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THE SOCIALIST TANGIBLE HERITAGE OF NOWA HUTA AS THE LOCAL ECONOMIC ASSET

SOCJALISTYCZNE MATERIALNE DZIEDZICTWO NOWEJ HUTY JAKO LOKALNY ZASÓB ROZWOJOWY

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ABSTRACT. The article analyses the process of interpreting the cultural and economic values of the socialist tangible heritage of Nowa Huta – a former town, today a district of Krakow. The objective of the article is to define the scope of interest of both public and commercial entities in the creation of products and services which are related to the place's heritage and which make use of this resource. Another goal is to indicate the forms and scope of use of Nowa Huta heritage resources. On the basis of the determined facts, it can be stated that the socialist heritage of Nowa Huta may become one of the elements of its new economic structure, which has emerged as a result of the economic transition after the fall of socialism. However, the process of creating heritage products must be sustainable in the long run and must be conducted while suitably interpreting the qualities of the heritage, respecting it and commemorating events included in it.

KEY WORDS: cultural heritage, Nowa Huta, Krakow, socialist town, local economy

ABSTRAKT: W artykule analizowany jest proces interpretacji wartości kulturowych i ekonomicznych materialnego dziedzictwa socjalizmu w Nowej Hucie – dawnym mieście, dzisiejszej dzielnicy Krakowa. Autor zakreśla zakres zainteresowania podmiotów zarówno publicznych, jak i komercyjnych tworzeniem produktów i usług dziedzictwa wykorzystujących ten zasób. Na podstawie ustalonych faktów można uznać, że dziedzictwo socjalistyczne Nowej Huty ma szansę stać się jednym z elementów jej nowej struktury gospodarczej, po transformacji gospodarki. Proces tworzenia produktów dziedzictwa musi odbywać się jednak w sposób długookresowo zrównoważony, z poszanowaniem walorów tego dziedzictwa oraz pamięci o wydarzeniach, które stanowią jego część.

KEY WORDS: dziedzictwo kulturowe, Nowa Huta, Kraków, miasto socjalistyczne, gospodarka lokalna

Introduction

The political upheaval, which occurred in Poland in 1989, started the process of the broadly understood de-communisation and de-sovietisation, which covered also

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the urban space. The symbolic beginning of this process in the district of Krakow – Nowa Huta – was the removal of the monument of V. Lenin from the central public space of the former socialist “ideal town”.¹ Nowa Huta could finally be openly called: the punishment for the intelligentsia-filled Krakow, the cause of environmental problems of the city, poisoning people and damaging priceless monuments. It was referred to as the unwanted heritage and the district of omnipresent problems and social pathologies. If the topic of the heritage resources of Nowa Huta was undertaken – then, in the first place, the possible development of the post-industrial heritage was discussed (Juchnowicz 2000; Purchla 2005). 25 years after the breakthrough, the situation has changed. The years that have passed allow looking at the area of Nowa Huta less emotionally, and more objectively and pragmatically. For instance, some advantages of the large-scale, dense design of the socialist town have been appreciated. However, a change in the perception of the district can be seen not only in the urban planning aspect. The interest in the period of the People’s Republic of Poland (hereinafter: PRL) is a multifaceted process, not limited only to the analysed area. Uninterruptedly since 2006, in the survey of tourist traffic in Krakow, Nowa Huta has been indicated as an important tourist attraction: in 2006, Nowa Huta was listed on the 20th place and visited by 1.1% of the domestic tourists and 0.7% of the foreign tourists (*Ruch turystyczny... 2006*: 101) and, in the following years, its position in the ranking of attractions was steadily increasing. In the last survey conducted in 2016, the district occupied the 5th place on the list of the best tourist destinations in Krakow (*Ruch turystyczny... 2016*: 55).

Bearing in mind the abovementioned facts, the following objectives of the article were assumed: 1) to gather information about the dimensions of the present interest in the past of Nowa Huta and its cultural heritage resources created after 1949; 2) to indicate the forms and scope of utilisation of this heritage to create heritage products and products/services using the characteristics, properties, symbols related to this heritage. Taking account of the contemporary broad understanding of the notion of cultural heritage, implementation of the objectives served to verify the hypothesis of the article. It assumes that the socialist heritage, in the early 21st century, has become a typical example of “yesterday’s” heritage and as such, it is presently at the stage of intensive growth in interest of both the local community and the business sector. This socio-economic impulse has a potential to become (after the economic fall of the district, resulting from the system transformation process) a new component of the local economy.

