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TOURISMIFICATION OF THE HOUSING RESOURCES OF HISTORICAL INNER CITIES. THE CASE OF KRAKOW

TURYSTYFIKACJA ZASOBÓW MIESZKANIOWYCH HISTORYCZNYCH DZIELNIC ŚRÓDMIEJSKICH. PRZYKŁAD KRAKOWA

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ABSTRACT: Previously a domain of tourism studies, ‘tourismification’ (or ‘touristification’) has now become present in urban studies. Although diverse empirical descriptions of the phenomenon and processes of tourismification are still dominant, the article presents the stages of the development of the studies in this area. The contemporary debate focuses on the consequences and externalities of the development of tourism in cities (new both in terms of the forms and the range). Special attention is given to tourismification of housing resources, which – as demonstrated on the example of Krakow’s city centre district – transforms them both visibly and invisibly. The spatial range of these changes is growing not only horizontally, but also vertically. These changes occur in accordance with various sequences and mechanisms. In spite of the context dependence of tourismification and different susceptibility of urban environments to it, for many, especially historic, cities it has become ‘the sign of the times’ in the second decade of the 21st century. At the same time, tourismification can be seen as a cause, tool or consequence of various interrelated processes observed in contemporary cities.

KEY WORDS: tourismification, housing resources, urban tourism, historic inner city, urban studies

STRESZCZENIE: Będąca dotychczas domeną badań nad turystyką „turystyfikacja” (ang. ugruntowany termin *tourismification*) staje się coraz częściej obecna w studiach miejskich. Jakkolwiek nadal przeważa różnorodny empiryczny opis zjawiska i procesów turystyfikacji, można wyróżnić etapy rozwoju badań nad nimi. Współczesna debata ogniskuje się wokół odczuwanych skutków i eksternalizacji nowej (w formach i zasięgu) turystyki w mieście. Przedmiotem szczególnej uwagi jest w niej turystyfikacja zasobów mieszkaniowych, która – jak pokazano na przykładzie śródmiejskiej dzielnicy Krakowa – w sposób widzialny i niewidzialny je przeobraża, a zasięg przestrzenny tych zmian rośnie horyzontalnie i wertykalnie. Zmiany te przebiegają według różnych sekwencji i mechanizmów. Pomimo kontekstowości turystyfikacji i różnej podatności na nią środowisk miejskich dla wielu, zwłaszcza miast historycznych, wyzwania związane ze skutkami turystyfikacji stanowią *signum temporis* drugiej dekady XXI wieku. Jednocześnie turystyfikacja może

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być ujmowana jako przyczyna, narzędzie lub skutek różnych sprzęgniętych ze sobą procesów obserwowanych we współczesnych miastach.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: turystyfikacja, zasoby mieszkaniowe, turystyka miejska, historyczne centrum miasta, studia miejskie

Introduction

Among many processes which impact the transformation of a contemporary city, a growing amount of attention is devoted to tourismification, which can be generally defined as transformations of a city under the influence of tourism. As Sequera and Nofre (2018) note, overlooking the issue of the character and size of the impact of tourism in the existing urban studies poses a challenge to scholars. Such investigations are important, among others, because of the growing role of tourism in observed transformations of many cities as well as in experienced multidimensional consequences and externalities of these. Still, tourismification studies has been present within tourism studies for several decades, however its achievements are little known about among urban researchers. In order to describe the contemporary processes and mechanisms of tourismification in the urban setting, tourism researchers often turn to urban concepts and social sciences theories. The sign of the times of the tourismification of a 21st-century city is connected with transformations (qualitative and quantitative) of contemporary tourism and its intensified and multidimensional impact on public space and housing resources, which has brought tourismification studies to a new era. It has also encouraged urban researchers to more often undertake studies of it. At the same time, 'tourismification' and/or 'touristification' have become 'buzzwords' and an indispensable element of the media debate concerning 'overtourism'. Keeping in mind that tourismification is a global phenomenon, but also one of many interrelated processes of urban change determined by the local context, the aim of the article is to present the academic debate over tourismification and to outline the contemporary paths of the tourismification of the housing resources of historic inner cities – using the example of the Old Town district of Krakow (District No. 1). The research methods employed include an analysis of relevant theoretical and empirical literature, in particular in English, on tourism and urban studies. In order to present the example of Krakow, both a desk research analysis and fieldwork were employed.

