
Re-making of urban infrastructures of care through courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)

MSc Thesis Land Use Planning (LUP80436)

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Part of study area located north-east of the historic centre of the city of Wrocław (Poland). Own work based on data from Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography (n.d., 2025).

Abstract

This study contributes to a discussion on care as a novel perspective on democratic and liveable planning emerging recently in literature. In its simplest understanding, care is a practice that focuses on satisfaction of needs, therefore it is often viewed as basis for survival and well-being. Accordingly, calls have been made by urban and planning scholars to re-position care as a central concern of planning and for planning practice to take on the task of shaping caring cities. However, not much is known about the nexus of planning and caring practices in real-life planning contexts.

The aim of this study was to address this knowledge gap by describing dynamics of planning processes aimed at shaping spatial conditions for care. It used infrastructure of care as the main entry point into this topic and employed actor-network theory as an overarching analytical approach. Care lens was used to further assess identified dynamics. This framework was applied to four cases of courtyard redevelopments advocated for by residents and carried out by the city government in Wrocław (Poland). These redevelopments were understood as processes of re-making infrastructure of care in neglected urban areas. The empirical part of this study was harnessed through a qualitative multiple case study design employing narrative interviewing and document analysis as main data collection methods.

The dynamic account of the nexus of planning and caring practices created through this study helped distinguish between two perspectives on infrastructure of care. A narrow perspective previously described in literature and a wider perspective emerging from this study and situating infrastructure of care in planning context. Furthermore, it was found that provision of infrastructure of care can be viewed as a caring practice, which yielded additional insights related to translation of care in planning processes. They showed that care is negotiated in planning processes in a way that is context-specific and incredibly complex. These findings contribute to existing literature by providing a nuanced outlook on the planning-caring nexus.

Keywords: infrastructure of care, care, actor-network theory, planning processes, courtyard redevelopments, Poland

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List of abbreviations

WBO = Wrocław Civic Budget

FO = Neighbourhood Fund

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Each year in Wrocław (Poland) multiple courtyards located within the 19th-century city blocks in the inner-city area are being redeveloped (see, for example, Lipertowska, 2025). These courtyards can be viewed as the enclaves of everyday life, where social and economic activities of basic living are performed. However, the ability of many courtyards to host these activities has been compromised due to their derelict state.

The city government is responsible for carrying out courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław, but for some courtyards these efforts cannot come soon enough. Many redevelopments get postponed each year, as selection of courtyards to be redeveloped depends on many factors. Social pressure or initiative and promises made to residents by courtyard managers and city administration are amongst them (Wrocławskie Mieszkania, 2017; Zarząd Zasobu Komunalnego, n.d.). Accordingly, in some instances, residents have been able to successfully advocate for redevelopments of their courtyards to be implemented.

The recent movement to revitalise these spaces is aimed at addressing the deteriorating living conditions in the city. The inner-city areas are amongst the most severely affected by uneven urban development. Decades of neglect resulted in degradation and increased vulnerability to urban problems (see Błaszczuk et al., 2019).

Similar situation is observable in other urban areas in the world. The growing inequalities in cities are associated with the popularisation of the neoliberal model of planning (Gupta et al., 2015). In this model of planning economic goals override broader social and environmental goals (Baeten, 2018). For decades planning in Poland was centralised under communist rule and only recently it underwent neoliberalisation, but its adverse effects on spatial quality are already visible (Domaradzka, 2022; Havel, 2022; Niedziałkowski & Beunen, 2019). Consequently, Polish planning scholars have been advocating for a paradigm shift towards prioritising a more sustainable spatial development model (see, for example, Kowalewski et al., 2018).

This is in line with a general movement in planning scholarship that has been preoccupied with looking for alternatives to neoliberal planning. There are many debates on how planning could contribute to solving urban issues related to social justice and liveability (for overview see Fainstein, 2018; Uitermark & Nicholls, 2017). Lefebvre's (1968/1996) concept of the *right to the city* is often referenced in the contributions to these debates, as it denotes citizens as having agency to shape the urban environment through their daily activities.

Recently, another perspective on democratic and liveable planning has emerged. It builds on the *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968/1996) and is related to the concept of *care*. In this context, care is usually viewed as a kind of labour and an element of social reproduction (see, for example, Miraftab, 2023; Miraftab & Huq, 2024). This means that it contributes to the reproduction of the basic conditions of living through satisfaction of everyday care needs. Therefore, it is positioned as a central concern to the maintenance of society. In accordance with this perspective, Binet et al. (2023) described provision of suitable conditions for care in cities through planning as fundamental to their liveability.

1.2. Problem description

In its simplest understanding, care is a practice that assumes needs of others as basis for action (see, for example, Tronto 1993, 2013). But when applied in context of planning, it takes on multiple meanings. Various visions of how applying logic of care to planning can contribute to it being more democratic and liveable had been put forward in literature. On the one hand, care was presented as an approach or attitude adopted during planning processes, similar to compassion, that focuses on recognising and mobilising mutual entanglements and leads to inclusion of broader interests in

decision-making (see, for example, Healey, 2024; Miraftab, 2023). On the other hand, care was emphasised as a key consideration when shaping planning outcomes. This view centres on observing how others do the work of care in urban environment and using planning to create spatial conditions supportive of these practices (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023).

These propositions were accompanied by reflections on the position of care in contemporary planning practice. They arose on grounds of claims that the needs or interest of some are privileged over the needs or interests of others in planning processes (see, for example, Healey, 2024), also in relation to providing key resources for care in cities (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). For example, Miraftab (2023) described neoliberal planning as favouring urban development models that create conditions of unequal distribution of care burdens in society. Meaning that they make caring in cities easier for some, the privileged, and more taxing for others, the disadvantaged. Pointing towards marginalisation of care in planning if it is not entangled or coupled with profit-making (Miraftab, 2023; Miraftab & Huq, 2024). Considering this, urban and planning scholars called for re-positioning care as a central concern of planning and for planning practice to take on the task of shaping caring cities (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Power & Williams, 2020; Rodela et al., 2025; Williams & Rodela, 2025). Neglected urban areas, such as the inner city in Wrocław, were indicated by Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) as starting points, as this is where conditions for care tend to be lacking, contributing to cities operating in uncaring way. Infrastructure of care emerged in literature as useful lens for assessing this (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023).

Everything described above shows that matters of care/caring, as basic concern of living, emerge in planning processes even if it is for them to be downplayed. However, not much is known about the nexus of planning and caring practices in real-life planning contexts, as evidenced by scarcity of empirical studies applying the concept of care to planning practices (see Traill et al.'s (2024) statement about lack of accounts describing how alternative infrastructure of care is built in practice; see notable exceptions by Cabannes (2025) and Yuille (2019, 2021)). How do they intersect during planning processes in practice? Are care practices marginalised or maybe already at the core of planning processes, but there are other dynamics than structural forces that influence how it translates into (un)caring planning outcomes? Answering these questions seems pertinent to re-centring care in planning practice. But first, it is important to get a good grip on how care is situated in relation to planning practices. This is what this study aims to illuminate.

It uses infrastructure of care as the main entry point into exploring this topic, as based on literature, this is where the nexus of planning and caring practices can be located. Binet et al. (2023) described residents relying on infrastructure of care, such as housing, green spaces and economic opportunities, in their day-to-day caring practices, and mentioned planners who engage in planning practices aimed at shaping these components of infrastructure of care. While the empirical focus of this study is on courtyard redevelopments that are understood as re-makings of infrastructure of care in urban areas overlooked by planning practice. This choice is meant to facilitate creating a dynamic account of the nexus of caring and planning practices, which aligns with dynamic nature of both practices.

1.2.1. Scientific relevance

First and foremost, existing literature does not provide much clarity about what care/caring means in relation to planning and *vice versa* (what planning means in relation to caring), as indicated above. Understandings of care presented in literature range from treating it as a commonplace word synonymous to compassion, empathy, kindness, and so on (see Healey, 2024), as a way of relating/disposition (for example, Lyles et al., 2018; Lyles & White, 2019; Healey, 2023, 2024) or as a practice/labour (for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Miraftab, 2023; Miraftab & Huq, 2024). In turn, planning is either positioned as a way of engaging in caring (or *vice versa*, caring is a way of engaging in planning), through forms of deliberation or bottom-up/community-based planning practices (see, for example, Healey, 2023; Metzger, 2014), or a way of shaping caring practices through plans and policies (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). This illustrates lack of consistency or consensus

when it comes to conceptualising the caring and planning nexus. Lack of conceptual clarity inhibits building impactful theories that could both promote better understanding of the phenomenon and set direction for practice. This study can therefore contribute to existing literature by proposing more concrete definitions of what the nature and function of care is in planning practice.

Simultaneously, many claims made in existing literature in relation to the position of care in planning take on an alarmist tone by referencing *crisis of care* (Fraser, 2016; see Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Mirafteb, 2023 for mentions in relation to planning). This term is used to describe diminishing capacity of capitalist societies to do the daily work of care necessary for collective well-being and survival (Fraser, 2016). It is ascribed to workings of structural forces maintaining an order in society that privileges profit-making (Fraser, 2016). Planning was positioned as being implicated in these workings (Mirafteb, 2023). This calls for moving away from emphasising the need for overhaul of the capitalist system and redirecting the focus of planning scholarship on workable problems rooted in planning practice. This study can contribute to that by concentrating on a real-life planning context and providing empirical evidence that can help verify claims made in existing literature, while introducing some nuance.

1.2.2. Societal relevance

Contribution of this study to discussion about re-centring care in planning practice was already briefly mentioned. But to specify, this study is relevant to planners who have the ambitions to create caring cities, as it can help them grasp what they should consider during planning processes for their goals to materialise. In other words, a clearer picture of what it might take to create caring cities is set to emerge from this study. This picture is meant to reveal dynamics in planning processes that can serve as entry points for setting a path towards more democratic and liveable planning practice.

In addition, situating this study in context of neglected urban areas that are most in need of intervention ensures applicability of its outcomes to such contexts. Meaning that it promotes exploration of possibilities for *small work* (see Rydin, 2013) that can be done by planning practice/planners to improve lives of people in neglected urban areas.

