków and viewed the two installations that were on display during my stays. I also made two visits to the newly-opened (Fall 2006) "1949 Klub," a café and cultural center dedicated to improving the self-image of Nowa Huta and to the district's Cultural Center, a community building with space for receptions, art exhibitions and community classes.

Interviews. The goal of interviews (unlike working with statistical, aggregated data) is to expose differences, contradictions, and "the complexity of unique experiences" (Bennett 2002a: 151). For Valentine, the method allows "interviewees to construct their

own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words. The emphasis is on considering the meanings people attribute to their lives and the processes which operate in particular social contexts" (1997: 111). My purpose in conducting interviews was to gain additional knowledge of the business of tourism in Nowa Huta and the motivations of its proponents from their own perspective (see discussion in Chapter 7). I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with tourism professionals representing three separate tourist operations during the two fieldwork periods: Summer 2006 and Spring 2007. Two of these were conducted by telephone; the remainder were conducted in person. My goal was to collect information about the nature and operations of the tour businesses; any funding relationships with or technical assistance from local, regional, and national governments; and the interviewees' perceptions of how communist heritage tourism was viewed by local government, in particular those branches of local government tasked with promoting tourism and promoting economic growth. An outline of the interview questions is found in Appendix A.

Tour operators agreed to interviews with alacrity, and appeared to be open and candid throughout. Most interviews were tape-recorded, always with the interviewee's permission, and were subsequently fully transcribed. Where recording was not feasible, detailed notes were made during the interview and the notes were transcribed and expanded the same day to preserve as much detail of the nuances of the conversation as possible.

In addition to these interviews, I also had short conversations with representatives of two other tour providers who either no longer provide tours of Nowa Huta or only

provide them as part of a group package. These conversations did not follow the interview script outline but rather helped me to gather information about the companies' tour products, and in the one case, to understand why they no longer offer tours of Nowa Huta.

Three semi-structured interviews with representatives of heritage institutions complemented my understanding of communist heritage tourism in Nowa Huta. All were conducted during fieldwork in Spring 2007. Two were conducted in person; one was conducted in the form of an email question/response at the interviewee's suggestion, due to the difficulty of finding a mutually convenient time to meet. An outline of the interview questions is found in Appendix B. All interviews were conducted in English or in Polish using an interpreter.

Interviewing presents issues of access, cultural understanding, and interviewee trust (Fontana and Frey 2000) that are similar to the issues in participant observation, as discussed above. Getting access to professional or academic contacts in Poland is very different culturally from doing it in the United States. Wedel's (1986) account of negotiating professional academic relationships in communist Poland is still relevant today: people are not always willing to meet with you unless you have been introduced or referred by one of their colleagues; there is an expectation that you will be able to help them or someone they know in some way in the future; and the level of courtesy and formality required to set up and conduct interviews seems old-fashioned by American standards. However, because most of my interviewees were either with young entrepreneurs who have spent time in the United States or with young academics interested in building cross-Atlantic professional ties, my access was reasonably smooth

and informal. My interviewees enthusiastically talked long after the "official" interview had ended, and arrived at our interviews with texts and other materials they thought would be helpful to me. All were interested in reading at least a portion or shortened form of my completed dissertation, a personally gratifying end to the interviews because it indicated that I had been able to successfully convey my belief that the interview is a mutually negotiated discourse that creates its own reality (Fontana and Frey 2000), and creates reciprocity through sharing of information, experience, and ideas (Valentine 1997).

Economic Development Texts. Although the majority of my data collection and analysis focused on communist heritage tourism, a complementary component of my argument is that the discourses of tourism must be understood in relation to discourses of economic development (Coles 2003). To support this claim, I present an analysis of economic discourses and their relation to tourism discourses in Chapter 8. My analysis draws on a collection of texts prepared by various agencies (both public and private) and targeted to specific audiences: foreign investors; Polish investors; local officials; or local citizens. Some of these materials were available online (such as the economic development profile at the Municipality of Kraków's website, Kraków's economic development plan, the specifications for Special Economic Zones enumerated in the Kraków Technology Park Board's website, and 'local plans' (comprehensive plans for city districts)). Other documents were available at the offices of various public and private agencies involved in economic development activity, such as the *Krakówski Instytut Nieruchomości* (KIN; in English the CREI, Cracow Real Estate Institute), the Małopolska (regional government) Tourism Center, the Kraków Bureau of Statistics, and

the Kraków Promotion and Tourism Department. Materials included plans and planning documents, reports, conference proceedings, brochures, an economic development journal, and flyers.

Textual and Discourse Analysis

Following the procedures for textual analysis outlined by Crang (1997a) and Emerson et al. (1995), I began by reading through all the tourism texts that I had collected. I jotted down key motifs that appeared again and again ('open coding'), and developed a list of about a dozen themes, which I subsequently agglomerated into three broad categories. These form the foci of the chapters in Part II, and address the themes and rhetorical strategies analyzed in Chapters 4-6 (form and ideology, contestations of space, and "Othering"). I then coded the texts *in situ* (not cutting them up and laying them in thematic piles, as is sometimes suggested) because I thought it was important to preserve their context and also because some texts speak to multiple codes.

My primary focus was the issue of representation: how is Nowa Huta represented for consumption by tourists? What specific features and events do writers and tour guides find most important to mention? What metaphors and tropes (Barnes and Duncan 1992) structure the representations, and what associations do they have? What is absent (unsaid) and why? (The question of absence is an interesting methodological one, for how can we identify what is not said unless we have a broader base of knowledge from which to draw, in order to know there is knowledge "out there" that has been omitted from the account in question?)

This question of 'absence' foregrounds one of the oft-cited limitations of textual analysis: that it treats texts as independent of the social relations and institutional

structures that produced them (Hannam 2002). In other words, the text is only the text, and is unattached to its producer, its consumer, or the processes that structure its production and consumption. However, not all scholars of methodology agree that this limitation of the method is inevitable. Emerson et al. (1995) derive a method of textual analysis from anthropological fieldwork, drawing from grounded theory (Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1998) to describe a method of textual analysis that links fieldwork with the researcher's knowledge, theoretical concerns, and other prior events so that "...events and actions [of fieldwork] become meaningful in light of an emerging whole" (168). Rose (2001), in describing methods of visual analysis that are also applicable to texts, offers two additional prescriptions: to consider the social conditions and effects of visual objects; and to consider the researcher's own subjectivity in looking at visual objects. Thus mindful of the need to place texts within their social and institutional contexts, I adopt a constructionist perspective (Wilson 2005) that examines how understanding the circumstances of authorship, production, and consumption of the tourism texts about Nowa Huta is essential in understanding the nature of the representations. (For example, a paragraph in a general guidebook for Poland can convey only a fraction of the information of a personal, guided tour of Nowa Huta; in fact, it is this range of representational possibilities seen in the context of the reader's receptivity that drove the formation of my temporally-organized text collection scheme.)

This expansion of the potential of textual analysis is crucial to my project because it forms the bridge between the method of textual analysis I have described above and discourse analysis. Discourse analysis allows three additional uses of the textual data to take place: considering tourism texts in light of their evaluative function, which is to

provide the most relevant answer to the question, “What is worth seeing in Kraków?”; placing tourism texts in relation to each other (Foucault 1972) and to development discourses about economic potential in the Kraków region; and conceptualizing Nowa Huta as a site at which the meaning of the communist era is both controlled and contested. I take up these analyses in Chapters 8 and 9.

Methodological Issues and Concerns

I close this chapter with a postscript on one aspect of these data collection methods that posed a challenge for this project: the potential for the researcher as participant-observer to affect how information is diffused to and received by tourists. Participant observation, as described above, is usually understood as a one-way flow of information: the researcher “enters” into the culture and participates in daily life “as if” she were a member of the cultural group, unobtrusively (or secretly) collecting information in the form of written field notes for subsequent analysis. Any awkwardness or inability to collect the desired information is attributed to the researcher’s inability to “blend” properly (Lynn 1992), to fail somehow to adopt the behaviors, manners, and cultural habits of the group in ways that develop and sustain the personal connections necessary to collect good field notes.

However, this is a static, even paternalistic view of the host cultural group: it does not admit any ability on the part of the host group to respond to the researcher’s presence or to modify its behaviors in light of that presence, or recognize that the actions of the researcher might materially affect the data being sought. Two examples from this project will serve as examples of how participant observation may affect (if even in small ways) the eventual product of research.

When I asked for information about Nowa Huta in the *ul. Św. Jana* (St. John Street) tourist information office, the staff member said there wasn't any. However, a staffer working nearby in a back office overheard our conversation and came out to tell the first staffer that there was indeed a brochure about it. The two searched the public brochure racks together, finding nothing, and then the back office staffer delved into a closet, returning with a large bound stack of them, from which he took about ten copies. He gave one to me, and placed the remainder on the rack. The next time I was in this TIO, about a week later, all nine brochures had been taken; thus at least nine other visitor groups had the opportunity to learn something about Nowa Huta, and possibly visit the district. This opportunity would not have been available had I not asked about brochures; as previously noted, the TIOs do not routinely keep municipal brochures on the racks to be taken freely by browsers; rather they dole them out judiciously upon request. In fact, I never saw the Nowa Huta brochure on the rack again in this office or in any of the others.

In the second instance, I was surprised to see an announcement at the Jagiellonian University dormitory for an early Sunday morning tour of Nowa Huta a few weeks after my arrival in June 2006. The tours and other historical and cultural events for our program had been set well in advance and were printed in the handbook we had been given upon arrival; the program did not include any mention of tours of Nowa Huta. When I inquired why this tour had been added, the guide said that "many people had been asking about Nowa Huta," so she and a friend had asked if it would be possible to arrange an optional tour and had been given approval by the director of the program.

The tour attracted about 35 participants of the 400 or so students in the language school, many of whom remembered me as the graduate student studying tourism in Nowa

Huta. It seemed entirely probable that my frequent references to my project, in classes, during breaks, and during meals and other social gatherings in the dormitory, had contributed to some interest in the larger student body, and a perceived obligation on the part of our cohort coordinators to respond to that interest. Thus, nearly 10% of the student body was exposed to an entirely different side of Kraków's history, and learned something of Poland's communist era, which was not otherwise part of the official curriculum. The researcher in participant observation cannot be regarded as "a fly on the wall;" interactions driven by the researcher's pursuit of knowledge can materially affect the knowledge base of the researched.

In the next three chapters, I turn to an exploration and analysis of the themes and rhetorical strategies that are found in the tourism texts of Nowa Huta.

Chapter 4 – Form

Three broad themes are evident in the way in which Nowa Huta is presented to tourists in guidebooks, brochures, and tours. First, the materiality of the district – its layout, architectural style, and amenities – is framed in part as the product of socialist ideology, but more importantly (and contrarily) as a subversion of international socialist ideals made through architectural elements that are distinctively Polish. Second, tourism texts portray acts of political resistance against the communist regime – especially when those acts involved a struggle for freedom of religious expression through the control of space. Third, tourist texts mark Nowa Huta as "Other" along multiple axes of difference, in order to distance Poland, Poles and Kraków from their 43-year history of communist rule. In this chapter I discuss the ways in which the urban planning concepts and architectural styles of Nowa Huta are presented to tourists; Chapter 5 takes up the theme of contestations for space and Chapter 6 the theme of difference.

Because Nowa Huta was envisioned and constructed as a model city enabling the development of "the new socialist man" -- through new forms of architectural organization that would, in turn, shape new social relations -- touristic descriptions of Nowa Huta often foreground the physical characteristics of the built environment. Tour guides (and to a lesser degree, guide books) describe the underlying ideological principles that shaped the new community, their physical expression in the urban ensemble, and the ways in which distinctly Polish styles of architecture were overlaid on Soviet-derived urban planning concepts. There is an obvious tension in these representations between the need to validate Nowa Huta as a tourist site worth seeing and

the desire to repudiate the principles of communism, especially when their links to Soviet doctrine can be demonstrated: this balancing act of alternately valuing and devaluing the urban environment and what it stands for is one of the most striking features of the tours of Nowa Huta.

I begin with an analysis of the ideological content of the tours and how the guides connect abstract ideas about socialism to the built environment they are showing to tour participants, and I contextualize these ideas within the ideological history and iconography of new utopian cities in socialism. Next, I describe how individual elements of the socialist plan – the neighborhood units, the green spaces, and the planned amenities (some realized, some not) – are portrayed not only as contributing to the comfort of daily life, but also as enabling resistance to the communist regime. Last, I turn to the representations of architectural style in Nowa Huta, in which the tour guides and tour books characterize the intent and impact of the designers' contributions as an expression of Polish architectural heritage rather than a slavish imitation of Stalinist style.

Considering urban and architectural forms is a compelling topic for tour books, tours, and other touristic representations of Nowa Huta for a number of reasons. First, written and oral descriptions of urban and architectural form tie directly to what tourists are actually experiencing; thus a link is created between written or verbal information and direct experience, between knowing and seeing. Experiencing a political ideology inscribed directly on the built environment is a very different tourist experience than hearing a narrative of past events, or viewing a series of touristic tableaux constructed for consumption, and here I disagree with tourism geographers like John Urry (1990), who reduces tourist experiences to "the gaze" upon the "Other" and tourism to the collection

and consumption of signs marking difference, authenticity, or uniqueness. Rather, I conceptualize tourist experiences much more broadly, as a multi-sensory information-gathering that reinforces the tour narratives by allowing tourists to compare what they have read or heard with the evidence of their own senses. Experiencing Nowa Huta is not just about Urry's remote "gaze," as if through a window frame or windshield; rather, "seeing" Nowa Huta can engage the entire body, from touching the damask linens at the Stylowa Restaurant, to smelling the flowers on Roses Avenue, to engaging in conversation with Nowa Hutans who stop to offer their way-finding skills to an obviously lost visitor. My broader conceptualization of the tourist experience is also consistent with new trends in exhibit design (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) that seek to provide an "environment" -- an all-encompassing sensory experience that engages the visitor on multiple cognitive levels, rather than (as of old) simply presenting visual and textual materials at which the visitor may stare passively. This new way of conceptualizing the desired experience of the tourist breaks down the subject-object dichotomy of Urry's model, allowing the tourist to be "in" the environment and participating (albeit in a limited way) in the life of the community, rather than standing outside gazing in.

Second, the physical form of the city is in some sense the "main event" of Nowa Huta: its uniqueness as a tourist destination derives not only from its difference in appearance from its surroundings (like the Old Town of Kraków or other historic European centers) but also from the fact that that difference was intentional, the result of distinct political and ideological forces. Because experiencing difference, through observing the daily lives of others, is an important part of the tourist experience

(MacCannell 1989), tourism in Nowa Huta is well-placed to exploit its material differences from Kraków and to explain why those differences exist.

Last, a focus on urban and architectural forms aestheticizes and sanitizes the tourist experience (see also the parallel discussion in Chapter 5 about how churches are represented); it shifts the tourist's focus from the messy lives of people and the conflicts and brutality of life under communism to more abstract considerations of form and beauty. If, as discussed in Chapter 2, tourist motivation is most often about finding pleasure in being in surroundings and having experiences very different from one's daily routine (Urry 1990), then tourism promoters naturally would be attracted to focus on the non-controversial aspects of Nowa Huta, rather than the "difficult history" of the conflicts during the communist era. The anthropologists Handler and Gable (1997), in analyzing interpretive discourses at Colonial Williamsburg, point to the inherent conflicts in interpreting the past for present-day visitors, especially when that history reminds us of complicity with the evils of our collective past (slavery in the case of Williamsburg). A focus on the (relatively) politically value-neutral concepts of architecture and planning in Nowa Huta permits visitors to avoid confronting the brutality, repression and material deprivations of the past and the ways in which still-living citizens may have had to compromise themselves in order to survive. It also allows tour guides and tourism writers to focus on the positive aspects of Nowa Huta and on the contributions residents have made in building up the district under severe hardships, and to demonstrate pride of place in a district of their community.

On the other hand, discussing urban and architectural forms gives tourism promoters (tour guides, authors, and publishers of guidebooks) the opportunity to convey

particular opinions about the communist past and its relationship to Polish history. With strategies such as relating the neighborhood concept to Anglo-American antecedents (rather than Soviet models), highlighting how Nowa Huta's architectural style drew on specifically Polish antecedents, and attributing the impetus for the creation of the city to Soviet imperialists looking for cheap steel, tourism professionals are able to pull off the tricky rhetorical move of demonstrating pride of place while simultaneously denigrating the communist system and the people who foisted Nowa Huta on an unwilling but helpless Polish public.

The urban planning features of Nowa Huta derive from a particular epoch in eastern European history: the period from 1933 to 1955 characterized by social realism (sometimes called socrealism) in the visual and literary arts and associated with the totalitarian regime of Josef Stalin (Kopp 1970; Ikonnikov 1988; Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992; Buchli 1999). Previously, from the Russian Revolution in 1917 through the 1920s, Soviet architects had actively sought architectural forms that would serve to create 'the new socialist man' and would bring into being new forms of social organization. Working in a stripped-down Modernist idiom (Constructivism) that repudiated the past (and subsequently influenced Western architects like Le Corbusier and the Italian Futurists), these visionaries conceived of architecture in these years as a "social condenser"; mere functionalism was left behind in favor of a utopian environment suitable for a fundamentally re-organized society in which family life and socioeconomic relations would be completely transformed (Schein 1970).

However, shortages of modern building materials, a lack of technical expertise in modern (steel and concrete) construction, distaste for social experiments like communal

living, and mistrust of the abstract geometric forms and unornamented surfaces of Modernism led to a backlash that was spearheaded by VOPRA, the All-Russian Association of Proletarian Architects. This backlash was also supported by high-ranking members of Stalin's circle (Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992). Subsequently, Soviet architecture underwent a return to the classicism of the pre-Revolutionary period, favoring order, discipline, monumentality, and grandeur, in order to communicate the permanence and power of the State: "designers made use of the classical tradition to create the illusion of a 'noble past' in all Soviet architecture between the 1930s and the 1950s. They relied on stylization, and even direct copying, to emphasize that their buildings belonged to a magnificent, centuries-old world culture" (Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992, 110). Architectural grammar was extended to such symbols of power and triumphalism as burial mounds, pyramids, ziggurats, arches, spires, and towers (110).

A parallel shift occurred in urban planning. Baroque layouts (long associated with demonstrations of centralized power and control) dominated urban planning throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, with axial roadways and promenades, vistas focused on highly symbolic and visible civic buildings, and buildings and streetscape ensembles designed from their classical facades inwards (rather than, as before, allowing the functional part of the buildings to determine the outward configuration). Such planning efforts strove for cities that would meld the best attributes of the city and the country;[1] for example, the Moscow redevelopment plan of 1932 incorporated concentric rings of green space around the city, created new public squares, and proposed the demolition of congested, unsanitary neighborhoods. Lazar Kaganovich, one of Stalin's chief aides,

[1] In this sense, social realism in planning could be said to synthesize the earlier (1920s) opposition of the urbanists and de-urbanists.

noted approvingly of the new Moscow plan that it met the middle ground – it was neither a sprawling anti-urban "village" nor a dense capitalist city, but something in between (in Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992: 84).

Nowa Huta was constructed from 1949 to 1955, at the height of the influence of Soviet-driven social realism. A point frequently made on the tours (and also in tour guidebooks) is that the location of Nowa Huta so close to Kraków and the recruitment of peasants to inhabit it were intended to counterbalance conservative, bourgeois Kraków, which had been vocal in its opposition to the newly formed communist government after World War II. This position is well-supported by archival research (for example, Lebow 2002; Purchla 2000); I take it up in more detail as an example of the "Othering" of Nowa Huta in Chapter 6.

Less common on tours is an explanation of the connections between the built environment and the socialist ideology that shaped it. Of the tours I took, only tour guide Ola explicitly presented the connection between the physical reality of the town and the ideas that brought it into being. She described post-war Kraków as a place where "the way of living, and the way of thinking, were not [thought to be] suitable for the new socialist reality" and described how that idea – "of creating a new socialist man, who would be, you know, *pure* [said with an ironic twinkle], believing with all his heart and all his mind in the socialist ideology" – had to be abandoned when it was found that the new residents tended to import their culture from their villages and live in much the same social relations as they had previously done. Implicit in Ola's remarks is that there is a close relationship between ways of living and ways of believing that is fundamental to the expression of the socialist plan in its purest form. Historian Victor Buchli (1999) has

commented that Marx and Engels drew on the ideas of anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan to develop the principle that material culture creates consciousness. Architectural historian Anatole Kopp places this idea within a much longer intellectual genealogy: that "[u]topians from antiquity to the 19th century – Fourier, Owen, etc. – all insisted that society and the built environment had to be transformed *simultaneously*; they described the built environment in great detail and considered it indispensable to the development of the societies they advocated" (1985, 7, italics original). Thus, important to the concept of Nowa Huta (even after the idea of modernist architecture as a social condenser had been thoroughly repudiated in the Soviet Union, and its practitioners exiled or worse) was the principle of mutual constitution: the urban forms would *create* the new socialist man, just as the newly socialist men were themselves creating Nowa Huta.

Figure 4.1: Pedestrian mall on Roses Avenue

One way in which the tour guides could demonstrate this correspondence between being and living was in an examination of the design for mass gatherings in the main pedestrian square. This paved, open area, a section of Roses Avenue (the main axis that bifurcates Nowa Huta), is framed with six-story apartment buildings on both sides and is the main gathering space for the community (Figure 4.1). Ola described this as "a place for socialist marches and meetings. So it was a meeting place for the socialist people who managed to stay there, who would feel their strength [as one]." In the middle of the square, on a granite plinth, was a bronze statute of Lenin (Figure 4.2). He was the focal point for activities, as Ola described:

> That was again a plan, a socialistic plan, putting him here, on the Allee of Roses [Roses Avenue]. This is a very wide allee, and all the socialist marches came to the statue of Lenin. You know, on the celebration of the Day of Work, on the 1st of May, on all those celebrations of socialistic feasts, [the residents] were supposed to come here on a march; they were to listen to some socialist leader talking to them about socialistic ideals and so on and so on. They were supposed to feel here as a mass, not as an individual, but just as a part of a mass.

Figure 4.2: Statue of Lenin, Roses Avenue (Mezian (2004): 34)

This focus on group activity in public spaces shows the limits of the reach of Stalinist design as a tool of social engineering; gone were the earlier, ambitious goals for re-engineering the daily domestic sphere of life (in Russian, *bytie opredelaet soznanie* (daily life determines consciousness)) through re-thinking family and communal spaces within the home (Buchli 1999, 24), replaced by a focus on planned, required group activities that would demonstrate compliance with socialist goals (at least in body if not in spirit). Ola's attitude towards these old ways of thinking about group effort and group behavior was one of amused tolerance for the misguided ways of the past. Moreover, for her it was not the existence of large public spaces that characterized Stalinist urban planning, or even mass gatherings where people felt "as one," but rather the imposition of obligatory attendance at speeches on holidays that had been constructed for propaganda purposes. Her portrayal of public space as a politically neutral "container" disconnected from ideological goals is an important rhetorical step in formulating alternate meanings

for the landscapes of Nowa Huta that are aligned with current political and economic regimes.

Łukasz, another tour guide, used the architecture of the main square (*Plac Centralny*) to make a slightly different point about the relationship between the individual and society in the socialist city: that the architecture was intended to heighten awareness of the insignificance of the individual when compared to the socialist mass:

> Look at the ground floor of those buildings. Look how high it is. It is part also of social realist architecture: that architecture should show that the system is big and the human is small. Look how small that lady looks, next to the ground floor. We'll walk down there in a minute and you will really feel small. Not only politics, but also architecture showed how small one person is, if you compare him to the whole system.

When one of the other tour participants argued with him that most European churches were also designed to make individuals feel small, Łukasz agreed, but drew the distinction that in Nowa Huta that intent was everywhere, not just in one particular building type.

Another tour guide, Jakób, used the residential architectural assemblage surrounding the main square to assert that the social equality promised by the communists was a lie from the very beginning:

> Jakób: Well, for sure the buildings aren't [all] the same. Because this is a better area. For me, you understand. This is the biggest difference. You know, it really shows, how everything was, well, how it was one big lie.

> Because, you know, the main idea was that everyone is equal. Of course, in reality, no one was equal because we had these "more-equals."
>
> Judy: "Some people are more equal than others" (laughs).
>
> Jakób: Exactly. But how come the "perfect communist city" was prepared for those more-equals? Because if everyone is equal, if this is the perfect communist city, the 'laborers' paradise,' then it means that everything is the same, ja? Each apartment is the same. But here – they're not. Of course they're not! Here we've got these decorations, you know, columns, arches, details everywhere, you know, large windows, apartments with four bedrooms, around 100 square meters. You know, the average apartment [in Nowa Huta] is not more than fifty square meters. It's totally untrue that everyone was equal, you know; that was, well, uh, bullcrap.

This highlighting of spatial unevenness in the relation between architecture and social status is also reflected in the distinction that the tour guides made between the original section of Nowa Huta ("old Nowa Huta") versus the peripheral neighborhoods of high-rise prefabricated concrete towers built in the 1960s and 1970s ("new Nowa Huta"). These newer areas were characterized as "awful" (Jakób); and "horrible, just bedrooms, sometimes four persons in forty square meters, tiny and not very comfortable" (Łukasz). According to all the tour guides, the newer sections are where the unemployed (and unemployable) 'soccer hooligans' live, whose antisocial behaviors paint all Nowa Huta with the broad brush of omnipresent crime and social dysfunction. Jakób explained further that the newer sections had been constructed in the 1970s (when the housing

shortages were even more acute) when Poland not only lacked adequate capital to build quality construction but also had given up on rational planning:

> It's without any plan, it's just, well, one block after another, you know. Plus made of concrete.[2] So these fifteen- to twenty-year-old blocks, well, they are falling down now, slowly, but they are falling down, they are falling apart. [As opposed to the original quarter] here, it's about sixty years old and it's still stable. It's in good condition. And, well, finally people are starting to maintain it better.

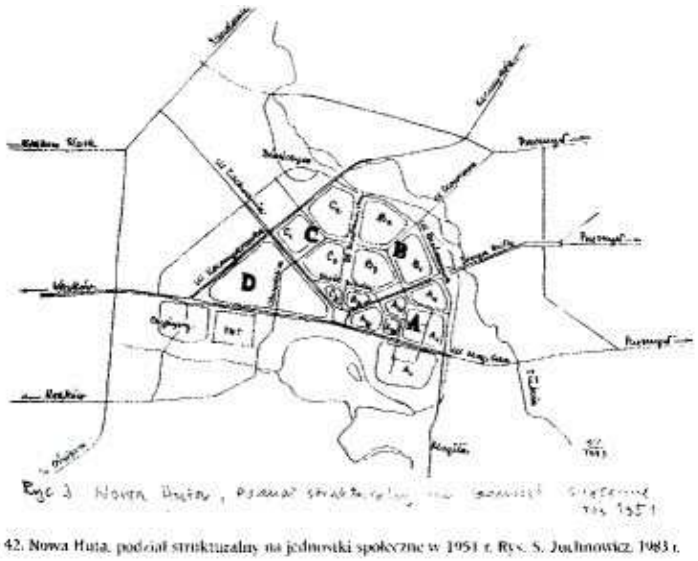
In contrast to the tours, most of the tour guidebooks do not make distinctions between the original area and its outskirts, or the architectural differences that serve as markers of social status. Rather, individual differences between blocks designed by different architects or differences between "old" and "new" Nowa Huta are subordinated to an assessment of the entire district's sameness: "It doesn't matter where you start your sightseeing as the landscape varies little throughout the district. Most of it is a grey concrete sea of Stalinist architecture" (*Lonely Planet* 2005); "…you should have a city map handy in order not to get lost. Some locals fantasize about transferring the Warsaw Palace of Culture out here….It would also provide a landmark while you navigate this grey concrete desert" (*Lonely Planet* 1993). The difference between the content of the tour narratives and the content of tour guidebooks is partly a function of length (the tour guides can explore such issues in much greater detail) but also a function of purpose: the tour guidebooks are intended to evaluate and assess attractions in advance, so that the

[2] As opposed to the brick and stucco, handmade buildings of the original area. The craftsmanship and caring of its constructors is featured in films like Andrzej Wajda's "Man of Marble" ("Człowiek z marmuru").

visitor can choose to see only the sights that are most interesting, while the tour guides' purpose is to show and explain, and allow participants to form their own assessments.

Moving from broad ideological issues to the rationale for the specific physical layout, all the tour guides took pains to explain the overall plan, or *parti*,[3] of Nowa Huta, as well as its symbolic meaning. This was achieved by using handout maps or by convening the tour group before one of the two map-kiosks in the central square (see Chapter 7 for a discussion of the infrastructure that supports self-guided tours).

The city plan is arranged in a half-circle or fan, with a central main axis (the aforementioned Roses Avenue, on which the main square and its pedestrian plaza are located), a bordering main road along the south (now John Paul II Avenue) and two subordinate streets radiating out from the central square at equal angles (Figure 4.3).



42. Nowa Huta, podział strukturalny na jednostki społeczne w 1951 r. Rys. S. Juchnowicz. 1983 r.

Figure 4.3: Radial plan (Juchnowicz (2006): pl. 42)

[3] The word *parti* has a specific meaning for architects and designers. It is the central idea of a work of architecture, its most basic organizing principle, around which other details are filled in.

Jakób spoke of this symmetry as one of the key features of "the perfect communist city." He categorized the other roads either as symbolic borders ("this great main avenue, John Paul the Second Avenue, is like the edge of Nowa Huta"; "Anders Avenue is really the dividing line between old Nowa Huta and new Nowa Huta," or as directional routes symbolizing communist ideology (the road to "our brothers in the East"; the road "back to history" (to Kraków); the axis to the triumphal twin headquarters buildings of the steelworks towering above the residential area; and the axis to the theater district, where the Theater of the People (*Teatr Ludowy*) was eventually constructed). Thus in his assessment Roses Avenue functioned as a mirror "dividing Nowa Huta on two almost exact quarters."

Ola spoke of the genealogy of this *parti*: "We can see that it looks like a Renaissance city: it has a center, and rays – so the main streets - coming from the center. The interesting thing is that they built it as a half of the Renaissance city. So we have only half of it. There is no second part because there [she pointed to the south] is an open space – a place for people to rest."[4] Although Ola is mistaken about the urban form, which is Baroque rather than Renaissance, there is a clear explanation for her description: Kraków's most celebrated architecture dates from the Renaissance and focusing on Nowa Huta's Renaissance features allows it to be seen as a stylistic extension of Kraków rather than a Stalinist import.

Two of the tour guides drew attention to the solar symbolism of the urban form of Nowa Huta (as seen in plan view) in the context of socialist ideology. As Gosia put it: "Sure, this is only a story, but as you can see, the central square and the streets resemble

[4] This is the meadow south of the city that is now an ecological reserve.

the sun a little bit, which was the idea of socialism, to spread their ideals around the world. So that's why the streets are like sunbeams." Paweł, another tour guide, also mentioned this symbol of the sun, spreading socialism ever further into the world. This symbol of the sun, radiating the energy of socialism into the world, has clear Soviet roots: the architectural historian Alexei Ikonnikov has written that Moscow's planning team decided to retain Moscow's historical pattern in the 1935 plan: "the city's center was thought of, in [architect Alexei] Shchusev's words, as akin to the sun with rays emanating from it, i.e. as a nucleus with a system of smaller centres issuing radially from it" (1988, 77).

Łukasz attributed the style of the *parti* to a different architectural period, remarking that the main square was based on a Baroque convention of building city squares closed from three sides, with the facades of the building open to the south. He attributed the *parti* to the Polish architect Tadeusz Ptaszycki, who, he was quick to note, had studied in Russia before World War II, and thus knew how the socialistic city should look like and how it should be designed. Ola also stated that the square was intended to be open on the south side, allowing the statue of Lenin on the main pedestrian plaza to gaze out at and gesture to the distant Tatra Mountains. However, several of the other guides opined that other buildings had originally been planned to complete the open U-shaped square, although they were somewhat uncertain as to whether this was to be the administrative center for the city or the cultural center. It is clear from archival materials, though, that the area south of John Paul II Avenue was intended to be the cultural district; a domed, arcaded House of Culture (*Dom kultury*) flanked by arcaded apartment buildings is shown closing the vista to the south in several alternative designs from 1951

(*Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa* - Historical Museum of the City of Kraków 2006; see also Figure 4.4). Łukasz characterized this unbuilt House of Culture as potentially "the most beautiful building of the city down there, an opera house and theater," but asserted that when Nowa Huta was subsumed by Kraków (in 1951) it was decided not to proceed with the theater, since there were theater buildings in Kraków.[5]

Figure 4.4: Model showing proposed cultural center (unbuilt) (MHK (2006):pl. 72)

All the guides were quick to point out other aspects of the unfinished nature of the urban plan. A government center for the autonomous city was planned for the area north of the main square. For example, according to Ola, "[Nowa Huta] was supposed to have its own government but they didn't manage to build it. Because Nowa Huta is unfinished. According to the socialist plans it's unfinished. It would have its own government, but it didn't, because Kraków, um, [she laughs] 'captured' Nowa Huta before they managed to build it." Paweł echoed this idea with a digestive metaphor: that

[5] Kraków to this day doesn't have an opera house, although one is under construction at this writing.

despite the communists' best efforts, Kraków "swallowed" or "ate up" Nowa Huta.[6] The emphasis on the unfinished nature of the plan in the tours accomplishes two rhetorical goals: it suggests the speedy triumph of Kraków's elite over the upstart communist utopia, annexing Nowa Huta virtually before the last brick had been laid; and it calls into question the ability of the communists fully to deliver their promise.