Different approaches, research trends and attempts to conceptualise tourismification

As noted by Liu (2015), with the arrival of the era of "mass consumption of pleasure", the phenomenon of tourismification has attracted the attention of many scholars. At present, this term is ubiquitous in international English-speaking academic discourse. However, a more thorough analysis of the literature reveals numerous ambiguities about it (Liu 2015; Freytag and Bauder 2018). Thus, Wöhler (2011) is right to point out

that it is difficult to speak of tourismification as a well-grounded concept; it should rather be seen as a collection of diverse empirical descriptions and analyses of phenomena produced by various scholars (Freytag, Bauder 2018).

It was Dziegieć (1995) who first introduced the term into the Polish academic literature, drawing inspiration from studies started by the French geographers Dewailly and Flament (1993). Following them, she defined tourismification (*'turystyfikacja'*) as the "process of adjusting space to the needs of tourism. In other words, it encompasses the totality of activities and mechanisms which lead to the creation of tourism space" (Dziegieć 1995: 14). Dziegieć observed the process in countryside areas, both in France and in Poland, and created, among others, the concept of tourism urbanisation¹ on its basis. At the same time, the term 'tourismification' was gaining ground in the mainstream academic discourse thanks to Jansen-Verbeke, a Belgian geographer, who, by publishing the article entitled *Tourismification of historical cities* in the *Annals of Tourism Research* in 1998, drew attention to the occurrence and importance of this process in historic cities and historical city centres. In this and subsequent studies (among others 2007; 2009), the focus on processes distinguishes her from other studies on the impact of tourism on cultural resources. For Jansen-Verbeke, tourismification is "the way tourism activities are marking a city or an urban district in form and function; and the extent to which tourism is gradually taking over and changing the original forms and modifying the traditional functional mix in the city" (Jansen-Verbeke 1998: 741; see also Cazes and Potier 1996). It is also noteworthy that in the first issue of the journal *Tourism Geographies* (which was created at that time and nowadays is quite impactful), Jansen-Verbeke and Dewailly (1999), as (guest) editors of the first issue, highlighted geography and tourismification as significant issues in the debate on sustainable tourism. At the same time, they stressed that "(t)he mission statement for academics involved in the study of tourism is to contribute to an understanding of the process of tourism impacts in different contexts and hence to learn, develop and communicate the skills to manage this process" (p. 4).

According to a comment made by Van der Zee et al. (2018) two decades after the work of Jansen-Verbeke, early contributions to the literature warn against the process of tourismification. Appreciating new opportunities brought by the development of tourism for historic cities and historical city centres, in particular (to use the term of Jansen-Verbeke (1998)) their "economic revival", they stressed a number of challenges to urban managers and cultural conservators. The transformation of a historic city into a tourist destination, as described by Van den Borg, Costa and Gotti (1996), is

¹ The term 'turystyfikacja' (Polish for 'tourismification') is treated in the Polish academic discourse as a hardly acceptable neologism or even calque to be rejected. Without provoking lexical debate, it is worth noticing that it is, however, intuitively understandable and it stresses the processual character of the described changes. The term is increasingly often found in Polish-language publications, and even more often in the media discourse. In Polish works, 'turystyfikacja' is used rather intuitively (without explicit reference to the discourse and definitions), increasingly often with negative connotations (cf. Romańczyk 2018; Kubicki 2017).

accompanied by the dynamic process of 'tourism erosion' and the risk of overrunning the carrying capacity of a destination on both the living conditions for local inhabitants and the tourist experience quality. Jansen-Verbeke highlighted, in particular, irreversible transformations of cultural resources ('mutagenesis'). Russo (2002) introduced a vicious circle model of tourism development in heritage destinations, which in effect leads to the transformation of historic districts, originally lively and attractive for tourists and locals alike, into standardized tourist zones or tourist bubbles (Judd 1999; Van der Zee et al. 2018).

Jansen-Verbeke, especially at the early stage of her research (Jansen-Verbeke 1989, among others) distinguished between 'touristification' as referring to the impact of tourists and tourists' use of space and planning. Another take on touristification (touristification of everyday life) was advocated by Wang (2000), who saw it as "a socio-economic and socio-cultural process by which society and its environment have been turned into spectacles, attractions, playgrounds, and consumption sites" (Wang 2000, 197). He stressed the connection between touristification and globalization. Salazar (2009), on the other hand, referring to Wang (2000), argued that 'tourismification' is a more accurate term, "because it is not the mere presence of tourists that is shaping this phenomenon but, rather, the ensemble of actors and processes that constitute tourism as a whole" (p. 49). Furthermore, Salazar sees tourismification as a universal and global phenomenon (an integral element of globalization). 'Global tourismification' very rapidly connects and intensifies the circulation of people and capital as well as images and commodities (Salazar 2009). He also stresses that presently it is often a highly ambivalent development. The third, entirely different understanding of tourismification is presented by Franklin (2008), who adopted ideas from sociology of ordering. He perceives tourism as an ordering and tourismification as an ordering effect.