According to the guidelines of use of the case study method, the area of Nowa Huta has been selected for the study, since – next to the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science (formerly named after J. Stalin) – it is one of the most recognisable examples

¹ In the years 1949–1950, Nowa Huta was a separate municipal unit. Since 1951, it has been incorporated into the city of Krakow.

of interference of the “socialist ideology” in the structure and culture of Polish cities. Due to its history, Nowa Huta is not only a rich source of valuable tangible heritage resources of that era; this tangible resource is also full of stories associated with various emotions, related to the first decades of the district’s existence.

The information on the use of the heritage of the period of the PRL in Nowa Huta was collected on the basis of study of the following: tourist and cultural leaflets, advertising tangibles, promotional products and services offered/produced in the area; analysis of action programmes of cultural institutions of Nowa Huta; interviews with owners of businesses using the tangible heritage of socialism. Field research was also conducted, the purpose of which being to learn the directions and forms of use of the analysed space. The boundaries of the area were specified, using historical criteria, i.e., it was assumed that the study should cover resources and phenomena within the initial (socialist-realism) urban layout of the town, which in 2004 were entered into the Register of immovable property of cultural heritage kept by the Voivodship Office for Preservation of Objects of Cultural Heritage (Entry no. A-1132). In Krakow, the entry area is sometimes called the “Old” Nowa Huta, because in the current nomenclature (e.g., that of the city districts) the name Nowa Huta refers to a significantly larger area than the one analysed in the article.

Cultural heritage – inheritance – heirs

The classic definitions of cultural heritage enumeratively particularised the scope of interpretation of the notion. For instance, the UNESCO Convention of 1972 considers cultural heritage to be: monuments, groups (e.g., of buildings) and historical sites, indicating that they need to be of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (*World Heritage Convention* 1972). However, presently, it is difficult to determine the boundaries of this concept. This results from the proposals of subsequent expanding attempts at explaining, what it is and how it is created. The selected “broad” definitions refer to heritage as everything we want to preserve, everything we inherited, at the same time emphasising that “heritage can begin as recently as yesterday” (Graham 2009: 39). Therefore, today we are interested in yesterday on an equal par as we are in the past epochs. The waiting period once existing, which had to pass, for example in order for an object to be called a monument, practically today does not exist (Piccinato 2002). This approach is also observed in the analysed example of Nowa Huta, where – already after twenty-five years following the fall of socialism – the features of cultural heritage resource have been noticed.

The process of recognising a given resource as cultural heritage requires occurrence of certain key circumstances and phenomena. They are precisely specified in the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. The document points out that “Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited

from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions...” (Article 2a). Therefore, it has been set out that the necessary element for recognising a resource as heritage is the existence of a social group (heritage community), which will identify therewith, deem it its own (Article 2b). Hence, we are dealing not only with a resource, but also with heirs and the process of inheritance itself (discovering and recognising the heritage – *heritagization* process) (Dormael 2013). Recognition of heritage is a multi-layered process, where experts (e.g., art historians) are only partially responsible. It can be said that each social group selects and recognises a certain resource as their heritage by itself (*A Future for...* 1996; Howard 2009). The Introduction to the Burra Charter adds that “The places that are likely to be of significance are those which help an understanding of the past or enrich the present, and which we believe will be of value to future generations”. The “value” indicated in the Charter should be broadly defined, as its assignment is accompanied by various emotions and premises. Usually, we recognise as positively valuable the past achievements, which for us – successors – are something to be proud of, emphasise the duration of culture and its achievements. Apart from these interpretations, the search for values and meaning for the future and present generations also includes resources, the “inheriting” of which is connected with the feeling of shame or hatred (unwanted heritage, heritage of hate). Such resources are difficult to recognise, they raise controversies, when it is necessary to, for example, pay for their preservation (e.g., the Nazi heritage in Nürnberg) (Macdonald 2009).

Taking advantage of cultural heritage may take on three forms: using – exploiting – abusing. The last two are considered inappropriate, since they involve a lack of respect to the resource and may lead to a decrease in its value (mostly in the non-economic scope). However, it is sometimes difficult to clearly ascertain, whether a specific form of utilisation is exploiting or abusing, since the distinction requires knowledge of the motivations and intentions of the resource utiliser. Sometimes the heritage “re-creation” process is considered to be abusing (Fowler 2001).