Ola also noted that the generous dimensions of the central square were intended to create a market atmosphere with shops and market stalls that would in time rival Kraków's main square. But the shops in the central square are meager even today, and there is some irony in the idea that an ideology that specifically rejected market competition and personal consumption might strive to recreate one of Eastern Europe's most enduring symbols of capitalism.

Around the fan-shaped city, the self-contained classical geometry was intended to give way to natural areas: a buffer area between the residential area and the steelworks on the east,[7] and, as Jakób noted, an enormous lake planned for the area to the south. (This area is a combination of an old Vistula River channel and its floodplain; the proposed lake is shown clearly in early sketches and in the final model (Figures 4.3 and 4.5).) This lake would have been a lot bigger than the lake east of the residential area that was eventually built by damming the Dłubnia brook, and would have been used for active

[6] The municipal square (never built) was intended to be north of the pedestrian plaza where the statue of Lenin stood, and would have provided axial balance to the proposed House of Culture on the south side. The model shows a classical City Hall with ornamentation like that of the Place of Science and Culture in Warsaw and a clock tower like the City Hall Tower in Kraków's main square, surrounded by straight rows of monumental figural sculptures on pedestals.

[7] This buffer was maintained by force of law; the legislation has been relaxed since 1989, and some observers are concerned that development in the buffer poses risks to human health due to pollutants from the steelworks.

recreation: a series of propaganda paintings by W. Chromicz show it as a multi-purpose water resource for boating, fishing, promenading, and industrial transport (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.5: Model showing proposed lake (unbuilt) (MHK (2006): pl. 51)

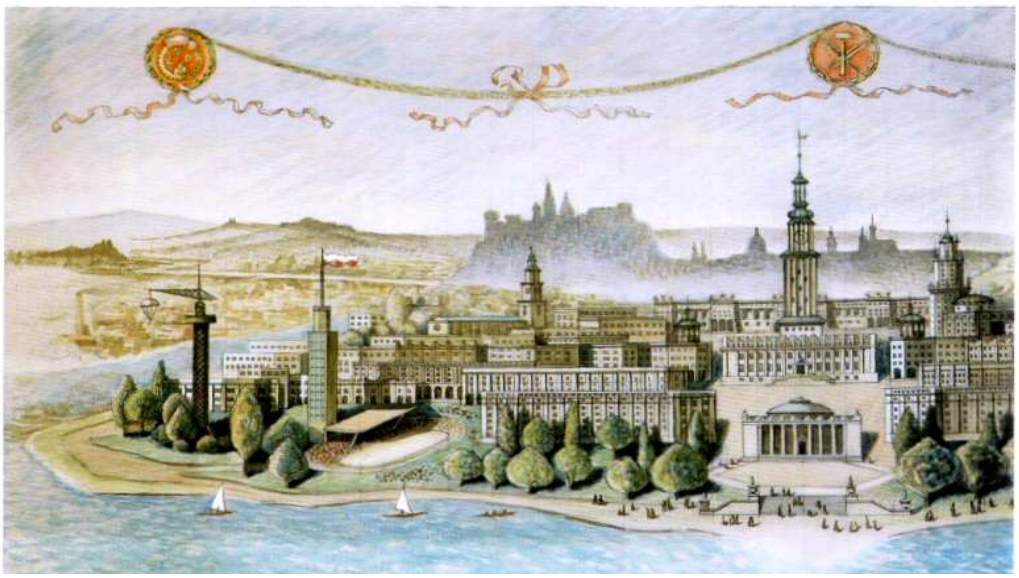


Figure 4.6: Painting by Chromicz showing proposed lake (unbuilt) (MHK (2006): pl. 94)

As important as the presentation of the overall radial plan of the district's *parti* was the tour guides' discussion of the significance of the concept of neighborhood units and their livability. An early concept diagram by the architects (Figure 4.7) shows how the city was intended to be organized in small residential clusters that fed to subsidiary commercial nodes. The idea is based on modernist Soviet (and International Style) urban planning ideals about decentralizing the city: the neighborhood unit would provide for all the needs of daily living, such as schools, shopping for food, and laundries, freeing workers from the tedium, time and expense of a long commute to a central city area (Kopp 1970; Kaganovich 1931; Le Corbusier 1942).

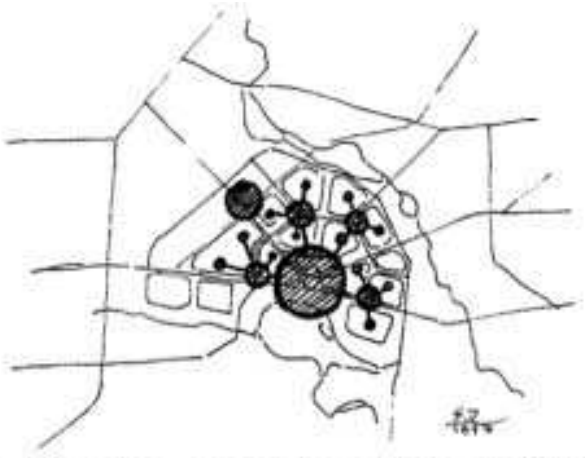


Figure 4.7: Planner's sketch of hierarchy of neighborhood centers (Juchnowicz (2006): pl. 43)

All the tour guides commented on the existence of such neighborhood units (which indeed are clearly manifested in the maps they used to present concepts about urban form) but their explanations of the origin, purpose and function of these units was clearly slanted towards other rhetorical aims. Łukasz presented the neighborhood units as an element of social control for the communists which allowed (in the communists'

minds) defensibility against NATO. According to his presentation, the communists had turned the communitarian American ideal of neighborhood units toward sinister ends, by creating forms of social space in which residents could easily be controlled:

> …it [the concept of neighborhood units] was to keep people in their communities, to allow them to have their own school, kindergarten site, a place for the kids to play, parking, shops, restaurants, bars in one place. It wasn't the idea of the communists. It was an idea that came from the United States: just, you know, to create some kind of community, because especially in the United States, it was hard. In the nineteenth century people were [emigrating] from different countries all over the world. They felt separate. They were, you know – separate groups of people, and [the government] wanted to [integrate them].
>
> But in Nowa Huta, [the neighborhood unit] was made for another purpose: to keep people in groups of three or four thousand people, and not to allow them to create larger groups, of forty or fifty thousand people. Because you know, with three thousand people – you can check, and you can *solve* the problem, if something's going on. But if you have 50,000 people, it's hard to find enough policemen, soldiers, to solve the problem in Nowa Huta.
>
> And it was also the same like this for the third reason: it was for protection. Because when they started constructing Nowa Huta it was still right after the Second World War and the whole world was pretty sure it was not yet the end. They thought that, you know, now the communists

would fight with the Americans, the Eastern world with the Western world. It was on the edge all the time but it never broke, but when they started constructing the city, they were afraid that war might come, might start once again.

So they thought, "Maybe we will need to protect the city." So, you know, it's easier to protect smaller parts than one huge one. Because when someone conquers one huge part, it's the end. But someone could conquer this small part, not this one [gestures to map] and people could take back this part of the city.

These four aspects of neighborhood organization – the convenience for residents, the possibility for control by the militia, the building of a sense of community (however top-down such community-building might be), and the physical defensibility of the clusters against outside forces – were taken up to varying degrees by the other tour guides. Ola noted that the buildings were built as squares (although they are not really square) with inner courtyards, so that children could play safely inside. During the Cold War it was planned that these courtyards could be closed off for defense:

> Even during some, um, danger times, like a possible attack from evil forces from the West [she twinkled] you could close it, close the gates, and hide inside the courtyard, hide inside the buildings. The gates are not there anymore. But yeah, you could close them. Some of the passages were big enough to hide a tank inside also. So, you know, from our point of view [today], it is really insane to think about things in this way, but those people had to live with those ideas everywhere around them. It was

a reality for them, that something like this could happen, either from the Soviet Union side or from the Western side.

Jakób focused on the rational planning convenience of the neighborhood units and, echoing Łukasz, the potential for control by the government:

> The most important thing is how people lived here in residential units. Like here, around the central square [pointing at map], we can divide this into four main units, "Centrum A, B, C, and D." And Nowa Huta is divided into seventeen like this, which are communities. Let's say, from 3,500 people to 5,000 people, maybe 6,000 people each. Why? Well, for the government it was much, much easier to control this community than to control one city of 100,000 people. These blocks that are in the corners of the units -- they are a little bit taller, like watching towers, ja? So, uh, to control what's going on. Then, each unit can easily become a fortress, you know, because it's very easy to block it [at the gate]. So if you put a tank, you know, or a barricade, you can block it, and you can defend it for quite a long time.
>
> So each unit was like an independent city. Because each of these units had everything provided, what was needed, in ordinary life, so school, kindergarten, nurseries, cleaning, shops, you know, all of these were inside each unit. So obviously people – well, they weren't forced to stay in this unit -- but actually that's how it worked. They didn't have any reason to move to another unit, because each unit was the same. Well,

> maybe the layout was different, but each unit had the school, kindergarten, nurseries, cleaning, shops, etc. etc. etc.
>
> [contrasting the heyday of Nowa Huta to the conditions today] Of course, today it's different. It doesn't work how it used to. It used to be really, um, a city divided into these units. So, people didn't complain, because for them it was much, much easier to live in a unit in which everything was provided. You were safe about your kids, because the school was always, like, ten to fifteen steps from the staircase. And there were not many cars in use so there was no traffic inside the unit. Then, you knew everyone who lived there. So, well, probably it was better than today. That's my guess, you know, that at that time, in the very beginning, let's say, in the '60s, it was better.

But Jakób also explained the institutional structure of social control that enforced community and togetherness. He said that each building had a sort of block captain who was paid by the communist authorities to report any subversive activities and to "encourage" every resident to participate in the social activities planned for the building, such as picnics, holiday parties, and sporting events. The Internet guide "textinyourpocket" also mentions this element, noting that"[t]he buildings were also designed for efficient mutual control by the residents, an important element of Stalinist planning." However, the writers of "textinyourpocket" also note the Western antecedents of the urban planning concepts: "The designers strove to make it the ideal city; based on the neighbourhood units urban concept that was applied in New York in the 1920s,

community facilities such as shops and schools were placed within certain districts, ensuring that children did not have to cross busy roads and that everything was nearby."[8]

Urban planning for the lives of workers was not limited just to thinking of daily convenience or comfort. As Jakób explained, the amenities in Nowa Huta were chosen not only to enable a self-supporting community, but also to "make it paradise," in his words. The workers' need for sport and cultural refreshment would be met by amenities like two football (soccer) stadia, a speedway stadium for motorbikes, the artificial lake for water sports, the "people's theater," and seven cinemas, spatially distributed to maximize convenience for the residents. One of these cinemas, the Świt, was for twenty years the largest cinema in the metropolitan area, larger than anything in Kraków, he noted. In an allusion to changing tastes, changing patterns of personal mobility, and the availability of many other forms of recreation, Jakób noted regretfully that not even one of the cinemas is still in operation, having been abandoned or adapted for marginal retail uses (see Figure 4.8).

[8] This allusion to American planning probably refers to the work of Clarence Stein and Henry Wright for planned communities like Radburn, NJ. See also Koehler (1998, n. 20), who notes that Ebenezer Howard's work was selectively translated into Russian.

Figure 4.8: Świt cinema currently used as retail space

An essential component of new-town planning, whether of Soviet or Western origins, was bringing nature into the city in order to refresh its dwellers and bring them into greater harmony with the natural world,[9] and theoretical plans for towns are notable for their emphasis on parks, greenbelts, and verdant streetscapes. In Nowa Huta, vegetation has thrived over the last sixty years and today presents a lush if somewhat untended complement to pavement and concrete. However, guidebooks such as the online "textinyourpocket" cannot mention even this feature without adding disparaging commentary: "Built as a garden city [Nowa Huta] apparently has more greenery than any

[9] The genealogy of this notion dates as far back as F.L Olmsted's mid-19th century conception of urban parks as green lungs for the refreshment of cramped city dwellers, and possibly earlier.

other district of Kraków; though it's a fact that is difficult to comprehend when walking among the gloomy Gotham City streetscapes."

Jakób framed the existence of greenery as an essential precondition of "creating paradise," the "laborers' paradise" that was his catchphrase for Nowa Huta:

> The city is full of greenery: you see green spots everywhere as well, because, well, it *had* to be nice, it *had* to be paradise, so it couldn't just be bricks and concrete. A lot of greenery -- of course in the very beginning, well, the trees were small, so it didn't look as impressive as today. But today, well, you see green color everywhere. It's – everything is covered with green.

On display through all of these tour narratives is an ambivalent attitude towards the value of socialist planning ideals. On one hand, the tour guides clearly value the convenience of the neighborhood concept and the planners' intent to provide for individual refreshment and development through cultural and recreational amenities. On the other hand, this appreciation is often overshadowed by a desire to reject any concept with Soviet provenance.

Beginning in the early 1930s, as mentioned above, Soviet urban planning began to move away from idealistic, utopian fantasies of communal living toward greater pragmatism. In architecture there was a parallel shift away from elemental geometrical forms stripped of "bourgeois" ornament to a resurgence of emphasis on traditional architectural styles such as classicism, and a search for indigenous architectural elements that would not only imply continuity with ancient empires but also reinforce national pride and unity. In part, as noted above, these styles were signifiers of stability and state

power; they also were thought to be more emotionally appealing to the proletariat than the abstract, intellectualized forms of the high International Style (Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992). [10] Thus by 1949, when the state architecture and planning group *Miastoprojekt* (City-Project) began to work on the drawings for Nowa Huta, they too were encouraged to find forms of architectural expression that would be understood as specifically Polish and signifying specifically Polish heritage. As is often mentioned in the tourism literature, the architects settled on the forms of the Polish Renaissance, as exemplified by the architecture of Kraków's Old Town (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9: Classical detailing in Central Square

All but one of the tour guides presented the architecture of Nowa Huta (as distinct from its underlying planning principles) not as a Soviet-derived style based on Stalinist, social realist principles, but as a style deriving from indigenous Polish forms overlaid on

[10] Summerson (1980) , Wolfe (1983) and Glazer (2007) make complementary arguments about the appeal of traditional architecture and the reasons why modernism has not captured the public imagination.

an urban organization imposed by Soviet planning ideals. Thus the architectural style of the district, as conceived by Polish architects, was conceptualized in tours as making something Polish out of foreign, communist, forms of organization. For example, Ola remarked that people often misunderstand social realism (in Poland) as being "Stalinesque" but really it had Polish forms; it was Polish architects using the architectural vocabulary of Poland's golden age, the Polish Renaissance and Baroque periods. The central square was characterized, in particular, as "Renaissance with Baroque style." [11]

One tour guide, however, proposed a theory that I heard or read nowhere else: that the plans for Nowa Huta, including the architectural detailing, had been fully developed for a city in the Soviet Union, and that when Stalin loaned Poland the money for building the steelworks and accompanying dormitory town, he also provided those architectural plans.

> Jakób: You know, there is a theory about Nowa Huta – that all of this, this whole plan here, just came from Russia and that there was an idea, and then the money came very fast, like in a few days, and then the plan came. So technically architects, they were fake, just figureheads, because the architects "designed" it very fast, yep, very, very fast. And it's not so easy to do, to design a whole city, especially with this symmetry, you know, to

[11] There is irony here, however: Poland's golden age of Renaissance architecture in the 15th century was not the result of indigenous architectural talent but rather due to Italian architects like Bartolomeo Berrecci, Santi Gucci, and Giovanni Padovano, who were induced to relocate to Kraków, where they established studios to work on commissions for the Polish royalty and nobility.

count everything. It's a hard job, they did it very fast, and there is a theory that the plan came from Russia. But that's just a theory.

Judy: Do you believe it?

Jacób: Well, you know, it was under Stalin, so it's very probable, you know. Come on! Take a look: if they had, like, two weeks to design it, that's almost impossible, you know. So it's very probable, this idea [theory]. Or maybe, because this area around Central Square – it was finished as the first one. So maybe it was like that. And it was different than other areas. It was like that [working out the logic as he speaks]: the plan that came [from Russia] had the idea of these three main avenues, oh, let's say four, with Roses Avenue, and around Central Square were designed and the rest was designed by Poles. According to Roses Avenue, according to these two main other avenues, you know. Maybe that's how it was. But I'm only guessing.

I was intrigued with this theory, the more so when I discovered a proposal for the reconstruction of Stalingrad supposedly prepared between 1946 and 1952 by the office of Karo Alabyan and Vasily Simbirtsev that bears a striking similarity to the plan of Nowa Huta (shown in Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze 1992; see Figures 4.10 and 4.11). The domed structure set at the end of a park; the classically articulated apartment blocks punctuated by towers at the end; the arcaded main square: all of these elements are remarkably similar to elements in the plan for Nowa Huta. Because several of the architects of Nowa Huta had been trained in Moscow (although they were Polish), it is possible that they had seen this proposal for Stalingrad.

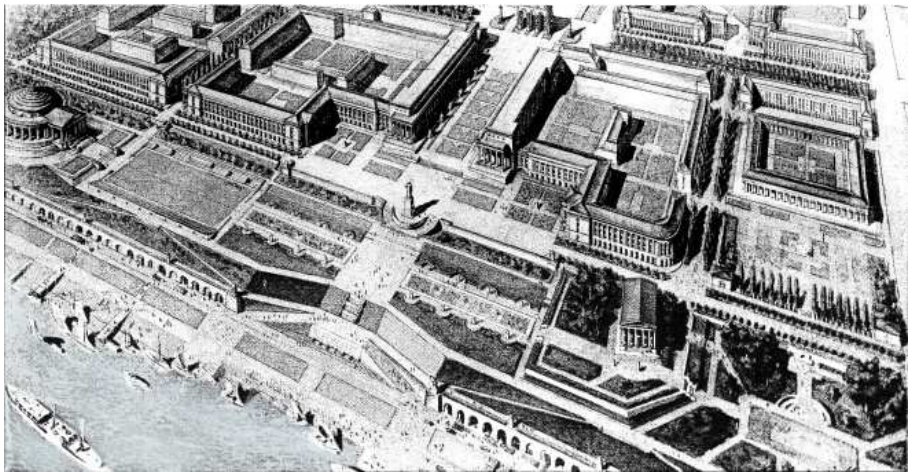


Figure 4.10: Urban plan for Stalingrad, by K. Alabyan (Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze (1992))

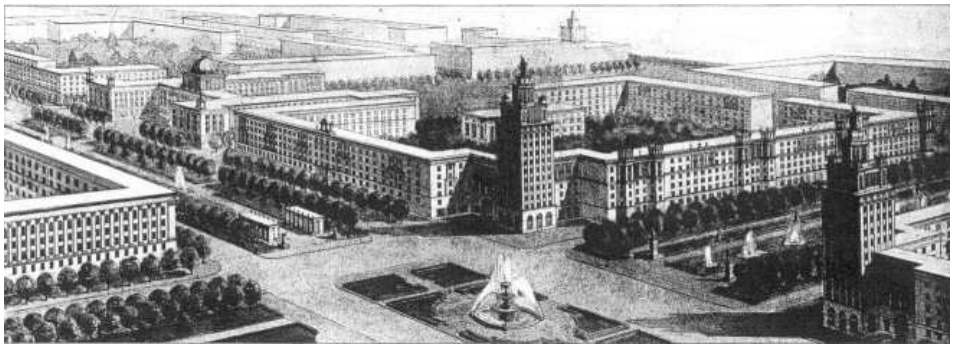


Figure 4.11: Urban plan for Stalingrad, by K. Alabyan (Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze (1992))

Jakób also sought to play down the uniqueness of Nowa Huta as an urban planning realization. He mentioned that there were analogous communities built in the satellite countries of Hungary, East Germany, and the Soviet Union, and when questioned further, was able to produce the city name for the GDR (Eisenhuettenstadt) and the Soviet Union (Magnitogorsk), although he did not know the name of the town in Hungary (Stalinvaros, now Dunaujvaros) and apparently was not familiar with

Dimitrovgrad in Bulgaria.[12] Surely his theory would be dependent, I probed, on physical resemblance, but he was not sure what they looked like, although he asserted that they didn't have the same sort of relationship to an existing town as Nowa Huta to Kraków, and thought they didn't work as well because they weren't as economically viable.

Jakób's conspiracy theory aside, the effort to recast the architecture of Nowa Huta as having a specifically Polish genealogy rather than drawing on Soviet-inspired forms is most clearly pronounced in tour guides' discussions of the twin headquarters buildings of the steelworks. These imposing four-storey blocks are the terminus of Solidarity Avenue (formerly Lenin Avenue), and loom in the distance one mile away from the central square (Figure 4.12). As Ola suggested, "they may remind you of some other buildings in Kraków, especially the *Sukiennice*, the Cloth Hall. The upper part of the buildings was – um – well, actually the idea was taken from the Renaissance buildings in Kraków so the upper parts are definitely Renaissance."

Figure 4.12: Headquarters of the steelworks, as seen from Central Square

[12] One readily available source of information for tour guides to educate themselves about these analogous communities is Lorek (2006), which had just been published during the spring of my first fieldwork trip.

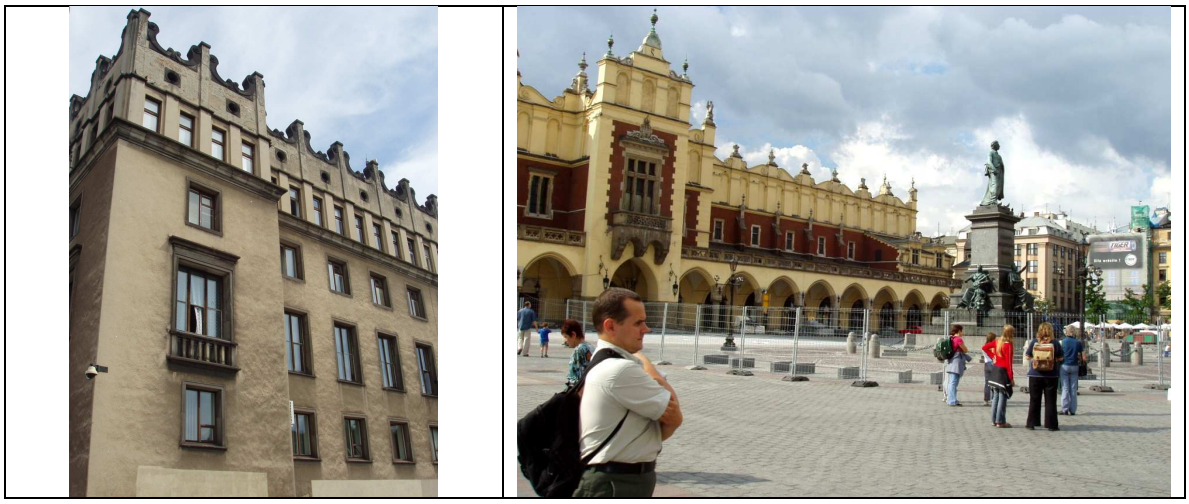


Figure 4.13: Comparison of the headquarters of the steelworks (left) and Cloth Hall (right)

This notion that the attic storey of the steelworks buildings pays homage to what is arguably Kraków's signature building, the Cloth Hall (see Figure 4.13 for the comparison), was also an important part of Łukasz's narrative about how the architecture of Nowa Huta could be subversively pressed into evoking Polish national artistic traditions rather than alien Russian forms:

> These two building are the main buildings of the factory. So of course it's the social realistic style, but it's a bit different than many other socialistic buildings. Have a look at the attic storey at the top. It was designed by Janusz Ingarden, an artist, an architect. He was an architect before the Second World War. So for him, creating social realistic buildings was like a torture. He was tortured by the government because he had to create something like this. He *hated* this, but he had to, because it was the only building he *could* design. But he tried to do something. He tried to bring, I believe, a little bit of Kraków's soul into those buildings, so the attic storey is like [the one] on the main market square in Kraków. It's a

> Renaissance; it's a neo-Renaissance attic storey. He just wanted to show that this is something different. It's not just a typical severe social realistic building, but it's something more.

Other tour guides and participants focused less on the specific detailing of the headquarters buildings and more on their symbolic function and on the emotional effect they were intended to have upon passers-by. In Jakób's estimation, for example, the buildings were built on purpose in the style of a palace to impress the workers, since there was absolutely no need to make the architecture so ornate or to build so much space for administration. Today, he noted, the steel company must lease out office space in the buildings to banks and other concerns in order to generate additional revenues.

One of the tour participants, an artist from Berlin, volunteered a similar sentiment. He opined that since "the worker was king" under socialist ideology, naturally that ideology would tend to glorify the seat of work – these palatial headquarters – in the same way that capitalist architecture glorified the captains of industry or feudal architecture glorified princes. One of his companions disagreed, suggesting that the impact of these buildings was not to glorify ordinary workers, who would seldom if ever be permitted to enter them, but rather to intimidate workers by suggesting that the collective enterprise was richer and more powerful than any individual could be.

Figure 4.14: People's Theater (Nowa Huta Cultural Center (2004): n.p.)

Only a few buildings in Nowa Huta appear to be designed to be read as products of individualistic architectural thought: the headquarters of the steelworks, as discussed above; the cinemas; and the people's theater, also designed by Ingarden, in 1954-55 (Figure 4.14). Most descriptions of the theater focus on its role in producing avant-garde theater rather than its architectural form,[13] but Ola asserted that it should also remind tour participants of other buildings in Kraków. Her referent was unclear, however: with its squat massing, stripped down, flattened pilasters, expanses of unarticulated blank walls, and bizarre capitals on its columns, it looks instead like some strange Mannerist version of Stalinist architecture. Jakób highlighted its resemblance to the ground floor of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw (which doesn't really make sense, given the

[13]"… one of the most important Polish stages after the Thaw of October 1956," according to the plaque nearby.

much more conventional use of classical forms and manipulation of surface relief in the latter); he rationalized this architectural antecedent "because it's, well, it's Soviet, yeah, 'a great gift from our brothers,' ach." Thus architectural form tends to be read by the guides (who are not trained in architecture) in the context of the architects' origins or training, or else by some fleeting resemblance to a work of social realist architecture they are vaguely familiar with, rather than any sort of real architectural analysis.

Figure 4.15: Urban ensemble in Central Square

With the exception of these few buildings, the architecture of Nowa Huta's main streets is intended to be read as an urban ensemble rather than as individual buildings. The massing of the buildings, their relationship to each other and to the street, and their understated classical detail create unbroken street lines and the sense of a monolithic

collective (Figure 4.15). As Ikonnikov (1988) has written, “The urban ensemble became the expression of supreme importance in the organization of architectural form” (230).

Outside the envelope of the main radial streets, however, a more informal, vernacular architecture was developed. The buildings in the Wanda neighborhood unit, for example, which were the earliest to be built, are simple three-story blocks with sloping roofs and no ornamentation, set amongst gardens, lawns, and walkways (Figure 4.16). The relative homogeneity of all buildings, regardless of their location, makes Nowa Huta perhaps less compelling as a tourist destination; there are few spectacular architectural items to seek out.

Figure 4.16: Apartment buildings in Wanda neighborhood unit

Nevertheless, the architectural and urban planning forms of Nowa Huta are its most distinctive and tangible features. For tour companies and publishers of guidebooks, this produces a constant tension between, on the one hand, needing to validate the idea

that seeing Nowa Huta is worthwhile for tourists, and on the other hand, being able to describe the folly of socialist ideals and the clever ways in which their architectural expression fostered political resistance and continuing connections with Western culture.

The discourse about architecture and planning in Nowa Huta is instructive because it demonstrates the ways in which tourism professionals actively use the backdrop of urban attractions to produce their own interpretations of communist ideology as put into practice in the creation of the built environment. These reworkings of the meanings of the landscape are examples of how communist heritage tourism can successfully negotiate the dissonant heritage of communism (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). The antecedents of the planning ideals that shaped Nowa Huta – the neighborhood unit, green buffers, abundant sporting and cultural facilities – are presented not as tenets of socialism, but rather as design universals born of Western thought and practice. On the discredited ideologies of communism, on its failure to deliver on its promise of remaking society, are constructed new narratives stressing the resourcefulness of Polish architects, planners and inhabitants to subvert the tenets of Stalinist urban planning and to make from them a place that is uniquely Polish.

Chapter 5 – Contesting Space: Work, Faith, and Identity

> *"What's the difference between Catholics and communists?"*
> *"Catholics believe but they don't practice; communists practice but they don't believe."*
>
> *- Polish joke from the communist era*

Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the built environment of Nowa Huta, relatively untouched since its completion in 1954, provides the perfect backdrop for the entrepreneurs of tourism to explain the ideology that underlies the architectural and planning decisions that created 'the perfect socialist city,' as well as to comment critically on the shortcomings and failures of the communist system. By contrast, being able to show convincingly the daily lives of people in Nowa Huta during the communist era – their work, play, faith, and domestic life – is more difficult, because the material objects and daily habits of everyday living were easily and quickly discarded at the fall of communism or in the decades since. Nevertheless, as MacCannell (1989) has noted, the daily lives of ordinary people are endlessly intriguing to tourists: in seeing how others have lived, we are able to reflect on our own lives and form more coherent narratives about them. Practices of daily life thus constitute a rich source of potential entry-points into representations of life under communism in Nowa Huta.

In this chapter, I examine two practices of daily life in Nowa Huta – work and faith – and how they are presented to tourists. I have chosen these two not only because they are the most prominent and frequently mentioned aspects of daily life as presented by tourism professionals in Nowa Huta, but also because they have the deepest connections to forms of social organization, self-identity, and national identity-

construction through the occupation and shaping of space. These practices also have material presences – for example, churches, memorial sites, and the steelworks itself – and thus it is possible to examine how these spaces serve as the prompts to shape touristic narratives (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) and the performance of the tours themselves.

Because the rationale for the existence of Nowa Huta is the Lenin Steelworks (*Huta im. Lenina*, or HiL), that symbol of a modern industrialized nation, it is worth examining the tourism narratives that deal with labor, including the work of constructing the steelworks and the town, and subsequently, the operations of the steelworks, the growth of the Solidarity movement at the plant, and the present struggles to respond to the privatization of the steelworks and consequent restructuring. No less important is Roman Catholicism as an essential fact of Polish identity.[1] In accordance with Marxist-Leninist doctrine that saw religion as a form of illusion preventing true understanding of social and economic relations,[2] Nowa Huta was planned and built without churches. Although existing churches in the vicinity remained open, they were inadequate to serve the rapidly growing population. Residents pressed for new churches, however, and after more than two decades of struggle, including a demonstration in 1960 that was brutally suppressed by the militia, the first new church in Nowa Huta, called the Ark of the Lord, was consecrated in 1977. In the 1980s, the parallel movements of labor resistance and

[1] More than 98% of Poles consider themselves to be Roman Catholics.

[2] "This state and this society produce religion, which is an inverted consciousness of the world, because they are an inverted world….Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people….The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their real happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to give up a condition that requires illusions. The criticism of religion is, therefore, in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears of which religion is the halo" (Marx 1843).

struggle for religious expression were woven together; the new church, for example, became a place of sanctuary for the protesters and its entry plaza the site of demonstrations, as well as a site of martyrdom memorializing the death of a young protester at the hands of the police.

Work: the early years

Because Nowa Huta was built to produce steel in accordance with the postwar communist focus on development of heavy industry and military capacity, I expected that stories about labor – the physical construction of the town as a working-class counterpoint to bourgeois Kraków, the daily practices of producing steel, the development and influence of the Solidarity movement in the steelworks, and the current challenges faced by restructuring – would be central to the representations of Nowa Huta as seen in tourist literature and especially in tour narratives. This expectation proved to be true only in part. The subject of labor, a central preoccupation of socialist ideology and communist politics, appears to be an uncomfortable one for Poles writing and speaking of Nowa Huta to tourists. Tours and other materials focus primarily on the early years, telling the story of the workers who built the town and steelworks in the early 1950s, and the power and productivity of the plant, especially in the years immediately after World War II, when the task of rebuilding Poland took on the character of an almost sacred goal. By contrast, although narratives of resistance to Soviet-controlled repression are in general a part of the story of Nowa Huta as presented to tourists, they are told in the most abstract terms, without reference to Solidarity, its members, or the history of their specific struggle in Nowa Huta. The labor monument in Nowa Huta's Central Square is not mentioned in guidebooks and is not a stop on tours. Statements about the

current situation at the steelworks and continued unemployment in the district are put forth only in answer to questions from Western tour participants curious about the effects of restructuring.

This apparent discomfort with the subject of labor is reinforced by ambivalence about the selection of Kraków, Poland's former historic capital, for the location of the steelworks and mixed assessments about its economic and environmental legacy. While the tourism discourses are clear that the location of the plant was forced on Kraków's elite by the communist leadership eager to flex its muscles and stifle bourgeois discontent (see also Chapter 6), writers and tour leaders cannot help but be impressed by the sheer magnitude and power of the plant, its enormous productive capacity, and pride in and appreciation for Polish innovation, such as the contributions of Polish metallurgist and inventor Tadeusz Sendzimir, for whom the steelworks was renamed in 1990 (Sendzimir 1994).