As pointed out by Liu (2015), Chinese researchers' perspective is entirely different from that of Western academics. The majority of them (unlike Wang 2000, mentioned above) believe that tourismification is an effective way to protect cultural heritage and attach value to tourismification as a development strategy. Contrary to what one might expect, this approach (in very simple terms), has until very recently been a very popular provision in many official documents relating to tourism development (including in Poland).

The revival of interest in tourismification has been observed in recent years in connection with the significant growth of urban tourism, spreading to previously 'untouched' neighbourhoods and its transformations stimulated largely by the development of ICT and the so-called mobility turn of societies; in this context, tourism studies direct the debate to overtourism (Koens, Postma and Papp 2018, among others). At this stage, the discussion addresses its new drivers (such as sharing economy in tourist accommodation) as well as the spatial patterns and socially contested consequences of tourismification in cities. Furthermore, more and more works, including by geographers, are published in the urban studies perspective. They focus on various consequences as well as mechanisms (in particular, bottom-up) of tourismification, exposing its connections with the processes of gentrification in a 21st-century city.

In contemporary studies on tourismification, scholars increasingly often make use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Geographic Information System (GIS) as well as resources found on the Internet, in particular, the so-called user-generated content (UGC), including virtual traces of tourists' activities in the city space (Ganzaroli et al. 2017; Van der Zee et al. 2017). New possibilities allow them to carry out more accurate and dynamic monitoring of the load of space with tourism traffic (Majewska, Napierała, Adamiak 2016) and maybe even to break the vicious patterns of overcrowding and 'tourismification' (Van der Zee et al. 2018). Still, their basic weakness are problems in distinguishing traces of virtual tourists from those made by residents and other city users. This is also related to the "tourismification" of everyday life, stressed by Wang (2000) and Salazar (2009).

As already indicated above, the earlier stages of tourismification in cities (and studies thereof) were connected with its impact on and transformation of cultural values, cultural landscape, public space and 'retail landscape' tailored to visitors' needs. The present stage, supported by the ICT revolution and the development of sharing economy (in particular, online accommodation platforms, such as Airbnb, HomeAway), leads to changes to housing and neighbourhoods as well as real-estate market. These changes, which impact strongly city centres and which are increasingly more difficult to monitor and manage, have become a significant urban issue, a tool of political conflict (Barcelona, Berlin) as well as the factor to trigger the explosion of the debate concerning overtourism and tourismification in the urban context (Novy 2018; Novy and Colomb 2019; Russo, Scarnato 2018; Zmysłony and Kowalczyk-Anioł 2019). The tourismification of housing resources poses a special challenge, because it affects resources which, according to Sikora-Fernandez (2018), can be considered strategic, significant in the context of the shaping of the territorial capital and competitive advantage of a city.

Among the most frequently addressed relations in urban studies, in the context of tourismification (Hoffman, Fainstein and Judd 2003; Pinkster and Boterman 2017; Sequera, Nofre 2018 and among others), one can distinguish: a) revitalisation – tourismification, b) gentrification – tourismification, c) urban transformation – tourismification: top-down and bottom-up mechanisms, d) the interrelated triad: urban regeneration – gentrification – urban tourism. In tourism studies, tourism-scape studies (initiated also by Jansen-Verbeke) and urban cultural landscape studies (present interpretation of UNESCO) have developed against the background of the commonly discussed setting: heritage – commodification – tourismification. We are also witnessing the appearance of new concepts and interpretations, connected to tourismification in varying degrees. These include, among others, the concept of 'tourism as a heritage producing machine' (Gravari-Barbas 2018), tourism gentrification (Gotham 2005; Kowalczyk-Anioł 2018), urban tourism hypertrophy (Kowalczyk-Anioł 2019a, 2019b). Another one of the newest approaches is the attempt to distinguish a new stage of tourismification – 'hyper-tourismification', with tourism embedded in all expressions of everyday life (Gravari-Barbas 2017). It is driven by global capital with the laissez-faire approach of the local authorities and it leads to the creation of exclusive tourist space.