Heritage values

Cultural heritage has two dimensions of values: cultural and economic. The aggregated category of cultural value is divided into numerous detailed categories, and different authors suggest their own versions of the division. Table 1 presents a synthetic list of the dimensions of this value. Attention should be paid to the fact that specific qualities of heritage may carry more than one type of cultural value.

Apart from the multi-dimensional cultural value, heritage resources may also have an economic value, where a set of dimensions of the former value affects the possible dimensions of the latter (Serageldin 1999; *Senses of Place...* 2006; Throsby 2010). This, in turn, may translate, among others, into the utility value of the reso-

Table 1

Cultural values of heritage

Dimension of cultural value	Justification of the value
Historical Commemorative Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – related to: social history, history of art, science, an event, a person, but also a value as the function of age; – connects a person/group with history (e.g., of his/her ancestors, the nation) – the resource is the source of knowledge about the old times, has an educational dimension
Recreational	– tangible heritage as the environment for leisure, but also as a means to make daily life more enjoyable (daily contact)
Aesthetical	– beauty, a category experienced through the senses
Uniqueness/rarity	– scarcity of presence, low degree of conservation
Authenticity	– a resource maintained in the original state, especially valuable in combination with uniqueness
Symbolic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – different symbolism for various groups and cultures, linked to history, event, person – the value may be negative – preserved memory of traumatic events
Spiritual/religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – strongly individual dimension of the value – connected with religiousness (and/or spirituality), based on internal experiences, emotions, states of mind
Social	– important for the community, for confirming its cultural identity, evoking emotions in a given group

Source: own elaboration on the basis of: Worthing, Bond 2008, Murzyn-Kupisz 2012 and Baše 2002.

urce, which generates the possibility to create goods and services with the use of its features and elements (Murzyn-Kupisz 2012). The process of recognising multi-dimensional values in cultural heritage is dynamic, especially if interpretation of the values concerns the broadly understood cultural landscape and intangible heritage (memory). Thus, we are dealing with changeability in time and changeability dependent on the interpreting entity (Graburn 2001; Whelan 2006). The main dimensions, connecting cultural values of heritage with its economic values, especially market values, are implemented on local levels in three dimensions: development of the tourist sector, leisure industries and creation of products/services falling within the scope of the activity of building identity of the place and its inhabitants through historical references (Purchla 2013). The National Institute of Heritage in Poland distinguishes three levels of impact of cultural heritage on the local economy: direct generation of business operations (sectors and branches using authentic resources, products, etc.); stimulation of development in other activities (multiplier effects), and use of heritage as inspiration for business operations (products/services based on: features of heritage, symbols, traditions of a given culture, etc.) (*Społeczno-gospodarcze...* 2013).

Socialist tangible cultural heritage of Nowa Huta – dimensions of contemporary development and use

The conducted analysis of the dimensions of interest in the tangible cultural heritage of Nowa Huta has shown the broad scope and multi-layer nature of this process. Tables 2–4 compare the identified products and services using the heritage of the period of the PRL (for some examples, the organiser has been specified in brackets). The examples are connected through fulfilment of at least one of the following conditions: they occur or occurred within Nowa Huta; their fictitious story takes place in Nowa Huta; products are locally manufactured and sold within the area and their style or content refer to Nowa Huta and its history. The products indicated in the tables were created in the years 2005-2016. The oldest public entities creating products and services were cultural institutions (e.g., “Łaźnia Nowa” Theatre and the local branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow were formally opened or relocated to Nowa Huta in 2005). Their emergence quickly brought the first cultural products (in 2006 the book *Nowa Huta – the past and vision* was published and a theatre play entitled “I live here” was prepared in “Łaźnia Nowa”, the first Night of Museums was organized in this area). At the same time, the first commercial activity related to PRL-period was created (2004 – Crazy Guides). In 2008, the Museum of the People’s Republic of Poland was opened, although the attempts to establish it had been made earlier. At the beginning of the 1990s, the SocLand Foundation was founded to open the museum (a co-founder of the foundation was Andrzej Wajda). Unfortunately, this goal was not achieved at that time.