Tour guides describing the construction of the steelworks and the residential district use their narratives as an opportunity to contest the Soviet-era propaganda (and any lingering misconceptions) about "new socialist men" and their commitment to the project of building socialism. Tour guides Jakób and Łukasz spoke in detail of the young workers who had built Nowa Huta, highlighting in particular the contributions of the national youth service group Service to Poland (*Służba Polsce*), for whom construction labor was an alternative to two years of military service. For these young people, the work was difficult, and discipline was severe. The residential buildings were built with bricks shipped in from destroyed sections of Wrocław (250 km away); when they had used them all, the government started destroying buildings in Wrocław just to

produce more bricks. The youths worked from 7 am to 3 pm, then had training sessions afterwards. They were not paid, but got free housing and meals.[3]

At the coffee break on the tour, sitting in a restaurant, Jakób showed a series of vintage photographs of the construction of the residential district, commenting that the bricklayers were always shown in heroic poses, muscular, and often stripped to the waist (Figure 5.1). He added that a chalkboard showing the day's work targets and an ongoing tally of bricks laid was frequently seen in the background, and identified these types of photographs (collected in small booklets produced for milestone anniversaries and now republished by the Nowa Huta Cultural Center) as propaganda commissioned by the authorities to promote interest in Nowa Huta and to demonstrate the personal commitment of the workers involved. Jakób also pointed out the equal participation of women in the youth service groups (Figure 5.2), but it appears from this and other photographs that trades were separated by gender. For instance, the work of bricklaying, an occupation that is glorified as the apogee of shock-working, Stakhanovite[4] labor in Krzystof Kieślowski's film *Man of Marble*, is a male-only job, while the teams of plasterers, as shown here, were all women.[5]

[3] The inadequacies of food and housing, as well as the general hooliganism of the Service to Poland work camps and the raids of these youths upon local villages and into Kraków are colorfully detailed in Lebow (2002) and Janus (1999).

[4] Alexeyi Stakhanov was a Russian coal miner said to have set a record by mining fourteen times his quota on a work shift in 1935. The term Stakhanovite was thus coined to refer to and praise communist workers who exceeded work quotas (Hanson 1997).

[5] Deeper consideration of the gendered expectations of work under Polish communism is found in Hardy and Rainnie (1996) and Domański (1997).

Figure 5.1: Bricklayers (Nowa Huta Cultural Center (2004): n.p.)

Figure 5.2: Female plastering team (Nowa Huta Cultural Center (2004): n.p.)

Łukasz described the troupes of Service to Poland workers in a similar fashion but opined that despite the hard work and primitive conditions, the workers, who were teenagers from small villages all over Poland, thought it was a good opportunity for them: not only could they avoid military service, but they could also learn a trade or other skills to enable them to make a living upon return to their home region. Although he acknowledged that they were in effect sentenced to hard days of labor, with no time off for leisure or recreation, he also stated that the competition between worker teams

(shock-work as represented in *Man of Marble*) was in no way a buy-in to the socialist work ethic, but rather a natural method of creating sports-like competition through daily work. (Łukasz asserted that the boys *needed* competition, just as they needed food or rest.)

Competition, of course, was fierce. Łukasz reported that he had read of one account in a local newspaper that the boys had produced fourteen times their daily quota for bricklaying,[6] and that one group had thrown superheated bricks into another group's pile, in order to burn their hands and win the competition.[7] In Łukasz's view, this natural competition to do the most work in order to one-up boys in other work units or from other regions was pre-empted by the communist propaganda-masters as evidence that even the teenage boys were supporting the new system so much that they did everything they could to build more and more every day. This habit of misattributing individual motives was a hallmark of the communist propaganda machine, both then and subsequently, as he stated:

> Of course, [the] communists claimed that the people that built Nowa Huta, that built Warsaw, that built all the communist places in Poland, were really communists, that they were supporting the regime, the system, and everything like this. They were not!! People who were rebuilding Poland after the second World War – who were building Nowa Huta – they were just so happy that Poland became an independent country, that they could

[6] A multiplier suspiciously like the Soviet model; see note 4.
[7] This plot device appears in *Man of Marble*, and Łukasz was surprised when tour participants mentioned the similarity. Incidentally, this conflation of news and art was one of the very few instances in which information presented by the tour guides could not be independently verified in more scholarly sources. The information presented in the tours was remarkably congruent with published material in reliable sources.

> rebuild Poland as a country, they didn't care if it was communism. Then, they found out that it's not good to have a communist government.

Thus a key purpose of the tourism narratives about the role of work in constructing Nowa Huta is to identify the motives of the workers and to correct (if only retrospectively) the misrepresentations employed by the propaganda machine that the people were supporting the communist ideology by means of their collective labor. Rather, the work of constructing Nowa Huta is reframed in tourism narratives as an individual practice designed to improve the future prospects of the in-migrant and his or her family.

In contrast to the varied groups of people who came to Nowa Huta to construct the residential district (see also Chapter 6), the original workforce at the steelworks was characterized by tour guides as rural peasants from villages in southern Poland. Like the Service to Poland brigades, they were attracted by the possibility of a better quality of life and stable jobs, and, as with the Service to Poland groups, this desire was framed by tour guides as motivated by individual desires for betterment, rather than a commitment to the new socialist project. Ola, for example, spoke of them as "peasants coming from many different places who didn't see their chance in working in agriculture. They wanted to change their lives." (In fact, the communist government promoted these relocations through an active advertising campaign (Lebow 2002; Stanek 2005).) The steelworks was the largest employer in the region; multiple sources acknowledge that as many as 40,000 people worked at the plant in its heyday, and also that most households in Nowa Huta had at least one relative employed there.

According to Ola, people from the same region of Poland tended to take apartments in the same neighborhood unit, thus the neighborhood units (3-5,000

residents) tended to take on the habits and cultures of their villages or regions of origin. It is not clear whether this type of segregation existed at the plant as well; the tour guides and guidebooks say nothing about the social conditions at the plant: how workers were allocated to the different kinds of jobs, what training they had, what aspects of social life and recreation centered around the plant, or what the daily working conditions were.

Although the plant (sold to the multinational steel conglomerate Mittal in 2004) is now closed to visitors, the steelworks was once a tourist attraction of sorts (the local tourism bureau was responsible for arranging tours in advance). Even then, tours tended to focus on the process of making steel rather than on the lives of those who made it, as the president of one of the tour companies described in an interview:

> The first tours of Nowa Huta were mainly Scandinavian tourists…and their main interest surprisingly was not even the district but the factory itself. At that time [1997] it was possible to go into the factory and have a 2 ½ hour factory tour. And it was quite interesting because the factory was still operating on a large scale, so you could go to the big stove, you could see the whole process, so: steel being cast, rolled, pressed, cut. And it was the whole process. It was a very interesting tour.

Today it is difficult even to find photographs of the interior of the plant, much less descriptions of its workforce or working conditions, even though the stated focus of at least one of the tour companies is on providing an accurate portrayal of the lives of ordinary residents:

> We tell the story of the people; we tell the history of the district; we are trying to bring up Polish reality from different perspectives, as it was;

> what the people were thinking; what their choices were, their chances, opportunities. But also: how it is today. What are their problems, what these people [face] at the moment, what are their greatest concerns today.

As we shall see in the following sections, this portrayal of "Polish reality" omits the role of steelworkers in the Solidarity movement and open discussion of the challenges faced in restructuring the plant and dealing with the social impacts of workforce reductions. The absence of the former is particularly striking, since the greatest indictment of the communist system (for rhetorical purposes) could potentially be the story of the success of everyday workers at bringing it down.

Labor unrest: contesting the communist system

Despite perceptions of Nowa Huta as a lawless, brutish place in its early years (Janus 1999; Lebow 2002), stability and prosperity grew rapidly in the first two decades, and in fact the 1970s are spoken of as the 'golden age' of Polish socialism, as industrial production and availability of consumer goods and housing reached their apex (Stenning 2005). However, the opening of a modern (and much larger) steelworks in Katowice, along with political instability at the national level and increasingly strident critiques of environmental degradation from Kraków, combined to marginalize Nowa Huta and its workers throughout the 1980s. The workers at the Lenin Steelworks struck in August 1980, just one week after their brethren in the Gdańsk shipyards, and by October of that year, 97% of the 43,000 steelworkers had joined Solidarity (Stenning 2000). Strikes and demonstrations continued in Nowa Huta throughout the decade: in 1982, in 1983, and in 1988.

Allusions, albeit brief ones, to Nowa Huta's underappreciated role in the Solidarity movement and the subsequent overthrow of the communist regime in 1989 are common in tourist guidebook entries for Nowa Huta (for example, Miezian 2004; *Poland* (Insight Guides) 2004; *Rough Guide to Poland* 2005). It is therefore surprising that so little is said about the Solidarity period on the tours, and that the tours do not incorporate the physical mementos of that time. For example, only one of the tour guides mentioned that there had been a monument to Solidarity (like the one in Gdańsk, but smaller) in the central square. Further, despite that fact that the tour groups spent quite a lot of time in this square (looking mainly at the architectural styles and the plan concept, see Chapter 5), the original location of the monument was not pointed out nor the reasons for its subsequent removal discussed by the guides. Likewise, at the Ark of the Lord, there is a small memorial to Bogdan Włosik, a teenager shot and killed by the militia during a Solidarity demonstration in 1982, but this event is not mentioned on tours, even though it is possible to learn about it on a self-tour by reading the marker placed near the plaza in front of the church.

Jakób attributed labor unrest to rivalries between Kraków and Nowa Huta. He asserted that wages were low at the steelworks (for contrary evidence, see: Ryder 1990; Kennedy 1991), and that people in Kraków would not support the efforts of the workers to improve their wages, having figured out "how to work the system" to their own benefit. He stated that Kraków and Nowa Huta people were "like enemies." His implication was that Nowa Huta and its people were a world apart, and that people in Kraków didn't care what happened to the district or the people in it. Some support for this idea comes from Stenning (2000), who notes that the student riots in Kraków in 1968

were put down by workers from the steelworks bused in by the Party, and that the steelworks had long been perceived as a "Party bastion" in intellectual circles in Kraków. Doubtless the ongoing destruction of historical and cultural monuments in Kraków's Old Town by the toxic emissions from the steelworks only strengthened the animus between the two. The steelworks, a producer of heavy metals, sulfur dioxide, and dust, has for decades been the largest contributor to air pollution in the region, along with two electrical generation plants and local coal-burning heating systems.[8] In the early 1990s, significant improvements were made in emissions control (Manser 1992), and much of the damage to masonry in the Old Town has since been repaired.

Łukasz, by contrast, placed labor unrest in the context of a much longer history of resentment against an unpopular (and unmandated) political system than just the recent history of specific grievances such as working conditions and wages: "It was workers -- strong workers -- that were fighting against the government all the time; since the 60s, really, they were fighting with the government."

None of the tour guides mentioned specific strikes or labor demonstrations. However, they did point out – in connection with their focus on the architecture and planning issues discussed in Chapter 5 – that the planning principle of organizing the city into neighborhood units of 3-5,000 people worked against the government. In the demonstrations and riots, the civil militia (ZOMO) was brought in from other cities in Poland to restore order (presumably so that locals would not be torn by loyalties to friends and family). However, the neighborhood units were so labyrinthine that the

[8]The Polish Ecological Club (PKE) alleged that as many as 6,000 workers each year left the plant permanently due to poor health from working conditions at the steelworks, although generous disability allowances may have inflated these numbers (Manser 1992).

militia was easily lost or confused, and had a great deal of trouble moving about. The maze benefited the rioters, who were familiar with every step and turn, even in the dark, while the militia was at a tremendous disadvantage. Referring back to the original defensive capabilities of the neighborhood units, Łukasz pointed out the irony of the design: "So we see that in the place that was used for the protection in case of war, [a place] that should be the pride of the communists, it became the worst nightmare for the communists."

As with motivations for building Nowa Huta, labor demonstrations are framed in the tours as the results of individual decision-making (for example, resentment against the indifference or hostility of people in Kraków, or ability to control personal living space and to confound those who might seek to gain control over it) rather than the result of collective decision-making about how to address shared grievances. It is perhaps puzzling that the collective efforts to overthrow communism, as overseen by the Solidarity movement, receive so little attention in tourism discourses, given the high membership levels of steelworkers in Solidarity. However, as we shall see in the next section, Solidarity's ability to deliver in the 1990s on its optimistic promises of the 1980s was unrealized. As the movement splintered into various groups and was compelled to make compromises in order accomplish its goals in the national government, its members became disillusioned, and its reputation in Nowa Huta was tarnished.

Restructuring Labor

It is inevitable that tour participants would be curious about the present status of the steelworks – both in terms of levels of production and in terms of the labor force. In response to questions, tour guides tended to naturalize and rationalize the changes in

employment since 1990 as logical accompaniments to the shift to capitalism. Jakób, in describing the plant, stated matter-of-factly that employment had dropped from about 38,000 at its peak in the 1970s[9] to about 8,000 in 2006. He attributed this drop in part to a specialization in production ("They make only the large thick sheets there now") and in part to a lack of interest in this particular plant by its owner, the Indian steel magnate Lashmir Mittal. Jakób alleged that Mittal had not wanted to buy the Nowa Huta plant, but had had to, as part of a privatization package deal to buy other Polish steel plants that he *did* want.

Neither of the tour guides who discussed the current situation at the plant faulted Mittal for the loss of jobs. Łukasz, while admitting in response to a question from a tour participant that the plant had almost gone bankrupt several years ago, that many people had lost their jobs, and that employment was down to 2,000 in the plant itself, blamed the government for not being better prepared to deal with the inevitable fallout from a shift to capitalist production. He appeared to try to rationalize the layoffs as the natural result of globalization and to blame the lack of a 'fix' on the government:

> But [in] the whole world, you know, every year less and less people worked [in steel production], whereas *here* – I can understand it [the loss of jobs], in a way, but the government should do something with those unemployed people. This company [referring to Mittal] – the only thing they *could* do to was to [provide] jobs for 2,000, maybe even more, because right now there are 2,000 in the factory only. I think all together around this place [there are] about six, seven thousand maybe, maybe even eight [thousand jobs].

[9] Academic sources put it slightly higher, at 43,000 (Ryder 1990; Stenning 2000) or at 40,000 (Hardy and Rainnie 1996).

Jakób, on the other hand, blamed Solidarity for the high unemployment. He alleged that Solidarity had "left them" – meaning the people of Nowa Huta, after the change in government in 1990. Solidarity didn't help people to re-train for other jobs (as he implied they should have), so when the plant got modernized, it needed fewer employees and people were let go.

At the start of transition in 1989, there were still 32,000 employees at the steelworks, but the collapse of Comecon resulted in decreased demand for steel in the former Soviet bloc countries, and a program of modernization and restructuring was undertaken beginning in 1991. The steelworks was broken up into 21 separate enterprises. Nationally, in January 1990 Solidarity agreed to not to strike or undertake other labor actions for a short period in order to allow the effects of economic 'shock therapy' to be known; they also deliberately refrained from actively recruiting new members, not wishing to coerce workers into membership, as the old trade unions had done (Hardy and Rainnie 1996). Locally, the national government invested 1.22 billion PLN (about $476 million at 1996 average exchange rates) in modernization in the period 1995-98, yet made clear to the European Union in its application for membership that further job cuts would be required in the steel sector, mostly at the larger plants (Stenning 2000).

Private buyers were actively sought by the national government, and after negotiations with the Austrian-Dutch steel conglomerate Voest Alpine Stahl and Hoogovens stalled (Stenning 2000), the plant was bundled with seven other Polish steelworks, and sold to the Indian multinational firm Mittal in 2004. I discuss efforts to

market and use the extensive holdings of the steelworks in greater detail in Chapter 8, in the context of analyzing the discourses of economic development.

None of this information about the difficulties of restructuring comes out in the tourism literature or in tour narratives. Rather, the tour guides seem to have a curious nostalgia for the previous conditions of full employment (the only aspect for which there can be said to be any nostalgia whatsoever for the communist regime!) combined with a dulled awareness of the implications of restructuring and unemployment on workers' daily lives. For instance, alluding to the new geography of commuting in greater Kraków, Ola said, "I guess most of the people living in Nowa Huta used to work here. It's not true any more, people travel all over Kraków to get jobs." It is odd that she is uncertain about the changed spatial relationship between the residential and industrial areas of Nowa Huta, since that is one of the most fundamental aspects of the socialist urban plan.

It was also difficult for Ola to reconcile the current relative stillness and calm of the plant when we saw it on the tour (in terms of people streaming in and out at shift changes) with her historical knowledge of the human flows at the peak of production. In the following quotation, she has to correct herself in mid-narrative: "One of the disadvantages to coming here on Sunday is the quiet atmosphere of the place around Huta, because usually on working days, when you get off the tram like we just did, you can see *thousands* of people – well, maybe *five hundred people* crowding around just going to work, or coming from work, or just waiting for something….On the regular days…during the week, the trams coming here are full, the same with many cars around, because the steel[works] is still working" (emphasis added).

Łukasz also wistfully contrasted an earlier period of bustling activity with the current slowdown in production: "[there were many] different lines of buses [inside the plant complex]. They were working on three shifts but right now they are working on two shifts; they don't work all the time." I read these difficulties in accommodating to the current reality of plant idleness and high unemployment as nostalgia for what the plant, at full bore, had represented to the people of Nowa Huta: their contribution to the national productivity.

Pride of production, pride of place

This nostalgia for the productivity of times past is echoed in other aspects of representing the plant to tourists. Despite all the negative spin provided in the tours -- about the plant being forced on the people of Kraków by the Soviets and being in probability a cast-off of outdated Soviet technology; about the manipulation of images and achievement during construction to promote the political goals of the new Polish communist government -- the tour guides also focused on certain aspects of the plant with native pride: its sheer monumentality; its record of production; and the achievements of Polish metallurgist Tadeusz Sendzimir, for whom the plant is now named.

The steelworks was the largest in Poland at completion in 1954 (and the second largest in the Eastern Bloc, said Jakób, noting that the largest – "of course, *they* had to have the largest" – was in Russia). Because visitors are no longer allowed inside the plant grounds, and cannot see any of its operations at all from the vantage point at the twin headquarters building (all that is visible beyond the armed guard at the gate is a greenway belt), it is impossible to get any sense of its magnitude, at least from the ground (Figure 5.3 shows the relative size and position of the Old Town, the residential area of

Nowa Huta, and the steelworks; from other maps I scaled the largest building to be about 2300 feet in length). For this reason, the tour guides seemed particularly interested in trying to convey a sense of its monumental size. Ola used the prop of a sketch map to point out that the steelworks complex was "very huge," larger than the old section of Nowa Huta, and extending more than 2 km to the east from the headquarters buildings.

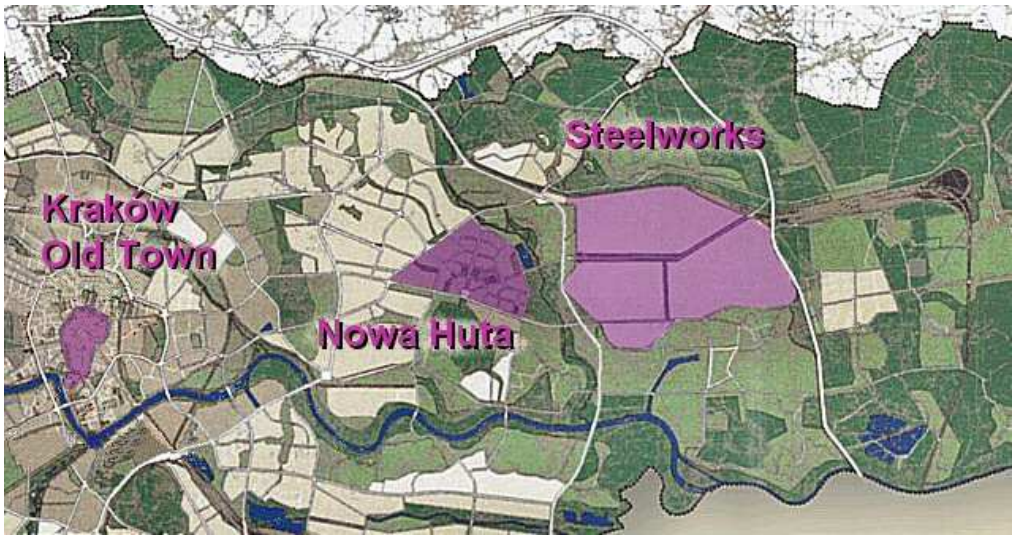


Figure 5.3: Location of Nowa Huta residential area and steelworks

Łukasz used comparisons to the most commonly viewed tourist sites in Kraków to explain just how big the complex was:

> I just want to tell you how huge this factory *is*, even right now. If you look at the map, the factory's, I think, 20 times bigger, uh, no, 10 times bigger than the city center, than the main market square and everything that's inside the *Planty* [the greenbelt on the site of the former defensive walls in the Old Town], inside those gardens, the park around it. So it's 10 times bigger than this.

> There's one building here, the biggest production building here in this factory, in which you could put four main market squares [referring to the main square in Kraków, said to be the largest city square in Europe], inside, together with all the buildings. It shows how huge it is. And another thing: there are 360 km of rail lines inside the factory. That's more than the distance from Kraków to Warsaw, just inside of the factory. And, when the factory worked, with 38,000 people, they had 20 different lines of busses *inside* the factory, to take people to their work.

Local tour guides' pride in the complex was not limited to its sheer size; it also included discussion of the prodigious production that occurred there, especially in the early years. Łukasz reported that the furnaces, at the beginning, produced 1.5 million tons of pig iron a year. "To give you a view of how much this was," he said, "I can tell you that before the Second World War, Poland – all of Poland – produced about 1.7 million tons per year of pig iron. And this factory itself [produced] almost the same as all of Poland [did] before the Second World War." He added that the largest furnace on this site alone could produce 1.2 million tons per year. From the beginning, production steadily increased at the plant. Łukasz reported that 1978 was the peak year of production, delivering about 7.8 million tons of pig iron, and employing about 38,000 workers.[10]

An anecdote related by Jakób (which I heard or read nowhere else in the tourism literature) illustrated both the asymmetrical power relations between Poland and the Soviets and Jakób's idea about the innate resourcefulness of Poles in extracting

[10] These numbers are reasonably congruent with scholarly reporting: Pounds et al. (1981), cited in Hardy and Rainnie (1996), report 324,00 tons in 1955; 2.7 million tons in 1965; and 6.8 million tons in 1978.

maximum production out of inferior capital investments. He alleged that the steelworks was not newly built in Poland, but was the remains of a Russian steel plant from the 1920s that had been dismantled, cut in pieces, and shipped by rail to Poland. Thus Stalin's idea to build Nowa Huta was not as magnanimous as it sounded, in his estimation: "[Stalin] paid for this; we didn't pay for Nowa Huta, because we got the loan that we didn't have to pay back. But on the other hand, though, by supporting this construction, I mean, by paying for Nowa Huta, he provided for himself trade, with the Soviet Union. Because [Poland] didn't have iron ore…iron ore was imported from a city that is 2,500 km from Nowa Huta [in Ukraine]. Then, well, -- (laughs) he paid for *this* [the steelworks], but we are *still* paying for the iron ore, ja?….So they opened the steelworks in '54, but it wasn't a steelworks for the '50s; it was a steelworks for the '20s."

Tour guides also point with pride to the renaming of the steelworks in 1990 for internationally famous Polish-born metallurgist Tadeusz Sendzimir (Figure 5.4). Previously, since its opening in 1954, the plant had been known as the Lenin Steelworks (*Huta im. Lenina,* or HiL). However, because Lenin was universally feared and resented in Nowa Huta (for example, daring protesters attempted to blow up the bronze statue of him in the Central Square on several occasions), in February 1990, the Solidarity-led Workers Council at HiL requested Sendzimir's family to agree to renaming the steelworks in his honor (he had died in Florida the previous September). As his daughter recounts, "Of course we agreed (despite our reservations about giving our name to a plant whose toxic fumes were eating the faces off the monuments of Kraków) (Sendzimir 1994: 349).

Figure 5.4: *Huta im. T. Sendzimira* sign at entry to steelworks

Łukasz, the tour guide, described Sendzimir as follows:

> He is one of the most famous Polish engineers. He studied in Russia, but in Russia - he fought in the Revolution. And then he invented some completely new methods of producing steel from pig iron and first he taught the Polish people how to do it; he helped to open a few steelworks in Poland and then he went to China and showed them how to produce steel in a modern way. So he's famous because of this. So they've changed the name because people think that Lenin did not deserve to have anything from Poland.

What Łukasz does not say is that Sendzimir was born not in Poland but in Lwow, then a Polish-speaking city within the Russian Empire, and now called L'viv, in Ukraine. Despite his tenuous connection with Nowa Huta, he was well-known in the international steel industry for his invention of continuous rolling-and-galvanizing machines, including

the Z mill used in most Polish steelworks,[11] thus it is no surprise that the steelworkers, when free to do so, preferred to honor him rather than Lenin.

In the next section, on the role of faith in sustaining a spirit of Polish nationalism and resistance to totalitarianism, this ambivalence about the relationship between the achievements of Polish labor and its potential complicity with the agenda of communism is replaced by a clearer rejection of the communist regime through the struggles of individuals and groups to reclaim their right to occupy space for religious worship.

The role of faith

Representations of religious faith and the material artifacts that support it play an important part in portraying Nowa Huta for tourists. In this section I argue that the focus on religion portrayed in tourism documents and tour narratives about Nowa Huta addresses two very different yet complementary goals: on the one hand, it counteracts the "Othering" of Nowa Huta (see Chapter 6) prevalent in all representations, touristic or not, by connecting its spaces with a long history of Christian belief and observance throughout the nation; on the other hand, it sets Nowa Huta apart by focusing on its special role as the challenger to the communist regime through the acts of struggle and resistance that were necessary to regain the right to build churches and to worship freely. This dual focus is essential to rehabilitating the residents of Nowa Huta as members of the deeply religious faithful Roman Catholic nation of Poland and as leaders in the fight against communism. Just as the struggle for labor rights is represented in tourism

[11] After spending World War I repairing engines in Kiev, he ran a nail-galvanizing factory in Shanghai before emigrating to the United States in 1930 and gaining citizenship in 1946. A tireless inventor and entrepreneur, he held numerous patents on steel rolling machines. He received many honorary degrees and was awarded the Brinell Medal (the metallurgical equivalent of the Nobel Prize) in July 1975 (Sendzimir 1994).

discourses as a struggle against an "Other" (foreigners, communists, and thus instruments of the USSR), the struggle to worship freely in new churches in this district is construed for tourists as a struggle against the communist "Other" to recover what rightfully belonged to the people after the communist ideology was forced upon them.

It is possible to read these narratives of struggle simply as a battle between deeply religious peasants and their Communist oppressors for the right to express religious faith. One guidebook, for example, notes that the rural origin of many settlers is manifested by their "deep religiousness" (Miezian 2004, 5) and that these peasants, although believing in some aspects of the new communist ideology, and appreciative of the economic advancement to be found in Nowa Huta, found "the program of Marxist atheism loathsome" (20). Such a simple morality tale might be expected to play well with Western tourists, particularly Americans raised on the historical myth-making that frames 17th century American colonization as a quest for religious freedom. It is much easier to tell a story with a black and white cast of characters (righteous believer-workers against godless foreign communists) than to address the complicated and interwoven political and social factors inherent in establishing and maintaining the communist regime.

However, the thoughtful tourist is also presented with other representations that allow a more complex understanding of the links between faith, politics, and space. What is striking about these representations is the degree to which they portray the desire for freedom to worship as intertwined with the politics of the new communist ideology. The historian Katherine Lebow has argued that the protests in Nowa Huta, beginning with the dispute over the right to build churches in 1960, and carrying through to the struggles of the Solidarity movement in the 1980s, were not a rejection of communism

per se, but rather a way in which citizens who had been shaped by socialist ideology could claim their own space, the space they had in fact built with their own hands. The architectural historian Łukasz Stanek (2005), taking a complementary angle, challenges the myth about "deeply religious peasantry" by documenting the views of those who believed that the settlers had been permanently changed spiritually by the effects of communist rule.

Below I examine the range of representations of religious faith and religious artifacts, from the art-historical descriptions that seem actually to avoid political and religious content, to those which fully engage with the ideological issues and means of rhetoric at the residents' disposal. I show that Western writers of guidebooks are much less willing to engage with the conflicts of expressing religious faith, while many of the Polish guidebooks – and Polish tour guides as well – are anxious to convey to a Western audience how religious faith was embedded within an evolving political and social system of resistance to communism and contestation over local control of space.

The struggle for space

The residents of the newly-built blocks in Nowa Huta in the 1950s were allowed to worship in existing churches, but there were few close by: the cloistered Cistercian Abbey in the village of Mogiła (Figure 5.5), which was opened to the population only on religious holidays; the tiny wooden church of St. Bartholomew, also in Mogiła; the wooden church of St. John in the village of Krzesławice; and chapels in the decaying estates of the nobility that dotted surrounding villages. (Nowa Huta's most famous church, Our Lady Queen of Poland, also known as the Ark of the Lord, supposedly is built on the site of one such estate chapel.) These churches were too small to serve the

rapidly growing population, but despite the desires of residents, no new churches were allowed to be built.[12]

Figure 5.5 Cistercian abbey, Mogiła

A series of protests culminated in a demonstration in April 1960 that was brutally suppressed by the authorities, and the locus of that bloody confrontation, a memorial site known as 'the 1960 Cross' (Figure 5.6), is both a focal point of all the tours and the foundation of tour narratives of the fight against communism.

[12] Miezian (2004) has written that the Polish President, Bolesław Bierut, was genuinely surprised to see no churches in the plan: "It is said that when [he] saw the plans for Nowa Huta, he looked around and asked: 'And where is the space for the church?' All present were seriously astonished that he, the communist President of Poland, appointed by Stalin, asked about such things. But we need to remember that the communist authorities did not demonstrate their anti-Catholicism at the beginning, as much as they did later. The highest state officials participated in masses, and all important buildings were consecrated…The Polish nation consisted of Catholics, and for the communists Warsaw was 'worth the price of a mass'"(91).

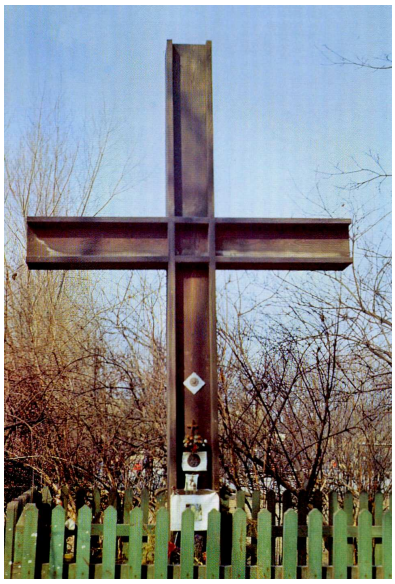


Figure 5.6 The ‘Cross of 1960’ (Kordaszewski (2003): pl. 18)

The tour guide Łukasz, for example, begins the narrative in this way:

> Religion was a tradition, a very strong tradition. Belief was also strong, but I think that traditions are usually stronger than belief. And those people couldn’t think of *not* having a church. The Cistercians who had the monastery - right now it’s part of Nowa Huta, but at the beginning it was just outside - they opened the monastery, for the first time in the history of the church, for the people, just to allow them to pray. [But] you know, it was [too] far away from the center, and not [big] enough for all the people.

Following the “thaw” of 1956, the residents of Nowa Huta had been promised the permits to build a church (Figure 5.7; the placard reads “Square under construction for the church of Nowa Huta”). Nevertheless, the regime stalled the Church hierarchy on approvals, and by 1960 some shift in relations between Church and State had occurred that led to the authorities’ revoking the permits and directing a group of workers to remove the iron

cross made by steelworkers (visible in the photograph) that marked the site, in order to build a school there.

Figure 5.7: The 'Cross of 1960,' with crowd (Nowa Huta Cultural Center (2004): n.p.)

All the tours stop at the cross site, now marked by a wooden cross. The characteristic features of the tour narrative are as follows: A group of recently-arrived Greek political refugees was directed to remove the cross, as the authorities knew that Polish Catholics would refuse to do it. As the workers attempted to remove the Cross, on April 27, 1960, women and children gathered to protest the removal. At the end of the day shift at the steelworks, they were joined by workers, and a violent demonstration ensued that lasted for one to three days (depending on the source). The size of the demonstration and the number of wounded and dead, as Łukasz explains, is still not authoritatively known:

> So the people wanted to have a church. The government allowed [them] to build a church in 1956. And people built a huge iron cross here, and

had in mind, you know, "We will have a church here someday." But then in 1966 there was a big argument between the Polish Church and the Polish government, because 966 was the year of the Christianization of Poland, so 1966 was the thousandth anniversary. And the Polish government said it's the 1000th anniversary of Poland. Strangest point, for this as well. Why this date of Polish Christianization?! This was a strange date for communists to be commemorating!

Big argument; they changed their minds: "we won't allow you to build a church here," and the government decided to take the cross down.[13] They asked Greek workers to do this, the Greek workers that had come to Kraków just a few days before. They [the Greeks] didn't know what it was, they didn't know what the situation was, they thought they were just doing it because [the government] wanted to build something, maybe the church.

About fourteen thousand - we don't know still how many, that's the problem with numbers -- fourteen, well, maybe ten thousand people came here to protect the cross, mostly women and children, because, you know, they knew that if the men would come here to protect the cross it would cause some really big fights between the militia and the workers. John Paul II [he was then, as Archbishop, Karol Wojtyła] was with the people here, when he left a few hours later the fighting began. It lasted for almost three days I think.

[13] He is mistaken about the year; the riot was in 1960, after the shift following the "October Thaw of 1956."