Relating to Freytag and Bauder (2018) and considering contemporary tourismification mechanisms, one should distinguish three related and mutually active levels of tourismification and its actors. The first one refers to visible changes in space and its functions (including hotels, souvenir shops, tourism services); the second one – to the invisible or hardly noticeable (and recordable in official documents) change in the use of infrastructure and/or resources (e.g. Airbnb for the housing stock); the third one is related to the perspective of tourism practices and activities (*'living like a local'*). Nowadays, instead of top-down tourismification, we can increasingly often consider bottom-up urban transformation and tourismification, which when initiated, engages both tourists and inhabitants.

Due to space limitations, the next part of the article will address the tourismification of the housing resources of historic city centre districts. As already indicated above, it can be treated as the 'sign of the times' of the tourismification of the 21st-century cities and it poses a research challenge to tourism studies and urban studies. Special attention will be paid to the spatial dimension of the discussed process and phenomenon.

The scale and dimensions of tourismification of housing resources in Krakow Old Town

Tourismification of housing resources is difficult to document. For its identification, as a starting point, a query of available source materials and desk research analysis were conducted. Of the secondary data, two databases were of primary importance for the article: a list of hotel facilities (*Ewidencja obiektów hotelarskich w województwie małopolskim* – made available by the Marshal Office of the Malopolskie region) and data from the register of other accommodation facilities (e.g. hostels, tourist apartments, guest rooms) from the Municipality of Kraków (*Wykaz krakowskich obiektów noclegowych niebędących obiektami hotelarskimi*). Both databases were developed using ArcGIS 10.4. Moreover, in the period from July 2018 to May 2019, field observation² and in-depth interviews with two property managers³ and one owner of a real estate agency in the Old Town were carried out. Aggregated data on the structure of the short-term rental offer via the Airbnb.com and HomeAway platforms (shared by Airdna.com) as well as data from reports on the Krakow real estate market (*Krakowski Rynek Nieruchomości 2017, 2018*) have been used as a complementary source of information.

Traditional manifestation of tourismification of housing resources, in the case of Krakow, related also to its academic character (Pawlusiński, Kubal 2016), is rental of guest rooms, mainly in historical tenement houses located in the city centre. The de-

² Due to the limitations of a frequent lack of possibility to go behind the gate or subsequent floors of staircases separated with bars, the observation has been selected as the fieldwork research method.

³ These people, who hold over 20 years of experience in property management in the Old Town, were a valuable source of information on changes in the housing resources. They did not agree, however, to disclose their personal or company details.

velopment of urban tourism in Krakow was further stimulated by Poland's accession to the European Union (2004). Today, it is driven by the strong cultural brand of the city and its great accessibility, including the post-accession development of the airport in Balice with the growing number of low-cost flights (Mika, 2011). In effect, Krakow has become one of the more important tourist destinations of CEE,⁴ in particular in the city break segment. The feedback loop-type response to the growing tourism demand (in 2018, the number of visitors amounted to 13.5 million, 71.5% of whom were tourists, i.e. persons who stayed overnight in Krakow) is the proliferation and densification of tourist accommodation and services as well as activities related to visitor economy in the city space (see also Matoga and Pawłowska 2018), in particular the strong tourist accommodation saturation of the historical city centre (District No. 1 Old Town). The majority of the categorised hotels and similar accommodation (hotel facilities) as well as accommodation services registered by the Municipality are located in the historical urban fabric covered by conservation regulations (Fig. 1, in yellow).

In the accommodation base, there has been noted a steady growth in the number of hotels among the Krakow's categorised establishments. In 2018, there were 171 hotels (an increase by 57 compared to 2008 – Mika 2011). Among them, a particularly visible (and most numerous in the Polish cities) category are small, luxury establishments in the valuable historic fabric, in particular within Planty Park. The total number of hotel rooms has grown almost twice within a decade (up to 11,346). The greatest increase was noted for luxury establishments: 4- and 5-star ones (*Krakowski Rynek Nieruchomości* 2018). Hotels are the most visible emanation of tourismification in the urban space; the majority of them are located in the analysed Old Town space (Fig. 1), however only a portion is located in former housing resources. Official data (*Krakowski Rynek Nieruchomości 2017, 2018*) stress the significant and growing position of the hotel market on the investment market of Krakow. At the same time, experts indicate that the real estate market segment, where the greatest dynamics of demand growth is expected in the upcoming years, is the historic tenement house market. The demand is typically connected to entire tenement houses (in 2017, the average price for m² of a tenement house in the Old Town within Planty Park, in spite of the need to perform renovation-adaptation works, was PLN 16 thousand, outside the Park in the city centre – PLN 8 thousand), the supply of which is limited. On the other hand, there is still a big supply of shares in tenement houses. The stressed, observable interest of hotel/tourism investors in the purchase of a tenement house or a share in one is one of the legal mechanisms of tourismification of housing stock connected with transfer of the ownership right to a given property. Another mechanism of tourismification, and, at the same time, business model encountered quite often in Krakow on the historical tenement houses market, is a long-term lease of these facilities for tourism/hotel func-

⁴ Tourism has a significant impact on the economy of Krakow and the city budget (Seweryn et al. 2017); for example, in 2017, it accounted for about 8 percent of Krakow's GDP (Municipality of Kraków 2018).