1.3. Research objective and question

This study aims to address the described knowledge gap by taking a closer look at dynamics of planning processes where needs of others in relation to urban environment were the basis for action. Courtyard redevelopments advocated for by residents and taken up by city administration in Wrocław (Poland) present themselves as such processes. It was already mentioned above that infrastructure of care (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023) is used as an explanatory frame to interpret these courtyard redevelopments as re-makings of infrastructure of care. In addition, focus on the nexus of planning and caring practices necessitates adopting an analytical approach that facilitates creating a dynamic account of relations forming during planning processes. Actor-network theory (ANT) was chosen for this purpose (see Rydin, 2013; Rydin & Tate, 2016; Rydin, 2018 on application of the ANT to examine planning processes). Lastly, Tronto's (1993, 2013) phases of caring are employed to enable further assessment of the identified dynamics through lens of care. The three theories comprise a framework applied in this study to describe how spatial conditions for care are shaped through planning processes and what is the position of care in these processes. Taking together everything described above, this study is guided by the main research question of:

How were infrastructures of care re-made by involved actors through courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)?

1.4. Reading guide

This section presented an overview of the background and purpose of this study and set the direction it will take by introducing the main research question. In the following section, the theoretical framework applied to answer the main research question is described in detail and sub-research

questions derived from this framework are introduced alongside operationalisation of the key concepts used in this study (see section 2). Third section presents the methodology by outlining multiple case study design, which employs narrative interviewing and document analysis as main data collection methods. Fourth section provides additional contextual information about the analysed courtyard redevelopments to better frame the findings of this study described in section 5. Then, in section 6 the findings are interpreted and situated in a broader context of current scientific discussions on care in planning contexts. The used analytical approach and methodology are also reflected upon in section 6. Lastly, most valuable insights emerging from findings are gathered in the *Conclusion* featured in section 7, which also includes recommendations for future research and for planning practice.

2. Theoretical framework

This section features an overview of existing literature relevant to this study and indicates, which elements of the described theories are applied to answer the main research question. Specifically, sub-section 2.1. first discusses how care has been conceptualised in planning literature and then turns to introduce Tronto's (1993, 2013) phases of caring operationalised in this study to identify caring practices amongst planning practices. Sub-section 2.2. locates the nexus of caring and planning practices by describing the infrastructure of care framework focusing on the works of Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023). Sub-section 2.3. takes on the actor-network theory, which in this study serves to anchor the nexus of caring and planning practices in the context of planning processes and render visible the relations making up this nexus. In the last sub-section (2.4.), parallels are drawn between Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) infrastructure of care framework and the actor-network theory, leading to introduction of the sub-research questions and operationalisation of key concepts used in this study.

2.1. Care in planning

Calls for paying more attention to the role of care emerging recently in planning literature do not set an entirely new direction for planning research and practice. Healey (2024), who is a leading planning scholar, pointed out that care, treated as a synonym of compassion, kindness, empathy, and so on, was already positioned as relevant to planning in some of the discipline's landmark works (see, for example, Forester, 1989; Porter, 2010; Sandercock, 2000). This includes her own works, such as: *Collaborative Planning* (Healey, 1997), *Making Better Places* (Healey, 2010), and more recently *Caring for Place* (Healey, 2023). However, Healey (2024) further highlighted that in these contributions to planning scholarship care was used as a common word and not as a distinctive concept.

The applications of care as a concept are conducive of the novelty of the more recent publications on care emerging within planning scholarship. These applications largely draw on Tronto's (1993, 2013) work on care within the field of political theory. Tronto is often listed amongst leading ethics of care scholars who put the ideas about care first introduced in feminist psychology (Gilligan, 1982) and education studies (Noddings, 1984) in the context of policymaking and governance (Savaya & Alfasi, 2023). Tronto (2013) justified her academic interest in care by stating that "every political theory, explicitly or implicitly, contains an account of care" (p. 25).

More specifically, Tronto, together with Fisher (1990), defined care as:

"a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (p. 40, as cited in Tronto, 1993, p. 103).

Tronto, in her book *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care* (1993), elaborated on this definition of care. She emphasised that care should be understood as both a disposition and a practice. She also highlighted that care is always directed towards *the other*, whether it is a person, an object or a place, and that it encompasses recognition of the concerns and care needs of *the other* followed by actions aimed at satisfying them.

Urban studies scholars praise this definition for its expansive nature, which is inclusive of planning and governance activities, amongst others, and does not confine care to private sphere, but rather positions it as a public concern (see, for example, Nelischer et al., 2024; Power & Williams, 2020; Williams & Rodela, 2025). This understanding of care makes care relevant to planning, which is why it is also adopted in this study.

Generally, care as a concept is complex and its various aspects often emerge in literature as distinctive perspectives not always referencing Tronto (1993, 2013), including in planning literature. For example, Ruddick (1998, as cited in Gabauer et al., 2021) identified three main conceptualisations of care, which

include (1) viewing care as a kind of labour, as (2) a relation or as (3) an ethical practice (see also Healey, 2024). Following Gabauer et al. (2021):

“This means that care encapsulates what people *do* (spatial praxis) when they care, how they mutually *interact* (social relations) when caring, and how and why they tend to *reflect* on these doings and interactions in a morally informed way (care ethics).” (p. 5, emphasis in original).

Two perspectives on care in context of planning that are most represented include: (1) viewing care as way of interacting with and relating to others and (2) viewing care as a spatial practice.

Firstly, care was described as a way of interacting with and relating to others. This understanding has two interrelated expressions in planning literature. First expression is that care (or caring) for place was described as enactment of place attachments (or emotional bonds) (see, for example, Healey, 2023, 2024; Metzger, 2013, 2014; Yuille, 2021). It was presented as a mobilising power that motivates people to engage in planning practices. Accordingly, relations of care were considered as basis for action. Most notable accounts of care understood from this angle in planning practices, include Healey’s (2023) description of bottom-up planning in remote rural area in Northern England and Yuille’s (2019, 2021) study on community-led neighbourhood planning introduced in England by the Localism Act 2011. Both contributions presented communities driven by care to develop plans, strategies, and so on, for their place of living. Another expression foregrounded care as basis for interacting with others during decision-making in planning (see, for example, Healey, 2024; Lyles et al., 2018; Lyles & White, 2019). It refers to viewing places as *matters of care* (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2011; see references in Metzger, 2014; Yuille, 2019, 2021), which emphasises the importance of recognising and respecting various ways of relating to them. This outlook on care is often associated with compassion (see, for example, Healey, 2024; Lyles et al., 2018; Lyles & White, 2019). Therefore, in this context care emerged as approach to deliberation in planning, similar to, for example, communicative planning. Scholars mostly mobilised this understanding of care to illustrate that such a caring attitude is lacking in contemporary planning practice. For example, Lyles and White (2019) focused on planners who tend to downplay emotions when interacting with the public, while Healey (2024) mentioned planning decisions being driven by narrow interests of privileged people. This way concept of care can be viewed as relevant to procedural planning theory, which is represented by the idea of *planning with care* (Binet, 2021).

Secondly, care in the context of planning was also positioned as a spatial practice. Specifically, it was described as everyday labour that enables satisfaction of basic needs associated with social reproduction (or *life-making*; see Miraftab, 2023). And considered in relation to neoliberal planning practices. For example, Miraftab and Huq (2021) presented care work as being co-opted for profit-making by planning favouring urban development patterns such as gentrification or suburbanisation. Where underpaid care workers maintain “worlds” of privileged members of society by providing services, while struggling to meet the needs of their own families. In opposition to this Miraftab (2023) positioned non-commodified care work done by grassroot organisations as an insurgent planning practice, which she referred to as radical care.

These contributions correspond with the view presented in literature that care can be both hindered and facilitated in the city, depending on its spatial organisation. Neoliberal planning was described as contributing to unequal distribution of key resources necessary for caring in contemporary cities, such as housing, public spaces or childcare (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). Many urban scholars paid closer attention to this by proposing various conceptualisation of how caring practices are shaped by cities (see, for example, Biglieri et al., 2024; Bowlby & McKie, 2019; Power, 2019; Power & Mee, 2020). They considered services, policies, material infrastructures, markets, amongst others, as relevant factors. This perspective on care relates to substantive planning theory and was referenced by Binet (2021) in his formulation of *planning for care*.

In line with the second perspective on care commonly adopted in planning literature (care as spatial practice), there has been an increased interest in planning practices that can contribute to shaping *caring cities*, which are cities that are supportive of caring (see, for example, Williams & Power, 2020). This trend is observable both in planning scholarship and in practice. For example, Cabannes (2025) identified participatory budgeting as a mechanism enabling care-based developments. Planning literature also made references to care-centred policies implemented in cities such as New South Wales (Australia), Madrid (Spain), Barcelona (Spain) (see mentions in Binet et al., 2023; Rodela et al., 2025; Williams & Rodela, 2025).

What everything described above shows is that care emerges in planning contexts from both a processual and substantive perspective. Yet, as highlighted in the *Introduction*, there is no coherent theory of care in planning. Therefore, this study falls back on Tronto's (1993, 2013) theory of care, and specifically her phases of caring, to unpack the *how* of caring practices emerging in planning processes.

2.1.1. Dynamics of caring

Tronto (1993) herself described that it is possible to view caring as both a single activity and an ongoing process. And to outline understanding of care as the latter, she introduced five phases of caring, which encompass various aspects of care often separated in literature and can be considered steps in caring processes (Tronto, 1993, 2013). She specifically describes these phases as "meant to provide a way to analyze when and how caring is done, and to be able to make assessments about care" (Tronto, 2013, p. 23). Consequently, they are used in this study to enable identifying caring practices amongst practices that are not caring. Tronto's (1993, 2013) five phases of caring are described below.

Initially, Tronto (1993) outlined four phases of caring. These phases include: (1) *caring about*, (2) *taking care of or caring for* (see Tronto, 2013), (3) *care-giving*, and (4) *care-receiving*. Each phase of caring is also accompanied by ethical elements or practices. Caring about, which is the first phase of caring, describes the recognition of unmet caring needs. This requires noticing the struggles of others, which relates to the ethical practice of attentiveness. It involves shifting from solely focusing on personal concerns towards becoming sensitive to the concerns of others as well. The second phase of caring – caring for – involves recognising one's own capabilities in addressing the unmet caring needs of others and thus, it is related to the notion of agency. At the same time, caring for denotes a phase of caring in which one assumes responsibility for taking care of others. Tronto (1993) listed care-giving as the third phase of caring, which entails "the direct meeting of needs for care" (p. 107) through caring activities or care work. Carrying out care work that suffices to meet the identified care needs requires competence, which signifies concern for the outcomes of care-giving as an important aspect of the process. Lastly, care-receiving is also treated by Tronto (1993) as a phase of caring, and a crucial one at that, since it makes it possible to assess whether the care needs of others were actually met. In this phase, the object of care responds to the care it received, "[f]or example, the tuned piano sounds good again, the patient feels better, or the starving children seem healthier after being fed" (Tronto, 1993, p. 107). Responsiveness is then the ethical practice connected with care-receiving. It is aimed at enabling reflection on the caring process, which is especially important considering the potential vulnerability of the objects of care in caring situations and the potentially arising inequalities (Tronto, 1993).