> Three hundred militia men were hurt; they landed in hospitals. We don't know how many [civilians] died here. It's mostly because of the doctors. Even if someone died because he was shot, most of the doctors wrote that it was a heart attack or something else, because if the government had found out that someone was shot, was fighting against the government, the family could have a problem.
>
> So we still don't know the numbers of the victims. Because the doctors [were falsifying records], we don't know how many people died here. But many: if two or three hundred officers from the militia were hurt, probably three or four times more workers were hurt. There was almost three days and nights of fighting here. And finally, one side at least succeeded. Because although they didn't build a church here, the cross remained. This church [referring to the Church of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, consecrated at the site in 2001] was supposed to be much bigger. It was supposed to be a church for 200,000 people, much bigger. But then when the communists wouldn't allow it, they built a school here instead. It was the plan: 1000 years, 1000 schools in Poland.[14]

Jakób was more succinct in his explanation, avoiding a detailed description of the riot in 1960 and the resulting injuries and fatalities:

> In '59 – '59 or '56? – well, somewhere in the late '50s, the government gave [the residents] permission to build a church. Not the Ark of the Lord, but the church near the theater [at the site where later the Church of the

[14] This is the campaign "one thousand schools for one thousand years of Poland" that was to commemorate the millennium (966-1966) of the founding of Poland.

> Most Sacred Heart of Jesus was built]. And they got the permission, so they started to build foundations, but after a year or two, the relationship between the church and the government was really bad – because the [leadership] had changed - so they said, "no, there's no chance for you to build this church….All of the previous permits, they're not valid any longer," and the government decided that on the church's foundations, "we'll build a school." Because that was the plan: "*Tysiąc szkól na tysiąc lecie Polski*." [One thousand schools for one thousand years of Poland] – [in] 1966 there was an anniversary, one thousand years of Poland, and they had the plan that we will build one thousand schools for one thousand years of Poland, ja? So that's why they wanted to change it.

All the narratives are murky on the intervening seven years, between the riot in 1960 and the beginning of construction in 1967, not at the original, planned location, but in the Bieńcyce village area, where there had been an estate chapel that was being used for masses. This is the church called Our Lady, Queen of Poland, or more colloquially, the Ark of the Lord (*Arka Pana*) (Figure 5.8). Łukasz, again, passionately describes the situation:

> Why did it take them such a long time? Because the government did not give their permission. But the Polish church at that time, 1968, had such a strong [hold] that they couldn't stop them. The cardinal was John Paul II [at that time Karol Wojtyła], the archbishop was Karl Kascinski, so they knew they couldn't fight against them. They would *have* to allow them to do this. Of course, officially they would not allow them.

Companies couldn't give any materials, anything, to build the church. The two million stones that you can see on the façade [the façade is faced with pebbles laid in the concrete] were brought by the people in plastic bags, from outside the city.

They mixed concrete with a spade, in a basket. All the wooden parts are connected without a single nail and without glue. Because they didn't have enough glue and enough nails. So what they did: the highlanders [people originally from the mountains in southern Poland] used a special technique of connecting wood without anything. Every piece had to be exactly right. Because otherwise – it keeps together only because of the weight of the roof presses on it, and keeps it all together. That's why that kind of shape. But the shape is something different. It should look like Noah's ark, just on the mountain, when the floods ended. The ark of Noah just landed on the top of the hill, on top of the mount. Symbolizing: Noah survived the flood: *we'll* survive the flood of communism.

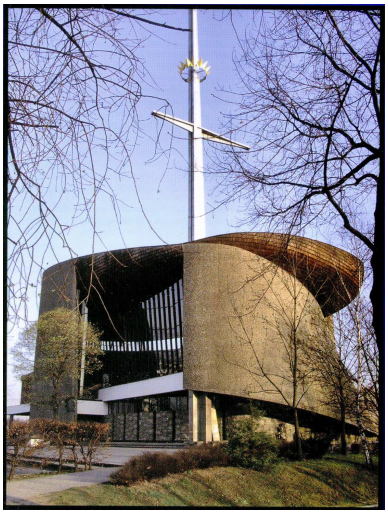


Figure 5.8 The Ark of the Lord Church (Kordaszewski (2003): cover)

Jakób confirmed Łukasz's account, that they had not been able to go forward with the original site but had instead built the Ark of the Lord on the site of an existing chapel. The chapel had been suitable for one hundred people, yet it attracted 80,000 members, so the chapel had to be expanded somehow. As I will discuss subsequently, the Ark is a highlight of tours, not only for its innovative architecture and iconography of resistance, but also because of its significance in demonstrating how the people of Nowa Huta, without official funding or support from the government, were able to take control of the space and build a structure that memorialized the struggles of Poles against all forms of oppression, including communism.

The 1960 Cross site remains an important memorial site in Nowa Huta: there are always fresh flowers in the urn at its base, and there are often women kneeling in prayer there. After 1990, when a number of streets in Nowa Huta were given new names free of communist ideology, the main street at the corner was renamed *ul. Obrońców Krzyża*, Street of the Defenders of the Cross, as a lasting remembrance of the demonstration.

The small church that was subsequently built on the corner where the first church was to have been includes a dedication plaque that demonstrates the residents' understanding of the connections between religious faith and political action in Nowa Huta. It is not only a profession of faith, but a political statement, full of energy for Poland's future and reverence for its national past:

To the defenders of the Cross:

In this place on April 27, 1960 the residents of Nowa Huta, with great courage and full of faith defended the cross being removed by the communist authorities.

In memory of that event, we offer homage to the heroic defenders of the cross.

The events of that day oblige us always to see in the cross a better Poland.

Council of District 18

City of Kraków

On the day of the dedication of the church

June 22, 2001

Aestheticizing faith

Many of the guidebooks, especially the American and British ones, avoid any mention of contested church-building, sidestepping the motivations of the regime and the people in favor of depoliticized descriptions of the buildings themselves. This of course is easier to do with older churches, which can be characterized by artistic or architectural period and described in terms of their notable architectural features or by the precious or artistic objects they contain (paintings, sculptures, or stained glass windows). Another common rhetorical device is a short allusion to historical events associated with the building. In addition to these factual descriptions, the guidebooks also perform an evaluative function; they provide information that will help the tourist single out that which is worth seeing from that which is not.

Many guidebooks provide details of architect, builder, or period that by themselves are often not significant to the foreign reader. For example, the *Pictorial Guide* says of Nowa Huta: "In the vicinity of the Cistercian Abbey in Mogiła, a priceless wooden Church of St. Bartholomew has been preserved. In the Gothic portal Maciej Mączka carved his name. Most likely he built the church in the second half of the 15th century." This description has a curious collection of facts – the sentence purports to deal with St. Bartholomew's Church (why exactly is it "priceless"?), manages to get in a reference to the abbey across the road without saying anything useful about it, and then details the decontextualized facts of the maker's name and the evidence to suggest that he was the maker. Without specialized knowledge about the significance of wooden churches in rural Poland, the details provided about this church are difficult for the visitor to evaluate and do not relate to the presumed main point of seeing Nowa Huta, the communist city.

The *Lonely Planet Guide*, in both the 1993 and 2005 editions, focuses on the history and architecture of these two churches in Mogiła rather than on their role in providing a spiritual home for residents of Nowa Huta in the early years. Of the Abbey, the guidebook describes briefly the history of the Cistercian Order in Poland and suggests the possibility of finding a monk to guide the visitor around the "Gothic-vaulted cloister," show off the "preserved Renaissance paintings, and the "interesting interior [of the church] - a balanced mix of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque furnishing and decoration." The 2005 edition adds a sentence bursting with interior details: "The church, open most of the day, has a large three-naved interior with a balanced mix of Gothic, Renaissance and baroque furnishings and decoration. Have a look at the Chapel of the Crucified

Christ (in the left transept), the polyptych in the high altar, and beautiful stained-glass windows behind it." There is no mention of late twentieth century events occurring in this church that are crucial to understanding Poland's turn to democracy, including Karol Wojtyła's symbolic last sermon there as the Archbishop of Kraków, before he went to Rome as Pope John Paul II, and the triumphant mass held there, attended by tens of thousands, on his symbolic first trip back to Poland as Pope, in 1979 (Miezian 2004, 47-48).

The *Rough Guide for Poland* also aestheticizes these churches in Mogiła, concentrating on their architecture and art rather than their twentieth century role in sustaining religious faith of the newcomers to Nowa Huta or their important historical role in bringing down the communist regime: "Across the road from the monastery is the Church of St Bartholomew, one of the oldest wooden churches in the country, with an elaborately carved doorway from 1466 and a Baroque belfry." This description focuses on age and architectural features, using the rhetoric of touristic superlatives ("one of the oldest") to appeal to tourists and encourage a visit.

Another rhetorical strategy taken in the English-language guidebooks is to favorably contrast the appeal of these historical churches with the obligatory but unattractive "main event" of communist planning that presumably has brought or will bring the tourist to Nowa Huta in the first place. The *Insight Guide*, for example, sets the two historical churches of Mogiła in brave opposition to the grim modernity of the main part of the district: "But it is not all gloomy industrialisation: Nowa Huta also has some historic buildings, including the 11th century Cistercian Abbey in Mogiła, which is opposite the wooden elaborate 15th century Church of St. Bartholomew." Thus reference

is made to a history before the "clean slate" planning of Nowa Huta, suggesting an alternative touristic focus – not the dark unattractiveness of the present, but a return to an earlier time, to see buildings that are "worth" seeing.

The 2002 *Rough Guide* takes this rhetoric of difference a step further: "In total contrast to these recent constructions [the social realist city], a mile east of *plac Centralny* [Central Square] off *al. Jana Pawła II* [John Paul II Avenue] stands the Cistercian monastery of Mogiła, a world away from the bustle of Nowa Huta….Built around 1260 on the regular Cistercian plan of a triple-aisled basilica with series of chapels in the transepts, the Abbey Church, one of the finest examples of early Gothic in the region, is a tranquil, meditative spot, the airy interior graced with a fine series of Renaissance murals." This text is well organized and signposted, and moves beyond details of art and architecture to try to convey the mood of the space through interpretative phrasing ("tranquil, meditative spot," "airy interior") while using the superlative form to convey the worth of a visit ("one of the finest examples").

Another guidebook builds on the idea of contrast by invoking a mystical, miraculous curiosity, the likes of which would not be found in hyperrationalistic Nowa Huta itself: "Not everything in Nowa Huta is new. The Church of St Bartholomew (located at *ulica Klasztorna* [Cloister Street], just in front of the 18th-century Cistercian Abbey), built by Maciej Mączka, dates from 1466 and is Poland's only surviving example of a medieval wooden church. Now part of the European Culture Program, the church houses some beautiful 14th-century wall paintings and a sculpture of Jesus. According to a local belief, hair is said to sprout from the head of the statue" (iexplore 2006).

In all of these descriptions, the intent appears to be to evaluate the potential interest of these churches to the tourist; the focus of the guidebooks is to evaluate sites for their worth for tourist consumption through the medium of the 'gaze' (Urry 1990) by privileging visual appreciation or oddity (the sprouting hair) over cultural or political understanding. However, there is a possibly unanticipated result as well: this focus on churches of interest in greater Nowa Huta has the effect of knitting Nowa Huta back into a longer historical context and establishing the continuity of this landscape with one thousand years of Polish Catholicism.

The tendency to privilege aestheticized or historicized descriptions of churches over explanations of their associations with struggle and resistance is not limited to the descriptions of historic churches in the district. Some of the guidebooks even take this approach with the most famous church of Nowa Huta, the Ark of the Lord. This avoidance of narratives of struggle and resistance is most pronounced in the *Pictorial Guide*; the church is categorized simply as one of the churches built in Nowa Huta within the last 30 years, with a list of who made it, how it looks, and what objects it contains, made by whom:

> Within the past thirty years, modern churches have been erected in the district, including the famous Church of Our Lady Queen of Poland in Bieńczyce designed by Wojiech Pietrzyk, whose architecture resembles a boat, so the church is also named the Ark of Our Lord. The expressive sculpture of *Christ on the Cross* in the interior of the church was done by Bronisław Chromy. In the vestibule of the underground Chapel of Reconciliation there are sculptured Pietas by Antonin Rząsa, who also

> authored the figure of St. Maximilian Kolbe [a priest martyred at Auschwitz].

Discussion of religious resistance or the politics of designing and constructing this church against the wishes of the communist regime are completely absent. The average reader more than likely will not recognize the names of the architect or sculptors: they are regional figures, not internationally known artists. This quotation is also notable for the reversed cause-and-effect of the church's visual effect: that it is called the Ark merely because it happens to resemble a boat. To the contrary, the church was designed to evoke Noah's Ark, to suggest that the Polish people, adrift in a flood of communism, would be saved by coming to rest on Mount Ararat, or on the rock of the Church. The resemblance to a boat is hardly coincidence. If the visitor doesn't go into the building, or take pains to learn more on his/her own, the understanding of what this church signifies is incomplete. In my opinion, this context is what makes a visit to the church so compelling: to see and to understand the congruence between its formal characteristics and its function as a center of neighborhood activism and resistance.

The *Insight Guide* is the only guidebook to address the use of the church for political resistance during the 1980s, although still skipping over the story of its contested construction: "The neighborhood of Bieńczyce features the vast Church of the Holy Mother Queen of Poland, built in the shape of a ship, which was used as a rendezvous and shelter for opposition groups during the period of martial law declared by President Jaruzelski in December 1981." What's more, the *Insight Guide* hints – in one of the few instances of any concern with the present-day in Nowa Huta in guidebooks – at the

importance of the Ark in daily life, especially for the working class: "Its congregation is still made up of local steelworkers and their families every Sunday."

This reference to the issue of class is echoed in the 2002 edition of the *Rough Guide*: "Go there any Sunday and you'll find it packed with steelworkers and their families decked out in their best, a powerful testament to the seemingly unbreakable Catholicism of the Polish working class." It is notable that the membership of the church is cast in class terms; the *Rough Guides* are also more explicit than other guidebooks about how the Ark came to be, and in referring to the struggle involved in creating it: "In keeping with the antireligious policies of the postwar government, churches were not included in the original construction plans for Nowa Huta. After years of intensive lobbying, however, the ardently Catholic population eventually got permission to build one in the 1970s. The *Arka*…in the northern Bieńczyce district is the result – an amazing ark-like concrete structure encrusted with mountain pebbles." However, the phrase "intensive lobbying" hardly conveys the real depth and seriousness of what it took to construct this church – or any church in Nowa Huta. This paragraph conveys a sense of bloodless struggle driven by faith, not armed resistance.

<u>The iconography of resistance</u>

Tours concentrated to varying degrees on the symbolic iconography employed in the Ark, interior as well as exterior. Not all tour guides were able to take participants inside, because of the frequency of masses, even on weekdays, and the amount of detail the guides provided was clearly driven by their own interests, or lack thereof. Thus Jakób briefly described Chromy's sculpture of Christ while we stood on the plaza outside, and then encouraged us to walk around inside by ourselves (the church was

empty) while he smoked a cigarette and chatted on his cell phone. He said of Chromy's sculpture simply that it was based on a drawing made by a prisoner in a concentration camp during World War II. He also mentioned that there was a little book in English available for purchase in the church that explains the other symbols.

On subsequent visits to the church, with colleagues, we received impromptu tours of the features of the interior from an elderly man whom I subsequently found out was Marian Kordaszewski, who haunts the church interior in hopes of selling copies of his little book (to which Jakób had referred), *The Ark of the Lord: a Guide to Symbols and to History* (2003). The building, a non-traditional structure of steel, glass, and wood (Figure 5.8), incorporates allegorical elements that not only allude to traditional representations of the life of Christ, but also connect those elements to Polish history. Thus the stylized form of a boat coming to rest alludes not only to life and hope on Noah's Ark and the safety of the fisherman's boat from which Jesus calmed the waters, but also reminds one that "[t]he people who lived in a place doomed to be deprived of God and Religion well understood the symbol of a boat sailing victoriously through unfriendly and menacing waters" (21). The "mast" of this boat is a steel column bearing a cross 70 meters into the air (21) and was said by Łukasz to be made of iron from the original cross at the 1960 Cross site.[15] The gold crown which surrounds the cross is intended to symbolize God's sovereignty over earthly power, and was made from jewelry donated by parishioners (22). The pebbles embedded in the concrete exterior walls were brought from local rivers by the congregation and "protect the building from smoke and other pollution coming

[15]When I asked about this claim on other tours, the guides laughed and said it was untrue.

from the foundry's chimneys" (22), a clear indication of the tension between communism and Catholicism.

Inside, a panel of eight paintings portrays the Stations of the Cross. These were painted during the period of martial law (1980-1983) by Mariusz Lipiński and are done in a style reminiscent of Flemish medieval art. They are also an allegory for the persecutions of the Polish nation, according to Kordaszewski. For example, in Station II, the figure of Christ (the Polish nation) is being beaten by three men, whom Kordaszewski said represented Prussia, Russia and Austria during the Partitions of Poland (Figure 5.9). In Station XI, the refugees and deportees are shown trudging to the concentration camps with their belongings as Christ is nailed to the Cross (Figure 5.10).

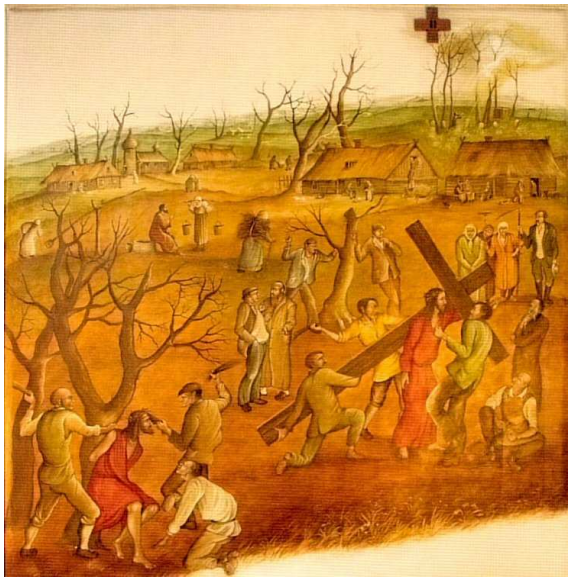


Figure 5.9: Lipiński, Stations of the Cross II (Kordaszewski (2003): pl. 26)

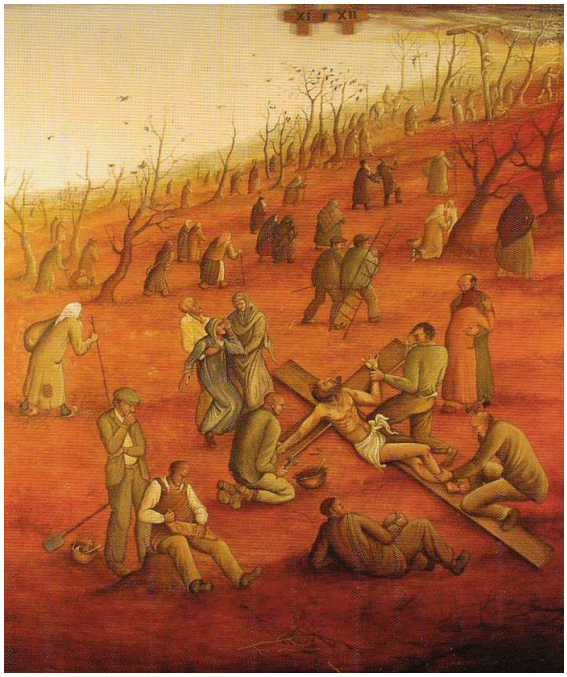


Figure 5.10: Lipiński, Stations of the Cross XI (Kordaszewski (2003): pl. 30)

On my second tour with Jakób, when I had related to him my encounters with Kordaszewski, Jakób laughed and said that the other guides in the Crazy Guides company didn't believe any of the symbolic iconography. He characterized Kordaszewski as "a little bit of a freak" and admitted to believing perhaps one-third or half of it, but said he just didn't "get" the rest of it. He said he "got" the main symbolism, of the church as an ark, and the political symbolism in the mural sequence of the Fourteen Stations of the Cross, but not the rest.

Łukasz, on the other hand, had clearly thought a lot about the symbolic elements of the church. He spoke lyrically about the Chromy sculpture (Figure 5.11), which he called one of the best modern sculptures in the world. His description, reproduced below, conveys his understanding of various artistic conventions of representing Christ as well as his feeling for the emotional reaction the sculpture evokes:

…it's a completely different way of showing the death of Christ….Christ looks like he is on a cross but there is no cross. His head and his chest are going to heaven, his legs and hands are falling down, so it's like he didn't die, but that he's going straight to heaven. It's like showing Poles we can do the same. We can break the cross and break the communists. But the body of Christ is turned and you can see every single bone, every single rib. Because he wanted to show how a human dies – because of hunger, because of thirst, because of suffering. Chromy based his sculpture on a drawing made by a prisoner of a concentration camp. This prisoner drew on the wall of the barracks what the other prisoners looked like, with all their bones showing. And that's why it shows the death of Christ perfectly. Because, you know, you can really *feel* how he was suffering, because you can see his every bone.

Figure 5.11: B. Chromy, *Christ*, Ark of the Lord (Kordaszewski (2003): pl. 23)

This equation of Christ's sufferings with the sufferings of Poles in the concentration camps, and by extension, the equation of Christ's resurrection with the resurrection of the Polish nation after 1989, shows clearly the ways in which religious faith and political resistance are intertwined in representations of Nowa Huta.

Conclusion

Nowa Huta was born of contested space. From the battle over the peasants' ownership of the farmland (Poland's most productive (Domański 2006)) that would become the steelworks and the residential town, to the fights to control the lives of workers in the steelworks, to the violent struggle to build churches to support daily worship, the question of who controls and shapes space has been embedded in the routines of daily life from the beginning. Echoing historian Katherine Lebow, I have argued in this chapter that it was the people of Nowa Huta themselves, when faced with "the gap between ideology and experience," who re-imagined Nowa Huta as a space for individual struggle and transformed the identities of the residents to make change possible (2000, 4).

The narratives created and performed by tourism professionals in Nowa Huta are selective about which aspects of these contestations they choose to portray. Absences concerning the theme of labor include: daily life in the steelworks from 1950s to 1980s; a detailed history of the workers' struggles and participation in the Solidarity movement; and a frank assessment of the current challenges for employment in Nowa Huta under capitalism. Tour guidebooks are also selective: in large part they have chosen to erase the story of struggle for the right to build churches in favor of depoliticized descriptions of the art and architecture of the buildings that respond to the commodification of tourist

experience as a "collection of sights and sites" (Light 2000) rather than as a process of self-awareness that seeks to understand an 'Other' in furtherance of, at the least, greater understanding of the Self.

Nevertheless, seen in their entirety, these tourism discourses of Nowa Huta achieve important rhetorical goals. First, they posit that the building of Nowa Huta was a collective achievement formed not as the result of a slavish dedication to the communist cause, but from the individual achievements of many, in service of building better lives and a better nation. Second, the discourses about the struggle for faith show that Nowa Huta was not a place apart (the 'Other') but a part of the nation, working toward the expression of Roman Catholicism in daily life and willing to challenge the authorities – and die – for the right to worship. Third, the discourses of religion – rich with art-historical detail – function to knit Nowa Huta back into the national fabric, superimposing on its stereotype as the 'Other' a representation of Nowa Huta as a place connected to its prior history and culture. In short, these discourses of labor and faith – of the ways of daily life -- rewrite Nowa Huta back into the national consciousness as not a failed experiment but as a way to live – and fight -- within the boundaries imposed by a system that they had not chosen. As the president of one of the tour companies told me:

> I grew up [in Nowa Huta], but my parents, they were not building the communistic system, they were building a better future for me, and for my children. And this was their great sacrifice – sweat and tears – these were the boundaries imposed by a hierarchy. We had nothing to say. What could we do, you know? You saw the tanks. In general the changes that took place are enormous. But they wouldn't have happened in this

> system, with the "works". It collapsed, and this is the tragedy of the people who lived there: because they spent forty, fifty years of their lives building *something* which was supposed to deliver them their future, and it failed.
>
> And now, you say, the system failed, it was wrong, let's forget about it. It's a bit unfair to these people, because they sacrificed the work of their lives, the whole district, the whole area.

In the 1950s or 1960s the 100-złoty banknote had a picture of Nowa Huta on it, representing heavy industry and thus, the momentum of the nation. One can see the tiny (yet subversive) church towers on the skyline. Why would the authorities have allowed such a design? State propaganda is very effective, perhaps most so, when it is incorporated into items of daily use, things one uses and touches every day (Rokicki 2006). In these tiny spires on the skyline, I would argue, lay the seeds of opportunity for change – the knowledge that "the system" had no less power, in the end, than the power inherent in the residents who had built, and fought, and persevered.

Chapter 6: Difference

A persistent theme in the touristic representations of Nowa Huta is 'Othering,' or a focus on differences between Nowa Huta or its residents in comparison with some "norm," however that norm may be defined. The distinction between Self and Other has a historically important function in the identification of power relationships between perceived binaries – for example, men defining the category "woman" (de Beauvoir 1953) or Westerners defining the category "Oriental" (Said 1978) - but has more recently been criticized for its essentialism and for an obsession with otherness that prevents the 'Other' from ever being anything else but the object of a subject's gaze (Rose 1993; Urry 1990). Given the critical baggage of the term 'Othering,' I prefer the term 'difference' in this chapter, in order to describe multiple axes - geographical, architectural, social, and temporal – along which distinctions between Nowa Huta (as 'Other') and Kraków, its residents, or Western tourists (as 'Self') are made. Using examples from tour guidebooks and tour narratives, I show that Nowa Huta, as an object of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990), is marked not only as different, but as lesser: as peripheral in its geography, as mediocre in its built environment, and as inferior in social status. I argue that the result of marking of Nowa Huta as "lesser" in different ways by those associated with tourist enterprises is to marginalize and distance the communist past. This is, of course, a bit of a paradox: the communist past is the economic driver for those particular tourist enterprises, and without it, the tourism industry of Nowa Huta would not exist.

The axis of temporality, I argue, acts in a somewhat different fashion: rather than marking Nowa Huta as different, it knits representations of the district back into the fold

of a longer regional and national historical narrative, while at the same time devaluing the essential historical fact of Nowa Huta: its creation as a symbol and legacy of the socialist project of creating a society of new men – the heroic workers of the proletariat.

Geographical difference

A prominent example of the focus on geographical distance is found in the *Thomas Cook Guide* (2003; reprinted 2005). As the large-font lead-in to the section on Nowa Huta states:

> To many Cracovians, Nowa Huta is not part of Kraków. In spite of the fact that they share a single municipal administration, they tend to speak of "Huta" as if it were a rather distant village. The distance however is one of style and aesthetics, not geography.

Notwithstanding this guidebook's recognition of Nowa Huta's legal status as a district of Kraków rather than a separate municipality and its claim that separation is not a function of physical distance, other guidebooks do portray Nowa Huta as both legally separate and geographically distant from Kraków. The *Cook Guide* quantifies the distance thus: "The planned workers' community of Nowa Huta is 10 km east of Kraków partly overlying the medieval village of Mogiła…" This figure of 10 km is echoed by the *Lonely Planet Guide* (1993, 2005). However, this calculation is somewhat misleading. A distance of only 5.5 km separates the Market Square in Kraków from the edge of the older part of residential Nowa Huta; it is 7 km from center to center. Since Kraków proper stretches almost 30 km from west to east, a distance of 6-7 km between the Market Square and Nowa Huta is small by comparison. However, this issue of how distances are perceived and written about speaks to the way in which Kraków has grown in the last fifty years,

from tiny villages set apart by large open areas of agricultural space, to a metropolitan region in which infill development has erased the physical (and legal) distinctions between villages. (This is not so with the cultural identifications of such villages, which still persist, not only in district names found on maps, but also in the way that residents speak of the district in which they live or work.)

Even when the geographical distance between Nowa Huta and Kraków is not quantified, the language chosen by guidebook writers emphasizes that Nowa Huta is a satellite of Kraków -- on the periphery -- in contrast to the real center, which is the Old Town. Seeing Nowa Huta requires "out of town" travel (iexplore) to Kraków's "youngest and largest *suburb*" (*Lonely Planet* 1993/2005, italics added), a "vast complex" that is "by far the biggest *suburb* (*Rough Guide* 2002/2005, italics added). This geographical distinction between center and periphery was, according to tour guide Gosia, understood and maintained by local residents as well:

> …one of the funny things is that people living in or around the *Rynek* [the main market square in the Old Town] or areas in different parts of Kraków – say they are going to the *Centrum* – the center – while people living in Huta say they're going to Kraków. And the name Kraków is applied to the *Rynek* and the areas around it.

Thus Gosia draws a distinction between how distance to Nowa Huta from the center and distance from other outlying areas to the center is treated; Nowa Huta receives special rhetorical treatment, not only from Cracovians, but also from the people who live in Nowa Huta.

Geographically, there is no reason to draw a distinction between people living in Nowa Huta and people living in other outlying areas in Kraków. The tram line to Kraków's Main Square, built during construction of Nowa Huta, is a direct route, with several districts in between. But passengers tend to move between the Old Town and Nowa Huta, with few people getting on or off at the intermediary stops, as if the tram were an intercity train. Because so few consumer services and employment opportunities are now available in Nowa Huta (compared with Kraków), there is a certain practical logic to conceiving the trip as periphery-to-center travel, and it magnifies the sense that Kraków has become the new hub for residents in a district that is a suburb in every sense but a legal one.

The misunderstanding about Nowa Huta's being a separate suburb is not entirely inexplicable. It was planned to be a separate municipality but at an early date, the duplication of municipal services was considered to be inefficient, and the plan for an administrative complex in the central square was given up and the area annexed to Kraków in 1951. This legal subtlety is mentioned by *Cracow: a Pictorial Guide* (a Polish guidebook) and (as mentioned above) by *Cook's*, but by none of the other guidebooks. What was planned as an ideal city that would in time supersede Kraków in population, influence and importance (see section below on the selection of the location) became instead part of its periphery.

The characteristics of the space "between" Nowa Huta and the Old Town also contribute to a sense of geographical distinctness. A jumble of large-scale land uses includes an air museum (at the site of the former airport in the district of Czyżny); a technical college; Kraków's police headquarters; a small forest preserve; and new

multinational manufacturing campuses, such as the Polish headquarters of Philip Morris, as well as nondescript villages overrun with low-rent, small-scale land uses like auto repair garages and cellular telephone shops. One guidebook devoted solely to Nowa Huta remarks on the planning neglect and political vacuum that has allowed new spaces of global capitalism and consumption to proliferate in the last decade: "When Nowa Huta was erected, it had been designed as a separate town, which resulted in a sort of architectural hole between Nowa Huta and Kraków. No wonder that the space soon became occupied by hypermarkets and huge entertainment centers, such as Multilink or Aqua Park" (Miezian 2004, 27). This is an issue to which I shall return in Chapter 8.

Architectural difference

The intellectual genealogy and historical value of the architectural and planning concepts embodied in Nowa Huta have been discussed in Chapter 4. This section takes up a related idea - instances in which the architecture of Nowa Huta is unfavorably (there are no favorable instances) compared with that of the Old Town. Many guidebooks assert that Nowa Huta is an aesthetic wasteland when compared with the apogee of Polish architectural achievement to be found in Kraków generally, and in the Old Town in particular. These comparisons encourage the marginalization of Nowa Huta along yet another axis of difference – that of aesthetics as viewed through architecture.

For example, the *Rough Guide* (2002) compares the two districts thus: "There's good reason for saying that you haven't done justice to [Kraków] until the smokestacks and decaying housing estates of Nowa Huta figure alongside the historic treasures of the *Stare Miasto* [Old Town] in your impressions of the place." The *Lonely Planet Guide* leads off its description of Nowa Huta in this way: "[It] is a shock after the medieval

streets of the Old Town. [Trams] will deposit you at different points of the suburb. It actually doesn't matter where you start your sightseeing: the landscape varies little throughout the district, and you should have a city map handy in order not to get lost. Some locals fantasize about transferring the Warsaw Palace of Culture out here, making the suburb a perfect *skansen*[1] of Stalinist architecture. It would also provide a landmark while you navigate this grey concrete *desert*." (1993, italics added). By 2005, the *Lonely Planet* editors had rethought their physical geography metaphor, terming Nowa Huta "a grey concrete *sea* of Stalinist architecture" (italics added). To be fair, I got lost on a cloudy afternoon the first time I walked through Nowa Huta as well. However, once I understood the underlying structure of the radial layout (Chapter 4) – which is in many respects clearer than the medieval layout of the Old Town – orientation was no longer a problem.

The *Rough Guide* (2005) also focuses on Nowa Huta's lack of imageability (Lynch 1960): "From [the Central Square] seemingly endless streets of residential blocks stretch out in all directions – a bigger contrast with the *Stare Miasto* [Old Town] would be hard to imagine." Far from the planners' dreams of a radiant city linked by iconographical axes symbolizing work, culture, and civic responsibility, these guidebook descriptions deliberately reject any attempt to understand the urban spatial pattern of Nowa Huta in favor of an impressionistic approach full of aesthetic disdain.

Social Difference: Status

A sense of the geographical distance and aesthetic difference between the Old Town and Nowa Huta as described above (whether perceived or "real") is reinforced by

[1] An open-air museum in Stockholm to which traditional villages from various Swedish regions were brought and reassembled in order to show differences in folk architecture and culture.

perceptions of other kinds of difference. Primary among these is social difference – the perception that the people who settled Nowa Huta are somehow "different" from (and inferior to) those who live in Kraków, because of their social class and their region of origin. The casting of Cracovians as conservative, aristocratic intellectuals,[2] as opposed to the rural peasantry who settled in Nowa Huta, is a feature of virtually all the tourism narratives. What began in the 1950s as an oppositional relationship between Kraków and Nowa Huta based on differences in background, place of origin, and the particular disruptive social conditions in the early settlement of Nowa Huta (see Chapter 4; Janus 1999; Lebow 2002) has alternated since then between shared opposition to a hated and feared political regime on the one hand, and a media-driven perception of Nowa Huta as a dangerous, high-crime district on the other. The latter was due in part to memories of the chaotic period of construction and settlement of Nowa Huta, but was also the result of the restructuring at the steelworks and its consequences: increasing unemployment, lack of investment, and environmental devastation.