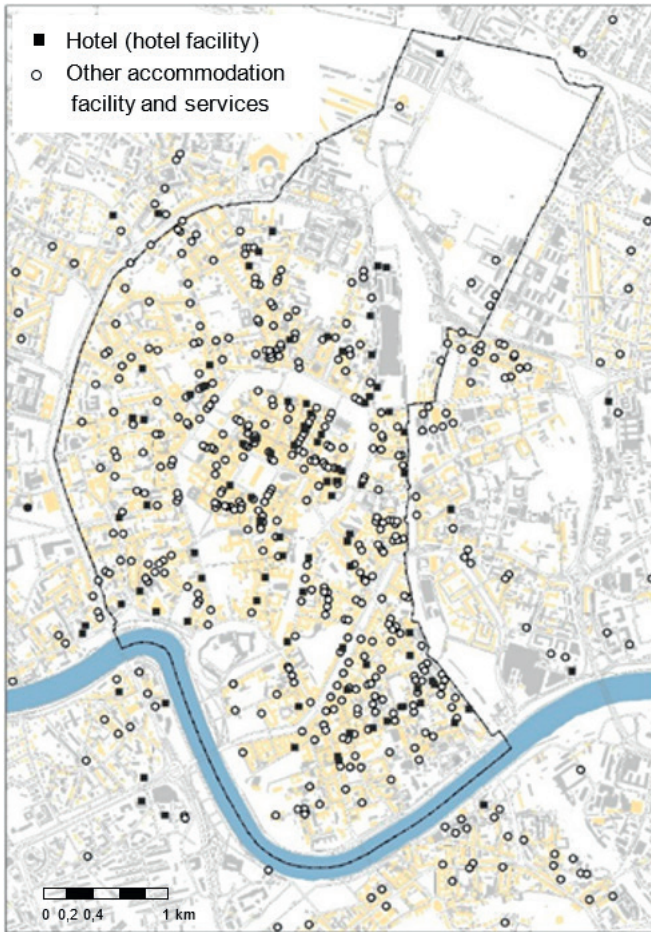


Fig. 1. Tourist accommodation in Krakow Old Town in 2018 – hotel facilities and uncategorised (but registered) accommodation

Source: author's own elaboration, based on data from the Marshal Office of the Małopolskie region (<https://bip.malopolska.pl> (accessed: 15.12.2018)) and the Municipality of Krakow (Tourism Department) <https://www.bip.krakow.pl> (accessed: 15.12.2018)

tions. This solution makes it possible for institutions (e.g. the Church) to retain property in a valuable location (e.g. at Floriańska Street), at the same time receiving fixed and high income from the rents paid (*Krakowski Rynek Nieruchomości 2017*). Under this model, lessors often prevent the use of greater capital, including that for modernisation, which contributes to the creation of the so-called renovation gap as a result of continuing intensive exploitation of the facility, most often in the form of a hostel or similar standard establishment. Without in-depth studies, it is difficult to say what the (spatial) consequences of this 'law-dependence mechanism' of tourismification are.

The impact of the unclear or complicated legal situation of many tenement houses in Krakow on the ways in which they are used is also open to investigation.

Analysing the locations of registered accommodation services within the area of the Krakow inner city (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3), one should stress that the observed tourismification of the housing resources, unlike hotels, covers almost the whole (but not the whole residential) area of District No. 1, i.e. medieval Krakow, Kazimierz, Kleparz, Stradom. It spreads outside the districts of tourism activity delimited by Kurek and Mika (2008) – the Old Town within the Planty and Kazimierz, although the number of beds in the housing resources is still the greatest there (Fig. 2, 3).