More recently, Tronto (2013) introduced the fifth phase of caring, which is *caring with*. This phase describes the persistence of care as a practice and frames care as flowing through the society in a democratic way, and not just from care-givers to care-receivers. Tronto (2019) further explained that "[w]hen care needs are met reliably through time, people can develop and appreciation for those around them who provide such ongoing care. In such cases, care becomes a way to foster solidarity and trust among people" (p. 31). Through this phase of caring, Tronto (2013) introduced care as the foundation of her imaginary of democracy, conceptualised by her as *caring democracy*. She advocated for shifting away from overemphasising independence and individualism, towards celebrating

“plurality, communication, trust and respect” (Tronto, 2013, p. 35). This way Tronto (2013) highlighted interdependence as basis for survival and well-being.

This section has demonstrated how caring practices operate. It is now necessary to bring caring practices back onto the same plane as planning practices. This means moving caring practices from a more abstract realm to a spatial realm. In this study, it is done by introducing infrastructure of care as another component of the theoretical framework.

2.2. Infrastructure of care

As established in section above, planning shapes conditions for care in the city through spatial distribution of resources. The infrastructure of care is a concept that describes a place-based combination of resources that support the labour of care (Cohen & Knierbein, 2021). Examples of infrastructures of care include housing, transportation systems and public spaces (Tronto, 2013; Power & Mee, 2020). Cohen and Knierbein (2021) pointed out that through the (in)adequacy of these infrastructures of care inequality is manifested in cities. Therefore, the infrastructure of care concept was recognised as a useful frame in the context of addressing urban injustices through planning efforts (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023).

This concept was used to shed light on the care-givers’ individual or collective experiences of assembling the different resources in pursue of satisfying the care needs of direct dependents or entire communities (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). It was applied to showcase how the caring capacity imposed by materialities of the city, governance practices and market activities (Power & Mee, 2020) is re-negotiated by individual citizens or urban communities in their everyday lives (see, for example, Alam & Houston, 2020; Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Traill et al., 2024). The infrastructure of care frame proved especially relevant in the context of analysing care practices carried out in areas of urban deprivation, where the state-provisioned infrastructures of care fail to serve their purpose leading to the emergence of alternative infrastructures of care. These alternative infrastructures of care are developed and maintained by care-givers who self-organise to support their communities in their care-related efforts (see, for example, Alam & Houston, 2020; Traill et al., 2024). Examples of such alternative infrastructures of care described in literature include playgrounds and community food hubs (Traill et al., 2024), community food and book stands (Alam & Houston, 2020). Nevertheless, Traill et al. (2024) acknowledged the difficulty of maintaining such care arrangements, considering the complexity of dynamics shaping them. They also emphasised that these alternative care arrangements should not be romanticised, as they are rooted in systemic injustices and run the risk of perpetuating them by overburdening individual or small groups of citizens with additional care responsibilities.

Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) is a scholar who engaged with the experiences of care-givers in the city with the explicit aim of enriching planning scholarship and practice. They proposed a framework that describes how care-givers depend on the material and social components of the urban environment in their everyday care practices. They conceptualised these components as the urban infrastructure of care, or more specifically Binet et al. (2023) defined urban infrastructure of care as “a system of social and physical relationships that forms the background conditions for, and thus patterns, care work” (p. 283).

In their conceptualisation, Binet (2021) drew on an infrastructural approach, commonly adopted across social sciences starting from the early 2000s as a result of a so-called infrastructural turn (Addie et al., 2019; Amin, 2007; Graham & Marvin, 2022), which emphasised the entanglement of the material and social elements in constitution of the social reality. This expanded the understanding of infrastructure from mere physical structures organising flows of people, objects and information to a lived experience (Addie et al., 2019; Amin, 2007; Graham & Marvin, 2022). Binet (2021) also described their framework as rooted in a capabilities approach originating from economy and focusing on

shaping possibilities for being and acting offered by resources rather than only provisioning these resources (Sen, 1979, 1999, 2000, as cited in Binet, 2021).

The urban infrastructure of care framework by Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) is based on empirical evidence gathered through interviews with care-givers living in gentrifying neighbourhoods in Boston on their care-giving experiences in relation to the urban context. More specifically, Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) found out that in their everyday life care-givers employed care-giving strategies aimed at fulfilling their care-giving goals and that these strategies were shaped by the components of the urban environment. Care-giving goals, care-giving strategies and components of the urban environment were the key themes that emerged from the interview data collected by Binet (2021). They also identified more specific categories of the care-giving goals, care-giving strategies and components of the urban environment, which served as a basis for creating the flowchart presented in Figure 1a.

Figure 1a presents an ideal situation, in which the urban infrastructure of care supports the realisation of care-giving goals. However, Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) emphasised that this was not always the case for their interviewees, as the urban infrastructure of care in their neighbourhoods was fragmentary and disintegrated and thus, it was preventing care from “running smoothly”. To describe the situations in which care-givers were forced to mitigate the lacks in the urban infrastructure of care at their own expense, Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) introduced the concepts of care binds and infrastructural labour. This alternative scenario is presented in Figure 1b. Care-giving goals, care-giving strategies and components of the urban environment, considered the urban infrastructures of care, are the elements of this framework most relevant to this study. Therefore, they are to be treated as concepts the characteristic and interrelations of which are further elaborated on below.

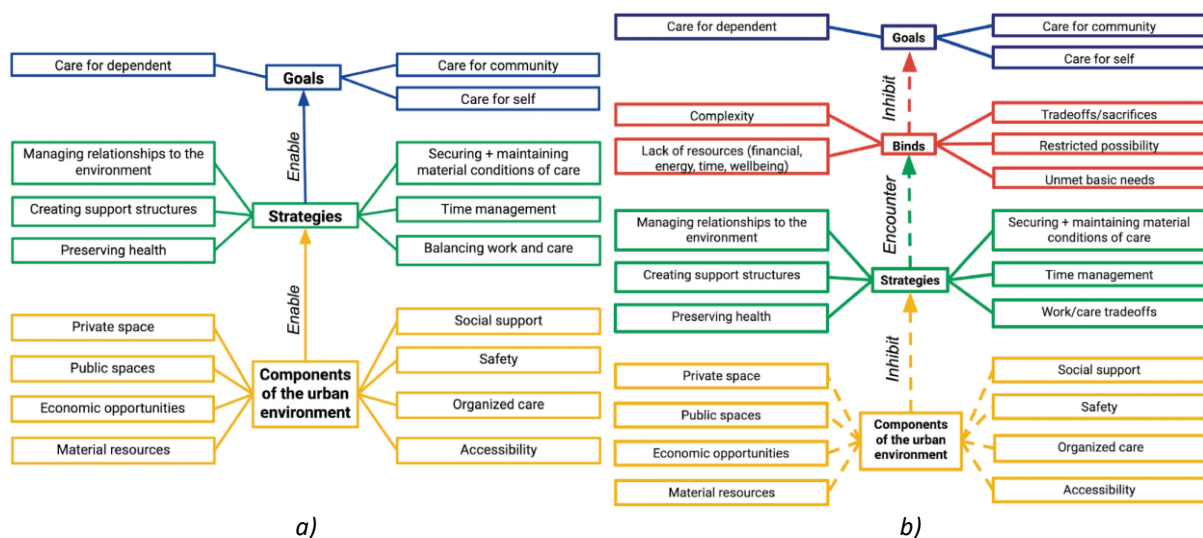


Figure 1 Urban infrastructure of care framework: a) situation in which urban infrastructure of care support care-giving b) situation in which fragmentary nature of the urban infrastructure of care compromises care-giving (Binet et al., 2023, pp. 287, 289).

2.2.1. Care-giving goals

In Binet’s (2021; Binet et al., 2023) study, the care-giving goals encompass the care-giving outcomes toward which the care-givers direct their efforts. In the case of the care-givers in Boston, these outcomes were related to their capabilities as care-givers (self-improvement), caring for dependents, and caring for their communities (see Figure 1). Binet (2021) further specified that the care-giving goals refer to the relationships with the urban environment and that they stem from the care-givers perception or evaluation of the what the urban environment has (or does not have) to offer to them.

2.2.2. Care-giving strategies

Care-giving strategies were described by Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) as sets of premediated actions of care-givers aimed at achieving their care-giving goals. These strategies describe the ways in which care-givers negotiate the conditions of care shaped by the components of the urban environment or the urban infrastructure of care. However, their abilities to negotiate these conditions are limited, as they depend on various factors, including their socio-economic status and the characteristics of their neighbourhoods. Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) identified six types of care-giving strategies, which are featured on Figure 2. Sometimes these strategies are carried out as collective actions, when care-givers receive support from their communities through both formal and informal channels (Binet, 2021). Organising these types of support is also considered a care-giving strategy (see Figure 1), which Binet (2021) pointed out to illustrate that the various care-giving strategies are mutually contingent.

Binet (2021, pp. 132-133) concluded that there are three main ways in which the care-giving strategies depend on the components of the urban environment or the urban infrastructure of care:

- (1) They depend on infrastructures that are already in place,
- (2) They require infrastructural labour, which Binet defines as “[the work] of coordinating across different elements of the urban infrastructure of care to establish connections and synergies between components that may not exist, but which are necessary for the caregiver to meet their caregiving goals” (pp. 132-133),
- (3) They necessitate the construction of the elements of the urban infrastructure of care that either do not exist or are not accessible at the care-givers’ own expense.

2.2.3. Components of urban environment

Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) identified eight components of the urban environment that constituted the urban infrastructure of care in the analysed neighbourhoods in Boston, which are presented in Figure 1. They emphasised that these components are often interrelated, for example, safety can be achieved in private space, which is also reflected in situations they described as care binds. Care binds are the result of the urban infrastructures of care being insufficient in specific contexts in terms of their accessibility and/or quality. The consequences of this insufficiency were described in the sub-section above, as it affects the nature of the employed care-giving strategies (see point 2 and 3 describing the ways in which care-giving strategies depend on the urban infrastructure of care). Overall, care binds contribute to the care-giving strategies becoming more elaborate, while also becoming less effective in reaching the care-giving goals (Binet, 2021).