Social differences based on socioeconomic class are a main feature of descriptions of the founding of Nowa Huta as an antidote to reactionary Kraków immediately after World War II, and the guidebooks are heavy with irony in describing these two poles of social difference. The *Lonely Planet Guide* (1993) conjectures that "[T]he complex was deliberately placed by the authorities to give a healthy working-class and industrial injection to the strong aristocratic, cultural and religious traditions of the city." The rhetoric of the *Cook Guide* is even stronger: "The Communists said Kraków

[2] According to Rokicki (2006), the intellectuals of Poland generally and of Kraków in particular were the descendents of the Polish aristocracy (*szlachta*), a social class whose legally privileged status was eliminated after the partitions of Poland in the late 18th century, although notions of privilege persisted in social relations.

was trapped in 'unproductive daydreams' and the new influx of working class inhabitants would 'safeguard it from fossilization.'"

In a referendum in June 1946, Poles nation-wide were asked to vote on their future socialist path, in order to legitimate the provisional communist government by demonstrating to the Western powers that it had popular support. Both Western reporting of that period and scholarly investigations since are clear that the referendum process was heavily rigged by the communists, with thousands of oppositional ballots "lost" or destroyed. However the election process received greater independent scrutiny in Kraków, and it was made clear in the press that Cracovians did not support the new regime (Kerstein 1947; Kersten 1991; Lebow 2002). Thus one oft-cited explanation for the location of Nowa Huta adjacent to the intellectually and culturally elite city of Kraków (the home of Poland's first and most prestigious university, Jagiellonian University; the capital of Poland from 1038 to 1596; and the final resting place of Polish kings and prelates) is that the people were being punished for voting against the communist line. They were to be "corrected" by the infusion of a new population of working class people that would reduce the influence of the "intellectual" doubters in Kraków.

My tour guide Łukasz was the only tour guide who took pains to explain the dynamics of the referendum in some detail, in which Kraków was virtually alone among Polish cities (according to the official tallies) by not voting each time (three questions were posed) in favor of the communist government. Łukasz's explanation is worth quoting at length to show the importance, in his understanding, of this referendum to the location of the steelworks and its accompanying residential district:

The Polish Communist party didn't feel very strong – yet -- that's why they called for the referendum. They wanted to use the referendum to show that they had support from the public. So they asked Polish people three questions: first, about the economic changes in Poland; second about [eliminating] the Senate; the third was about theoretical changes in Poland after the second World War.[3]

And the thing is that in most places, 50% of the people were for the referendum --they answered three times yes; 50% [answered] three times no. People were not sure what they should do, but the government falsified the results of the referendum. They said that about 65-70% were *for*, 30% against, so a majority supported the government. But in Kraków, 98% of the people were against this -- not because they didn't agree with all the things – maybe they agreed with some of the things – but they knew what it meant to say three times yes. It was like an agreement for the government, the Communist government. So they answered three times no. They couldn't cheat [falsify] those elections in Kraków, it was really hard.

[3]According to Kerstein (1947), the referendum was "designed by Moscow to mislead the world into the erroneous belief that voting in Poland can be free and honest" (48). Leader-in-exile Mikołajczyk showed foreign correspondents 1,000 burned and destroyed ballots salvaged from sewers and dumps, and asserted that he had been prohibited from distributing literature urging a no vote on question 1, and that his newspapers had been censored. The questions were: 1) do you want a one-house parliament? [abolish the Senate]; 2) do you approve of actions nationalizing basic industries and agriculture? 3) Do you approve of new western boundaries of Poland? (No question was posed about eastern boundaries, which were very contentious because of the loss of territory; the ballots of those who wrote in that they wanted the eastern territory back were declared invalid (48).)

> That's why the government decided to change the social structure of Kraków. They decided to build the steelworks in Kraków, to bring workers to Kraków. They thought that workers from Nowa Huta could change the citizens, the intellectuals from Kraków – Kraków's always been the city for intellectuals.

The tour guide Ola echoed this line of reasoning. Kraków in the 1940s was perceived, she said, as a place inhabited mostly by conservatives and unwelcoming to communists, preserving the old ideas and an old way of thinking that was "not suitable for the new socialist reality." The government intended that the new population center to be created at Nowa Huta would "balance the influence of Kraków inhabitants." This notion of balance was brought out by all the tour guides, that a counter-oppositional force of workers would neutralize the effects of Kraków's "outdated" thinking.

However, the people of Nowa Huta and Kraków were not as dissimilar as the regime had expected. The workers and intellectuals bonded against a common enemy – the communist regime - during times of political and ideological crisis. Moreover, according to Łukasz, "The problem is that [the communists] thought they could – that workers would change the intellectuals of Kraków. No! Intellectuals from Kraków changed the workers, and it was the biggest problem for the communists." A Polish guidebook used even stronger terms of condemnation: "The communist authorities treated the construction of Nowa Huta as an attempt to pacify and dilute the conservative population of Kraków. This turned out to be a total failure" (Marcinek and Gaczoł, n.d.).

Although the residents of Nowa Huta tend in the tourism literature to be painted with broad strokes as family-oriented, traditional, religious peasants and farmers

primarily from tiny villages in southern Poland (as late as 1979, the census showed that 74% of the population was of rural origin (Stanek 2005)), there are hints of much more demographic diversity among the residents. Łukasz highlighted the presence of Home Army soldiers (AK, or *Armia Krajowa*) among the earliest settlers. The AK were members of the Polish Resistance, the largest such anti-Nazi underground organization in Europe, who were commanded by the Polish government-in-exile in London. Subject to arrest, imprisonment, and execution by the Soviets after the Second World War because of their continuing loyalty to the government-in-exile (Davies 1982) even after the communists had seized political control, they fled to Nowa Huta in order to "hide" and to construct new identities, far from the people who had known of their struggle against the Axis powers during the war.

Both Łukasz and Jakób also mentioned the presence (especially during the difficult early years, when living conditions were primitive at best) of the Service to Poland brigades (*Służba Polsce*), groups of youths of both sexes from all over Poland who were allowed to fulfill their military service requirement by building Nowa Huta in the late 1950s. Łukasz also spoke in passing of Greek immigrants who had been tasked with removing the Cross erected in 1960,[4] and Jakób, when I asked if there was a significant Russian population, replied in the negative, but also mentioned the Greeks, who had come to Nowa Huta as refugees during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), and were quite successful at running restaurants and pretty well integrated into Polish life.

The guidebook by Miezian (2004, 5) is the only tourist guidebook to mention – albeit only in passing -- a significant Roma population in Nowa Huta. A small number of

[4] See the previous discussion of the Cross in Chapter 5; Miezian (2004) refers to "Greek refugees, unaware of the [cross's] significance" (24).

families were resettled there from the southern mountains in the early 1950s as a result of government policies directed at integrating them into Polish life and culture (Lebow 2002). Likewise, Miezian is the only writer to celebrate the current diversity of Nowa Huta. He writes that "the bazaars at the 'Ark' and Tomex house a multilingual crowd of traders and buyers" (27), while noting with some frustration that this multiculturalism has not been properly capitalized upon for tourism purposes: "…this trump card has not been used by the inhabitants. When cultural diversity became trendy, all of a sudden Kraków awoke from its slumber. From its 'primeval Polish nest,' it turned into a 'European cultural centre,' with concerts of Jewish, Ukrainian, Gypsy and eastern borderland music performed in Kraków's Main Market Square" (5). Thus neither Nowa Huta's historical diversity nor the desirability of highlighting that diversity is recognized in the tourist industry or in the popular perception of the district.

Where Nowa Huta was an alien, wild place in the early years (Lebow 2002), with exotic nicknames given to various subdistricts to signify their 'Otherness,' such as Taiwan (an island of construction in a sea of waving grain: Miezian 2004, 94) and *Meksyk* (Mexico), an area known for its Wild West lawlessness (19), this perception quickly gave way, at least as represented retrospectively to tourists, to some sense of desirability and prestige. Jakób highlighted the perceived benefits and status of living in Nowa Huta in the 1960s – the ease of living in a well-appointed (central heat, running water, electricity) apartment in a neighborhood unit (see Chapter 4) where all daily services were only steps away. In his estimation, it was considered a privilege to live there, especially in the Central Square area, where the best apartments were. In his words, "Thirty years ago, forty years ago, Nowa Huta was on everyone's lips; they were

talking about Nowa Huta all the time, that it's a great city, that here we've got 100,000 lucky people. And today, no one talks about Nowa Huta. If they talk, they talk about the huge crime statistics in the new section [the *bloks* outside the original planned area]."

Jakób contrasted that rosy past with the uncertain future, noting that the older part of Nowa Huta, still populated by many of the original families, has an aging demographic, with people on pensions who are saddened and disappointed that Nowa Huta is no longer the talk of the town. This demographic profile, in his opinion, was somewhat self-perpetuating: Nowa Huta doesn't offer much for young people in terms of nightlife; there are few restaurants and fewer cafes, because the older people tend to eat at home (they can't afford to eat out on their limited pensions), and hence younger people look elsewhere for apartments, even though by his calculations apartments are one-third the price in Nowa Huta as they are closer to the center of Kraków. Since he himself was apartment-hunting during one of our tours, I asked if he would consider living in Nowa Huta, and he quickly replied, "oh, no," saying that in his estimation it was a low prestige district, with nothing to do, not "cool." The perception of crime didn't seem to faze him at all, but the lack of clubs and other nightlife was a distinctly negative factor. (He subsequently found a much more expensive place only a few tram stops from the Main Market Square in Kraków, but even though dissatisfied with it, was still unwilling to consider moving "out of" Kraków.)

The low-status aspect of Nowa Huta is not only imposed *on* Nowa Huta by Kraków but is very much a part of self-identity *in* Nowa Huta as well, although this is beginning to change; I noted a shift even in the three-year span of my fieldwork. Most of the people I met who lived in Nowa Huta could not understand my interest in it, or why

tourists would be interested in seeing it. However, this attitude is in flux (Radłowska 2006) as artists and other members of the creative class (Florida 2005) populate the district, attracted by cheap space and the gritty edginess of its working class neighborhood units. For example, theater impresario Bartosz Szydlowski recently returned to Nowa Huta, where he had grown up (the son of professors who were required to live in Nowa Huta to promote the mixing of classes), to start a new experimental theater. "I hated Nowa Huta," he said. "I always had the feeling, when I told people, 'I'm not from Kraków, I'm from Nowa Huta,' that it was humiliating" (quoted in Bernstein 2005). The large industrial spaces (his experimental theater is located in a former machine shop) and life stories of the workers around him are the material for his new theater pieces, which are "ways of resurrecting and coping with the past, giving it a redemptive complexity" (Bernstein 2005). I will return to the idea of this rethinking of the social status of Nowa Huta and its potential for serving as a cultural touchstone in Chapter 9, in the context of its potential role in regional economic regeneration.

Social difference: Crime versus culture

Nowa Huta was built in two phases; the original, low-rise socialist city planned for 100,000 residents, which was built in the 1950s, was more than doubled in the 1970s, 1980s, and even as late as 1999 with the construction of high-rise, prefabricated concrete towers that ring the original town (the characteristic concrete '*bloks*' of eastern European suburbs). The architectural distinction to be drawn between the two – made explicit in some detail in tours led by Jakób - is paralleled by social distinctions drawn between the law-abiding, employed residents of "old Nowa Huta" and the 'soccer hooligans' of the new sections.

Jakób, while not suggesting that poor design and shoddy construction were responsible for the dysfunctional social conditions in "new Nowa Huta," certainly drew a distinction between the carefully planned blocks of the old and the haphazard, poorly constructed towers in the new sections:

> What they did here, in this new part, in the 1970s, when our country didn't have money, it's awful. It's without any plan; it's just one block after another, you know. Plus, they're made of concrete. So what are fifteen to twenty year old blocks are falling down now, slowly, but they are falling down, they are falling apart. [Whereas in the old section] it's like 60 years old and it's still stable. It's in good condition. And finally people have started to maintain it better.

Jakób also distinguished different demographic conditions in the two areas: the older area is mostly inhabited by older people, like retirees who had worked at the plant, whereas the new section is where the 'soccer hooligans' live. Unemployment is much higher there; the youths in his opinion didn't value education; preferring fists to intellect, they beat up people who were good at school. In his estimation, the new area was the unsafe area; the older area was completely safe.

Gosia, a tour guide who had grown up in Nowa Huta, focused less on geographical segregation and more on class differences, irrespective of the particular home district of the troublemakers. First, she took pains to assure our tour group that all of Kraków (including Nowa Huta) was generally safe, despite media reports: there were a few thieves on the streets, but mostly the problem was with the 'soccer hooligans.' When our tour group stopped at the open-air market near the Ark of the Lord church, where

graffiti were evident on the walls of nearby buildings, Gosia attributed these markings to local soccer team pride, not gangs, noting that the steelworkers had taken the initiative to form their own competitive soccer team, and although it wasn't a great team, and not highly ranked, there had been serious soccer riots when the team played the Kraków team, which had a national profile and was much more professional.

In an aside to a few tour participants, who told her that they had been told not to visit Nowa Huta because of fears for personal safety, she asserted that the media had disproportionately reported crimes in Nowa Huta about a decade ago (c. 1996) but that the media perception then and now is incorrect, and the district is not dangerous.[5] Our encounter with some obviously intoxicated young men looking to provoke us (on a bright Sunday morning) at the tram stop brought dismissive, ironic laughter afterwards from Gosia and her colleague Ola: "yeah, we saw some *natives*." Ola added, "No, Nowa Huta is not dangerous. With some people in Kraków, you can still see sometimes animus between inhabitants of Kraków and the inhabitants of Nowa Huta, who are treated as if they *weren't* inhabitants of Kraków at the same time: 'Oh, you are from Nowa Huta? It's an awful place, it's dangerous, people are killing [each other] in the streets,' and so on and so on."

Gosia and Ola took the opportunity of crime's having been raised by tour participants to reframe Nowa Huta for the entire group as the next 'It' place in Kraków's cultural scene, drawing a parallel between it and the "rehabilitation" of the Jewish Quarter, Kazimierz, some years earlier:

[5] Scholarly sources agree that the popular perception of crime in Nowa Huta, and the focus on it in local (Kraków) news media, are at odds with police statistics, which do not support the perception of Nowa Huta as a dangerous district (see, for example, Stanek 2005).

> The funny thing is that, right now, Huta is becoming *more a part of Kraków*. Just like Kazimierz used to be - it was dangerous a few years ago, ten years ago, but now it's a cultural center within the borders of Kraków. 'Huta' will be the same in ten years and one of the signs of that, is, for example, that they are organizing a classical music concert in actual buildings of the steelworks, so you can actually see it inside of the big *hala* – it's like a working area - and listen to people playing Vivaldi above your head, which is actually a pretty amazing thing to hear (emphasis added).

A bit later, Gosia returned to this idea that culture, not crime, is the reality, both present and future, of Nowa Huta: "Right now this is also the place where cultural events are also taking place. For example, we have an annual festival of opera and opera singers, and people really come here. They're *not afraid to come here during the night*" (emphasis added). Thus discussions of the popular (media) perceptions of Nowa Huta as a working-class, crime-infested area, while raised by tour participants, not the guides, were the springboard for them to outline an alternate vision of Nowa Huta's future, drawing analogies to a record of success in similar ventures in Kazimierz.

Temporal difference

Representations of Nowa Huta's place "in time" act in two different but complementary ways: first, to suspend the district like an insect in amber, forever embalmed in its communist ways; and second, to re-place its recent communist history within the context of thousands of years of Polish settlement. Both of these strategies work towards the same goal: minimizing the importance and impact of the communist

regime, even while (as in the first case) highlighting its features. For example, the online guide "textinyourpocket" characterizes Nowa Huta thus: "There's more to Kraków than gargoyles and dainty cafes, and an afternoon to the Orwellian suburb of Nowa Huta is nothing short of *a trip back in time*. Dating from 1949 it is one of the finest examples of deliberate social engineering in the world" (emphasis added).

This out-of-time aspect of the district was also stressed at several locales by Jakób. He made a point, for example, of pointing out the original decorative features of the interior of the Stylowa Restaurant – the heavy curtains, the ornate furniture, even the tablecloths - and was somewhat chagrined to admit that the upholstery of the chairs had recently been updated, and a dais added to accommodate musicians. Likewise, at the apartment that was the setting for the vodka-and-herring part of the "authentic" tour experience, he and his colleague Bartosz repeatedly mentioned that the furnishings (from the 1970s) were the original belongings of the prior occupant, and even went so far as tell us the manufacturer and model names of several of the more noteworthy appliances, such as the television, coffee grinder, and refrigerator.

This desire to freeze time and to demonstrate the authenticity of objects of the tourist's gaze (Urry 1990) also shows Jakób's awareness of the importance of delivering "authentic" experiences to tourists. He clearly understood that ongoing infrastructure and construction modernization in the district undermined the stage-set that his company had positioned itself to deliver. In our second tour, taking note of various projects, like building renovation, sidewalks, and sewers, he said:

> This is, like, the last time to see Nowa Huta in all her glory -- how it was, you know, because in one year it will be a lot different. I was thinking it

> would take, ten years, fifteen years maybe, but in just one month [since I had last seen him] things have changed: they've changed the lake – it was remodeled, it looks different right now, more modern, let's say [the lake had been drained and dredged, and the shoreline and plantings modified]. And they are renovating the buildings. They are remodeling them. So it's good. But for us [tour guides], not so good: it would be better to preserve Nowa Huta like it was.

This issue of renovating the buildings – especially the most visible change, a fresh coat of pastel paint over the unpainted, blackened stucco, is controversial in Nowa Huta (see e.g., Radłowska 2006). It was mentioned twice by Jakób, who felt strongly that the buildings should be restored rather than painted, to preserve the subtlety of the original two-tone stucco color scheme, which he felt would be more economical, and more likely to be lasting, than a quick paint job. Ola also pointed out the bright pastels, and added that the re-painting was a controversial issue. This dispute over appropriate historical preservation underscores the presence of conflicting visions of the future of Nowa Huta: while some wish to modernize the buildings and by repainting, to cover over the stigma of griminess produced by environmental pollution (and by extension, the entire socialist project), others wish to preserve for residents, as well as the tourist public, a visible, authentic reminder of the communist period.

Tension about how Nowa Huta's short history is contextualized within a longer historical narrative is also evident in tourism literature. Some guidebooks criticize the prevailing portrayal of Nowa Huta as an industrialized workers' urban counterpoint to Kraków's intelligentsia, pointing out that the Kraków region had an ancient history of

industry and manufacture. These portrayals thus recast the district not as an alien, punitive conceptual experiment imposed by the Soviets but as a natural continuation of native innovation and production. For example, Miezian devotes an entire chapter of his guide to Nowa Huta on the industrial traditions of Kraków, including copper, iron, salt, quartz, and sulfur mining (the latter of which figures prominently in the legend of Kraków's founding), and the establishment of grain mills, fulling mills, smithies, and foundries. Ola also mentioned the region's long metalworking history, and suggested that Nowa Huta wasn't entirely populated by people from elsewhere, but drew from a local population as well: "The second reason [for the location of Nowa Huta] was that even in Paleolithic times, there were some villages with ovens – I don't know all the technical terminology -- but all those ovens for producing steel [iron], even in really, really old times."

An ongoing exhibition series at the Nowa Huta branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków (MHK) calls attention to the lives of those who inhabited the region before Nowa Huta was even conceived. The opening text panel clearly indicates the exhibition designers' desire to provide a counterpoint to the story of socialist realist planning, and to weave the present into a much longer geography of habitation:

> Nowa Huta is most often associated with interesting urban planning of an ideal city, the steelworks, Lenin's monument in *Aleja Róż* [Roses Avenue] and grey blocks of flats. But contemporary Nowa Huta is also composed of old towns, existing for ages in the area, with their churches, mansions and palaces belonging in the past to famous Polish families. The Historical Museum of Kraków wishes to popularize this little-known face

> of Kraków's youngest quarter through a cycle of exhibitions in the section "The History of Nowa Huta", devoted to individual historical towns…. The exhibition presents mementos portraying the history of this area from prehistoric to contemporary times….The present exhibition attempts to popularize the history and the charm of the little-known part of our city.

In a similar vein, a private website devoted to promoting Nowa Huta answers its own question, "Why is Nowa Huta worth visiting?" with an evocative, abstract photograph of an unidentified, almost Stongehenge-like site (Figure 6.1) and a narrative taking the long view:

> The history of the land on which Nowa Huta was constructed dates back to times much more remote than the history of the city of which it became a part. Settlement in this area started about seven thousand years ago and can be divided into many stages. Many artifacts and buildings from the last few hundred years --mostly sacral, manorial or palace architecture -- are quite well preserved. Their existence is not widely known even to the residents of this quarter, as they have never been properly assessed. Descriptions were published in some studies and guidebooks many years ago but haven't been updated so far. In the light of the history of Nowa Huta one can say that the tourism in this area has a long tradition. As such can be regarded the former pilgrimages of Cracow`s [sic] citizens to the monastery of Mogiła. It is still more splendid that in 1840 Wanda's Mound was visited by one of the greatest Polish poets - C.K.Norwid (Nowa Huta website).

Figure 6.1: prehistoric Nowa Huta (Nowa Huta website)

The mounds of Kraków, conical hills built by hand, have mythic significance for national memory, and although Wanda's Mound is poorly signposted and quite difficult to find, it too is part of a foundational myth in Polish history. Wanda was a Polish princess whose father affianced her to a German prince in expectation of a strategic geopolitical alliance. She threw herself into the Vistula River and drowned, rather than dilute the identity of the Polish nation. It is therefore significant that a website primarily devoted to explanations of socialist realism from 1945 to 1989 should open with such a powerful allusion to national identity and mythic history.

These two ways of accommodating temporal difference – desiring Nowa Huta to be frozen in time for the tourist's curious stare, and thus compartmentalizing the communist regime to the certain past, versus broadening the history of Nowa Huta to portray socialism as one tiny blip in the millennium of Poland's mythologized history – are complementary strategies in a more comprehensive rhetorical project of making

difference in Nowa Huta manifest for tourists. Highlighting its physical distance from Kraków; dismissing its socialist architecture as gray, monotonous, and ugly; portraying its people as unable to control their base natures and tendencies to violence; and subsuming its unique history under the banner of a mythologizing, nationalizing impulse: all these axes of difference -- of 'Othering' – serve to reinforce a single theme: that of devaluing and minimizing the importance of the communist period in shaping the current Polish nation.

Chapter 7 – The Business of Tourism

In this chapter, I analyze the business of tourism in Kraków and Nowa Huta. In the first part of the chapter, I provide context for tourism in Nowa Huta by describing the scope of tourism at multiple scales: in Central and Eastern Europe; in Poland; and in Kraków. I pay particular attention to the types of attractions that are available in the Kraków region and the historical and projected trends in tourist visits. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the organizational structure of tourism in Nowa Huta (and its relationship to tourism in the Old Town), concentrating on the firms that specialize in tours, the way information is presented and disseminated for self-guided tours, and the uneasy relationships between entrepreneurs and city officials from the Kraków Promotion and Tourism Department. Of particular interest is the discursive evidence about how the Municipality of Kraków itself structures touristic representations of Nowa Huta. I show that through carelessness, indifference, or a desire to privilege heritage tourism in the Old Town, the Municipality attempts to minimize this period of history and to discourage foreign visitors from touring Nowa Huta.

The companies that offer tours of Nowa Huta are motivated not only by the promise of profits but also by the desire to present an alternate discourse that challenges the dismissive rhetorical stance of the Municipality. These companies exist on the economic margins; they have created a variety of customized and ever-changing products to meet the perceived interests of foreign tourists, and they operate within a web of complicated organizational and financial arrangements that are founded on informal personal connections. The economic impact of tourism in Nowa Huta – in terms of

traditional quantitative measures like per capita spending and economic multipliers – is miniscule when compared with the tourism sector in Kraków more generally; I provide some order-of-magnitude estimates towards the end of the chapter.

However, tourism in Nowa Huta has a rhetorical power disproportionate to its economics. It is symbolic of the tensions of forging new post-communist identities (Light 2000) and the challenges inherent in portraying a difficult period of history. It holds economic promise, but is held back by practicalities such as distance, lack of tourism infrastructure, and lack of government support. It struggles with dilution of its ideological narrative and the temptation to sensationalize and trivialize for quick cash. Most importantly, however, it has the power to remake Nowa Huta as a space for contesting how meanings of the landscape are created and propagated, not only for tourists, but also for local residents.

Tourism in Poland in national and international contexts

Tourism is a robust sector of the global economy, currently representing nearly 9.9% of world GDP and expected to grow to 10.5% by 2018 (World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) 2008). Some scholars have even suggested that tourism is the largest sector of the global economy; Youell (1998), for example, argues that it surpassed the previous largest sector, petroleum/motor vehicles, in 1994. For at least a decade, international tourism has been a high-growth industry. International arrivals worldwide nearly doubled between 1995 and 2007, from 534 million international arrivals in 1995 to almost 900 million international arrivals in 2007 (Figure 7.1), representing an annual growth rate of 5.7% (United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) 2008).

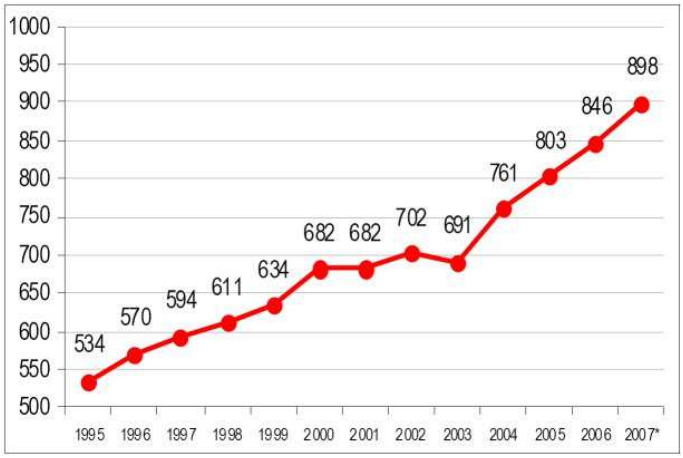


Figure 7.1: World Inbound Tourism: International Tourist Arrivals (millions). Source: UNWTO (2008).

Tourism plays an increasingly significant role in the economy of Europe as well: international arrivals rose from 262 million in 1990 to 480 million in 2007 (53.5% of worldwide arrivals in 2007) (UNWTO 2007; UNWTO 2008). But while tourist demand remains strong in Europe, it remains to be seen how tourism growth worldwide will cause existing consumption patterns to be redistributed (Williams and Balaz 2000), and how much more room there is for increased growth in Europe. Although the UNWTO (2007) projects continued growth in European tourism (topping 717 million international arrivals by 2020), the organization also expects that travel to Europe will represent a smaller fraction of total world travel in the future, declining from 60% in 1995 to 46% in 2020 as destinations in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East take larger shares of the international market.

Surveys of national tourism organizations show that the international tourism industry and the European states have stepped up marketing and promotions in order to combat the coming decrease in world market share. Activities include more aggressive marketing, especially on the Internet; partnerships with and within the private sector; and

diversification of tourism products. Product diversification is a response to perceived shifts in tourism demand, and includes more focus on promoting areas away from the traditionally strong urban and coastal draws, holidays designed for shorter but more frequent stays, and development of more upscale products (UNWTO 2001). European travel suppliers are helped by a number of structural factors, including low-cost airlines that make interregional travel inexpensive and within the reach of more potential tourists; the convenience of the shared currency of the euro; and demographic shifts, such as the increase in number of senior citizens, creating larger niche markets (UNWTO 2001).

When we look at subregional markets in Europe (Table 7.1), Central and Eastern Europe had the highest growth rate in the number of international tourists in the period 1990 to 2005 (11.9% average annual growth). However, since 2005, the subregion of Central and Eastern Europe has experienced a decline in annual growth rates (although growth is still positive) compared with the other European regions.

Table 7.1: International Tourist Arrivals, Europe and Subregions (millions)

Region	1990	1995	2000	2005	2006
Europe	262.3	310.8	392.5	438.7	460.8
Northern Europe	28.3	35.8	42.6	51.0	54.9
Western Europe	108.6	112.2	139.7	142.6	149.8
Central/Eastern Europe	31.5	60.0	69.4	87.8	91.2
Southern/Medit. Europe	93.9	102.7	140.8	157.3	164.9

Source: UNWTO (2008)

In 2005, France, Italy, and Spain remained the top three European destination countries, while of the Central and Eastern European countries, only Poland was in the top 10 European destination countries, with over 15 million international arrivals and 6.3

billion (in 2005 US dollars) in international tourism receipts. Poland has rapidly been increasing its market share: from 1990 to 1998, the number of international arrivals grew from 3.4 million to 18.8 million (Kotlinski 2004). Its growth rate in international arrivals from 2003 to 2005 was 6.4%, well above the European average growth rate of 4.0% for the same period (UNWTO 2007).

Nevertheless, as the preceding statistics show, Poland has not been able to consistently maintain tourism growth throughout the first decade of the 21st century (see also Table 7.2). Kotlinski (2004) points to four factors that have constrained tourism development in Poland: lack of political support for new construction and modernization of existing tourism infrastructure; lack of incentives for tourism FDI; poorly developed capacity for local and regional tourism management; and lack of integrated tourism marketing at the national and regional levels. Nevertheless, tourism has great potential for economic stabilization both in Poland and in Central and Eastern Europe more generally. If these countries can attract even a small fraction of anticipated tourism growth, it will enable their economies to compete much more successfully in the global marketplace.

Table 7.2: Tourism in Poland

Year	Int'l Arrivals (millions)	Visitor Receipts (USD, trillions)	Total GNP (USD millions)	Percent GDP
1994	18.8			
1995	19.2	6.6	126,348	5.22
1996	19.4	8.4	134,500	6.24
1997	19.5	8.7	143,066	6.08
1998	18.8	8.0	157,274	5.09
1999	18.0	6.1	155,151	3.93
2000	17.4	6.1	157,585	3.87
2001	15.0			
2002	14.0			

Source: Kotlinski (2004)

Tourism in Kraków and the region

As the ninth biggest tourist destination country in Europe, Poland drew 15.2 million international tourists in 2005, an increase of 6.4% over 2004. Because these statistics are based simply on border crossings, they provide no information on where people visit *within* the country. However, regional and municipal statistics are available to fill in some of these gaps. According to the Kraków Bureau of Statistics (2006), 1.3 million tourists were accommodated in Kraków in 2006, up from 1.2 million in 2005. Approximately 60% of these were foreign tourists. Total tourist counts to the city are somewhat higher (Airey 1998), because many visitors to Kraków are either day trippers who don't stay in Kraków overnight or are visitors staying with relatives in the city or the metropolitan area. Thus the official statistics for accommodated tourists most likely significantly undercount the total number of tourists.

The opening of the Eastern Bloc countries since 1989 has fostered interest in the historic urban capitals and regional centers, including Prague, Bratislava, Riga, and Kraków. What are the features that make Kraków an attractive tourist destination for Europeans? Kraków's main attraction is the Old Town (*Stare Miasto*), which is marketed as an example of Polish culture and national heritage. It remained undamaged during World War II, when most other large Polish cities (including Warsaw) were devastated, losing from 45 to 90% of their architectural stock.

Figure 7.2: Cloth Hall (*Sukiennice*) in Kraków's Main Market Square

The focal point of Kraków's heritage is the Main Square (*Rynek Głowny*), said to be the largest market square in Europe. At its center is the Renaissance-style Cloth Hall (*Sukiennice*), now an indoor market with stalls of tourist goods (Figure 7.2) and the City Hall tower, which is the only remaining part of the medieval town hall. Fronting on the main square are 16th century townhouses of Italian Renaissance design that are now occupied on the ground floor by shops and cafes catering to tourists. Automobile traffic is prohibited in the square, but traditional horse-drawn carriages and fleets of golf carts queue up there, using it as the starting point for tours around the Old Town (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3: Pedestrian-only traffic in Kraków's Main Market Square

The medieval town walls enclosing the medieval street grid were replaced with a greenbelt park (the *Planty*) in the early 19th century. From the Old Town, a ceremonial street leads to the promontory (called Wawel Hill) on which is situated the castle and cathedral complex, overlooking the *Wisła* (Vistula) River (Figure 7.4). Kraków was the capital of Poland from 1038 to 1596; the complex at Wawel was the seat of kings; and the crypt under the cathedral their final resting place. At Wawel, a suite of museums with a variety of admissions options includes the public suites of the palace; the armory; the cathedral crypt and bell tower; and space for temporary and traveling exhibitions.

Figure 7.4: Old Town, with *Planty* and Wawel Hill complex

Old Town's infrastructural advantages as an urban tourist destination include its compactness (one can easily walk from one end to the other in 10 minutes); its high degree of stylistic coherence; a layout in which numerous museums and churches are tucked into the urban fabric and thus are easily accessible; a relatively high amenity level in boutique hotels, restaurants, and cafes; Western-style tourist services like ATMs and Internet cafes; and a spacious, well-designed and maintained greenbelt for relaxing and respite from the urban environment. The national airline, LOT, is currently expanding air connectivity to hubs throughout Europe from Kraków's John Paul II International Airport (about 40 minutes from the Old Town), and the municipality has a well-developed and relatively tourist-friendly tram and bus system.