The presented examples indicate several forms of taking advantage of the socialist tangible heritage of Nowa Huta, including:

1. As a resource presented to the visitors (outdoor exhibitions – urban planning and architecture, interiors and museum collections). However, it should be noted that the sightseeing routes in Nowa Huta present the whole complexity of the cultural heritage of the area, and thus not only in its socialist aspect (though it is the most exhibited one – tourists visit the “socialist Nowa Huta”). The sightseeing programs of the socialist heritage cover: the preserved urban planning and architectonic system, along with the characteristic details (e.g., neon signs) and communicating knowledge about the designed but not built objects (e.g., the town hall). The sightseeing of steelworks with a presentation of the history of the described places (fights for placing the cross in the “atheists’ city”; workers’ strikes). Nowa Huta has authentic places created in the beginnings of the town’s existence, which are still open (e.g., “Stylowa” Restaurant² and “Centralny” Milk Bar). They are frequently added to the sightseeing routes, and presented as “living museums” of the old times. It should be added that the sightseeing

² The “Stylowa” Restaurant in Centrum C 3 District has still been functioning since 1956; it serves the old menu, organises dancing parties in the old style. In Nowa Huta, it is also known under the name of “Bar pod Kuternogą” (“Lame duck bar”), as it is located in the vicinity of the former location of the V. Lenin’s monument, which – after an attempt to blow it up – only ended up losing a leg.

programs very often cover post-socialist heritage (Nowa Huta's modernism), as well as earlier heritage (from before 1949), i.e.: Cistercian (the Monastery of Mogiła), former villages and manor estates, where Nowa Huta and the steelworks were built on, as well as former fortification structures.

Table 2

Tourist and educational products or services related to Nowa Huta or its history

Product/service	Examples of products or services
Guided sightseeing	Nowa Huta Travel
	Crazy Guides/Communism Tours
	Nowa Huta Tours. Destination communism
	Vintage Krakow Tour
	eNHa Trip
	Krakow Free Tours
Guidebooks	Thematic walking-tour guidebooks, entitled: The first housing estates of Nowa Huta; Destination: steelworks; Following the rioters (Historical Museum of the City of Krakow – hereinafter: MHMK)
Entertainment events	Poland Travel – PRL-style event
	Wersalik Club – „Back to PRL” event
	„Museum Night” – a PRL-style dance and fashion show; Moto Night – period vehicles exhibition (PRL Museum)
	NH Rally – rally of historic vehicles from the PRL period
	2nd Rally of PRL Vehicles in Nowa Huta
	Sentimental Journey to the PRL by bus and tram – historical wagons and vehicles on the routes to Nowa Huta; timetables with historical names of stops (Municipal Transport Company and Krakow's Railwaymen's Club)
	Fiat 126p Fans Rally
	Children's day picnic (fun and games from the times of the PRL) (PRL Museum)
Educational events	„Blast Furnace” urban game (MHMK)
	Workshops for children, entitled „Build Nowa Huta with us” (MHMK)
	Playwriting workshops „Nowa Huta – my love” (Łaźnia Nowa Theatre)
	Educational classes for the youth „Time Machine” – about the life of the youth in the period of the PRL (PRL Museum)
	„1949 NH RACE” urban game – related to history, architecture, people – 3 parts: Construction of Nowa Huta; Everyday life; The Period of Solidarity
	„Nowa Huta on foot. Following the Krakow's socialist-realism” – an outdoor game about Nowa Huta and PRL (MHMK, PRL Museum, schools in Nowa Huta, Polish Historical Society, Board of Education in Krakow)

Source: own study on the basis of tourist and educational offers search and field studies.