Courtyards constitute public spaces, which are amongst the components of the urban environment that Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) identified as urban infrastructures of care (see Figure 1). However, their role in the care-giving process or usefulness as urban infrastructure of care depends on whether what they have to offer aligns with the care-giving goals of the care-givers. For example, the care-givers interviewed by Binet (2021) mentioned the role of public spaces in positive contexts, such as possibilities for play and creating social bonds. But they also described avoiding public spaces they perceived as unsafe or as spaces of exclusion.

Having discussed how caring practices operate on the same (spatial) plane as planning practices, now is the time to shift focus towards the nexus of caring and planning practices. In this sub-section, caring and planning practices were brought closer together, but only one point of connection was revealed. It is the infrastructure of care that serves as both resources for caring and a planning outcome. However, planning relations making up infrastructure of care remain obscured in Binet’s (2021; Binet et al., 2023) framework. Therefore, to make them visible, it is necessary to anchor both planning and caring relations in the context of specific planning processes. In this study, actor-network theory serves this purpose.

2.3. Actor-network theory

Actor-network theory emerged in 1980s from Callon's, Latour's and Law's work within the science and technology studies (STS) to examine the production of scientific knowledge. It describes processes in which actors come into association with each other with the aim of shaping a network around production of facts, which is why Latour (2005) referred to ANT as *sociology of associations* (p. 9). It centres around a relational understanding of the social reality. This means that it foregrounds the effects emerging from the relationships between various elements, such as people, objects or abstract concepts (Rydin & Tate, 2016). Since its conception, the ANT has been applied across many disciplines. And recently it has also gained popularity within planning scholarship, as it shows great potential for deepening the understanding of the key dynamics at play in planning processes (Rydin, 2018).

There are varying opinions on whether ANT should be considered a theory, methodology or sensibility (Rydin & Tate, 2016). Nevertheless, Law (2008) succinctly described that "it tells stories about 'how' relations assemble or don't." (p. 141). Accordingly, the ANT, no matter the definition, offers a set of basic assumption related to how the social reality operates and rich vocabulary to tell the stories that Law (2008) referred to. There are three core concepts of the actor-network theory, which include actors, network and translation. They are described in detail below alongside other concepts that help harness the analytical possibilities of the ANT.

2.3.1. Actors

In social sciences, term *actor* is usually used to describe an individual person or a group of people that engages in social actions. One aspect of the actor-network theory that sets it apart from other social theories is the treatment of objects or non-humans. Actor-network theory adheres to the principle of symmetry, which means that both humans and non-humans are viewed as actors in the network (Latour, 2005). Latour (2005) described that while non-humans are not able to act the same way as humans, they provide humans with possibilities for action, such as a kettle enables a person to boil water (p. 71). In line with this logic, he stated that "*any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor" (p. 71, emphasis in original) and argued for the inclusion of objects in descriptions of the social reality.

Actor-network theory was criticised for the principle of symmetry, based on the argument that non-humans do not have agency, and thus should not be treated as equal to humans (see mentions of criticisms against the ANT in Rydin & Tate, 2019; Rydin, 2018). Latour (2005) addressed this criticism by clarifying that what he meant by symmetry was the shift away from focusing solely on intentional actions of humans and towards giving the same amount of attention to the role non-humans play in these actions. Moreover, proponents of actor-network theory often emphasise that the inclusion of non-human actors opens new possibilities for analyses and thus, is viewed by them as an advantage (Rydin & Tate, 2016). For example, Rydin and Tate (2016) highlighted that both humans and non-humans play important roles in planning processes, the role of the latter tends to be overlooked (Rydin & Tate, 2016). Actor-network theory provides a solution to this problem. Amongst non-human actors that were included in ANT analyses of planning processes are material aspects of planning sites (Rydin, 2013), planning documents (Rydin, 2013), models, data, maps and visualisations (Ruming et al., 2016), and grants (Vilches & Tate, 2016).

2.3.2. Network

Network is another core concepts of the actor-network theory. It highlights that the key focus of this theory is on the dynamic relationships (or temporary associations) between heterogenous elements considered actors (Latour, 2005, p. 5). Latour (2005) viewed the social as not a pre-existing structure or specific domain, but rather as the result of the brief moments during which actors are assembled (pp. 64-65). Consequently, the concept of network does not necessarily give justice to the core interest of the ANT. However, it is the analytical practice of tracing the associations between actors that gave

rise to this concept, since a network is what emerges from the story of how these relations came into being (Latour, 2005).

Moreover, since the social is not preconceived, someone or something has to do the work of bringing the heterogenous elements together to create it. In the ANT this work is done by intermediaries or mediators, which can be either people or objects (Rydin, 2018). According to Callon (1991), an “intermediary is anything passing between actors which defines the relationship between them” (p. 134). While Latour (2005) differentiated between intermediaries, that only link actors to each other, without affecting the nature of this link, and mediators, that “transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry” (p. 39) and thus, contribute to the increased complexity of the emerging relationships. It is only through these associations forged by intermediaries or mediators that power and agency is dispersed across the network (Rydin, 2018).

Another important characteristic of these associations is that they are extended on a single plane (Michael, 2017). This relates to the fact that ANT is characterised by a flat ontology, meaning that there is no preconceived hierarchy between actors operating on different scales. Rather the relationships that shape the networks are cross-scalar (Rydin, 2018).

2.3.3. Translation

The concept of translation was introduced by Callon (2007/1986) to describe the process of network building. This process involves enrolling actors into a network and ensuring the alignment of their interests, so that the network can achieve stability and pursue a common goal. Latour (1987) described interests as “what lie in between actors and their goals, thus creating a tension that will make actors select only what, in their own eyes, helps them reach these goals amongst many possibilities” (pp. 108-109). Consequently, he viewed the process of translation as detours from individual interests of actors that lead the interests being merged (Latour, 1999, p. 88; see Figure 2). This way the multiple actors become (temporarily) associated (Latour, 1999, p. 179). Latour (1987, 1999) further explained that this change results in the displacement or drift of the initial goals of these actors, as the combined goal likely does not reflect either of the individual goals fully (see Figure 2 and Figure 3).

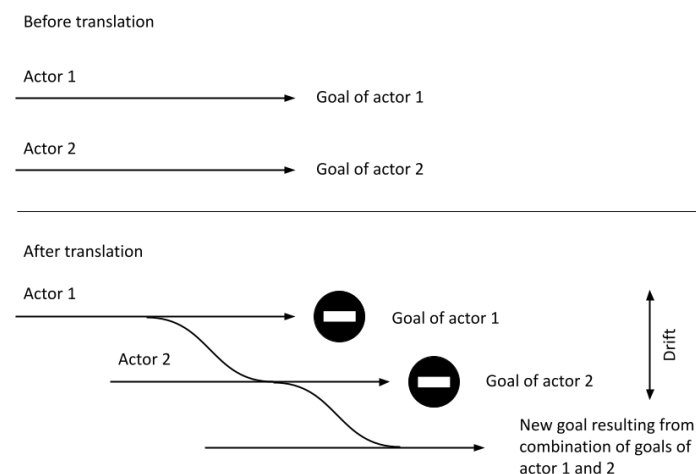


Figure 2 Example of a translation process (adopted from Latour, 1999, p. 89).

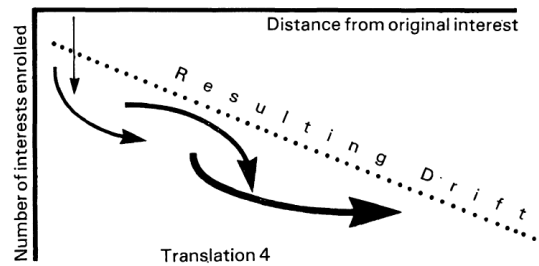


Figure 3 Displacement or drift resulting from multiple translations (derived from Latour, 1987, p. 117).

Callon (2007/1986) provided a framework that helps analyse the dynamics of the translation process (Rydin, 2018). It describes the four moments of translation: (1) problematisation, (2) interessement, (3) enrolment and (4) mobilisation. Problematisation occurs when a problem is identified, and a so-called obligatory passage point is established. The obligatory passage point describes the solution to the problem, which is also the means through which actors will be able to achieve their individual goals after joining the network (see Figure 4). The next moment – interessement – involves approaching actors who might be interested in joining the network, based on their individual goals, and trying to convince them to do so. If the interessement is successful, it can be said that the actors were enrolled into the network, which means that the actors are now associated. The last moment of translation is the mobilisation, when the entire network becomes stable and is placed into a black box. Callon and Latour (1981) used the term black box to describe networks the constitution of which is no longer questioned or subject to negotiation. As a result, this network can be represented as a single actor, where only inputs and outputs are known (Latour, 1987, p. 2-3). However, Callon and Latour (1981) emphasised that the achieved stability is only temporary, as “black boxes never remain fully closed or properly fastened” (p. 285). To emphasise the precarious nature of network stability, Callon (2007/1986) also considered the concept of controversy in his work. He defined controversy as any situation in which relationships within the network are being tested, which prompts another round(s) of negotiations required for reinstate the stability of the network.

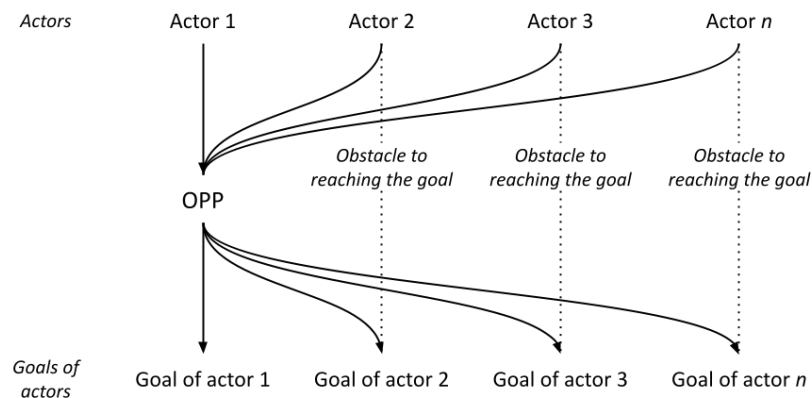


Figure 4 Example of translation that includes obligatory passage point (OPP) (adopted from Callon, 2007/1986, p. 62).