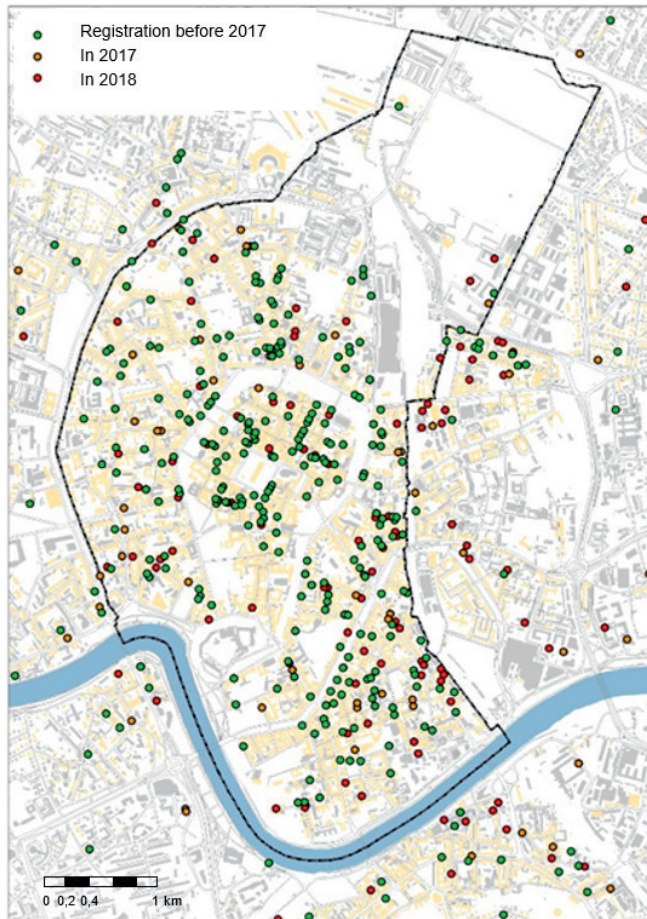


Fig. 2. Accommodation services in the housing resources of Krakow Old Town (uncategorised establishments) – per registration date with the Municipality of Krakow

Source: based on data from the Municipality of Krakow (Tourism Department)

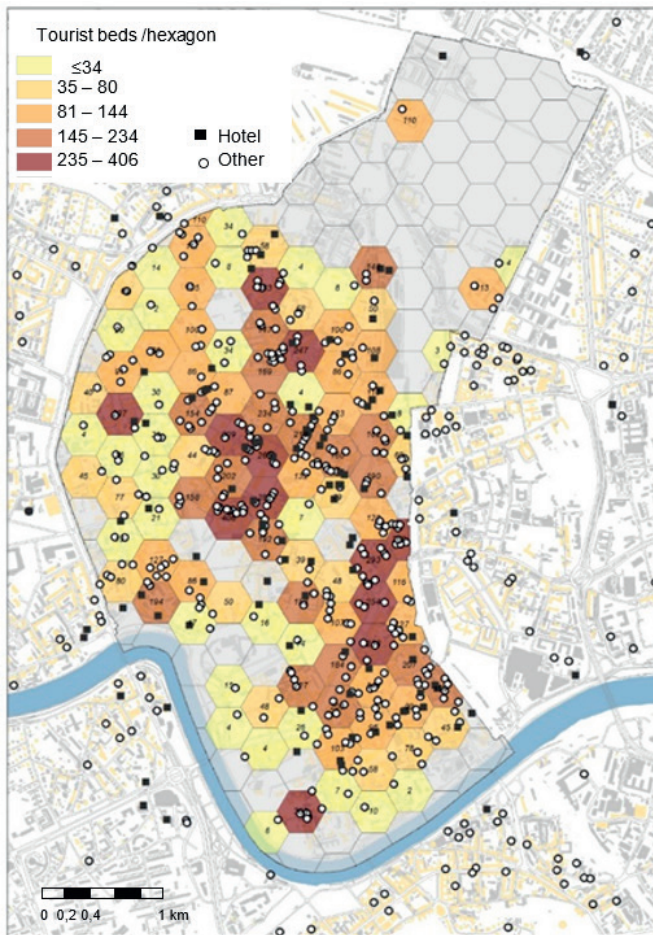


Fig. 3. Density of accommodation for tourists (number of tourist beds in all types of registered facilities in the hexagon) in Krakow Old Town in 2018.

Source: author's own elaboration, based on data from the Marshal Office of the Małopolskie region (<https://bip.malopolska.pl> (accessed: 15.12.2018)) and the Municipality of Krakow (Tourism Department) <https://www.bip.krakow.pl> (accessed: 15.12.2018)

Data aggregated by hexagons with sides measuring 200 m were used to produce a density map, and thus determine the intensity and degree of concentration of the tourist beds. The biggest concentration of accommodation for tourists (tourist beds/hexagon) is in the vicinity of the Main Square of the Old Town and in the northern part of Kazimierz – Fig. 3. The newest accommodation services (from 2017, 2018) are being registered in the whole area of Kazimierz and in the vicinity of the train station, which exceeds the territory of District 1 (Fig. 2).