Table 3

Cultural events and products related to Nowa Huta or its history

Product/service	Examples of activities
Cultural events	„Visit Huta” – periodical event
	„I live here” – a project of the Łażnia Nowa Theatre, engaging the inhabitants to tell the stories of their lives in Nowa Huta
	„Museum Night” – visiting museums, poster exhibition, movie screenings (PRL Museum)
	Outdoor exhibition of the PRL Museum „Nowa Huta Underground”
	An outdoor adaptation of the fights for the cross in Nowa Huta „In the name of freedom. Nowa Huta ,60” (PRL Museum)
Monographs about the history of Nowa Huta – selected	18 books published by MHMK
	publications of the Cultural Centre in Nowa Huta, e.g., A. Gryczyński (ed.) „Nowa Huta – najmłodsza siostra Krakowa”
	I. Gierlach, „Kotek Włodek z Nowej Huty” – a children’s book about the history and the contemporary times of Nowa Huta, educational and sentimental
	M. Dobkowska, Z. Dobosz, „O Nowej Hucie twórczych zabaw kilka” – the background of the story is Nowa Huta, its inhabitants and history (PRL Museum)
	„Dzieje Nowej Huty komiksem skreślone” – collective work (NH Style Promotional Agency)
Fictional books with their stories set in Nowa Huta	H. Sokołowska, „Kosa, czyli ballada kryminalna o Nowej Hucie” – a story taking place in Nowa Huta in the PRL period
	H. Sokołowska, „Koty, czyli złap mnie w Nowej Hucie” – a story taking place in Nowa Huta in the PRL period
Movies/performances about Nowa Huta, with stories set in Nowa Huta	„Pani z przedszkola” – a movie about the times of the PRL, filmed, among others, in Nowa Huta
	„Korowód Nowohucki” – an animation about the history of the people and the town (Norwid’s Cultural Centre/”Sfinks” private cinema)
	„Ballada o Nowej Hucie” – a performance in the Ludowy Theatre in Nowa Huta (among others, on the basis of the novel by H. Sokołowska)

Source: own study on the basis of examination of cultural offers and field studies.

Table 4

Entities, products, local services referring to the heritage of Nowa Huta

Examples of entities, products or services
„Huta Piwa” (“Beer Steelworks”) (os. Szkolne 35) – a store with locally produced beers, the names of which are related to Nowa Huta
Unicut (os. Centrum C 4) – a store with clothes related to Nowa Huta.
GitShop (located just outside the borders of the analysed area, within the former Nowa Huta district) – a store with clothes with printed designs related to Nowa Huta

Table 4 contd.

Examples of entities, products or services
Szpeje (os. Centrum E 1) – a store with interior equipment from the PRL period and other authentic items from the period
Foto – Dariusz Czepiel – PRL-stylised photoshoots (costumes, photo processing making them similar to those developed using the techniques from the past; architecture of Nowa Huta as “decoration”)
C2 Południe Cafe (os. Górali 5) – a club with period decor
Kombinator Bar (os. Szkolne 25) – decor elements from the PRL period
Śmietanka Nowohucka (os. Centrum E 21) – decor elements from the PRL period
Wersalik Club (os. Ogrodowe 15) – decor elements from the PRL period

Source: own study on the basis of examination of commercial offers and field studies.

2. As a resource of structures, subject to succession of functions after expiry of those originally assigned during the establishment of the town. Nowa Huta displays interesting examples of adaptation of historical structures to the new functions, including cultural ones, e.g.: *Łaźnia Nowa* Theatre (located in the buildings of the former school workshops of the Mechanical School Complex); PRL Museum (located in the building of the former *Światowid* Cinema); in the former cult Nowa Huta Scout Storehouse in *Słoneczne* District, the local branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow, concerned only with the history of Nowa Huta. Sometimes, despite the historical entities ending their operations, some relics of their existence are preserved (for instance, in 2012, the former steelworkers’ restaurant in *Teatralne* Housing District, named “Jubilatka”, was closed. The new entity using the premises opened a bookstore in the building and preserved the old name).

An interesting new element of the functional and spatial changes in Nowa Huta is the first complex residential investment, covering renovation and reconstruction of the former Young Worker’s House (the workers’ hotel) in *Stalowe* District 16 into apartments (started in 2015). The developer ensured preservation of valuable interior decor elements, cooperating with the monuments conservation officer and informing on the website about the former intended use of the building. On the other hand, the developer advertises the structure as having a “loft nature”, though throughout its history the building has never had a strictly industrial intended use. The description of the building’s location indicates good transportation routes, vicinity of services and green areas, but there is no mention of the history of the urban context, of which the structure is a recognisable element. Thus, it can be assumed that the urban-architectonic heritage of Nowa Huta on the housing market is not deemed to be particularly valuable.

Apart from successful examples of succession of urban functions in the historical buildings, Nowa Huta unfortunately is undergoing a parallel process of losing its valuable, authentic places and their equipment (for instance, in 2015, the “Skarbnica” bookstore, functioning since the beginnings of Nowa Huta at Central Square, was shut down. The new user opened a pharmacy in the premises and destroyed all historical equipment

of the former bookstore). The degradation process of functional premises at *Centralny* Square actually has been taking place since the beginning of the transformation period, stripping the space of its keystone character for the district, along with closing of subsequent stores and service points, which were once of exclusive nature. On the one hand, public entities execute successful large-scale succession of functions, while on the other hand, commercial entities (not related to the tourist and entertainment market), in their activities, sometimes fail to see the value of this heritage and treat it, e.g., as an obstacle in free disposal of property.