2.4. Re-makings of infrastructures of care

Now taking everything together, in this study re-makings of infrastructures of care, which are the specific planning processes of interest, are viewed to “represent networks of diverse and competing actants, each actively pursuing its own ideal urban environment as some actants attempt to gain control over network configurations.” (Ruming et al., 2016, p. 46)

Basic mechanisms of assembling infrastructure of care for the purpose of using it during day-to-day care-giving emerging from Binet’s (2021; Binet et al., 2023) study largely overlap with the mechanisms

of network-building described in actor-network theory applicable to planning processes (Rydin & Tate, 2026; Rydin, 2013). But Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) framework represents a rather linear perspective that focuses on individual care-givers as focal actors in the network-building process. This perspective is insufficient for observing totality of how infrastructure of care is assembled, as in this study infrastructures of care are not just outcomes of multiple successful multiple associations forged during caring process, but first and foremost, during planning processes.

Therefore, while Binet and Arcaya (2023) cited understanding how caring depends on urban environment as first step of situating care in planning context. This study takes a next step by situating infrastructure of care in a complex planning process, when other associations, including ones not related to caring practices, are made visible. Actor-network theory is adopted as the overarching analytical tool. This means translating Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) key findings related to care-giving in the city into ANT concepts. It is done below by unpacking the similarities between the two frameworks.

First and foremost, care-givers can be understood as mediators, who do the work of bringing together heterogeneous components of the urban environment into association with one another (Rydin & Tate, 2016) "to produce a reality conducive to their own ends" (Ruming et al., 2016, p. 46) and these ends are their care-giving goals. To be able to realise their care-giving goals, the care-givers are forced to maintain the stability of the network made of these associations through constant processes of translation. Care-giving strategies featured in Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) framework represent this translation work.

The more complex the care-giving strategies become due to the obstacles that emerge between care-givers and their goals, described by Binet (2021) as care binds, the more labour-intensive the maintenance of the network becomes for the care-givers. The additional associations that need to be forged and the translations that need to be made denote the infrastructural work done by care-givers in instances when the urban infrastructure of care is inadequate (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). In addition, Binet (2021) described that with growing complexity of the care-giving strategies, the likelihood of achieving the care-goals at an optimal level tends to decrease. This is in line with Latour's (1987) description of a displacement or a drift of the initial goal as result of network-building activities requiring multiple translations, illustrated in Figure 3.

While Binet (2021) acknowledged the various contingencies that care-giving in the urban environment is subjected to, for example, how care-giving strategies might depend on each other or how changes in the urban environment influence care-giving strategies. The urban infrastructure of care framework centres around the individual experiences of care-givers related to enrolling actors and attempting to control their actions (see Callon, 1986). Consequently, the accounts that both gave rise to this framework and one that are likely to emerge from the application of this framework would describe what Latour (1999) termed as programs of action of the care-givers. Latour (1999) defined program of action as "a series of goals and steps and intentions that an agent can describe in a story" (p. 178).

These similarities gave rise to the first three sub-research questions presented below, which are formulated based on Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) infrastructure of care framework, and relate to the three main elements of care-giving experienced described in their study: components of urban environment, care-giving goals and care-giving strategies. However, since the aim of this study is to analyse processes of re-making infrastructures of care that involve also other actors and associations, the goals and strategies are not categorised as being directly related to care-giving.

Lastly, care remains relevant to this study. Therefore, fourth sub-research question was added to highlight how care operated during re-makings of infrastructure of care. This can be illuminated by the application of Callon's (1986/2007) concept of translation in combination with Tronto's (1993, 2013) phases of caring that can help to first locate caring practices in theses planning processes.

Taking everything together, the main research question, as stated in the *Introduction*, is as follows:

How were infrastructures of care re-made by involved actors through courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)?

While the four sub-questions are:

1. What components of the urban environment were relevant in the courtyard redevelopment processes in Wrocław (Poland)?
2. What were the goals of actors involved in the courtyard redevelopment processes in Wrocław (Poland)?
3. What strategies did actors employ to achieve their goals in the courtyard redevelopment processes in Wrocław (Poland)?
4. How was care translated through goals and strategies of different actors involved in the courtyard redevelopment processes and the relevant components of the urban environment in Wrocław (Poland)?

Concepts derived from the three main component of the theoretical framework used in this study: Tronto's (1993, 2013) theory of care, Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) infrastructure of care framework and actor-network theory, used to answer these questions are summarised alongside their operationalisation in Table 1 featured below.

Table 1 Operationalisation of key concepts used in this study (own work).

Concept	Definition	Operationalisation
Care	<p>Practice aimed at sustaining life by maintaining, continuing and repairing the world we live in (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, as cited in Tronto, 1993), which involves:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Caring about – recognition of unmet care needs of others (Tronto, 1993); (2) Caring for – assumption of responsibility for meeting care needs of others (Tronto, 1993, 2013); (3) Care-giving – direct meeting of care needs of others (Tronto, 1993); (4) Care-receiving – responding to received care (Tronto, 1993, 2013); (5) Caring with – engagement in democratic care (Tronto, 2013, 2019). 	<p>Practice focused on meeting needs through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) (<i>caring about</i>) Paying attention to the interests of others (humans and non-humans) in relation to the courtyards or courtyard redevelopment processes and/or recognising that there are unmet needs / identifying these needs; (2) (<i>caring for</i>) Having sense of agency / believing that something can be done to meet identified needs, setting goals related to meeting identified needs and/or voluntarily taking on the burden of realising these goals in courtyard redevelopment process; (3) (<i>care-giving</i>) Employing personal skills and using resources to take actions aimed at meeting identified needs in courtyard redevelopment processes; (4) (<i>care-receiving</i>) Responding to and/or evaluating the efficacy of the proposed or assumed ways of meeting identified needs in courtyard redevelopment processes; (5) (<i>caring with</i>) Consistent / on-going mutual support amongst (groups of) actors involved in courtyard redevelopment processes arising from shared goals related to meeting identified needs.

Care-giving goals	Care-giving outcomes toward which care-givers direct their efforts (Binet, 2021).	Goals related to meeting needs; desired outcomes or end states in which certain needs are met on a satisfactory / optimal level (see <i>Interest</i>).
Components of urban environment	Material and social elements that shape the urban environment (Binet, 2021).	Social, physical and economic components of the courtyards and of their broader context (see <i>Actor</i>).
Care-giving strategies	Premediated actions of care-givers aimed at achieving their care-giving goals, which involve negotiating the conditions of care shaped by the components of the urban environment (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023).	Plans of actions aimed at meeting needs in / through courtyard redevelopment processes, which involve arranging and assembling necessary resources (see <i>Translation</i>).
Urban infrastructures of care	Relationships between components of the urban environment that shape the conditions for care-giving (Binet 2021; Binet et al., 2023).	Combinations of specific social, physical and economic features of the courtyards that support everyday care practices of citizens (see <i>Actor-network</i>).
Actor	Humans and non-humans that instigate a change in a situation (Latour, 2005).	(1) Social actors involved in courtyard redevelopment processes. (2) Material elements of the courtyard redevelopment processes, such as elements of the built environment or documents used/created in courtyard redevelopment processes (project proposals, designs, visualisations, etc.).
Actor-network	Dynamic network of relationships in which human and non-human actors negotiate their interests (Callon, 1986).	Relationships between social actors and material elements involved in courtyard redevelopment processes.
Mediator	Actor that brings other actors into association with one another (Rydin & Tate, 2016).	Social actors or material elements that work to either create or change the relationships between other actors.
Translation	Process of network building, which involves enrolling actors into a network and ensuring the alignment of their interests, so that the network can achieve stability and pursue a common goal (Callon, 1986/2007).	Process of actors persuading other actors to pursue collective action aimed at achieving a common goal, through which individual interest of actors are to be met.
Interest	Tension that leads actors toward the achievement of their goals (Latour, 1987).	Concern, need, aspiration, etc. that motivates actors to pursue certain actions and make certain decisions.
Problematisation	Process of identifying a problem and proposing a solution that suggest a specific make-up of the actor-network (Callon, 1986/2007).	Identification of a focal problem that requires intervention.
Obligatory passage point	Means through which actors will be able to achieve their individual goals after joining the actor-network (Callon, 1986/2007).	Situation that must occur for all actors to meet their individual interests through the achievement of a collective goal.
Interessement	Process of stabilising the relationships between actors recruited into the actor-network through problematisation (Callon, 1986/2007).	Process of one actor (or a group of actors) persuading other actors to pursue collective action aimed at achieving a common goal.
Enrollment	Moment when the relationships between actors are stabilised and alliances are officially formed (Callon, 1986/2007).	Moment when one actor (or group of actors) becomes committed to pursuing collective action aimed at achieving a common goal.

Mobilisation	Moment when all the relationships within the actor-network become stable and thus, the whole actor-network can be represented by a single actor (Callon, 1986/2007).	Moment when one actor (or group of actors) is chosen to represent interests of other actors, without being questioned or opposed by these actors.
Black box	Network the constitution of which is no longer questioned or subject to negotiation (Callon & Latour, 1981).	Aspect of courtyard redevelopments that are not a subject to negotiation due to their taken-for-granted nature or to the fact that they are widely accepted as the standard.
Controversy	Moment when stability of a network is disturbed due to relations within it being questioned or re-negotiated (Callon, 1986/2007).	Moment in courtyard redevelopments when a constraint, such as scarcity of funds or formal issue, or conflict between social actors arose.

3. Methodology

The following section outlines the design of this study. Firstly, multiple case study is briefly introduced and selection criteria of the four courtyard redevelopments cases analysed are described (see sub-section 3.1.). Secondly, sub-section 3.2. presents data collection methods, including interviews and document analysis. Thirdly, thematic analysis supported by abductive coding is addressed as the data analysis method adopted in this study (see sub-section 3.3.). Then, sub-section 3.4. discusses the employed trustworthiness strategies. Lastly, ethical consideration of this study are described in sub-section 3.5.

3.1. Multiple case study

The focus of this study is on understanding the processes of re-making infrastructures of care through courtyard redevelopments, which points towards qualitative case study as the most appropriate approach. Moreover, the adopted research design is a multiple case study, whereby four courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland) will be studied. The main reason for deciding on a multiple case study approach as opposed to a single case study is pragmatic. It relates to single case studies being more vulnerable in terms of producing plausible outcomes (Yin, 2003). Therefore, to give this study the best possible chance at yielding satisfactory results, multiple case study was chosen as the preferred approach. Also, doing a multiple case study was meant to facilitate differentiation between dynamics unique to each courtyard redevelopment and dynamics, which could be understood as underlying mechanism of courtyard redevelopments present in more cases. Leading to more robust conclusions and increased generalisability of findings.

Four exemplifying cases (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2003) were selected for this study amongst courtyard redevelopment processes carried out in Wrocław (Poland) in recent years. Units of analysis in these cases were the dynamics of relationships formed between actors involved in courtyard redevelopments.