Currently, apart from the gradual increase in the registered accommodation base (a total of 4,392 beds in 2018 only in the Old Town within Planty Park), there has been a sharp increase in the number of short-term rental housing units since 2012, offered especially through the global online platforms (rental channels) of Airbnb.com platform (87% offers) and HomeAway (5%). It is difficult to say how many of these units are included in the municipal register, because the platforms currently do not require hosts to hold licenses. However, available aggregated sources (www.airdna.com; 28 May 2018) show a significantly bigger saturation of housing resources with this type of tourist accommodation. In May 2019, the number of housing units offered via them in District No. 1 was 4,363. The dominant types were entire homes (89%); every tenth offer was a private room (10%), and shared rooms constituted just 1% (www.airdna.com; 28 May 2018). According to Pawlusiński (2017), this type of sharing economy offers, on the one hand, an attractive alternative to the conventional accommodation offering in Krakow; on the other hand, its development requires closer observation (see also Plichta 2018). At the same time, in Krakow, 36,861 people offered overnight stays in their private homes through non-paid forms of sharing economy, via the global online platform Couchsurfing (www.couchsurfing.com; 28 May 2019).

Taking into consideration the character of the Krakow's Old Town housing resources and the changes to the way in which they are used as well as the distinctness of the phenomenon, one can speak of two dimensions – a visible one and an invisible one – of the observed dimensions of the tourismification of the housing resources. Both dimensions comprise various types and are caused by various sequences of actions. Thus, the visible tourismification of the housing resources includes:

a) succession/change of the function of old historical residential fabric:

- adaptation of entire tenement houses (previously inhabited) as hotels, hostels and other types of accommodation establishments,
- adaptation of apartments in tenement houses which are still inhabited as hostel rooms, apartments and other types of accommodation services – with visible markings and legal registration of the business,
- adaptation of tenement houses or their residential parts (up to the first floor) for the needs of entertainment (escape rooms, parrot houses, go-go clubs), restaurants (including chains) and others connected with visitor economy with visible marking and legal registration of the business;

b) visible adaptation and/or visible transformation/renovation of a residential building together with the introduction of an offer of investment apartments.

At the same time, invisible tourismification (outside the official register and markings) of the housing resources is progressing:

a) adaptation as tourist apartments and making flats (whole or parts) in inhabited multi-dwelling residential buildings, in particular tenement houses: short-term rental provided mainly through global online accommodation platforms, such as Airbnb, HomeAway,

b) making parts of housing units, rooms or beds available via couchsurfing-type portals,

c) construction of new establishments intended for residential functions to which short-term rental is introduced (e.g. Angel – Wawel).

The tourismification of Krakow's tenement houses proceeds also in the vertical direction. For example, roofs can be adapted for cafeteria gardens or new storeys can be constructed on top of old ones. While formerly underground spaces of Krakow's tenement houses hosted many popular artistic clubs, the contemporary tourismification induces development of gastronomy there. We can already spot a new stage of their tourismification – locating exclusive hotel swimming pools at the historical underground fabric. Moreover, intensive saturation of yards with gastronomy, including cafeterias, restaurants, pubs and clubs, is progressing from facades inwards. It is accompanied by various means of separating space introduced by residents and administrators – e.g. bars, gates, alarms, video recorders or even soundproof dividers fitted at higher floors of staircases. Sound pollution of neighbourhoods is aggravated by air conditioners installed inside yards (listed as amenity in 43% of Airbnb offers in District No. 1 (www.airdna.com)). To sum up, the observed touristification of the housing resources connected with intensification of use in the spatial dimension (e.g. the aforementioned yards as well as collective hostel rooms, dividing living rooms and bedrooms into micro *garçonnières* for tourists) is accompanied by intensification of their use in the temporal dimension (24 h / 365 days).

At the same time, it is worth stressing that the facades of the city centre covered by conservation efforts in the form of a culture park (the Old Town within Planty Park) have been successfully freed from advertising chaos. The new regulations (2018) include, among others, a provision concerning the ban on colour illumination of façades

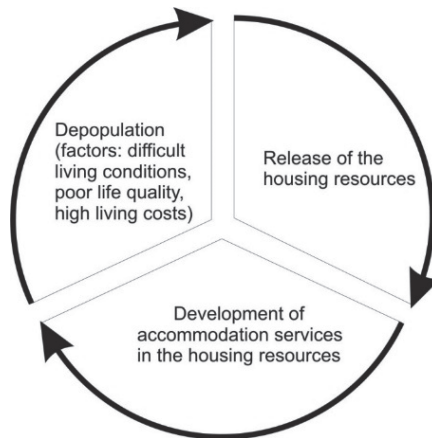


Fig. 4. Vicious circle of tourismification of the housing resources in the historical city centre.