3. As the background to events related to the history of Nowa Huta (e.g., adaptation of the fights for the cross placing) or generally to the PRL period (e.g., historic vehicle rallies, commercial film productions). The original urban planning and architectonic “locations” gather exhibitions of local cultural institutions, as well as contemporary art, referring to the history of the place (e.g., the statue of a “pissing” Lenin as an attraction accompanying Krakow’s 6th Grolsch ArtBoom Festival). The architecture of Nowa Huta has also offered the background for presentation of clothing stylisations on a fashion blog entitled *Nataliusza*.

The authenticity of the space and the interiors also attracts projects related to the market of everyday items from the PRL period, for which a slow renaissance of interest has been observed for several years. The first shop with such goods was located in Nowa Huta in 2015. Although the store was called “Szpeje” (which means “junk”), it is a name in a roundabout way attracting attention to these elements of socialist interiors, which used to be thrown out in a dumpster not so long ago, and the design quality of which is discovered today. Nowa Huta thus provides the interiors to present them, enabling their suitable exhibition. At the same time, it is also (as indicated by analysis of sale advertisements for interior design objects on auction websites) an abundant source of goods for the abovementioned kind of store.

4. As a source of surprising references to buildings of Nowa Huta and their names. For instance: the Nowa Huta Cultural Centre implements the project “Culture Steelworks”, and the Łaźnia Nowa Theatre created a music stage, naming it “Zgniatacz dźwięków” (“Crusher of sounds”), referring to a rolling mill structure – breakdown mill). The references can also be found in graphic signs constituting the logos of Nowa Huta’s offers (e.g., “Nowa Huta Days” and “Beer Steelworks” have logos with the name incorporated into a form similar to the graphic form of the monument with the name of the Nowa Huta Steelworks, located between the buildings of its administrative centre).

The aforementioned forms of usage of the analysed heritage resource are used with additional treatments, aiming at programming specific emotions related to the place in the recipients. The offer of some products and services (particularly in entertainment) creates an aura of mystery around the place, giving the impression of uneasiness, utilising the heritage resource related, e.g., to the Cold War. The consumer discovers, e.g., “the unknown world” of the underground shelters of Nowa Huta. The company *Crazy Guides* advertises its services as such: “Thanks to our trips, you will experience the life here in the gloomy age of socialism”. Utilising the specific, disturbing climate of

the place, Nowa Huta, its streets and housing estates are presented as the place, where Hanna Sokołowska's crime novels take place.

Many commercial entities stylise their websites, employee outfits and promotional tangibles using the aesthetics of the PRL, the contemporary fashion, the aesthetics of the created graphics, the specific language of the period. For instance, at Crazy Guides: the guides address one another, in accordance with the socialist mannerism – “Comrades”, and are dressed in the outfits of the members of historic Polish Socialist Youth Union (white shirts and red ties). Other employees of the company are dressed as the militia officers or construction workers (work clothes and rubber-felt boots). ENHa Trip advertises its trips on a website, containing both the archival pictures, as well as modern ones, stylised to look old (using old vehicles and models with hairdos and clothes characteristic of women of the PRL). Similar historicising motifs are applied by Nowa Huta Tours. Destination: Communism.

The stylisation also includes a number of new places, which to various degrees create their socialist atmosphere by gathering original interior equipment elements from the period (*C-2 Południe Cafe*³, *Kombinator Bar*, *Śmietanka Nowohucka*). The provided services also include stylising the product itself to make it resemble one from the PRL period (stylised photo shoots), as well as using symbols from the period, characteristic cult places and structures as decoration of products (e.g., clothes – T-shirts with a printed Lenin monument, urban layout of Nowa Huta, showing the street fights between Nowa Huta inhabitants and the militia). The local brewery produces beers with names related to Nowa Huta (“Sheep in Nowa Huta” – where a sheep stands on the monument, just like Lenin in the past, “Wolff Premium Beer Nowa Huta”, beers, the names of which refer to the names of Nowa Huta's housing estates: *Zielone, Młodości, Słoneczne*).