There were three case selection criteria. Firstly, the courtyards had to be located in neglected urban areas, since in these areas state-provisioned infrastructures of care are commonly lacking and/or are inadequate (see, for example, Traill et al., 2024). Therefore, investments into potential infrastructures of care, such as courtyards, realised in these areas were likely to have more significant impact on liveability. Secondly, there had to be citizen initiatives or active citizens advocating for the specific courtyards to be redeveloped vis-à-vis courtyard managers and/or the city administration. This choice was related to the fact that there was higher likelihood that this type of redevelopment was care-based. Meaning that needs of residents were prioritised in these redevelopments, rather than, for example, financial gains. This is relevant to conceptualisation of courtyard redevelopments as processes of re-making infrastructures of care. Lastly, it was required that any material changes aimed at improving functionality and liveability were made to the courtyards by their managers in the last 1-2 years. This decision was made so that the interviewees were able to recall details about processes that resulted in these changes, while also being able to reflect on them.

To preserve anonymity of interviewees, the exact location of redeveloped courtyards is not disclosed. Context of these courtyards, their approximate location and basic characteristics, including changes implemented through redevelopments, are described in *Context: Four courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)* section. However, to provide an overview, all four courtyards are situated in neighbourhoods considered degraded and revitalisation areas (*Uchwała nr XXXVIII/1019/21 Rady Miejskiej Wrocławia...*, 2021) based on a detailed diagnosis of negative social, economic, environmental, spatial, functional and technical phenomena occurring in these neighbourhoods¹ (Błaszczyk et al., 2019). Furthermore, between two and four projects related to (partial)

¹ Such diagnosis is part of the procedures for delimitating degraded and revitalisation areas preceding the enactment of Municipal Revitalisation Programmes (in Polish: *Gminny Program Rewitalizacji*, GPR) set out in the 2015 Revitalisation Act (in Polish: *Ustawa z dnia 9 października 2015 r. o rewitalizacji*).

redevelopment of each courtyard were submitted in years 2016-2023 by residents to a participatory budgeting programme implemented in Wrocław (Wrocław Civic Budget; in Polish: *Wrocławski Budżet Obywatelski*, WBO; see Box 1 for more details). Lastly, redevelopments of two out of four courtyards are still ongoing (as of June 2025). But final commissioning of at least some redevelopment works took place in all four courtyards no more than 2 years ago (as of June 2025) and as recently as during data collection for this research (March-April 2025).

Box 1 Participatory budgeting in Wrocław (Poland): Wrocław Civic Budget

Wrocław Civic Budget (in Polish: *Wrocławski Budżet Obywatelski*, WBO) was first introduced in 2013 and is currently one of three participatory budgeting programmes implemented in the city of Wrocław (Poland)². Central to Wrocław Civic Budget are project proposals put forward by citizens that indicate specific development needs in the city. These project proposals are usually collected at the beginning of each calendar year and then reviewed by city administration. The citizens that submitted the project proposals are considered project leaders and the point of contact for both citizens interested in the projects and city administration representatives reviewing the proposals. The project proposals cannot be submitted by any organisations (private, public or third sector), such as NGOs, businesses, Neighbourhood Councils, and so on. Moreover, since the projects are to be financed using public funds, the proposed developments are required to benefit the public, i.e. access to them cannot be restricted or they cannot serve a narrow group of citizens. After the proposals are approved during review process, the final list of projects is published, and public voting begins. It usually takes place in October. The votes can be casted both online and in person. Citizens of all ages and nationalities can participate in voting. The projects are chosen for implementation based on the number of votes and availability of funds, i.e. as many top-voted projects are chosen as possible until the funds designated for participatory budgeting each year run out (Wrocław.pl, 2024).

3.2. Data collection

3.2.1. Interviews

The main data collection method used in this study was the interview, as it was meant to allow for collecting detailed accounts of the interviewees' experiences related to courtyard redevelopments. The sampling strategies used to recruit study participants were generic purposive sampling and snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012). Combination of these strategies was a way of employing the "follow the actor" rule often cited as an element of the actor-network theory methodology (Latour, 2005). Employing this rule entails identifying a starting point – a social actor or a material object – and then tracing its relations to other actors or objects as they unfold from the accounts of the study participants (Latour, 2005; Rydin & Tate, 2016; Rydin, 2018).

In this study, the courtyards, or more specifically the processes of their redevelopment, were the starting points, as indicated in the *Multiple case study* section. Preliminary research into the cases using internet search and researchers' personal networks for the purpose of case selection allowed for the identification of the potential study participants, who were contacted first. They included WBO project leaders, courtyard residents, Neighbourhood Councils, Local Activity Centres, organisers and moderators of public consultation meetings related to courtyard redevelopments, courtyard managers and architects. This is when purposive sampling was employed.

Snowball sampling was also used, as either other potential study participants emerged from responses of initial study participants, and/or the initial study participants were explicitly asked to recommend other potential study participants (see English translation of interview guide in Appendix 1). Though, it is important to mention that most of study participants were targeted through purposive sampling, as information about crucial actors involved in courtyard redevelopments are public. While snowball sampling proved to be most useful to get connected with courtyard residents participating in courtyard

² The other two programmes are: (1) Neighbourhood Fund (in Polish: *Fundusz Osiedlowy*, FO) through which neighbourhood councils are empowered to decide in consultation with residents how a share of public funds assigned to each neighbourhood is to be spent, and (2) Microgrants (in Polish: *Mikrogranty*), which serve as a funding source for bottom-up initiatives (Wrocław.pl, 2021).

redevelopments or individuals within organisations knowledgeable about specific courtyard redevelopments, such as courtyard managers.

The adopted interviewing strategy was narrative interviewing (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). Narrative interviewing applied in the context of formal planning processes was discussed in literature as a useful tool for highlighting these processes as sites of contestation and their outcomes as being multiple and not the representations put forward in planning documents (Bulkens et al., 2014). This view is in line with the relativist perspective of the actor-network theory adopted in this study, which emphasises that “each practice generates its *own* material reality” (Mol, 2002, as cited in Law, 2008, p. 152, emphasis in original). Accordingly, the interview process involved the researcher prompting study participants to describe their involvement in courtyard redevelopments, from beginning to end, in a form of a narrative or a story. The prompt used by researcher to introduce this topic included a short description followed by a question aimed at eliciting the narrative (see English translation of interview guide in Appendix 1). In addition, researcher asked follow-up questions to the narrative/stories of study participants to obtain information relevant for the study that were missing in the narratives/stories. This questioning phase was guided by a topic list.

Fourteen interviews were conducted in total, three of which were conducted with pairs of study participants. Overview of the interviews carried out as part of this study is featured in Table 2. Amongst the interviewees listed in Table 2, some participated in redevelopments of more than one of the four courtyards. They included courtyard managers, City of Wrocław Public Participation Division representative, representative of participation-oriented NGO and child participation expert. Most interviewees were able to provide some information related to specific courtyard redevelopments analysed in this study. However, depending on nature of their involvement in these processes (direct/indirect, idiosyncratic/customary, particular stage/entire process, and so on), it varied how extensive were their descriptions. The only exception was the interview with City of Wrocław Public Participation Division representative (marked with an asterisk in Table 2), as it did not relate to the specific courtyard redevelopments and was strictly contextual. The interviewee provided a description of the Division’s usual or general role in courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław.

Interviews were carried out mostly in person, with a few exceptions that took place online. In addition, in case of courtyard B, three interviews were conducted in the courtyard. This approach was chosen following suggestions featured in literature about *in situ* interviewing, that this way the nature of interviewees relationship with the courtyards and processes of their change can be more easily elicited and the accounts of these relationships might be more detailed (Shareck et al., 2021). All interview-related communication with interviewees and the interviews were in Polish (see original interview guide in Polish in Appendix 1), which is the native language of all the interviewees and the researcher. Every interview was audio-recorded.

Table 2 Overview of interviews conducted during the study (own work).

	Code	Courtyards	Date	Interviewee	Location	Recording duration
1	I1	A	17.03.2025	Courtyard resident, Neighbourhood Council member	In-person	01:41:22
2	I2	C	19.03.2025	Local Activity Centre representative	Online (MS Teams)	01:28:48
3	I3	A, C	28.03.2025	Representative of participation-oriented NGO	In-person	00:54:49
4	I4	D	02.04.2025	Neighbourhood Council member, urban activist	In-person	00:47:57
5*	I5	n/a	03.04.2025	City of Wrocław Public Participation Division representative	Online (MS Teams)	00:51:46
6	I6a	A, D	04.04.2025	Courtyard manager representing an organisation managing public property	In-person	00:57:22

	I6b	A, D		Courtyard manager representing an organisation managing public property	In-person	
7	I7	A	07.04.2025	Architect	In-person	00:28:33
8	I8a	B, C	09.04.2025	Courtyard manager representing an organisation managing public property	In-person	00:56:03
	I8b	B, C		Courtyard manager representing an organisation managing public property	In-person	
9	I9	A, C	09.04.2025	Child participation expert	In-person	00:35:55
10	I10	A	10.04.2025	Local Activity Centre representative	In-person	00:53:21
11	I11	B	11.04.2025	Architect	In-person (partly <i>in-situ</i>)	01:20:02
12	I12	B	12.04.2025	Courtyard resident, Neighbourhood Council ex-member, urban activist	In-person (<i>in-situ</i>)	01:33:04
13	I13a	B	23.04.2025	Courtyard resident, Neighbourhood Council ex-member, urban activist	In-person (<i>in-situ</i>)	01:40:12
	I13b	B		Neighbourhood Council ex-member, urban activist		
14	I14	D	29.04.2025	Architect	Online (MS Teams)	01:20:42

* Contextual interview about public consultation procedures in Wrocław.

3.2.2. Document analysis

Document analysis was employed in this study as an element of actor-network theory methodology, which positions objects as actors capable of “authoriz[ing], allow[ing], afford[ing], encourage[ing], permit[ing], suggest[ing], influenc[ing], block[ing], render[ing] possible, forbid[ing], and so on” (Latour, 2005, p. 72) the actions of other (human) actors. In planning context, Rydin (2013) described a case in which planning documents acted as mediators and thus, changed the relations between other actors involved in the planning process. Therefore, identifying relevant planning documents or artefacts (designs, visualisations, and so on) was equivalent to identifying actors that shaped the actor-network. Furthermore, analysing these artefacts allowed for tracing the relations “performed into being” through them (Nimmo, 2011, p. 116), which was relevant to the focus of this study.