With this well-developed infrastructure Kraków also serves as a "staging" point for other attractions in the region that are easily accessible from the city. Thus any start-up tourist operations in greater Kraków are well-placed to tap into existing tourist streams, a key advantage in marketing Nowa Huta to tourists. The historic Salt Mine at

Wieliczka, which is less than 30 minutes away from the city center by city bus or private jitney service, has been on the UNESCO list of World Heritage sites since 1978, and draws millions of tourists each year, with waiting times for tours (self-guided tours are not allowed) of more than one hour on summer weekends. The picturesque castles and villages in the Ojców Forest valley are less than an hour away, and are also accessible by public transport. Even day trips by automobile or bus to the Tatra Mountains, the scenic and wild Dunajec River, and the ski resort of Zakopane are possible from Kraków.

Poland has long marketed Kraków as its historical and cultural capital, but because new trends in heritage tourism favor niche marketing (Kearns and Philo 1993; Lury 1996), the opportunity exists to market sites associated with other events and historical periods to groups of consumers who share narrow, focused interests. One such well-known niche is tourism associated with sites and events of the Holocaust (Young 1993; Huener 2003; Charlesworth 2004; Till 2005). In Kraków such niche tourism is visible in new exhibits like the "Kraków 1939-1956" display at the Pomorska Street branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, and in efforts to upgrade the Jewish district of Kazimierz as a visitor destination. The draw of Kazimierz is popularly understood to be a direct effect of the popularity of Steven Spielberg's film "Schindler's List" (Charlesworth 2004; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; see also for example *Rough Guide* 2002; *Lonely Planet Guide to Kraków* 2000); moreover, very recent municipal efforts at capitalizing on this interest extend to preservation and rehabilitation efforts in the district of Podgórze across the river from Kazimierz (Wiśniewski interview 2007), where Schindler's factory was actually located, and where there was a Nazi work camp and burial grounds for Jewish victims (Charlesworth 2004). Likewise, tourist visitation

at the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau (*Oświęcim*) is facilitated by its proximity to Kraków (about an hour's drive, with frequent and inexpensive private jitney service); in fact the town of Oświęcim is notable for its lack of tourist infrastructure, such as hotels, restaurants, and convenient public transportation.

Another niche, which is still tiny, is communist heritage tourism. The organized business of tours in Nowa Huta is relatively small in size and low-key in scope, compared with the high-volume, high-profile tour business in the Old Town, the salt mine in Wieliczka, or even Kraków's Jewish quarter, Kazimierz. The two companies that specialize in tours of Nowa Huta, Crazy Guides and Cooltours, have been in business since 2003 and 2004 respectively.

They are the only companies to offer regularly scheduled tours of Nowa Huta geared toward individuals or small groups; other companies will pre-arrange tours for larger groups, provide special one-time tours for individuals, or outsource tours to freelance guides or one of the above companies. A third company, Kraków-tours, despite the advertisement in their brochures that were scattered around town, no longer offered scheduled tours of Nowa Huta: when I called to arrange such a tour, the receptionist said that there had not been enough interest to keep such tours on the company's regular weekly schedule. A fourth company, Kraków-travel, provided guides for Nowa Huta at a fixed price (90 euros, regardless of the size of the group) only upon request. Both Kraków-tours and Kraków-travel act as umbrella tourism organizations, middlemen who arrange for a guide for Nowa Huta, just as they do for many other types of tourism products in Kraków and the region. For example, when I arranged a tour of Nowa Huta by emailing Kraków-tours (no address or telephone number was available from their

brochure), I actually ended up with Crazy Guides and the same tour guide, Jakób, that I had met on the tour that I arranged myself directly with the owner of Crazy Guides. Arranging a tour through the middleman naturally costs more; the tour guide collects the money and presumably has to pay a portion of it to Kraków-tours.

Business Operations

Of the two companies, Crazy Guides is the older and better established. The company is owned and run by a young Cracovian who styles himself "Crazy Mike." Mike began doing occasional off-the-beaten-track tours – seeing places rarely found in guidebooks -- for people on the side while he was employed at one of the boutique hotels in the Old Town. As one of his employees told it, after an American couple took his tour of Nowa Huta, they were so impressed that they urged him to start a tour company. When he demurred that he had no money for the startup, they loaned him $1,000 to see if he could make a go of it (at first he said this was the tip, but then he said they were willing to risk the money and get paid back only if he could make it work). The money was used for the flyers (Figure 7.5) and to purchase the first vintage automobile (an East German Trabant: Figure 7.6).

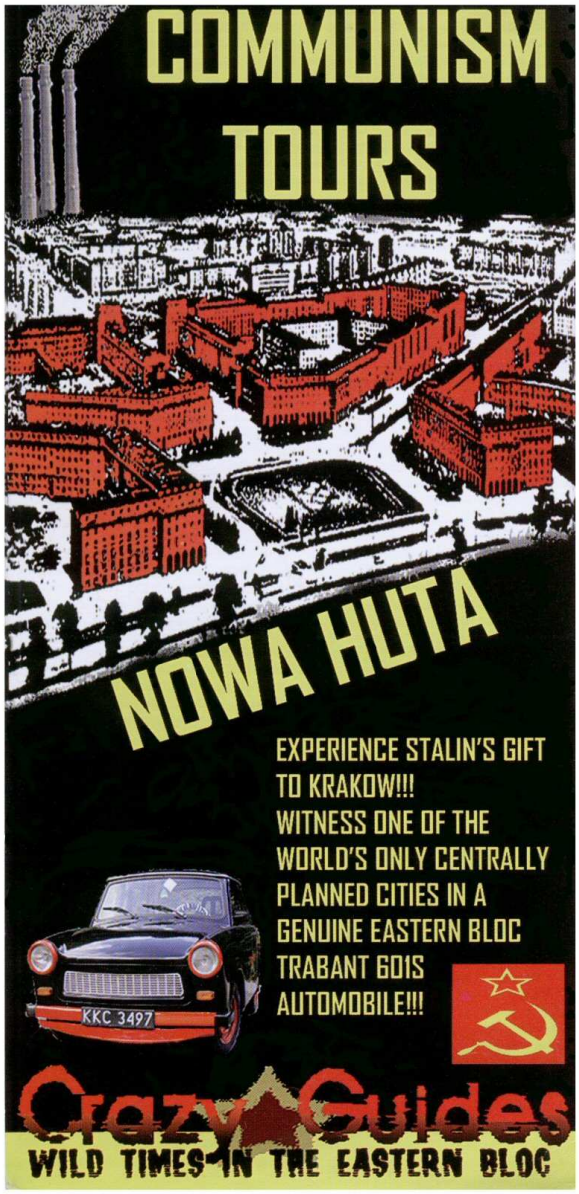


Figure 7.5: Crazy Guides flyer

Crazy Guides has three guides (the owner no longer gives tours of Nowa Huta), all of them young male college students, as well as an expanding fleet of communist-era vehicles to accommodate different sizes of tour groups. Crazy Guides differentiates their products with two particular angles. First, they say they offer a unique, authentic,

"insider" experience. The flyer urges visitors to "escape the tourist traps with our private tours" in order to get "off the beaten path" to see "the true sights that most visitors only read about"(flyer, n.d.). Second, Crazy Guides offers a customizable tour scheduled at the visitor's convenience, not bound by externalities and inconveniences like meeting points or a fixed time schedule. Tours can be booked by telephone, by email, or in person at the company's "office," which is located in the Old Town hotel where Crazy Mike formerly worked. Crazy Guides advertises the convenience of hotel pickup/dropoff and offers tours at three price points (Table 7.3), all of which are quite expensive when compared with other tourist attractions in Kraków.

Figure 7.6: Crazy Guides: East German Trabant, with guide Jakób

By contrast, Cooltours is the budget alternative (Figure 7.7): tours leave by tram from a fixed meeting point in the Old Town, at fixed times of day, and the distance in Nowa Huta is covered primarily on foot. Their flyer is less graphically compelling than

that of Crazy Guides (compare Figures 7.5 and 7.7) but shares its hip, edgy rhetoric and its focus on authentic, "insider" experience. This "Red Star Tour" is advertised as a "real Iron Curtain adventure," calling on all "comrades" to "follow in the footsteps of Fidel Castro" (who visited Poland in 1971 and, according to legend, refused to set foot in the Old Town, preferring Nowa Huta) and to "leave the old town commercialized shops behind" to see "how Polish people live now." The flyer promises a balanced description of the socialist city and its people: "the good and the bad things – only the facts!" Tours must be booked in advance, which can be done by telephone, on the Internet, or by visiting the company's office in the Old Town.

Figure 7.7: Cooltours flyer

Table 7.3: Tour prices, Nowa Huta			
Company	**Product**	**Price in PLN***	**Price in USD***
Crazy Guides	Communism	119	35
Crazy Guides	Communism Deluxe	159	47
Crazy Guides	"The Real Kraków"	159	47
Cooltours	Adult	48	14
Cooltours	Student	40	12

*3.4 PLN to the USD, Summer 2006

Both of these flyers, professionally designed and printed in color on glossy paper in the standard 3.5" by 7" size (to fit into brochure display racks), are distributed to a network of tourist information points, including the various Tourist Information Offices (described in more detail below) and information racks in hotel and hostel lobbies. The companies hire third parties to distribute the flyers, and pay a fee to the hosting location. Crazy Guides reported that they distribute to about 70 locations, mostly hotels but also the tourist offices. My interviewee was surprised and disappointed to learn that I had seen the Crazy Guides flyer in only a single tourism office, but said they have no control over how (and even if) they are displayed after they are dropped off, and are often not notified by the host location when the last one has been taken. He added that in slower times of the season, they can monitor the placement of flyers more carefully, but that there simply isn't time during the height of the season.

Cooltours has been more successful in keeping flyers fully stocked in the tourist information offices, which my interviewee, laughing, attributed to the fact that, "well, the girls at the front desks *really* like us." On a more serious note, he explained that the big problem for distribution for Cooltours is that they cannot put the flyers in hotel lobbies, because the commission for the hotel desk is 30% of the ticket price per booking, and since the Cooltours price is only 40-48 PLN (about $12-$15 at the time of the interview

in May 2007), there is no incentive for the hotels to advertise on their behalf for such small returns. However, he added with pride that a large part of their business comes from repeat customers and word of mouth: tourists return to take other tours offered by the company, and recommend their products to friends as well. (Cooltours also offers walking tours of Old Town and Kazimierz, and rents bicycles for guide-led or independent touring.)

In addition to advertising for the general public, who might pick up a flyer in a hotel lobby or tourist information office, or get information about tours from a hotel concierge, the tour companies also make arrangements with organized tour groups or school groups. Crazy Guides, for example, had arranged with one of the for-profit foreign language schools, Prolog, to offer an optional tour of Nowa Huta for interested students. The cost of the tour was included in the school's program offering. Cooltours had arrangements to provide tours for student exchange groups, a mix of Polish students with students from another country.

While the guides' economic circumstances and educational background vary, all are young, college-educated people in their 20s, energetic, motivated, and with an excellent command of English and very often another European language as well. Crazy Guides offers tours in German, and Cooltours offers tours in French and German. One guide was an undergraduate student in sociology who had finished his coursework and was trying to find the motivation to focus on his capstone project in order to finish his degree. His student status gave him a great deal of flexibility in scheduling, but he complained a little bit that Crazy Guides' lack of set schedule meant that he never knew what he'd be doing the next day. He sometimes didn't hear from Crazy Mike until

evening regarding the schedule for the next day, and found it really difficult to plan other activities in his life. He and the other two guides who worked for Mike appeared to have close personal relationships; they shared apartments and socialized outside of work. This guide was hesitant to refer to Mike as his boss; instead he said that he and the other two guides 'supported' Mike, who had stopped leading tours in Nowa Huta himself, but rather works on developing new ideas and new markets (apparently including a lot of foreign travel; he was outside of Poland every time I spoke with him by cell phone). Despite his issues with scheduling, the guide was thrilled to have the job: "We work for him, but he's the best boss ever. He's -- well, I cannot imagine a better guy to employ me. So -- he's the best, that's for sure."

This guide said that he enjoyed giving tours, which he had been doing for about two years, but that he understood that burnout would come soon enough – in a year or so - and that it was a priority for Mike to have guides for whom the material was fresh and still interesting. Mike also takes the lead in the 'Crazy Stag' tours, bachelor weekends for mostly British, Dutch, and Australian men, which are currently the subject of censure from the head of Kraków's Bureau of Tourism and Promotion (see discussion below).

The guides for Cooltours are more diverse. There are about eight guides who conduct tours in Nowa Huta, but there are other guides with the company who only work in the Old Town, by their own choice. One of my guides was a doctor who had just finished medical school and was doing his internship. His schedule restricted him to giving tours on weekends only, which he was doing for the extra income. (Despite that clearly-stated financial motivation, he was well-informed and passionate about the subject of communism in Nowa Huta.) Two other guides had grown up in Nowa Huta

and had been in the tour business for almost a decade, leading tours elsewhere in Europe in one case, and working for another local company before striking out on his own, in the other. Both were passionately committed (despite the sensationalist hype of their marketing flyer) to educating tourists by righting what they believed were nationwide errors of perception about the people of Nowa Huta, a point to which I shall return shortly.

Guides in Kraków must be licensed by the City of Kraków; this license entitles them to lead tours through the various attractions. As Łukasz explained, one must take a course on all the history of Kraków, and then pass a written test. He said it was a difficult exam (coming from a medical doctor, this assessment carried some weight with us!), and he thought that growing up in Kraków, as he had, conferred quite an advantage. He said he had a friend from the United States who had had a lot of trouble getting certified, because he hadn't absorbed all the local background and legends while growing up. The guides are routinely stopped and checked for their licenses in the Old Town, but apparently the inspectors do not go to Nowa Huta, so Cooltours can use guides there who are not yet licensed.

Assessing the economic contributions of tourism in Nowa Huta to the region, or even the number of tourists who take tours of Nowa Huta, is difficult. There are no available published visitation statistics, and tour company officials, although willing to estimate, did not share company statistics. The president of one company estimated that they do three or four tours per week in the summer season, with 4-6 persons on each tour,

although they will accommodate as many as 12-14 persons.[1] Assuming a summer tourism season of May 1 to September 30, Cooltours' work in Nowa Huta would involve about 440 tourists, and would contribute a minimum of about €5,000 annually to Cooltours' gross revenues.

Informants from Crazy Guides were characteristically vague when asked about numbers of tours or numbers of tour participants. However, on one drive from Kraków to Nowa Huta, my tour guide, who was handling tour bookings by cell phone because Crazy Mike was on vacation, took at least four calls from parties hoping to schedule a tour in the next several days. The size of the tour group is limited by the small size of Trabants – with even four people in a car (including the driver), it is crowded – although this crowding is framed as part of the ambience, showing the discomforts of communism.

Although Crazy Guides has become internationally known in tourist circuits for their communism tours (see for example Richards 2007), these are a relatively small part of their business. The majority of their revenue is made from 'stag' tours, in which the guides are designated drivers for groups of young international singles partying in Kraków.

Stag tours, which are alcohol-fueled romps in search of sex or other adventures, have become popular in the cities of Central and Eastern Europe. The participants are primarily from Western Europe (British groups were described by Lee (2007) and a Dutch group by Kursa and Romanowski (2006)) and presumably are attracted by the

[1]Naturally, these tours are somewhat weather-dependent; during a cold and rainy stretch, tourists will head for indoor attractions rather than walk through the streets of Nowa Huta. Moreover, Kraków in recent years has been experiencing unprecedented heat waves in July, with daily highs well over 90 degrees; with limited air conditioning, it is understandable if tourists head indoors to malls, restaurants and water parks rather than the unrelentingly sun-baked pavements of Nowa Huta.

cheap prices of food, alcohol,[2] and lodging in the former Soviet bloc countries. Sometimes Crazy Guides combines the stag with communist heritage tourism: Lee (2007) describes a visit to the rental apartment in Nowa Huta, "where the entertainment might be a stripper in a hot pink bikini and where guests may end the night by shedding their clothes and tossing their underwear out the window."

These groups of inebriated young men can be intimidating to other tourists, and I observed several cafes with "No Stags" signs at the front doors. In the spring of 2007, the director of the Municipal Promotion and Tourism Department publicly reprimanded the tour companies that offer stag tours for encouraging raucous and unbecoming behavior (Cooltours guide), and announced a new advertising campaign to discourage such products by highlighting the history and culture of the city (Lee 2007).

The owners of the tour companies seemed to have a finely-tuned awareness of how their products fit into the larger picture of tourism in Kraków. For example, the president of Cooltours pointed to the cheap price and increasing convenience of new flights into Poland (and the expansion of the John Paul II airport outside Kraków), along with increasing awareness of Kraków as a popular destination, as factors that have helped to increase the number of visitors to the city, especially from Western Europe. This pattern of air travel encourages weekenders, tourists who will spend a long weekend -- three to four days -- in the region. According to him, in order of priority, they visit the Old Town, Kazimierz (the Jewish Quarter), the Salt Mine in Wieliczka, and Auschwitz, each of which takes approximately one day. If their trip is for five days, they could add Nowa Huta, but that is not the typical travel pattern. Moreover, in his estimation, the

[2] A draft beer cost about $0.80 in Summer 2006.

municipality of Kraków deliberately fails to promote Nowa Huta as an attraction, a point I discuss in greater detail below.

Framing: the rhetorics of the tours

Most of the guided tours follow a similar route, which is driven not only by the logistics of seeing the main sights without wasting participants' time in retracing steps, but also by the necessity of creating a compelling, logical narrative. Thus, tours start outside the headquarters of the steelworks, where the guides tell the story of the founding of Nowa Huta by the communists as a corrective to bourgeois Kraków and as a step forward in industrializing post-war Poland. Next, tour groups move to the central square, where the guides explain the layout of the town and its architectural and planning antecedents (Chapter 4). Then, tour groups stroll through one of the neighborhood units, in order to understand the organization of daily life under communism and to appreciate how the design of the neighborhood system enabled resistance to the authorities (Chapter 5). Finally, tour groups are taken to the 1960 Cross and then to the Ark of the Lord Church, where guides explain the demonstration in 1960 and the struggle to win the right to build churches (Chapter 5).

Both the Crazy Guides' and the Cooltours' tours also incorporate a coffee break in the only restaurant in the Central Square, an establishment that has been a fixture since communist times. Crazy Guides evidently has a cozy relationship with the management of the restaurant: after we had ordered beverages from the aging waitress, my guide walked over to the service bar, reached under a cloth, and pulled out his collection of maps and books of photographs to show us. Crazy Guides also features a stop in a walk-up apartment in the older part of Nowa Huta, furnished 1970s-style, that they rent for the

purpose. Vodka shots and pickles or pickled herring are passed around while 1970s Polish pop music plays on the phonograph and the guide describes the furnishings and accoutrements of life under the communist regime.

Because space can be covered so quickly by automobile, the Crazy Guides also drive around the various neighborhoods as the spirit moves them; on one tour we drove by communal vegetable garden plots; on another tour my guide showed me an entrance to the underground vault system. This last move seemed to be a combination of spontaneity and showing-off: he accelerated down the concrete ramp into the earth at heart-stopping speed, hitting the brakes at the bottom to spin around 180 degrees and stall the Trabant in the process. Afterwards he confided: "This is so cool! It looks like a bunker or something like that. I love it! – it's like during the war! Sometimes we come here at night to scare ourselves. And we stay here for 5 or 10 minutes in silence." However, he had to admit that he wasn't sure the underground system had been built as a bunker, although he was pretty sure that Nowa Huta had had a system of underground shelters for use in a nuclear war.

Cooltours had also used the restaurant in the central square as a stopping-place, but by the time of my second tour they had abandoned this restaurant in favor of a new venue for coffee: the '1949 Klub,' a café and exhibition space run by some friends that is devoted to fostering local pride in Nowa Huta (Figure 7.8). The café sells beverages, snacks, and souvenirs (including reprints of books and maps about Nowa Huta I saw nowhere else in Kraków) and shows a locally-made film about the Lenin statute in the Central Square. This shift of venue from restaurant to café reflects the fact that despite the similarities noted above in advertising the tour products of the two companies, they

are driven by different motivations and are anchored by different rhetorics. The catchphrase of Crazy Guides is "laborers' paradise," often repeated, and always delivered with an ironic smirk. Jakób told me that he had tried to convince Crazy Mike to purchase a luxury, six-seater convertible Trabant that he'd seen for sale, which would allow tour groups to be more comfortable, but that Mike had demurred, saying that it didn't fit with the "laborers' paradise" approach to the tour narrative.

Figure 7.8: '1949 Klub'

The mission of Cooltours, on the other hand, is to replace the perception of Nowa Huta as a dangerous place and communism as a period that should be consigned to the dustbin of history with a new narrative about Nowa Hutans as pioneers who made great personal sacrifices (that are not being recognized or rewarded) to build up the country under the constraints of a political and economic system that was not of their choosing. As the president of the company put it:

> My point of view, my personal opinion, is that [the view of Nowa Huta as dangerous, dirty and polluted] is not only disturbing, but also unfair to the people who live there. I grew up in that part of Kraków, I came from there, but my parents, they were not building the communistic system, they were building a better future for me, and for my children. And this was their great sacrifice – sweat and tears. This was the boundaries [sic] imposed by a hierarchy. We had nothing to say. What could we do, you know? You saw the tanks. In general the changes that have taken place are enormous. But they wouldn't have happened in this system, with the "works". It collapsed, and this is the tragedy of the people who lived there, because they spent forty, fifty years of their lives building *something* which was supposed to deliver them their future, and it failed… And now, you say, the system failed, it was wrong, let's forget about it. It's a bit unfair to these people, because they sacrificed the work of their lives, the whole district, the whole area.
>
> And their life is still there. These people, if you give them the opportunity to move out, to move to Kraków, they would not do it. Because for them, Nowa Huta is their home.

According to the president, Cooltours' choice to stop at the 1949 Klub is their way of building local pride and demonstrating not only to tourists but to local residents that:

> Nowa Huta *is* important, because it's an integral part of Kraków….We tell the story of the people, we tell the history of the district; we are trying to bring up the Polish reality from different perspectives: as it was, what the

> people were thinking; what their choices were, their chances, opportunities. But also: how it is today. What are their problems, what these people are [dealing with] at the moment, what are their greatest concerns today.

He went on to differentiate his company's intent from that of Crazy Guides:

> The other way is to do it, you know, with a laugh. There is this other guy, a friend of mine, who does the Trabant tours. And it's a little bit of, you know, over-exaggerated communism. Vodka, drinking, and it's not exactly fair. Because this, in a way, builds up this stereotype of Polish people being great drinkers, workers, just drinking and so on. And, you know, everybody wants to have some fun. But it's not like this, that you go there and drive Trabants and everybody drinks vodka. It's not the reality of the district. That's not what we want to show to people.

My informant at Cooltours was also miffed that others in the tourism business have taken his tour concept and are offering pallid imitations, without the depth of information and commitment to showing reality that he has pioneered. As he put it:

> I know the people who have other tour businesses. And it's like this. If somebody has something on offer, and they see that we're doing that, then they start offering it. There is a company called Krakówtours, cracoviatours. They offer it like a private tour, with a private driver. It's more expensive. And you know, they have it because *we* have it. As long as we [offer it] to the people, they will, as well. They will have it in their

> offer. Because it's available. But they don't really know how to do it, what the *idea* is, they are not doing the subject. Just to make money.

The staff at Cooltours had also thought a great deal about better ways of promoting Nowa Huta, not just from a tourism standpoint, but from the standpoint of rehabilitating its reputation locally, and how Cracovians, but especially Nowa Hutans, would benefit by seeing the value that tourists placed on it. My interviewee said:

> I think that really for me the most important thing is [about the tours] is to make [Nowa Huta] as a part of Kraków as important for tourists as it is important for the people who live there. Because for them, it's something genuinely authentic, it's their choice. As I said, they believed in something that somebody promised them, and they really – it's the work of their life. And they have great passion for the district, the people who live there. They are proud of where they live, but they are not eager to expose their pride. Because it confronts those stereotypes that function in Kraków. Always there were these kinds of small competitions between historical, cultural Kraków and new, socialistic, modern Nowa Huta. But somehow it got over-exaggerated after the fall of the communistic system when unemployment rose. And it's true that there are parts of Nowa Huta that are not that nice, not that popular, and can be dangerous after dark if you don't know your way around. But in general, it's like every other city: there are districts which have spots where you should not go. That's it.

> But it's very slow growth. Things that start appearing in Nowa Huta, like the 1949 Club: it's a great thing because it's a place to stop, it's a place --- of history, sit down, take your time, have a cup of coffee. And it's necessary because of two potential [types of] customers. First of all, tourists who come there. Not that often yet, but maybe they come with us [laughs]. But also for the locals. And when the locals find out that the tourists are coming, and that the tourists are coming not to laugh at Nowa Huta, but they are coming to learn the history of *their* district, the place that they live in, it's important, a very important stimulating factor for the inside. Because you know in the sociology of tourism there's always this interaction, how tourists are changing the reality also of the locals as well as how the locals change the reality for tourists.

His awareness of the dynamic relationship between the viewer and the viewed reflects my own experiences (Chapter 3) and points to the opportunities for change in tourism patterns in Nowa Huta, as well as to the shifts in discourses about the district that are currently underway.

<u>Self-guided tours: tourism involvement by the Municipality of Kraków</u>

As mentioned above, the president of Cooltours was of the opinion that the Municipality of Kraków deliberately and actively ignores Nowa Huta in constructing promotional materials and in encouraging tourism. I had already reached this conclusion myself prior to our interview, based on my experiences in the Tourist Information Offices (TIOs) and my analysis of the municipally-produced brochures and guidebooks.

The municipality operates seven TIOs in Kraków: four are in the Old Town, one is in Kazimierz, one is at the airport, and one is in Nowa Huta. The Diocese of Kraków and the regional government (the voivodship of Lesser Poland, *Małopolska*) also each operate a TIO in the Old Town. All but one are marked outside with the international symbol for information, and their institutional affiliations (municipal, church, or regional) are not immediately obvious to the visitor. Moreover, the ubiquitous map that shows their locations (Figure 7.9) also shows private travel agencies, without distinguishing between them and public information offices.

With the exception of a kiosk built for the purpose in the linear park around the Old Town (*Planty*), all of the TIOs occupy existing retail storefronts. Their locations are not particularly prominent (this is especially true in Nowa Huta, which is the only location not to have the internationally recognizable symbol for information posted outside), and there is no consistent design to the layout or furnishings; rather each office has adapted to the particular layout and style of the space. Different sets of brochures are found at each location (although there are certainly overlaps) but there is no clear pattern to the distribution of information among them. This adaptation of existing spaces seems to reflect a decentralized and *ad hoc* approach to providing information to tourists, and one that is inconsistent with the otherwise professional quality of tourist information as seen in brochures and other official publications.

Staffers in the municipal TIOs are city employees and are mostly young people with excellent foreign language skills. Unlike their counterparts in American TIOs, they do not volunteer assistance, but instead are behind the counters to answer questions when asked. Most questions have to do with wayfaring (hence the ubiquitous maps on a tear-

off pad (Figure 7.9), on which they can easily mark locations for the tourist) but the staffers will also arrange tour and hotel reservations by telephone upon request.

Figure 7.9: Tear-off map of Old Town, with Kazimierz

In general, the staffers were poorly informed about tourism possibilities in Nowa Huta, and most of the TIOs did not stock the Municipal brochure about the district. Most seemed genuinely puzzled that a foreigner (I was sometimes mistaken for a German) would be interested in Nowa Huta, and in one case the staffer actively tried to dissuade me from visiting the district, suggesting that it was unsafe, and that I would be much better suited to stay within the tourist-friendly confines of the Old Town.

Yet despite the *ad hoc*, somewhat adaptive nature of the foregoing, it should be noted that the tourism publications produced by the Municipality of Kraków are highly professional, consistent as a group in form and layout, and graphically sophisticated. As noted in Chapter 3, except for the TIO in Kazimierz, where these brochures are arranged on an open rack, these publications are doled out sparingly to visitors only upon inquiry. I interpret this as a remnant of the long-standing culture of scarcity that arose during the communist era. Municipal tourism brochures and booklets respond to a range of tourism desires and lengths of stay. While there are tens of products, the following discussion will deal only with the dozen or so brochures and booklets that refer to Nowa Huta (or those in which its absence is conspicuous).

Two strategies are used in these documents to organize information about attractions in order to make Kraków intelligible for tourists: organization by location or district, regardless of historical period or subject matter (such as the brochures about Nowa Huta or Kazimierz); and organization by theme (a person, such as Pope John Paul II; a group of people, such as saints; or a type of attraction, such as museums or industrial archaeology). In most cases, a logical route to see the highlighted attractions is either explicit (with a map keyed to the locations) or implied. Sometimes these strategies are

used in combination, such as the Route of Jewish Buildings within the district brochure for Kazimierz.

The eight-panel district brochure for Nowa Huta is available in German, Polish, and English (in theory, anyway; these brochures were very difficult to come by), and is a two-color print job dominated by orange and sepia tones on heavy card stock. This brochure has counterparts for Kazimierz and the Old Town; however the latter two are full four-color separations, suggesting higher-end graphics and greater cost of production than what was allocated for Nowa Huta. (Compare the front panels for Nowa Huta and Kazimierz in Figure 7.10.) The brochure has a small map with eleven locations keyed to descriptions and photographs; however two locations are incorrectly placed on the map, probably not out of a desire to mislead or confuse, but from carelessness or ignorance. Of the eleven attractions shown, three predate the socialist construction of Nowa Huta, demonstrating the Municipality's desire to place Nowa Huta into a longer historical context and to show that there is much more to the district than the obvious communist story.

Several booklets list Nowa Huta among a collection of walking routes for Kraków. These booklets are geared toward those with short stays in the city, which suggests that the Municipality shares Cooltours' understanding of the typical visitor as a tourist in town for a long weekend. In these efforts, the Tourism and Promotion Bureau is following the lead of private, for-profit guidebooks that attempt to assess, prioritize and to some extent "pre-digest" the available attractions so as to make the best use of the visitor's limited time. The brochure entitled "Two Days in Kraków" is a 24-page booklet with descriptions of five possible walking tours. Four of these are in the historic center

(Main Market Square, Old Town, Wawel and Kazimierz); these are followed by a fifth walk called “From a slightly different angle,” which describes a series of vantage points for seeing the historic center. The description of Nowa Huta in this section is brief, just two sentences: “An entirely different experience [is] an excursion to Nowa Huta, the district that grew in [the] 1950s around the daunting metallurgical plant and its startling contrasts. Moreover, the Centre of Nowa Huta is credited for being the model example of socialist realism in architecture” (14). Thus out of a 24-page brochure on the city, Nowa Huta gets two sentences, both fairly ideologically neutral ones that focus on its land use and its architecture rather than the people or events that shaped communism and led to its overthrow.

Figure 7.10: Comparison of front panels of Municipal brochures for Kazimierz (left) and Nowa Huta (right)

A second brochure of this kind, entitled "Three Days in Kraków," was first published for the 2007 tourist season. It is also 24 pages long, and shortens the texts for the walks in historical city center in order to expand the description of the Jewish quarter by adding a section on Podgórze (where Oskar Schindler's factory was, and where Steven Spielberg filmed *Schindler's List*) and new sections on Nowa Huta (four pages) and the Austrian fortification network (two pages). The texts of these new sections are attributed (unlike the earlier brochure); the author of the Nowa Huta section is Leszek Sibila, a museum curator with the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków who has studied and written about the historical growth and architectural development of Nowa Huta.

We may assume that as an official representation of tourism in Kraków, the text of this brochure was extensively vetted by the tourism authorities. Notable is its enumeration of all the buildings in Nowa Huta that were built before the socialist city. These Sibila terms the "most interesting" – and he lists eleven of them: churches, the Cistercian monastery, palaces, chapels and mansions of the gentry. What is also interesting about this text is its attempt to focus on broader aspects of Nowa Huta, including its natural resources and open spaces and the heritage of Austrian fortifications dating from the 19th century. This approach dilutes the main attraction of Nowa Huta: the socialist city and the lives of those in it.

The Tourist Information Compendium, a municipally-produced 68-page booklet that summarizes essential tourist information for Kraków, also has a short section on Nowa Huta. Although the booklet contains no maps, the route for Nowa Huta is clearly based on the eight-panel district brochure described above. Before a straightforward and relatively neutral description of the various sights along the route, the opening sentences

define clearly Nowa Huta's position vis-à-vis Kraków, at least from Kraków's point of view: "In 1949, a politically absurd decision was made to construct steelworks on the fertile soil of Kraków['s] suburban Pleszów. The new socio-realist town was intended to contribute to the disintegration of Cracovian circles considered as bourgeois and philistine." The remainder of the text quickly describes the other features of interest, including two sentences about the conservation area near the square (not included in the eight-panel brochure text) and a characterization of the main square as "Ronald Reagan Central Square…surrounded by monumental architecture with references to Renaissance and Classicist traditions" (the Central Square was renamed for the American president sometime in the 1990s).