Form and scope of presentation of the socialist heritage of Nowa Huta

The market of services and products of Nowa Huta is clearly divided in terms of forms and scope of presentation of the heritage resource. On the one hand, ambitious, substantively correct and reliably prepared projects are implemented, presenting the history of the town, places and people. The organisers emphasise the knowledge and experience of the guides, supported by appropriate education (e.g., Krakow Free Tours). In these services, varied knowledge is superior to stylisation. Original thematic sightseeing tours appear (e.g., “The route of Nowa Huta's Women” – offer of Vintage Krakow Tour; “The town without God – churches in the old part of Nowa Huta” – in the online guide “Polska niezwykła”). Many interesting projects are implemented by

³ The club also organises, among others, meetings related to the history of Nowa Huta. The place has a collection of books about Nowa Huta that can be read there, and its name refers to the former name of the housing estate, where it is located.

Nowa Huta inhabitants themselves (“Nowa Huta Travel – the Nowa Huta’s way of visiting Nowa Huta”; eNHu Trip uses the services of “native Nowa Huta guides”). In this group, it is possible to clearly notice the offer of public institutions, offering a wide range of products and services, both for the tourists interested in the history of Nowa Huta, as well as for the inhabitants of the area. In this diverse group of offers, special attention should be paid to the activities of the *Łażnia Nowa* Theatre. It is not a classic culture institution, but rather a cultural experiment. The theatre is formed, apart from professionals, by inhabitants of Nowa Huta, breaking the stereotypes of drama elitism and the image of area as a cultural desert. Nowa Huta has recently become the place of the plot of several dramas, which tell its story. An educational offer has also been developing (mainly through activities of public institutions). It outlines the history of the city and the PRL in a practical and attractive way, in forms activating the participants of the events (e.g., urban games, workshops). Books are published about the history of Nowa Huta, written for both adult readers, as well as for young ones (the book “Kotek Włodek z Nowej Huty”, a comic book).

In Nowa Huta, some young inhabitants of the district, who get to know its socialist history from tales told by their elder family members, are also more and more interested in the genuine cultural heritage of the area. They discover the history of the town, create their own places in the former socialist town, shape its new, sometimes slightly hipster, eccentric identity. A measurable product of its solidification are the new cult places and local products, utilising the authentic interiors, gathering resources of historical moveable property, as well as growing interest in equipping dwellings with items from the PRL period (information obtained in an interview with the “Szepeje” shop owner). Young inhabitants participate in initiatives related to the future of the area (e.g., discussions co-organised with cultural institutions, concerning creation of new tourist routes in Nowa Huta).

Apart from the activities listed above, respecting the heritage, we can observe a rapid development of the market of products and services, which – in the form and range of their presentation – trivialise the post-war history of Nowa Huta. The history of the PRL period, with all its economic, social and cultural processes, is reduced only to the sphere of daily life. The original open-air locations and places are used more as a decoration for the provided services than as an object of interest in itself. Trivialisation applies particularly to offers for foreign tourists, since it is particularly difficult to explain to them the special character of the socialist system, which they have not experienced for themselves. This circumstance generates a temptation to present only the easy motifs and stereotypical views of the history. By falling for temporary trends, they simplify the importance of historical meanings, the symbolism of places (Crazy Guides advertises its services as follows “Our tour is not a history lesson with a guide, but a collection of interesting stories taken from life”; “Explore Nowa Huta with connoisseurs of great fun”, whereas Nowa Huta Tours. Destination: Communism adopted as its advertising slogan “Communism 4U”). Such an approach is more often represented by young people. Thus, a second group of the “young generation” becomes clear (apart from the one described

in the previous paragraph): people who do not have any personal impressions, feelings related to the PRL period, since they do not remember it, exploit the period's potential, reducing its heritage primarily to the culinary and entertainment dimension. It does not hinder them from advertising themselves as "comrades", being "100% experts in PRL" (Crazy Guides).

We can thus observe a visible coexistence of well-thought-out, original projects, respecting, with the scope and form of presentation, the cultural heritage of the former socialist town (the activities of cultural institutions and some commercial entities) next to services drawing only from the qualities and aesthetics of space and interiors⁴, used as a set for the play performed before the spectator (Poland Travel advertises its services as follows: "The original program of our happening is a perfect combination of the short substantial part and the main event part"). The catalogue of this kind of services is still developing. Ten years ago, they covered only PRL-style events (also as thematic bachelorette and bachelor parties). Today, the scope includes, e.g., staged kidnappings, Trabant driving lessons, staged vodka queues. Execution of such projects co-exists with the use of authentic life of the town as an element of the original "decor and climate" (e.g., such a function is performed by regular customers of the Restaurant "Stylowa" or the Milk Bar "Centralny", for whom these places, unchanged for a few dozen years, are an element of their everyday culture).