The process of document analysis involved “finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28) and was adopted in this study as a way of letting objects speak. The documents relevant to the analysed cases were identified by employing the same “follow the actors” ANT rule described in the sub-section above (Latour, 2005). This means that some documents emerged during the preliminary research into the cases through an internet search, while others emerged from the accounts of the study participants. Apart from letting objects speak, the document analysis facilitated triangulation of the interview data and their deeper understanding, especially if the analysed documents were mentioned by interviewees. Examples of such documents include the neighbourhood bulletin in case of courtyard A or courtyard redevelopment plan written by residents in case of courtyard B (see Table 3 below).

The titles, authors and sources of analysed documents are not disclosed to prevent identification of selected cases and thus, to protect identity of interviewees. However, it is indicated in Table 3 featured below what types of documents were analysed for each case.

Table 3 Overview of documents analysed in the study (own work).

Courtyard A		Courtyard B		Courtyard C		Courtyard D	
Type	Number	Type	Number	Type	Number	Type	Number
Social media posts	1	Social media posts	48	Social media posts	1	Social media posts	20
WBO project proposals	4	WBO project proposals	4	WBO project proposals	4	Webpage	1

FO project proposals	3	Courtyard redevelopment plan (by residents)	1	Design description	1	WBO project proposals	2
Neighbourhood bulletin	1	Media articles	9	Public consultations reports/notes (including attachments)	3	Best practice report	1
Public consultations reports/notes	2			Media articles	9	Media articles	4
Media articles	3						

3.3. Data analysis

As a preliminary step of the data analysis, the interview recordings were transcribed and simultaneously anonymised, and the collected documents (or excerpts from documents) were compiled into one document for each case to facilitate the analysis and anonymised.

Thematic analysis was the data analysis method employed in this study. It was used to identify recurring themes within the collected data, which were relevant to the research question (Braun & Clark, 2006; Bryman, 2012). Despite employing narrative interviewing, the interest was the content of interviews and not necessarily structures of narratives. Content is the focus of thematic analysis (Riessmann, 2005, 2007). Riessmann (2005) described thematic analysis as a suitable data analysis method for identifying common themes emerging across data collected from different sources and for theorising across cases. This is relevant considering that the research design adopted in this thesis was a multiple case study.

Abductive coding was employed with the help of a coding software Atlas.ti to facilitate the thematic analysis. Chosen coding approach is a combination of deductive coding, meaning that pre-defined codes derived from the theories used in this study were applied to the data, and inductive coding, which entailed the application of codes that emerged directly from the data (Thompson, 2022).

Specifically, deductive codes were derived from key concepts of actor-network theory and Tronto's (1993, 2013) phases of caring. Key concepts of actor-network theory were used to determine overarching themes, then codes that matched these themes were added inductively to facilitate identification of specific sub-themes related to goals, strategies and components of urban environment (see sub-research questions), such as reoccurring interestment strategies (see Callon, 2007/1986), occurring across four cases (see *Codebook* in Appendix 3). This approach was deemed appropriate, since courtyard redevelopments emerged in data as messy, non-linear processes with multiple translation points, described from perspectives of many participants, where no participant was considered a focal actor. The specific sub-themes were created from synthesising inductive codes matched to deductive codes during report writing process and are represented in *Results* sections as categories of components of urban environment, goals and strategies.

3.4. Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of this study was ensured by adopting triangulation as one of the strategies, which entailed using more than one data source. In this study the data was collected from two types of sources: documents and interviews, which enabled cross-verification of findings contributing to their credibility (Ahmed, 2024). Furthermore, external generalisability of findings was promoted by application of the actor-network theory as the analytical tool. It was also supported by multiple case study design aimed at producing conclusions that apply to four analysed cases (Yin, 2003). Lastly, the researcher engaged in reflexivity during data collection and data analysis, as a way of ensuring reliability of the study. Reflexivity served a tool for realising biases, which in turn made it possible for the researcher to correct their impacts on the research process (Bryman, 2012).

3.5. Ethical considerations

In this study, the data collection process involved engagement with study participants, which demanded additional measures to be taken to ensure ethical research conduct. This included making sure that the study does not inflict any harm on the study participants. However, every interaction with the study participants bared the risk of producing unintended outcomes, such as emotional distress related to sharing personal experiences or worry about maintaining professional position after sharing work experiences.

Clear communication was the basis for anticipating such risk and allowing the study participants to decide whether they were willing to take it or not. This was facilitated through the means of informed consent, which involved providing the study participants with enough information about the study, so that they can make an informed decision about their participation (Bryman, 2012; see original informed consent form in Polish presented to interviewees and its English translation in Appendix 2). It included information about the conditions of their participation and their ability to withdraw from the study at any given moment.

Amongst conditions of participation in the study aimed at minimising the risk of unintended outcomes were confidentiality and anonymity. This consideration, first and foremost, led the researcher to decide on not specifying, which courtyard redevelopments were analysed in the study, since corroborating anonymised data with public information about selected cases could reveal identities of study participants. It meant replacing identifying details related to courtyards, such as street names, with generalised descriptions in interview transcripts and analysed documents. Furthermore, it necessitated proper handling of personal information. Accordingly, interview recordings were deleted after the study was finalised. Personal information was removed from interview transcripts. Consent of study participants to including direct quotes from interviews in the final report was ensured. And option of reviewing transcripts and direct quotes on request was communicated to the study participants and followed through if requested (Research Data Management Support, 2024).

4. Context: Four courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)

Now follows a brief introduction of the four courtyard redevelopments analysed in this study. Firstly, broader context of the courtyards is described by locating them in the urban environment of Wrocław (Poland). Then, an overview of the specific courtyards is presented. Lastly, social actors participating in courtyard redevelopments identified through interviews and document analysis are listed.

This study focuses on the redevelopments of four courtyards located in the inner-city area of Wrocław, which is the third-largest Polish city inhabited by approx. 673 thousand people (as of 31 December 2024; Statistics Poland, 2025). Wrocław's inner city is a mixed-use area, which means that alongside residential buildings there is also a variety of public amenities (Mironowicz, 2016).

The courtyards are features of residential blocks comprised of historic tenement buildings. These residential blocks represent an urban form dating back to the 19th century that makes up most of the inner-city area (Mironowicz, 2016). They are characterised by high population density and complex ownership structure, which is usually a mix of public, shared and private ownership (City of Wrocław Spatial Planning Division, 2024, 2025). They are also sites of decades-long neglect, as evidenced by their status of degradation and revitalisation areas (*Uchwała nr XXXVIII/1019/21 Rady Miejskiej Wrocławia...*, 2021), granted based on the Polish Revitalisation Act (2015).

The four courtyards representing the cases analysed in this study are scattered across three neighbourhoods located east of the historic centre of the city of Wrocław. Figure 5 presents the study area comprised of (parts of) the three neighbourhoods. It also features two inset maps. One situating the study area in the city of Wrocław. And another meant to illustrate the layout of residential blocks constituting the study area by zooming in on an exemplary area within one of the neighbourhoods. Approximate locations of the courtyards are not indicated to protect the identities of interviewees representing social actors operating on a neighbourhood level, such as Neighbourhood Councils, Local Activity Centres, local partnership members, and so on.

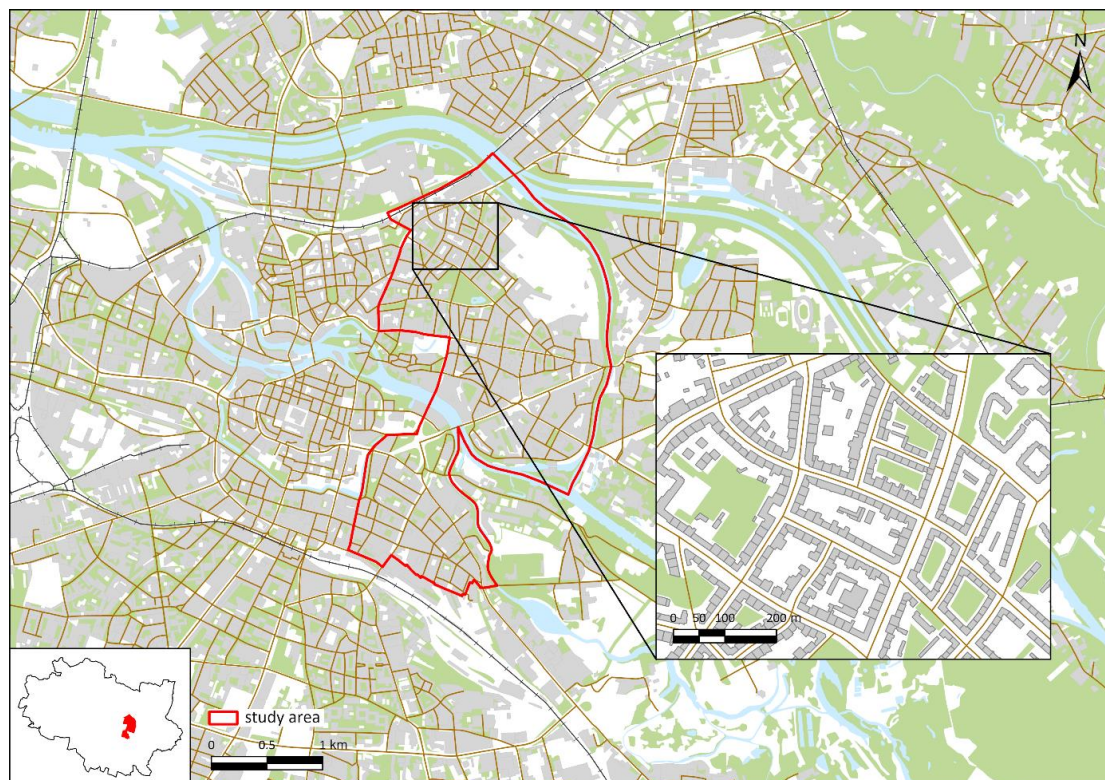






Figure 5 Study area comprised of (parts of) three neighbourhoods located east of the historic centre of the city of Wrocław (own work based on data from City of Wrocław Spatial Planning Division, n.d.-a, n.d.-b; Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, n.d., 2025).

The four courtyards differ in terms of size, access and redevelopment status (or material changes resulting from the redevelopment). By law, these courtyards are considered public spaces, which means they are managed by public entities (public property managers; in this study referred to as courtyard managers) and that they can be accessed by anyone (there are no legal restrictions in relation to access and there should be no physical restrictions as well). Table 4 features photos of the four courtyards and brief overviews of the most notable characteristics of these courtyards.