Visitor information about Nowa Huta also appears (briefly) in the thematic booklets on museums and *The Paths of John Paul II*. There are 32 museums listed for Kraków, not including the various branch locations of the National Museum and the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków. The Nowa Huta branch of the latter, which may not even have yet opened when the text of the booklet was being prepared, once again makes a point of situating Nowa Huta in the context of a much longer history of habitation than just the communist era: "The museum collection will consist of Nowa Huta mementoes…as well as exhibits connected with that area dated back to the period from before the city and the steelworks were created, i.e. *from before the year 1949*" (italics added). In fact, the first exhibition in this storefront museum, which was on view in the Summer of 2006, focused on the history of the traditional village and manor-house of Kościelniki, located on the outskirts of Nowa Huta.

Two other museums, the Museum of Armed Action (with World War II artifacts) and the summer home of 19th century nationalist painter Jan Matejko, are also listed in the museum booklet, but specifically *not* identified as located in the district of Nowa Huta. While this might be understandable for Matejko's house, which is actually within the village of Krzesławice, between the residential area of Nowa Huta and the steelworks, it is a more obvious omission for the Museum of Armed Action, which is in one of the older neighborhood units of the original residential area of Nowa Huta. Since there is no locator map in this booklet, tourists would have to use other means to locate these museums at their relatively obscure street addresses.

The thematic tour booklet *The Paths of John Paul II* is also notable for its efforts to avoid mention of the district of Nowa Huta to the extent possible. Pope John Paul II, as Bishop, Archbishop, and Cardinal, was instrumental in persuading the communist authorities to allow the Ark of the Lord church to be built. (This struggle is detailed in Chapter 5.) However, the description of the church says only that the "new district of Kraków, Nowa Huta, was by default treated by the Communist authorities as devoid of spiritual life," and locates the church by its ancient village name, Bieńczyce. Similarly, the new church of St. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe, dedicated to a priest executed at Auschwitz, is described as located in Mistrzejowice, not in Nowa Huta although Mistrzejowice is part of the district of Nowa Huta.

Sometimes these absences in tourism promotion by the Muncipality are more substantive. A new thematic concept, the Kraków Industrial Heritage Route, touted as the first of its kind in Poland, is described in a booklet that includes a route map and descriptions of sixteen structures related to industry and infrastructure from the 19th and

20th centuries. These include a 19th century forge and a 20th century bridge erected with steel produced at it, but no mention of any industrial building or infrastructure project built after 1937. Most notably, this leaves off the steelworks in Nowa Huta, at its construction and for decades thereafter the largest steel plant in Poland and the site of many innovations over the decades in the production of steel (Sendzimir 1994).

Tour guides' opinions varied as to how involved in promoting Nowa Huta the Municipality was or should be. One guide thought that local government was finally more interested in promoting Nowa Huta, and pointed to the outdoor film series in the central square as evidence.[3] Another guide, by contrast, alleged that the Municipality has been pushed into preparing information about Nowa Huta by the demand from visitors, rather than viewing Nowa Huta as an asset in its own right:

> Nowa Huta is not promoted as an attraction of Kraków; the brochures, the leaflets that are printed by the City, are printed because they *have* to be printed. They are full of mistakes; they do not tell people the history; they just show the sights – [albeit] mislocated, you cannot find anything from the map.
>
> And somehow the city doesn't have any great passion for promoting that part of Kraków. Now they are trying to promote another section of Kraków which is behind Kazimierz – Podgórze, where Schindler's factory is located….But Nowa Huta – somehow there is this big controversy [about] its communistic past….When you do the course, when you

[3] This guide was not aware that the steelworks is one of the venues for the fall classical music festival in Kraków. In 2006 Bizet's *Carmen* was staged there; in 2007 the event was "Bernstein: Broadway in Nowa Huta."

> become a licensed guide, there's only one lecture about Nowa Huta and it's mainly about the monastery [in Mogiła]. And that's it! That's it! – no history about communistic Poland, no ideas, no history of the people who live there. What *we* do is the way it is. The way we know this district, the way we want to show it. The real way.

This attitude is characteristic of partisans of Nowa Huta – that its promotion depends on efforts from those who are willing to fight against the official tourism bureaucracy and its entrenched interests and ideologies to promote a district that the latter would just as soon delete from the maps. One of my tour guides referred in passing to an obsessed historian and promoter, Maciej Miezian, who in his estimation was personally and individually responsible for putting Nowa Huta back on the map, so to speak, touristically. Miezian happens to be the author of the most comprehensive guidebook on Nowa Huta (2004) and a member of the Committee for Establishment of the Museum of Nowa Huta and the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks (still a dream, not a reality).

Due, as it is commonly stated, to Miezian's efforts, the Municipality installed a map kiosk in the central square of Nowa Huta, with photographs and descriptions of its main attractions (Figure 3.1). These attractions are keyed to blue and white markers (Figure 3.2) that have been erected at the relevant points according to the map in the Municipality's brochure and on the map kiosk. In general, the numbering and sequencing of the attractions is the same – but with two important differences. Wanda's Mound (in the brochure) has been replaced with a section on the architectural ensemble of Solidarity Avenue (on the kiosk); and the 1960 Cross has been replaced with a section on the architecture of the People's Theater (*Teatr Ludowy*). Since both the mound and

the cross are still present and easily accessed, it is difficult to understand the reason for these substitutions. What they share, however, is a privileging of architectural facts and figures – the dry language of historical guidebooks – over stories of resistance: the triumph of bricks and mortar over narratives of emotion and struggle. Interestingly, and unlike all the rest of the brochures and maps produced by the Municipality, these blue and white markers do not carry the logo of Kraków (Figure 7.11), an arresting symbol that is emblematic of the Municipality's desire to "brand" itself and clearly identify official products and events that have received its patronage.

Figure 7.11: Official Municipality of Kraków logo: "Magical Kraków"

Conclusion: a web of uneasy relationships

What I have described in this chapter is the contingent nature of making a living through tourism in Nowa Huta, and the ways in which the members of the tourism industry are dependent on a web of informal personal networks, chance meetings, and opportunities to promote their offerings. All of this takes place in the face of, at best, indifference, and at worst, a systematized desire to erase the communist history of Nowa Huta on the part of official tourism promoters from the Municipality of Kraków. Both companies that specialize in communist heritage tourism accept subcontracts for tours

from larger, more established tourism establishments in Kraków, but also have worked to develop other product lines for their own firms that will enable the companies to remain in business -- whether on the seamy side, like the 'stag' tours, or through diversification to other forms of mainstream tours in Kraków itself. These two companies are clearly aware of each others' products, and while targeting them to different consumer price points, are not above criticizing the other company's motives and presentations.

All the firms rely on the institutionalized arrangements at the tourist information offices (TIOs) for rack space for their brochures, although personal connections and a consistent attention to refilling their allotted spaces is also part of the mix for success. This dependence on an oft-unwilling partner, the City, is problematic, because it constrains in some way their efforts to expand. However, Cooltours has personal relationships with staffers in the TIOs that give them prime placement of brochures, while Crazy Guides has networked throughout the marginal but highly profitable extreme tourism sector to attract business as a subcontractor to some of the larger agencies. It is curious that the firms have not been more willing to collaborate and cooperate with each other, especially in response to the Spring 2007 public scolding by the head of the Promotion and Tourism Department that the 'stag' tours are harming legitimate tourism in Kraków and a subsequent city public relations campaign to focus more advertising on heritage in an effort to discourage the stags (Lee 2007; see also MacLellen 2007). However, the nature of this niche of tourism appears to favor individualistic entrepreneurship (as seen by the tireless promotional activities of Crazy Guides), rather than a reasoned plan to work collectively.

None of the companies gets any financial assistance or technical support from local government. Moreover, it is clear from the textual analysis presented here that the local authorities are unwilling to promote Nowa Huta, and when they must, they are careful to place its recent history under the communist regime within the broader sweep of centuries of Polish habitation and industry in the area of former villages to the east of Kraków. In the next chapter, I analyze the relationships of these tourism discourses to the discourses of economic development, and I show that despite limited connections between the producers of the two sets of discourses, there is remarkable congruence in their messages. These messages either ignore Nowa Huta and its people, or attempt to write the district back into a longer history of traditional settlement. It is left almost exclusively to Nowa Hutans operating outside the tourism and economic development sectors to rehabilitate the image of the district, a point to which I shall return in the final chapter.

Chapter 8 – Promoting the past, selling the future: The discourses of economic regeneration

"We aim to change our region's image."
-- Website of the Kraków Technology Park

As I have shown in previous chapters, tourism discourses about Nowa Huta either sidestep the politics and economics of the communist period by focusing on the aesthetics of architecture and planning; minimize the importance of Nowa Huta's role in post-war society by taking a longer historical perspective; or frame Nowa Huta (and its inhabitants) as somehow different from mainstream Polish life, all in service of a strategy of identity-formation that seeks to cast the communist past as a bizarre socioeconomic experiment forced on an unwilling nation. In this light, it is useful to consider related discourses -- such as those of economic development -- that also create and transmit ideas about local, regional or national identity, in the service of promoting the abilities of a metropolitan area or region to attract investment and jobs. Moreover, because tourism is itself often one aspect of economic development (Lovering 1995; Young and Kaczmarek 1999) -- one utensil in the economic toolbox -- it is important to consider the two sets of messages and how they complement (or sometimes, conflict with) each other.

In this chapter, I analyze the processes and discourses of economic development in the Kraków region. I begin with a brief synopsis of the ongoing challenges this region faces in the transition to a capitalist, globalizing economy. Next I describe the network of organizations that are involved in economic development activities, and the means – the websites, brochures, multimedia shows and local venues -- by which discourses of economic development are disseminated. I use examples from four sets of economic development texts to identify the range of rhetorical devices that are employed to market

the region and attract investment and jobs. Finally, I analyze the connections between the narratives of communist heritage tourism (as described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6) and the narratives of economic development as presented in planning documents, promotional materials, and the activities of economic development professionals in Kraków. Although there are almost no direct (personal or institutional) connections between the communist heritage tourism industry (as described in Chapter 7) and the economic development sector as described in this chapter, their messages reinforce one another, forming complementary discursive formations across multiple economic sectors. Throughout the chapter, I argue that an understanding of the global influence of neoliberal political philosophy and of neoliberal economic practices – especially 'the new localism' (Hardy and Rainnie 1996; Lovering 1995) -- provides a powerful explanation for understanding how the messages of regional promotion – and indeed, tourism attraction -- are crafted and disseminated.

Transitioning to Global Capitalism

Despite the endogenous desire to represent Kraków as a city of intellect and culture, since World War II its regional economy has been more concentrated on manufacturing than that of the nation. In 1990, secondary sector employment was 37% of the regional workforce, compared with 29% of the national workforce. In addition to the Nowa Huta steelworks (the largest single employer in the region), industries include aluminum works, concrete, tobacco and food processing. In 1992, the Kraków region produced 46% of all Polish crude and rolled steel, and 92% of all Polish meat products (Atkins 1993, in Hardy and Rainnie 1996). In short, the economic structure of Kraków

has been dependent on heavy industry and particularly on the presence of large firms: in 1990 only 30% of plants employed less than 50 people (Hardy and Rainnie 1996).

This employment structure presents particular problems for post-socialist transitions, given the national government's three-pronged economic strategy for economic restructuring: attracting foreign direct investment; privatizing state-owned enterprises; and encouraging the formation and growth of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) (Stańczyk 2005). First, growth in foreign direct investment has been slow in Poland (Stańczyk 2005) and has been dominated by foreign acquisition of food and beverage processing plants (Hardy and Rainnie 1996; see also Dunn 2004). The Polish government has been careful to draft its privatization tenders to prevent "cherry-picking" of potentially profitable firms within a sector at the expense of potentially less profitable ones.[1] Second, there is ambivalence in Poland about privatization: on the one hand it is seen as desirable and necessary, but on the other hand Poles would like to keep firms (especially large ones) in Polish hands, yet without access to capital this is difficult to do (Hardy and Rainnie 1996). Third, this problem of access to capital also makes formation of new small firms difficult; potential entrepreneurs have neither the savings to invest nor the collateral to secure loans from banks. Last, an aging and deteriorating physical infrastructure is a disincentive to investment, but local units of government do not have the capital to make significant improvements. Yet Hardy and Rainnie (1996) posit a scalar shift, from the national state to the local state, in responsibility and accountability for economic development beginning as early as the early 1990s: "What was now deemed to be necessary was policy at the *local* level designed to develop *local*

[1] This was the case in Nowa Huta, where the aging steel plant was bundled with other, more modern plants as part of a privatization package.

infrastructure capable of attracting and retaining FDI as well as developing *indigenous* small- and medium-sized firms" (171, emphasis added).

Restructuring at the Nowa Huta steelworks (hereafter *Huta im. Tadeusza Sendzimira*, or HTS) has been a particularly sensitive topic due to the importance of the firm to the local economy and the potential trauma of reductions in the workforce.[2] Before 1989, production levels were insulated from the global marketplace. After 1990, however, steel consumption dropped in Poland due to reduced demand from other heavy industries. This paralleled global trends that had begun in the 1980s, when world oversupply led the steel industry to shift production to higher-value added special steels and to consolidate firms (especially in the form of cross-border acquisitions and vertical integration) in order to realize economies of scale. In 1992, the Polish national government commissioned a Canadian consultant to prepare a restructuring plan. This plan, never implemented because of local opposition, proposed a closure of the Nowa Huta plant after a rolling facility could be built at Huta Katowice, a larger and newer steelworks in southwestern Poland (both casting and rolling were being done at Nowa Huta, but there was no modern rolling equipment at Katowice) . Instead, a revised restructuring plan implemented two sets of changes: first, the construction of a continuous casting facility for HTS using newer technology funded with supplier credit backed by the government; and second, the spin-off of non-core operations of the plant (maintenance, food service and hotels, design services, scrap processing, etc.) into independent units "sponsored" by HTS, thus making the new "core" business of

[2] In 1996 it was estimated that as many as 250,000 people were directly or indirectly dependent on the then-workforce of about 17,000 (Hardy and Rainnie 1996). The remainder of this paragraph is drawn from their account of the history of restructuring at the plant.

continuous steel casting as lean and efficient and profitable as possible. The old HTS became a 'shell' company that owned the spinoff companies (except for the profitable core steel enterprise), the real estate, and the debts and liabilities of the original state-owned enterprise. A joint venture was also set up with a new agency, the Cracow-East Development Agency (*Agencja Rozwoju Godspodarczego Kraków-Wschód*, or ARGKW), in order to promote small business formation, especially for underutilized real estate within the plant perimeter.

In 2004, the national government (which had shifted control of the management of the plant to the Office of the State Treasury) issued a privatization tender for four steelworks in Poland including the Nowa Huta facility. According to my informants, this action was taken with minimal consultation with the local or regional governments; their planning goals for the area were simply not taken into consideration. LNM Holdings, the transnational parent corporation of Mittal Steel, paid over $2 billion in the privatization deal, which also included privatization bonuses for the workforce and employment guarantees through 2009 (ArcelorMittal website). Thus, despite local dreams of transforming the steelworks site into an economic engine for the region, the entire site and its operations are now controlled internationally, and aside from compliance with local regulations (there have already been allegations that Mittal is violating Poland's post-communist environmental standards) the steelworks is not accountable to government officials in Kraków or in Nowa Huta.

This unexpected turn of events clearly points out the deficiencies of an approach to economic development that relies exclusively on the power of the 'new localism' (Hardy and Rainnie 1996; Lovering 1995) to shape economic decision-making. In this

case, the input and opinions of local officials and local firms were not considered, and economic restructuring decisions were made at national and international scales. Nevertheless, local contexts for economic development and place promotion remain important, and in the next section, I examine the network of organizations that has developed to promote economic development.

Organizational Structures and Networks

Kraków and Nowa Huta face very different circumstances (and have developed quite different strategies) as they attempt to compete in global tourism markets. However, because Nowa Huta is an outlying district of Kraków, not an independent political jurisdiction, both are bound, at least to some extent, by common interests in attracting investment and jobs to the region. Moreover, Nowa Huta does not have the ability to act independently of Kraków in seeking investment; rather, it is dependent to a large degree on structures and patterns of governance that originate in the central part of the city. Thus, in this section I will be describing organizations that act primarily at the metropolitan scale, not at the smaller scale of the district of Nowa Huta itself.

As in metropolitan regions in the United States, economic development activity in the Kraków region is complicated because it involves multiple organizations, with differing missions, different focal points of enthusiasms, varying ideological frameworks, diverse constituencies, and varying scales of influence, all acting in overlapping geographical areas. Following the analytical approach of Young and Kaczmarek (1999), I provide a comparative inventory of the public and private organizations involved in economic development activity, especially with respect to their institutional structure (public or private), geographical scale of operations, and primary mission (Table 8.1).

This inventory is not meant to be exhaustive but rather representative of the range of organizations and activities that constitute economic development in Kraków and the region.

Table 8.1 Inventory of Economic Development Organizations in the Kraków region				
Organization	**Type**	**Scale of Operations**	**Primary Mission**	**Notes**
American Chamber of Commerce	Private; membership	National	Promote member companies	
British/Polish Chamber of Commerce	Private	National	Promote member companies	
Business Centre Club - Małopolska Lodge	Private	National, with Krakow branch	Lobby for business interests; promote market economy	
Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Private	Kraków area	Services for Polish and foreign companies; networking opps	Abolished during communism; re-established
Euro Info Centre PL 413	Public-private support	Supranational; with regional offices	Implements EC's SME programs	Affiliated with Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Fundusz Mikro	Private	National, with Kraków branch	Loans, esp to SMEs	Founded by Polish American Enterprise Fund
Inicjatywa Mikro	Private (NGO)	Kraków	Microloans to small businesses	Financed by International Opportunity Network
Kraków Chamber of Tourism	Private; membership	Regional	Promote tourism interests	110 firms
Crakow Real Estate Institute (KIN)	Private	Kraków	Training for RE professionals; lobbying for market-based RE structures and institutions	
Kraków-East Development Agency	Quasi-public	Kraków	Support for SMEs at steelworks; market surplus RE at	Partnership of HTS and Kraków Municipality

			steelworks	
Małopolska Agency for Regional Development	Public-private partnership	Regional partner,Polish Agency for Enterp. Devt.	Loans, training, export promotion, investor attraction, investment mgt	Financed by EU and national govt.
Organization	**Type**	**Scale of Operations**	**Primary Mission**	**Notes**
Małopolska Tourism Organisation	Private	Regional	Promote image of Kraków and region in national/international tourism markets	
Foundation in Support for Local Democracy	Private (NGO)	Regional (part of Małopolska Institute of Local Govt and Admin.)	Training for govt officials and NGOs; business training for SMEs	
Netherlands Business Support Office	Private	National	Promote cooperation between Dutch and Polish businesses	
Nordic House Business and Cultural Center	Private	Regional	Promote cooperation between Nordic countries and southern Poland	Also offers recruitment and relocation housing services
Progress and Business Foundation	Public-private consortium	National	Provide academic and technical expertise for firms' restructuring and modernization	

Many of these organizations are private and membership-based, thus their primary mission is to provide services (lobbying, networking opportunities, and technical assistance (seminars, workshops, one-on-one assistance in negotiating government regulations)) to their members. The discourses produced by these organizations naturally focus on promoting the organization and its members, rather than promoting the assets of the Kraków region to potential outside investors.

A second category of organizations establishes and maintains networks with foreign countries: for example, the American Chamber of Commerce in Poland, or the

Netherlands Business Support Office. The primary purpose of these organizations is to promote the economy of their home country to Polish businesses; secondarily they help fellow countrymen negotiate business and trade relationships in Poland. Thus they also are not focused on marketing the Kraków region. They typically are based at the scale of the national state (with headquarters in Warsaw), but many have branch offices in the larger Polish cities such as Łódź, Kraków, or Poznań.

A third class of economic development organizations makes loans to small and medium-size enterprises, generally with public funds or through private foundations. The primary focus of promotional materials produced by these organizations is on the types of programs that are available, and the conditions attached to them, rather than on promoting Kraków as a desirable region in which to do business, as many of their prospective clients are presumably from the region and already familiar with its characteristics.

The last group is comprised of organizations whose main mission is the promotion of the Kraków region in order to attract investment and jobs. This group includes the Municipality of Kraków, the Cracow Real Estate Institute, the Cracow-East Economic Development Agency, and the Krakow Technology Park. In the last two sections, the promotional rhetorics they use (and how those compare to tourism rhetorics) will be examined. Before turning to these discourses, however, I detail two examples of the complex network of interests and missions.

Although a detailed mapping of the connections and interrelationships between these organizations is beyond the scope of this project, examples of inter-agency linkages in Nowa Huta demonstrate that associations between organizations are continually

formed or dissolved according to the requirements of specific, project-based initiatives. Such linkages blur distinctions between the public sector and the private sector and raise questions about whose interests are being served. Thus, the formation of "public-private partnerships," an essential component of neoliberal political policy (Leitner and Sheppard 1998), is also a key element in the discourses of economic development.

The Cracow-East Development Agency (ARGKW), whose formation was described above, was created as a joint venture of HTS (at that time a state-owned enterprise) and the Municipality of Kraków. Its original charge was to create jobs for those downsized by restructuring and to put the underused area of the plant (some 6,000 hectares) to better use (Stenning 2000). A number of pilot projects were set up to demonstrate opportunities for success to the workers, but as Hardy and Rainnie (1996) have described, differences in understanding the means of achieving the original charge led to tensions from the start. Senior HTS managers believed that the mission was to create new small firms linked to the operations at HTS or firms that would help to demolish or reconstruct the physical plant in order to modernize operations -- in other words, small business that would directly support the desired modernization. The managers at ARGWK had a different set of goals: to re-use the redundant land and buildings to create new jobs, regardless of their relationship to steelmaking. However, they were told to expect no municipal funds; any monies for development would have to come from HTS.

The economic development community was deeply critical of this restructuring at HTS. An Urban Land Institute team concluded in 1994 that the new organizational structure was weak and not well suited to be successful in meeting the goal of viable,

self-sustaining SMEs. A conference sponsored by the Cracow Real Estate Institute (*Krakowski Instytut Nieruchomości*, or KIN) in 2000 noted the joint venture's lack of knowledge of public-private partnerships; its lack of a "comprehensive and integrated approach;" the "insufficient public sector investment" in preparing land for investors; inability to address issues of environmental contamination, fragmented ownership, and transportation accessibility; and a fragmented division of jurisdiction and responsibility that resulted in no one agency having enough power to be a catalyst for redevelopment (KIN 2000). However, all of this locally-directed interaction was made redundant by the sale of the steelworks in 2004 to the transnational corporation Mittal Steel.

A second joint venture, the Krakow Technology Park (KTP), is more complex. It was created by a collaboration of three local universities (Jagiellonian, Technical University, and the University of Science and Technology), plus HTS, the Municipality of Kraków, and the State Treasury. Its original purpose was to combine the need for a new campus for Jagiellonian University with the desire to capitalize on scientific and technological innovation within the colleges and universities in the region, as well as to be able to use redundant real estate anticipated to be shed by HTS.

Current ties of this organization to HTS and the universities have grown less meaningful since its establishment; the KTP has become, in a sense, a proxy of the national government in soliciting foreign direct investment rather than in drawing from and building on local capacity. The KTP manages a Special Economic Zone established by the national government that is promoted through an entity of the national state, the Polish Information and Foreign Investment Agency (PAIiIZ). Meanwhile, the new campus for Jagiellonian University has been built on greenfields south of the Wisła River

rather than on brownfields associated with former industrial operations, and since HTS was privatized in 2004, it is clear that the new owners do not have the same commitment to local economic growth as the former managers.

Discourses of Economic Development

In this section, I compare the discourses that help to shape perceptions of the Kraków region as a place in which to do business. These texts were authored by the Municipality of Kraków, the Cracow Real Estate Institute, the Cracow-East Economic Development Agency, and the Krakow Technology Park. The Municipality is the largest and most influential actor in producing Kraków's economic development discourses, with substantial and sophisticated resources for marketing and place promotion through the work of multiple departments, such as the Office for Promotion and Marketing, the Office of Tourism, the Office of Spatial Planning, and the Investor Support and Economic Promotion Centre of the City Strategy and Development Department. The Municipality is responsible for implementing a place marketing strategy, for steering municipal capital investment into areas where economic development is desirable, and for providing other economic incentives to induce investment, especially foreign direct investment.

To appeal to as many tourists and potential investors as possible, promotional materials prepared by the Municipality cast a wide net, highlighting the city's appeal in areas as far-ranging as historical heritage, presence of recreational amenities, and technological readiness. Rhetorically, this appeal to all comers reads as a mixed message: despite the portrayal of Kraków as "a city where tradition harmoniously blends with modernity," there is something incongruous about brochures that juxtapose phrases

like “a place of magic and of inexpressible charm and atmosphere” with phrases like “an intra-regional scientific and economic center -- a valuable partner for its investors.”

Central to the representation of Kraków in municipal promotional literature is its image as the historical and cultural capital of Poland: “Today, Krakow - a former capital city of Poland - is one of the most important cultural and tourist centers of the country.” Moreover, according to this literature, Kraków “represents a synthesis of all things Polish.” Its economic accessibility to all of Europe is captured in the identifier “the heart of Europe” (a boast also made of the cities of Szczecin and Łódź: see Otto (2004) and Young and Kaczmarek (1999) respectively), a word choice that carries not only a claim to geographic centrality but also an emotional claim related to its historical and cultural centrality.

In more specifically delineating the economic reasons why investors and business owners should choose Kraków over other locations, the Municipality’s place promotion literature highlights the young, well-educated workforce and the diversity and up-to-dateness of its employer base. According to this literature, 60% of the population is under 45 years of age; they have been well-educated, especially in high-technology fields, at the region’s 22 colleges and universities, and have a good command of foreign languages: “Krakow has a plentiful group of highly skilled personnel in all modern sectors of the economy and it attracts investors that represent various industries. Krakow is the seat of two of the largest Internet portals - ONET and INTERIA, as well as providers of many network services. The most dynamic Polish IT company - COMARCH SA -- was established right here in Krakow” (Municipal website 2008; upper case original).

Further, the literature stresses Kraków's business-friendliness: it offers state-of-the-art international conference venues, inter-agency and public-private cooperation and coordination, and financial incentives provided by a number of government programs:

> The city's development strategy favors cooperation from the widest spectrum of entities, institutions and environments revolving around local (on the city, neighboring communes and region level) pro-investment initiatives, including promotional efforts. The special economic zone operating in our city which offers a range of investment incentives is one of the significant determinants of Kraków's investment attractiveness. Today, in the age of a free flow of capital, Kraków has become an attractive place to locate numerous investments. Attractive land, extensive real estate offers, complete with the developed business services sector and scientific and research background, are just some of the arguments in favor of Kraków as a place to invest (Municipal website 2008).

Two other rhetorical strategies are employed by the Municipality in promoting economic development. Brief testimonials from business leaders who have located their firms in Kraków (including Google Polska, Shell, IBM Software Group, and Delphi), taken from newspaper articles and websites, are offered under the header, "Others are already here. See why they chose Kraków." Second, a strategic link between tourism and economic development is also suggested: that foreigners visiting Kraków for business or leisure could be favorably disposed on that basis to invest in the region: "…this positive image of our city among foreigners…will allow the city to maintain the positive changes in the investment influx and creation of new jobs that have recently been observed."

Mention of Nowa Huta or any of the economic activities or potential activities associated with it are conspicuously absent from this narrative. Although the Kraków region's involvement in industrial activity even before the construction of the steelworks in Nowa Huta is well-documented (Mezian 2004), the promotional literature deliberately avoids mention of Kraków's heavy industrial base in sectors such as caustic soda production, cement, and steel and metal-working or even its dominance in food processing. Nor is the period of communist rule mentioned, even as a counterpoint to the forward-thinking attitudes said to be characteristic of business in Kraków today.

Lest one think that these discourses are simply superficial hype designed for foreign consumption, an analysis of planning documents intended for a local audience shows the same boosterish optimism. The *Krakow Development Strategy* was adopted by the City Council in April 2005. It is a long-range plan (10-15 years) – developed by a municipal team made up of eight different departments. The development strategy is intended to set in motion the three (neoliberal) planning principles adopted in the municipal *Strategic Plan* of 1999: the consolidation of municipal functions; the consolidation and molding of the city's identity; and the creation of the right conditions for improved competitiveness with other European and world centers. The vision of the plan is to create a high standard of living for inhabitants demonstrating sustainable development, in a city that is a competitive hub of a modern economy, based on scientific and cultural opportunity. This is to be achieved by creating "a positive climate for innovation, stemming from the natural potential of the population" organized in "scientific communities" (Kraków *Development Strategy* 2005: 7). Cultural heritage is instrumentalized not as an asset in its own right but as a neoliberalized tool of

competitiveness: “Krakow’s cultural assets have given it a competitive edge,” in the “rich historical and cultural heritage handed down through the ages, and cherished and protected by the citizens of today…By protecting [these cultural assets] we are not only expressing our moral duty, but also tapping into a very real and palpable business potential” (7). Thus responsibility to make this planning vision a reality is thus laid upon individual citizens, following the logic of neoliberal ideology in which entrepreneurialism and marketization, through individual responsibility and accountability, take precedent over collective decision-making and concerns for social welfare.

Despite the loftiness of the above statements, such plans, however optimistic and well-intentioned, do not have the legal standing to be translated into action. Although comprehensive planning was required after the transition in Poland in 1990 (Local Authority Act of March 8, 1990), the law was changed subsequently (around 2002) so that municipalities are not required to prepare a master plan, but only local (neighborhood) plans (called *studia*) that express generalized goals and a “wish list” for the neighborhood rather than an assessment of its assets and needs and a concrete strategy for funding and implementing desired changes. According to one estimate, only 7% of the area of Kraków is “covered” by these local plans (Wiśniewski interview 2007). As he phrased it:

> The problem of planning in Kraków: it’s a total mess…This is the reason for so many conflicts in urban development and real estate development, because this part of Europe has become so popular since we joined the EU; there are so many investors coming to cities like Kraków, Wrocław,

> to Bucharest, who want to invest in the real estate market, which is growing so fast….I am telling you this to show the pressure that is going on here in the real estate market, and at the same time there are no local plans. So there are no guides or rules.

Nowa Huta is not covered by a local plan as of this writing, and some observers are concerned that lack of planning will produce fragmented and inappropriate land uses, including the construction of social housing within the limits of the southern vista from the Central Square and infill development that detracts from the cohesive design of the original socialist plan. Meanwhile, the interstitial space between Nowa Huta and the center city is being developed with automobile-oriented retail projects such as hypermarkets, ignoring the *studium* completed for the Kraków-East zone in 1998, which focused on environmental quality, prioritizing brownfield development, and a new highway connector through HTS to open up the vast area of the steelworks for redevelopment (KIN 2000).

Conferences and studies sponsored by the Cracow Real Estate Institute (KIN) have been critical both of the economic strategies of the former communist regime and the recent efforts of local officials to respond to the demands of a market economy. In a seminar held to discuss possibilities for redevelopment of a planning area known as the Cracow-East zone (KIN 2000), the sprawling spaces of Nowa Huta were portrayed as an untapped resource of underutilized (although often contaminated) land suitable for modern business and industry. The seminar focused on "the problems inherited from the former economic system" especially the pattern of land use. Panelists opined that "[t]his pattern [under communism] hampered faster economic development and encouraged

urban sprawl," which is a critique of Nowa Huta, with its generous, planned open spaces and garden style housing, and "excessive allocation of land to industrial functions." Many recommendations of the seminar centered on strategic efforts to make the most desirable land available for redevelopment first, including prioritizing cleanups for the most valuable vacant land; allowing development in the 'sanitary zone' that separates the steelworks from the residential area; and relocating industrial and back-office firms from central Kraków "thus allowing the City to functionally recycle valuable central sites into tourism and knowledge-related land uses necessary for the economic development engines of Krakow" (KIN 2000: 101), and (not incidentally) to provide a built-in market for parcels spun off from the steelworks.

Much of the discourse of this seminar had a clearly neoliberal slant. Participants spoke disdainfully of the employment and production levels before 1990 as "out of proportion in relation to all standards used in the steel industry of mature market economies," and recommended further reductions in employment from the then-current 16,000 to 8,000 in order to make the plant more competitive. A stated goal of the session was policy transfer: to "disseminate the best practices;" to examine "international achievements in countries actively pursuing redevelopment policies;" and hopefully in turn to "inspire other cities and counties." In particular, invited speakers from OECD and the US Environmental Protection Agency presented comparative international research that they felt would be applicable to redevelopment of the steelworks. Last, there was consensus that government did not by itself have the capacity for the redevelopment of the steelworks; rather, the role of government was to create the proper conditions, both legal and organizational, that would enable successful public-private collaboration and

the participation of non-governmental actors at multiple scales and across multiple sectors (real estate, finance, engineering, and so on). Throughout the seminar proceedings there was a supply-side focus on enabling the physical conditions (assembling land, putting in place the proper zoning, and environmental remediation where appropriate) but no discussion of the social or economic preconditions necessary for redevelopment, such as availability of capital for small firms, funding for retraining and re-skilling, or creating social safety nets for downsized workers. It is significant that the seminar participants never once mentioned Nowa Huta by name: it was entirely subsumed into a planning concept called Cracow-East and only the steel plant itself was called out as a feature.

Promotional literature prepared by the Cracow-East Economic Development Agency also addresses the supply-side provision of space for economic activity with a clear focus on the characteristics of available spaces within its purview. Setting the stage by describing Kraków as "a historic metropolitan city," "a powerful center of industry, finance, and academic education," and "the cultural capital of Poland," the document rationalizes the "constant growth in direct home and foreign investment" as the result of Kraków's central geography: "the intersection of state thoroughfares and major international transport routes and easy access through the…Airport and the modernized Main Train Station" (ARGKW website).