The diversity of the values of the heritage used by groups of activities and products mentioned above is also reflected in different groups of recipients of them. For example, the customers of the shop "Szpeje" are mostly Poles (age range 25-44), coming from Cracow, but also from other large Polish cities. They are looking for: original, good quality, well-designed articles created during the period of the PRL (information obtained during the interview with the store owner). The recipients of Crazy Guides' services are: – when visiting Nowa Huta for sightseeing – persons at the age over 50 years; – when visiting it for entertainment services (e.g., stag parties) located in Nowa Huta – young adults. Poles constitute about 10% of the company's customers. For them sightseeing is a form of "sentimental journey". For foreigners the tour follows the interest in "exotic" socialism (customers come mainly from England, the USA, Australia, Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands) (information from a Crazy Guides' employee).

Summary

The interest in the period of the PRL as a product of culture, tourism or on real estate market, is an increasingly visible phenomenon. It began after more than a decade since the collapse of the socialist system. Earlier, the interest in that period was rare

⁴ Crazy Guides sumptuously calls the PRL-style apartments, decorated for the purposes of the provided services, "museum-apartments". Tourists are greeted there with the traditional "vodka and pickle".

(Socland Foundation). The period of intensive growth in the catalog of offered products and services based on socialist motives was observed especially in the last decade (2005–2015). At present, the commodification of the PRL heritage is being implemented in Nowa Huta in several dimensions. The area is presented: through the prism of historical, often tragic events that occurred after 1949, or as a space for presenting the lifestyle and work style in general in the times of the PRL (using original spaces and interiors). The first group creates the economic value of the heritage resources, using many dimensions of the cultural value, including: historical, commemorative, aesthetical, as well as aspects relating to age, uniqueness/rarity, authenticity. Taking account of the sightseeing programs of Nowa Huta, covering places burdened with traumatic events – this offer also has a spiritual and religious dimension, and for the inhabitants – a social one. Development of such an offer gives the greatest chances for permanent utilisation of economic values of the heritage, while at the same time ensuring long-term preservation of its cultural qualities.

In the market of products and services, focusing on entertainment and presenting the daily life in socialism, in terms of utilisation of the cultural values, the dominant value is recreational, with an additional use of the aesthetical value, uniqueness/rarity (for foreign tourists, from outside the so-called “Eastern Bloc”), historical and authentic values (but mainly as an original, unusual, outstanding “historical decoration”), in a certain aspect – a social value (sentiment, more often as an opportunity to reminisce about the past rather than about Nowa Huta as such). Services for tourists are based on the designed scenario and on performing a play. As such, they qualify as forms of utilisation belonging to the group of exploiting or abusing. They threaten the substance of the heritage, due to failure to notice its multi-dimensional qualities, as well as pose a hazard for consolidation of simplified patterns of its reception. Additionally, they give in to temporary trends on the tourism and entertainment market and, after a period of intensive exploitation, will probably be abandoned in favour of other, new themes. They are the classic example of space thematisation, and even its carnivalisation (the area as the background of stag parties).

The multi-aspect process of interpretation and use of the heritage of Nowa Huta, can lead to the conclusion that forms of use have been developed, which take advantage of its qualities in a sustainable manner, creating new, interesting local products and services. Particularly important is the fact that they have been co-created by the inhabitants of the area and by the local business entities. On the other hand, actions hazardous for the heritage are also observed in the area, failing to notice its historical values. Their limitation is possible as a result of educational actions, distributed over time, which are already executed, mainly in activities of cultural institutions.

At present, the development potential of the city is often based on the “yesterday’s heritage”. The functions or forms of use of it are changed (e.g., post-industrial heritage) and the residues are useful again. Nowa Huta as a city with tangible (and intangible) heritage that has definitely this kind of potential. It is the potential to become an original, enlightening, and sometimes even exotic cognitive experience, especially for

people from outside the former socialist countries. In order to realize this goal, the district must beware of: the unsustainable, predatory use of resources, shallowing of meanings and dimensions of its heritage, and the artificially stylized spaces creation (thematization). Each of these phenomena results in lowering the cultural value of the heritage resources.

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