Source: author's own elaboration

of tenement houses (BIP), as well as the ban on renting municipality-owned apartments for uses which would be considered intrusive by residents. However, the power of this last provision is insignificant, given the small percentage of municipality-owned units in the city centre.

The aforesaid changes do not only drive the functional transformations of the housing resources. Tourismification of the housing has an impact on the change in the character of a neighbourhood and living conditions of residents too, and also on the local housing market. It is reciprocally driven by processes of depopulation, which have been continuing in the city centre of Krakow since the 1950s (Zborowski 2005; Kurek and Wójtowicz 2018). This relation has evolved into a vicious circle form (Fig. 4), which is difficult to overcome. Furthermore, today it is difficult to decide what should be seen as the consequence and what – as the cause.

Conclusions

Until recently confined to the field of tourism studies, tourismification in recent years has fast become an overused buzzword (Colomb and Novy 2016). However, as the overview of the academic literature suggests, it would be improper to consider tourismification a well-grounded concept; instead, it should be seen as a collection of various empirical descriptions of a phenomenon (Freytag and Bauder 2018). Still, it is possible to define the stages of investigation of this phenomenon. The first definitions of tourismification were related to potential changes caused in tourism reception environment. In urban environment, these concentrated around transformations of resources related to the discovery of the tourism potential of a town's historical resources – its *genius loci* and the creation of a tourism product around the idea of a tourist-historic city (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). The next stage was the discussion about tourism and tourismification as a significant element of a competitive strategy of city development managed in the spirit of entrepreneurial forms of urban governance (Harvey 1989) and new economy of culture. In this respect, the contemporary debate is focused around the experienced consequences and externalities of the development of contemporary tourism in the city. In this context, special attention is paid to the tourismification of housing resources, which, as demonstrated using the example of Krakow city centre district, visibly and invisibly transforms them and the spatial range of these changes spreads not only horizontally, but also vertically. The changes follow various sequences and mechanisms (among others, 'law-dependence' mechanism, vicious circle). The observed paths of tourismification (its local context) are connected with the course of the political-economic transformation (restoring the land rent, changes in proprietorship, and giving more power to self-governments – e.g. Węclawowicz 2016). Initiated after 1990, the accelerated processes of tertiarisation and gentrification of the historical city centre of Krakow (Górka 2004a, 2004b), typical of post-socialist cities in CEE (Sýkora 1999; Hoffman and Musil 2009), have combined with the processes of urban change, including the continuing depopulation of the inner-city (Zborowski 2005;

Zborowski and Chaberko 2014). The tourismification mechanisms, activated at that moment, have brought new (also global) actors as well as complex relations closely intertwined with forces and processes of restructuring in cities (e.g. Dumbrowská and Fialová 2014; Dumbrowská 2017; Kádár 2018), especially with the development of the city's exogenous functions (Grochowski 2015). Thus, new questions arise: What role does the tourismification of the historical city cores serve under the conditions of globalisation, neoliberalization, economic restructuring and financialization? Does it build their resilience (when and to what extent) – or does it cause their fragility (when and to what extent)? What is the relationship between current tourismification and re-urbanization? For example, Romańczyk (2018), considering the sum of the effects of regeneration of the city centre residential areas of Kraków, points to the trap of tourismification. Tracz and Semczuk (2018), on the other hand, confirming the intensifying functional changes in the public and private space of the city centre of Krakow under the influence of tourismification and gentrification (see also Kruczek 2018), warn against the risk of Krakow losing its historical continuity (its residents moving out), called by Karwińska and Kudłacz (2017), the syndrome of 'swallowing one's own tail'. This mechanism is one of the many paths of contemporary tourismification, which together make up the Venice syndrome observed in European heritage destinations, described by Kowalczyk-Anioł (2015).

In spite of context dependence of tourismification and varying susceptibility of urban environments to the discussed processes, it is possible to state unequivocally that tourismification has become more strongly present in cities since the end of the 20th century. For many cities (especially historic ones), challenges connected with the consequences of tourismification (including tourismification of the housing resources) are the 'sign of the times' of the second decade of the 21st century. At the same time, tourismification can be perceived as a cause, a tool or a consequence of various processes observed in contemporary cities.

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