But the real focus of the document is on the qualities of the space available in a new industrial park managed by the agency, "a modern industrial zone situated in the vicinity of the restructured Sendzimir Steelworks S.A. (HTS), with complete technical infrastructure meeting the investors' needs, clear legal status, and all the necessary

administrative decisions for the investment process to start" (ARGKW website). Despite the fact that the park is actually a greenfields site being built on farmland east of the steelworks (Figure 8.1), the agency portrays its primary goal as the integration of community, government, business, and technology "around the problems related to the activation of [brownfields] and areas excluded from production in Sendzimir Steelworks S.A." There is no mention of the residential community of Nowa Huta, the current operations and labor force of the steelworks, or (unlike the Municipal website) the human capital available in the region upon which extra-local investors could draw.

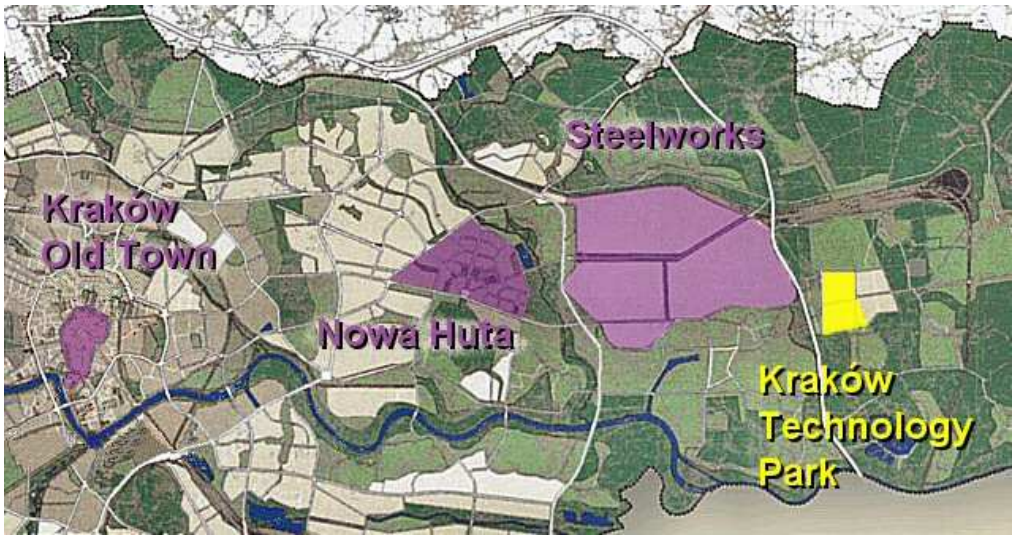


Figure 8.1: Location of Kraków Technology Park relative to the Old Town, Nowa Huta, and HTS.

A more comprehensive promotional effort is made by the Krakow Technology Park (KTP), but it is still reliant on the same type of supply-side enumeration of assets as was analyzed above for the Municipality and the Cracow-East Development Agency. The KTP manages the 300-ha Special Economic Zone (SEZ) established by the national government in 1997 that offers income tax breaks and other "very lucrative public support" to Polish and foreign companies that locate in the zone. The original mandate

for the zone was to focus primarily on companies from high-technology sectors like electronics, IT, and biotechnology. However, due "to the difficulties in attracting only that type of investment and the urgent need to make proper use of KTP's sites " (KTP website), the KTP was allowed to expand its mandate to older, more traditional industrial sectors such as printing and automotive-related industries, as well as business processing outsourcing (BPOs). The SEZ is actually not a single contiguous area but a far-flung collection of 10 small greenfield and office building sites scattered through the Małopolska voivode (Figure 8.2);[3] the HTS property (numbered '1' on the map) is not even within the SEZ.

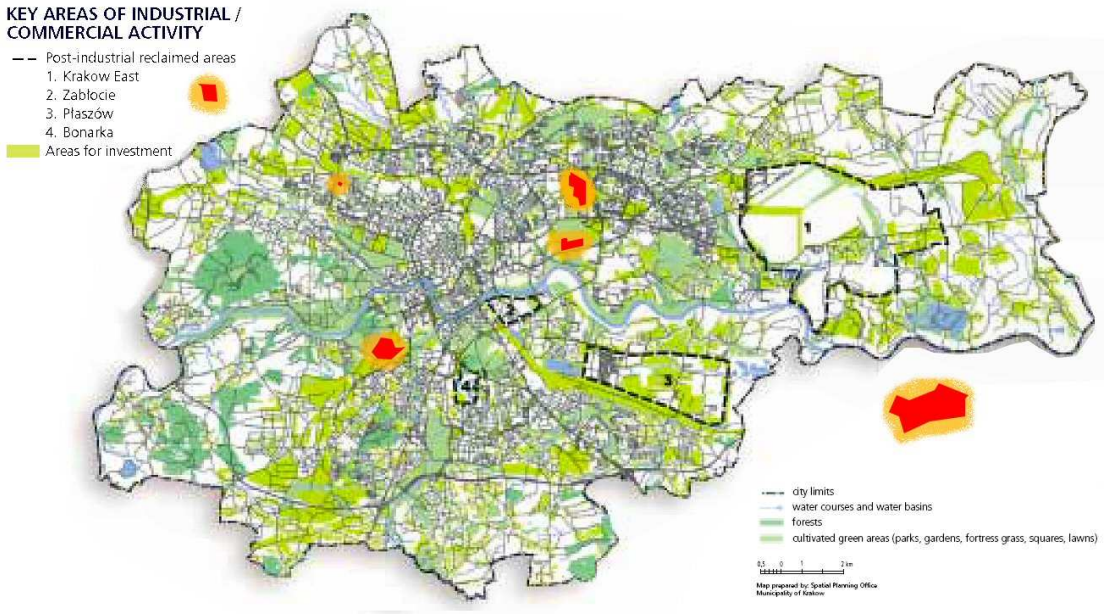


Figure 8.2: Special Economic Zone sites in the Municipality of Kraków (in red)

The KTP website is quite focused on specifics of economic advantage, but does strike some familiar chords with respect to how Kraków is characterized: "Businessmen

[3] Due to the difficulties of attracting manufacturing firms, the emphasis in economic development promotion in the Kraków region has shifted to include the office and retail sectors.

are drawn to Krakow by its unique, and as some say: magical, atmosphere [this is a reference to the Municipality's branding effort of "Magical Kraków"; see Figure 7.10]. Beautiful sights, rich culture and Polish hospitality make Kraków not only an excellent place to work but to live in as well." Kraków is, in short, "a city in which we successfully manage to combine tradition and modernity."

But despite these obligatory allusions to heritage, the focus is primarily on a comparison of the present (and future) with the obsolete past: "Krakow's image has changed for the better over the past years…The city that was once focused on heavy industry has set its course towards high-tech [sectors] of the economy." This is a sly (and perhaps to Western businessmen, obscure) reference to the legacy of communism, yet it underscores one of the key rhetorical aims of all of these discourses: to marginalize the communist past in order to reunite Poland with the globalizing economy of technology. Heavy industry, tarnished by its association with the communist emphasis on building up industrial capacity, is suggested to be replaced with more modern, globally-oriented, and market- and consumer-focused forms of economic activity such as high-technology and telecommunications.

Tax advantages and other financial incentives are conceptualized in this discourse as the foundation of competitive advantage. However, the strength of human capital is a close second. In this formulation, the historical associations of Kraków with the world of the intellect are reframed along more practical lines, with the many colleges, universities and technical institutes of the city becoming a source of know-how that is useful in boosting the region's economic position: "The possibility of using scientific achievements and the abundant human resources of qualified specialists are, next to tax

benefits, an important incentive to invest within the KTP….The local economy is becoming more and more advanced. Our most valued assets are the young and highly qualified specialists who can work in every branch of the economy." Human capital is envisioned as quite literally embodied in a network of cooperative relationships between people in government, business, and academe.

Economic Development and Tourism: mutually supportive discourses

In the nearly two decades since the fall of the communist regime, economic development planners have struggled to devise strategies for managing the transition of the Kraków area from a region dominated by heavy industry (and in particular the HTS steelworks) to a modern urban economy poised to compete in the globalized sectors of finance, tourism and information management. Early efforts to restructure the steelworks as a state-owned industry and to use its surplus assets (labor, land, and capital) as incubators to jumpstart new economic growth floundered in the 1990s, and were replaced by a growing interest in attracting retail, high-technology, and office sectors. This new strategy in many ways fits Hill's (1983) description of the "corporate-center strategy" in Detroit: "Overall investment priorities are to transform this aging industrial city into the modern corporate image: a financial, administrative, and professional services center…; a research and development site for new growth industries…; an emphasis on re-commercialization rather than re-industrialization; and an orientation toward luxury consumption that is appealing to young corporate mangers, educated professionals, convention goers, and the tourist trade."

Central to this strategy are the professional discourses that shape how Kraków is represented to the nation and to the world. Although each organization involved in

economic development crafts its rhetoric to suit the specific goals of its mission, there are commonalities throughout. First, the image-makers draw on the long, illustrious history of Kraków as a place of high culture and heritage desirable as a location in which to live and work, and as an intellectual and scientific center, explicitly connecting that heritage to the world of globalizing modern technology. Second, the value of human capital, nurtured by the city's many universities and technical institutes, is highlighted as a rich source of potential for future growth. Third, the longstanding spatial unevenness that marks Nowa Huta as 'Other' is reaffirmed through the desire to attract high-visibility, high-value uses to the center of Kraków, and to shunt "lesser" industrial uses to the Nowa Huta area (now rebranded as "Cracow-East"), where the downside of a less prestigious location is ostensibly balanced by green fields and up-to-date infrastructure and transportation networks. The communist heritage of heavy industry is repudiated, and the phrase "Nowa Huta," itself a symbol of the dreams of early Polish communism, is never mentioned. Fourth, neoliberal strategies for growth, such as public-private partnerships, generous tax abatements, and public funding of private infrastructure, are freely borrowed from the West, or urged on the economic developers by their Western consultants, as necessities of a modern outlook on the realities of competitive capitalism.

These rhetorics of economic development have analogues in the tourism discourses. Except for the portrayal of struggle for religious freedom, which has no corollary, each of the rhetorical tropes of tourism identified in Chapters 4 through 6 finds an analogy in the discourses of economic development. The Polish subversion of international socialist architectural principles to express a Polish national style has its match in the positioning of Polish art, architecture and culture as a major competitive draw of the Kraków region.

Fighting communism through the struggles of labor is framed in economic development discourses as an embrace of the principles of the market and a desire to join the global economy. Social 'Othering' in Nowa Huta has as its corollary the total absence of discussions of the social value of human capital in Nowa Huta in the discourses of economic development. Spatial 'Othering' in Nowa Huta is transformed into naturalized spatial unevenness in the discourses of economic development. Last, temporal 'Othering' in the tourism discourses – the move to place Nowa Huta in the longer trajectory of "one thousand years of Poland" has as its complement a description of the long history of innovation in the region that supports and propels a modern technology-based economy. The play of the discourses of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) is countered by a commitment to rhetorical strategies that, while accommodating views back towards history with views forward to the future, subsumes both into a totalizing discursive formation that privileges a narrative of Poland's emergence from the darkness of communism into the light of globalized capitalism. In the final chapter, I point to some ways in which this discourse has recently been challenged by grassroots efforts to legitimate different views of Nowa Huta and to bring them back into the economic development and tourism narratives of the region.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion: reclaiming space in the "laborers' paradise"

On the first day of a graduate history seminar on post-socialism, instead of being asked to introduce ourselves in the usual way (by discipline, research interests, and graduate student status), we were requested to share a bit of word association: "What do you think of when you think of communism?" This question has remained with me some years later, and it foregrounds one of the central preoccupations of this dissertation: that language is central to how we perceive places both near and far. Our mental image of the era of communism (however incomplete or distorted it may be) is given concreteness by its expression in words, and in turn those words reinforce our mental image (Tuan 1991).

This question has been my starting point for a foray into a wide range of theoretical literatures – from linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies as well as geography -- concerning how we learn about places, how we communicate that knowledge, and how the knowledge of others is changed because of those moments of contact. In Chapter 2 I suggested that Johnson's (1986) model of a recursive communicative loop (Figure 2.2) was a good fit for framing the textual analysis of this study. Thus this dissertation is not about "the truth of what Nowa Huta is," but rather about what happens when people positioned as tourism authorities are asked to communicate a contextually appropriate knowledge of a place (Nowa Huta) to people -- tourists -- with a specific desire or at least receptivity to learn something about it, and how those moments of contact may change the original representation.

Playing the role of such a tourist, I set out to experience and describe the touristic representations of Nowa Huta and to set them in relation to one another (Foucault 1972)

in order to ascertain the scope and character of the discursive fields that they constitute. In the foregoing chapters, I have shown that the tourism discourses about and in Nowa Huta comprise three main tropes, each of which acts to marginalize the history and ideology of the communist era in different ways, all in which are intended to re-connect Poland to the history and culture of Western Europe. First, descriptions of the architectural forms and planning concepts that constitute the district are shown to be based on Western ideologies rather than on their direct Soviet predecessors (even though the impetus for the Soviet ideals originally came from European High Modernism). Likewise, guidebooks give prominence and coverage to tourist sites that lie outside (both geographically and historically) the social realist urban ensemble. The elements of the socialist plan that (ironically) most enabled local resistance, such as the neighborhood concept, are highlighted in tours as an example of the failures of the socialist project and the triumph of the Polish spirit.

Second, the events that exemplify resistance to the communist regime – the struggle to express religious faith through the construction of new churches, and the hard daily work of building the district in order to create a better life for oneself and one's family (creating 'the new socialist man' clearly does not play into it!) – are given prominence in tours and to a lesser degree in tour guidebooks as exemplars of the ways in which the challenges of ordinary life under a communist state were ultimately overcome. In particular, the narratives of the 1960 Defense of the Cross and the subsequent building of the Ark of the Lord Church are highlights of tourism texts that function to connect lived experience in Nowa Huta with freedom of religion as normalized in Western democracies.

Third, the spaces of Nowa Huta are construed as "different" – peripheral geographically, aberrant temporally, and 'Other' socially – in order to marginalize the project of communism and to replace the communist era in the national imagination with a longer span of history in which communism appears only as a short aberration. These rhetorical strategies, which are produced both locally and internationally (in the form of tour guidebooks) collectively constitute a dominant discourse of tourism in which Nowa Huta is marked as lesser in every sense – architecturally, geographically, and ideologically: the product of a failed social experiment that has limited the lives of the Poles who live there for the rest of their lives.

I have also shown that these discourses of tourism complement the discourses of city marketing and place promotion in Kraków proper, in which municipal officials highlight the rich historical and cultural heritage of the city, its human capital (well-trained workers ready to take their places in the enterprises of the 21st century), its infrastructural readiness for technological innovation, and its geographical centrality to Europe (Chapter 8), all in the service of attracting investment and jobs by competing with other urban regions for scarce and increasingly mobile capital. While the characteristics of these place promotion discourses are similar to those found in Western cities (see Gold and Ward 1994; Kearns and Philo 1993; Short and Kim 1998), it is worth noting that the starting conditions – that is, the transitions to capitalism out of communism – are markedly different than those thought to spur place promotion in the West (see for example Hall and Hubbard 1996; Leitner and Sheppard 1998; Smith and Pickles 1998; Balcerowicz 2002). Moreover, the use of place promotion, in the case of Central and Eastern European cities, must necessarily find ways of dealing with the material,

economic, and ideological legacy of communist regimes in the process of formulating new urban identities. In Nowa Huta, the problem of coming to terms with the material heritage of the communist state takes on particular salience, especially given the attractiveness of that material heritage as an object of the tourist gaze for visitors from the West.

Beyond the workings of discourse in these two arenas, there are two areas in which I believe that this project makes a particularly strong contribution: in working out the linkages between goals for urban restructuring and niche tourism, especially that which is focused on communist heritage; and in explicitly conceptualizing tourism discourses as processes in which the local inhabitants themselves are actively involved. While recent discussion in the subfield of tourism geography notes the need to understand the relationships between economic processes and cultural practices (Tunbridge 1994; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Coles 2003), empirical work in tourism geography, in general, has not yet addressed ways in which to bridge this gap. I hope that the current project suggests at least one practical way in which local (and even national) identities created by and through the practices of tourism promotion can be shown to be linked discursively to processes for creating economic growth in urban regions.

It is clear that the residents of Nowa Huta themselves are actively involved in constructing and disseminating the meaning of their district as they see it, in an ongoing process of claiming legitimacy for their own personal histories and heritage. Lebow, for example, interpreted the Cross Riot in April 1960 not simply as a struggle for religious freedom but also as a claim to ownership of the city that the people had built, using the rhetoric of politics, civil rights, and collective freedom to assert their rights to the land

(2002, 281). More recently, some residents have taken the lead in asserting ownership for the public image of their district. These forays seek to construct alternative representations of Nowa Huta that, while aligning with the dominant narratives by repudiating communism, also offer readings of the district's spaces as formed by decades of hard work and dreams for a better future. Moreover, residents are quite conscious of the iterative and mutually constitutive process by which place-images are manipulated: for example, one of my interviewees, himself a long-time resident of Nowa Huta, remarked: "Because you know, in the sociology of tourism, there's always this interaction, how tourists are changing the reality also of the locals, as well as how the locals change the reality for tourists."

While some tourism narratives about Nowa Huta focus on the overthrow of communism rather than the original socialist vision, it is the remains of socialism that are most visible, not the processes that defeated it. Thus while City Council chairman Stanislaw Handzlik asserts that "The history of Nowa Huta is a metaphor for Poland's fate. It characterizes the old passionate Polish wish to fight for freedom" (in Whitmore 2001), others seize on the opportunities presented by the materiality of socialism. Travel agent Lukasz Kolodziejczyk strikes a cautionary note about Nowa Huta operating as a stage set for tourism, but, in contrast to Handzlik, finds the socialist remnants most compelling: "We don't want to turn Nowa Huta into a zoo with the people there as exhibits. But just as Kraków is a center of old Polish culture and history, Nowa Huta could be a monument to how a real socialist city looked" (in Whitmore 2001). If communist heritage tourism really takes off in Nowa Huta, additional narratives and

representations will doubtless compete for primacy in the formation of "the story" about Nowa Huta.

Other grassroots aspects of re-imaging Nowa Huta are designed for a local or regional audience, not a touristic one, and evidence of this mobilization is perhaps the most encouraging sign of the possibilities for resistance against a predominantly negative discourse formed and promoted by elites outside the district. First, a new café and gallery (the 1949 Klub) opened in the fall of 2006; it is devoted to telling a more positive story about Nowa Huta by focusing on the people who built it and live there and their contributions to a sense of place (Figure 7.8). Exhibits and memorabilia line the walls of the café, and the ubiquitous souvenirs (tee-shirts, key rings and coffee cups – perhaps a nod to mass-market tourism) are sold along with specialty books and maps of Nowa Huta. In the basement, a black-box theater space currently shows a short local documentary about attacks on the statue of Lenin in the Central Square. Second, there is an annual outdoor film festival in the Central Square in August that has been quite popular, attracting residents from nearby neighborhoods to come together in a way that is quite different than the original purpose of the plaza (see Figure 4.2). Third, a few art galleries have opened in storefronts near the Central Square, signaling that this area could become a new district for hip artistic life. Fourth, a former resident of Nowa Huta who happens to be a theater impresario has recently moved his experimental theater company from the Jewish quarter, Kazimierz, into a former machine shop in Nowa Huta believing that "Nowa Huta is far more substantial, more morally complicated and more worthy than the simple narrative of Stalinist failure that has generally been imposed on this place" (Bernstein 2005). Fifth, the Kraków *Sacrum-Profanum* Festival of Classical Music has

expanded its venues to include a multimedia concert extravaganza in one of the unused halls at the steelworks each year, thus knitting Nowa Huta back into the fabric of the city. Sixth, a new branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow (MHK) opened in Nowa Huta in 2006; museum curators there as well as independent scholars (see, for example, Miezian 2004) have documented the growth of the district in exhibitions and monographs (*Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa* [Historical Museum of the City of Kraków] 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007). Last, privately funded signage for a walking tour also contributes to increasing awareness of Nowa Huta and promotes a positive image for residents (Figure 3.2). Thus place promotion *in* Nowa Huta is, at least in part, a localized effort that tends to focus on building a sense of pride of place or increasing amenities for existing residents, rather than specifically focusing on attracting economic investment (although that may be a spinoff of larger events, like the Festival of Classical Music).

Despite the detailed analysis of discourses that has been provided in the preceding chapters, a number of unanswered questions still remain. It is curious that efforts to "rehabilitate" the image of Nowa Huta do not pay more attention to artifacts and conditions of daily living under socialism, as has been done in other places (Berdahl 2006; see also DDR Museum Berlin; Museum of Communism (Prague)) and that there is no effort to limn for visitors the power and productivity of the steelworks itself. Such strategies would put a "human face" on the communist era and would support grassroots efforts to highlight pride of place. Given that one of the motivations for tourism is a fascination with other people's jobs (Urry 1990), and the fact that even the most theoretical and abstract writers on the political economy of post-socialist transition cannot help but recount their personal adventures inside the steelworks (Hardy and

Rainnie 1996; Burawoy and Lukács 1992), one might expect that tourism promoters would want to find some way to share this aspect of Nowa Huta with tourists. Because the steelworks is now in private ownership and its owners have discontinued tours, it is possible that entrepreneurs will find some way to close that gap of experience by collecting and displaying relics of the plant, as has been done in many American industrial cities. However, because no collection of artifacts can really capture the dynamic, dirty, noisy (and frightening) process of making steel, and because interpreting it satisfactorily would require substantial funding and a large space, it is probably not within the purview of local tourism entrepreneurs. The public sector has not shown any interest in such a project; the steelworks is not even mentioned in the Municipality's brochure on industrial heritage sites.

Second, despite my probing in interviews, I was never able to satisfactorily understand why the efforts of Solidarity are not given more prominence in tourism texts. Most Europeans and even many Americans would be familiar with the movement and presumably would be eager to learn more about how steelworkers in Nowa Huta worked collaboratively to overturn the communist regime. It is not a matter of Solidarity's being discredited everywhere; one of my interviewees spoke enthusiastically about the monuments and museum of Solidarity in Gdańsk, and strongly recommended that I make a trip to see them.

Last, on the subject of urban governance, it is clear that my account in Chapter 8 is only a general one; much more empirical work needs to be done to unpack the characteristics of urban governance in Greater Kraków and to identify the goals, organizational structures, networks, and capacities (Hall and Hubbard 1996; Leitner and

Sheppard 1998; Painter 2000) of Kraków's urban regime. Such research is crucial to establish to what extent governance in Kraków is now following patterns that have been documented in Anglo-American cities,[1] or to what extent there are features that are specific and unique to the historical circumstances of post-socialist transitions. However, such a project would require access to officials and political elites from a wide spectrum of organizations and an intimate, even insider's, knowledge of Kraków's recent history and politics.

Several avenues of future research suggest themselves based on the work that has been completed here. First, as alluded to above, it would be fruitful to compare the ways in which the Solidarity movement has been represented in Nowa Huta and in Gdańsk, in order to more precisely identify the contributions of this discourse to the narratives of Polish nationalism, self-determination, and democracy (Garton Ash 1983, 1991). The story of Solidarity has been told through its leaders and heroes and their subsequent successes (and failures); however, there would have been no Solidarity movement without the support of hundreds of thousands of workers who risked their jobs and in some cases their lives in furtherance of a cause in which they believed. Their stories have been told in Gdańsk; what is the reason for their absence in Nowa Huta, and what can be contributed there towards a fuller understanding of this period of transition? More broadly, why did Solidarity arise in Poland, in 1980, and not elsewhere or at a different time (Garton Ash 1983)?

[1] The English-language literature deals almost exclusively with cases in the UK, the US, and Canada. While there may be different forms or governance in other cities in Western Europe, it is clear that Polish urban governance draws from Anglo-American, neoliberal ideas. Some of this is due to the substantial amount of technical assistance to Poland from the UK and US in the early 1990s (see Hardy and Rainnie 1996; Otto 2004; US AID 2002).

Second, although I have only briefly touched on environmental issues here, one issue that serves as another narrative of resistance to the dominant economic growth narratives in Kraków/Nowa Huta is the local environmental movement, which got its start in protesting against the damage to human health caused by the steelworks in the 1970s and 1980s. The legacy of those original protests lives on in environmental activities in Nowa Huta, including the following: monitoring the emissions from the steelworks through reports required to be made publicly available under Poland's new Freedom of Information laws; working to develop greenways and trail systems around Nowa Huta, which builds a constituency invested in protecting these open spaces while reducing vehicular trips; permanently protecting the ecologically significant meadow just south of Nowa Huta from development; and forming Green Councils to support sustainable practices in local industry. Despite (or perhaps because of) the damaging effects of heavy industry in the 1960s through 1980s, residents of this region have been particularly aware of and concerned about environmental pollution, although their zeal for finding solutions diminished somewhat in the early 1990s when the choice seemed to be between environment and jobs (Warner 1999). I hypothesize that further study of environmentalism in this region would shed light on how actors in this region are connected to national and international networks of environmentally concerned organizations and agencies. Mobilizing for equity (in this case, environmental equity) may be one potentially successful strategy for contesting the dominant growth paradigm that now focuses on developing greenfield sites, developers having found such projects considerably easier to permit and build than dealing with the regulatory hurdles,

additional costs, and uncertainty of developing the many brownfield sites that are available within Nowa Huta and elsewhere in the region.

Last, and most significantly, my study suggests that further transnational comparative work is necessary to assess the lasting potential for communist heritage tourism to effect change in the discourses of national identity formation and economic growth. It is clear that the heritage (both material and ideological) of communism has been expressed differently in different places, but to what extent are these manifestations functions of processes of national identity formation? Where are the commonalities of historical experience? Where are the divergences and what causes them? The phenomenon of *Ostalgie*, or nostalgia for the East, is much stronger in Germany (Berdahl 2006) than in Poland: what are the reasons for this national difference? It appears that communist heritage tourism differs based on the host nation's historical circumstances, cultural practices, and attitudes toward communism after World War II (DDR Museum Berlin, Museum of Communism (Prague)), but certainly further empirical study is necessary to identify and theorize significant commonalities and divergences among these post-communist societies.

In the end, it is uncertain what forms communist heritage tourism will take in the years and decades to come. As fewer and fewer Poles have direct experience of life under communism, images of it will become hazy in the national imagination. In the future, how will the communist era compare in memory with other difficult periods of Polish history, such as Partition (1795-1919) or the Nazi Occupation (1939-1945)? Sociologist Piotr Sztompka (2006), in noting the Polish desire to draw a thick black line under the ledger of communism and to consider the era a "closed account," may be

correct about the desire, but he is almost certainly incorrect about the reality. The material legacy of communism remains in Nowa Huta, an everyday reminder of that history and ideology, despite the discourses that attempt to reframe it or write it out of history.

I have documented here some of the ways in which counter-narratives are beginning to imagine how the place and the people can be written back into dominant discourses about the significance of this district. Whether motivated simply by the desire to respond to Western tourists' curiosity about life under communism (and make a buck in the process!) or whether more deeply motivated to rekindle a sense of pride of place in one's home district, communist heritage tourism in Nowa Huta balances precariously on the line between identity and economy. It remains to be seen whether or not those alternative narratives, while in my opinion a necessary precondition, will ultimately prove sufficient to shape dominant new meanings for Nowa Huta.

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Appendix A – Interview Questions for Tour Companies

Organization and Scope

How long have you (yourself) been doing tours of Nowa Huta? [probe to see how they fit into the organization: new/experienced; fulltime/part-time, etc.]

How long has the company been in business?

Try to get some sense of how many tours – per week, how many people per tour?

How would you describe the people who come on the tours? [if necessary, probe for specifics about age, nationality, gender, reason for interest in NH]

How it works

What motivates YOU to market Nowa Huta as an attraction for tourists?

How do you get people to learn about your tours? [probe: where are flyers place, how, who does it, how often, what does it cost, etc.]

Do you know of other companies providing the same kinds of tours?

Significance of Nowa Huta

Why do you think there has been recent interest in promoting Nowa Huta as a tourist attraction?

Why do you think it is important or interesting for tourists to visit Nowa Huta?

What do you think is the most important or interesting thing they will learn/see on your tour?

Do you believe that there is the potential to bring more tourists to see Nowa Huta? [probe: if yes, why and how? If no, why not?]

Models

Are you aware of other places in Poland or Central or Eastern Europe where there are tours like yours of communist-built places? If so, how are they like Nowa Huta? How are they different?

Are there any tourism 'models' from other places that have influenced you in developing [or giving] tours of Nowa Huta?

Relationship to Local Government

Do you think that the local government in Krakow is supportive of your efforts to promote tourism in Nowa Huta? Why/why not?

Do you get any help from local government in your promotion efforts? [probe: what kinds if any]

Do you get any help from other tourism organizations in Krakow?

Do you get any help from other tourism organizations OUTSIDE of Krakow? [regional, national, EU, etc.]

[further probe if necessary] Are there any other resources that are available to you to help promote tourism in Nowa Huta?

General/closing

Is there anything else you would like to say/add about tourism in Nowa Huta?

Is there anyone whom you would recommend I contact about tourism in Nowa Huta?

Appendix B – Interview Questions for Heritage Organizations

Note: This is a generalized version of the questions, which were customized to the particular organization prior to the interview session.

Organizational Structure

Can you tell me a little bit about [organization]? Probe with the following as necessary:

- How long has it been in existence?
- What is its primary mission?
- What kinds of activities take place here?

Who is your main audience? Probe for demographics: age, gender, nationality, general socioeconomic level if appropriate.

Tourism

Why do you think there is interest in promoting Nowa Huta to tourists?

Why do you think it is important [or interesting] for tourists to visit Nowa Huta?

Do you think that the Kraków Tourism and Promotion Department [or local government more generally] is supportive of your efforts to promote tourism in Nowa Huta? Follow-up: why or why not?

Do you receive any assistance (technical or financial) from government agencies in your promotion efforts. Follow-up: if so, what kinds? [be aware of scale issues and connections here]

Other Venues

What do you think of the new MHK Museum in Nowa Huta?

Several private companies offer tours of Nowa Huta – are you familiar with what they do? Follow-up: what do you think of the idea of these tours?

General/closing

Is there anything else you would like to say/add about your organization or about tourism in Nowa Huta?

Is there anyone whom you would recommend I contact about tourism in Nowa Huta?

Appendix C: A Note on Place Names, Translations, and Transcriptions

One of the difficulties posed by foreign fieldwork is how to render certain information adequately in English: to respect the sovereignty for Polish words for places and concepts (Tuan 1991), yet to write in a style that is easily intelligible for a non-Polish speaker, without using Polish words and phrases simply to be pretentious or to show off. This problem is made more acute by the fact that Polish has a number of letters (ą, ę, ó, ń, ł, etc.) and other phonomes (h, ch, dz, etc.) that have no English equivalent.

Striving to find this balance, I have adopted the following principles in this text:

Place Names

Major place names are given in Polish, with English equivalents in parentheses if necessary. Thus, Kraków, not Cracow (pronounced Krah-KOOF). Wisła River, not Vistula (pronounced VIS-wah). Nowa Huta, not New Steelworks (pronounced NOH-vah HOO-tah).

The major exception to this principle is for Auschwitz: the world knows this place by its German name (and rightfully so: its horrors belong to Nazi history, not to Polish heritage) and although the town of course has a Polish place name, Oświęcim, I refer to it here by its international (UNESCO) name.

Translations

All translations from English to Polish in this text are mine unless otherwise noted.

Transcriptions

At the suggestion of one of my committee readers, I have taken the liberty of editing oral remarks that were made in English by native Polish speakers into standard written English. My purpose is to present their ideas as directly and clearly as possible, without the distractions of filler words, grammatical irregularities, and non-standard diction.

The following example compares the original verbatim transcript with a version edited for clarity:

Original verbatim transcript:

"All of this is really nice paradise [ironically]. It's the biggest shame, it's, well here, this new project, cuz well, I have no idea who decided to build this, it was late '80s, uh, they builded this, well, another unit, it's supposed to be like a unit but it doesn't fit with the symmetry. * when we've got these avenues, here, well, everything has a place. Here everything is in order – 1,2 3, 4. And then this fifth one, I don't know what for. But recently I figured out that in late 80s, they were making Polish science fiction movie * ,

very scary movie, you know, I don't think it's good for kids, you know, I remember when I was watching this, it was for me strange, you know. I like it, but uh, it was strange. Cuz, like, this movie is made like someone who was writing, I dunno how you call it – the screenplay? – the story, was after acid or something like that. Really. Really. It's so weird."

Edited for clarity and standard written English:

(Looking at the Postmodernist Centrum E building in the Central Square) "All of this is a really nice paradise [ironically]. It's the biggest shame, here, this new project, because, well, I have no idea who decided to build this. It was the late '80s [when] they built this other unit. It's supposed to be like a unit but it doesn't fit with the symmetry. When we've got these avenues there, well, everything has a place. There everything is in order – 1, 2 3, 4. And then this fifth one, I don't know what for. But recently I figured out that in the late '80s, they filmed a Polish science fiction movie here -- a very scary movie, you know; I don't think it's good for kids. I remember when I was watching this, it was, for me, strange, you know. I liked it, but it was strange. Because this movie was made by someone who was writing, I don't know what you call it – the screenplay? – after acid or something like that. Really. Really. It's so weird."