Table 4 Overview of four courtyards being the focus of the study (own work, including photographs).

Neighbourhood 1		Neighbourhood 2	Neighbourhood 3
Courtyard A	Courtyard B	Courtyard C	Courtyard D
			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - small courtyard - access* through two entrances in frontages of buildings surrounding the courtyard - outbuilding located in the centre of the courtyard - material changes in the courtyard included playground redevelopment, installation of solar streetlamps and semi-underground waste containers - efforts to realise a comprehensive redevelopment continue (as of April 2025; focused on greening of the courtyard) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - large courtyard - access* through five entrances in frontages of buildings and two entrances between buildings surrounding the courtyard - two rows of garages located in the courtyard - two public buildings located adjacent to the courtyard - material changes in the courtyard spanned a comprehensive redevelopment (road and path system, parking spaces, waste collection system, streetlights, greenery, urban furniture, sports field, outdoor gym, playground) - courtyard was not fully in use (as of May 2025; waste collection system was still undergoing technical testing before being put in use) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - large courtyard - access* through one entrance in frontages of buildings and one entrance between buildings surrounding the courtyard - car mechanic operating in a closed area of the courtyard - material changes in the courtyard spanned a comprehensive redevelopment (road and path system, parking spaces, waste collection system, streetlights, greenery, urban furniture, sports field, outdoor gym, playground) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - large courtyard functionally separated into two parts (western and eastern) by a row of garages - access* through one entrance in the frontage of a building and one entrance between buildings surrounding the courtyard - two outbuildings located in the eastern part of the courtyard - material changes in the courtyard spanned a comprehensive redevelopment of the western part of the courtyard focused on introducing recreational uses (sports field, playground, meeting spot, urban furniture, greenery) and restricting car access - construction works related to comprehensive redevelopment of the eastern side are to be started soon (as of April 2025)

*Only public entrances were considered; entrances with closed gates were excluded from the overview.

Box 2 presents identities of social actors emerging from the analysed courtyard redevelopment processes. This list is not exhaustive and includes only the social actors mentioned in interviewees and analysed documents. Social actors (or their representatives since most of these actors were groups of people) that were interviewed as part of this study are indicated by grey background and short descriptions specifying their identities (and referencing unique interviewee codes featured in Table 2 in *Methodology* section). Some interviewees assumed multiple identities (operated as multiple social actors) when participating in the courtyard redevelopment processes. It mostly related to courtyard residents who were also (ex-)members of Neighbourhood Councils. Such details are featured in Table 2 in *Methodology* section, while in *Box 2* it is specified how the interviewees are referred to in the *Results* and *Discussion* sections. Moreover, short definitions of some social actors, whose identity needed to be situated in a broader context, were included below Box 2.

Box 2 Identities of social actors involved in the analysed courtyard redevelopments identified through interviews and document analysis (own work).

Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 1
Courtyard A	Courtyard B
courtyard residents - resident of courtyard A (I1)	courtyard residents - second-generation resident of courtyard B (I13a) - third-generation resident of courtyard B (I12)
Neighbourhood Council ^[1] - resident of courtyard A (I1)	Neighbourhood Council ^[1] - second-generation resident of courtyard B (I13a) - third-generation resident of courtyard B (I12) - ex-member of Neighbourhood Council (I13b)
Local Activity Centre and partners ^[2] - Local Activity Centre representative (I10)	local public institutions (schools, church, etc.)
courtyard managers - courtyard managers (I6a, I6b)	courtyard managers - courtyard managers (I8a, I8b)
architect - architect of courtyard A (I7) (architect of playground located in courtyard A)	architect - architect of courtyard B (I11)
City of Wrocław Public Participation Division ^[4] - City of Wrocław Public Participation Division representative (I5)	community of urban activists associated with Neighbourhood Councils
participation-oriented NGO ^[4] - participation-oriented NGO representative (I3)	local media
child participation expert ^[4] - child participation expert (I9)	property owners (homeowner associations, utility managers)
property owners (homeowner associations, utility managers)	local politicians (mayor, city councillors, etc.)
local politicians (mayor, city councillors, etc.)	city administration (other non-specified City of Wrocław divisions, civil servants, etc.)
city administration (other non-specified City of Wrocław divisions, civil servants, etc.)	
Neighbourhood 2	Neighbourhood 3
Courtyard C	Courtyard D
courtyard residents	courtyard residents
Neighbourhood Council ^[1]	Neighbourhood Council ^[1] - Neighbourhood Council member (I4)
Local Activity Centre and partners ^[2] - Local Activity Centre representative (I2)	artist ^[3]
courtyard managers - courtyard managers (I8a, I8b)	courtyard managers - courtyard managers (I6a, I6b)
architect	architect - architect of courtyard D (I14)
City of Wrocław Public Participation Division ^[4] - City of Wrocław Public Participation Division representative (I5)	City of Wrocław Public Participation Division ^[4] - City of Wrocław Public Participation Division representative (I5)

participation-oriented NGO ^[4] - participation-oriented NGO representative (I3)	Wrocław Revitalisation (no longer existing public entity carrying out revitalisation efforts in Wrocław in years 2008-2019; involved in early stages of courtyard redevelopment)
child participation expert ^[4] - child participation expert (I9)	property owners (homeowner associations, utility managers)
local politicians (mayor, city councillors, etc.)	local politicians (mayor, city councillors, etc.)
city administration (other non-specified City of Wrocław divisions, civil servants, etc.)	city administration (other non-specified City of Wrocław divisions, civil servants, etc.)

[1] There are 48 neighbourhoods in Wrocław, which are subdivisions of the city created for administrative purposes. Residents of these neighbourhoods are allowed to build their own government structures, including enacting bylaws and forming executive (Neighbourhood Boards) and legislative (Neighbourhood Councils) bodies. These government structures operate as a point of contact between city government and local communities (Sas, 2023). For the sake of clarity, the distinction between Neighbourhood Boards and Councils was not made in this study. Interviewees that are/were members of either of the governing bodies were referred to as Neighbourhood Council (ex-)members.

[2] Local Activity Centres are institutions present in 24 neighbourhood in Wrocław, including the three neighbourhoods constituting the study area. They are co-financed by city government and operated by local NGOs. Their focus is on supporting local communities with the aim of developing civic society. Their activities have a two-fold nature. On the one hand, Local Activity Centres provide residents with intangible (knowledge, skills, etc.) and tangible (facilities, equipment, etc.) resources. On the other hand, their operators engage in social practices, such as responding to needs of local communities or networking. Regarding networking, Local Activity Centres are also viewed as the initiators and leading members of local partnerships, comprised of Neighbourhood Councils, public institutions (such as schools, public libraries), businesses, activist groups, and so on (Sieć Centrów Aktywności Lokalnej, 2021; Wrocław.pl, n.d.).

[3] An artist was carrying out community-building activities in courtyard D as part of a bigger project aimed at promoting local culture realised by the city of Wrocław. After a few years, these activities evolved into a community-oriented design process focused on courtyard redevelopment, which started as a bottom-up initiative, but was continued as a formal design process involving an architect, Wrocław Revitalisation (later replaced by courtyard managers), City of Wrocław Public Participation Division, and others (description based on interviews and document analysis).

[4] There has been a specific procedure for public consultation processes in Wrocław, which was followed in cases of courtyards A and C. City of Wrocław Public Participation Division has been collaborating with participation-oriented NGO on carrying out public consultation processes. They sometimes invite other actors, such as child participation expert, to support them in these efforts (description based on interviews and document analysis). Due to close collaboration on mentioned processes, in this study the three actors are sometimes collectively referred to as public participation professionals.

5. Results

In this section findings of the study are presented as follows. Firstly, images of courtyards emerging from collected data are outlined by referring to their broader context (see sub-section 5.1.1.) and their specific components (see sub-section 5.1.2.). Then, sub-section 5.2. moves onto describing courtyard redevelopments. It demonstrates goals of actors involved in courtyard redevelopments (see sub-section 5.2.1.) and strategies adopted by these actors during analysed processes (see sub-section 5.2.2.). Lastly, reception of courtyards post-redevelopment by different actors is presented (see sub-section 5.3.).

5.1. Relevant components of urban environment

5.1.1. Courtyard context

The image of courtyards emerging from the collected accounts is one of areas that have been overlooked and uncared for by city authorities for decades. Leading to them presenting as sites of degradation so severe, that they were referred to by architects of courtyards A and B, as “picture of misery and despair” and “slum”, respectively. To illustrate extent of the neglect, a few interviewees referenced events from the past that shaped the physical state of the courtyards, such as World War II, post-war communist rule or the Central European flood of 1997. For example, in cases of courtyards B and C, post-war debris and rubble was described as still (possibly) being an integral part of the courtyards’ structures at the time of redevelopment. Accordingly, many interviewees and documents presented courtyards as being barely usable prior to redevelopments. It was due to either material obstacles or lack of functional objects in courtyards. Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard A described a hypothetical situation to illustrate this. She referred to elderly residents with limited mobility going into any of the unpaved courtyards in the neighbourhood to throw away rubbish. She described that for them carrying out this simple task likely felt comparable to “[climbing] Mount Kilimanjaro”.

However, there were also accounts that suggested the courtyards were used by residents to meet neighbours, play, and so on, even in their run-down state. It was usually the courtyard community and its efforts that made it possible for the courtyards to support these activities (see *Courtyard infrastructure of (un)care* sub-section for details). This statement can serve as an example:

“But I also knew, personally, that I didn't want such a courtyard I lived in, even though it was happy. And it was caring. And there were my parents who helped us build various things here. But I wanted my children to have a 21st century courtyard, right? So... So that my daughters can go out here to play basketball, meet with friends.”

(third-generation resident of courtyard B, translated from Polish)

When describing the social character of courtyards, some interviewees echoed common perceptions of areas or neighbourhoods, where the courtyards are located, by referring to them as though or bad. These interviewees mostly represented actors that were not close to courtyard communities, such as architects or courtyard managers. On the other hand, interviewees having stronger ties with courtyard communities, including residents, Neighbourhood Council members, Local Activity Centre representatives, shared more nuanced or caring diagnoses of the social situation in these spaces. This was symptomatic of their strong sense of solidarity with local communities. For example, Neighbourhood Council member spoke up against prejudiced judgments made about residents of courtyard D in media but also acknowledged that the social revitalisation of the neighbourhood still needs work.

Demography of courtyards was also discussed in the analysed interviews and documents. Courtyards were described as inhabited by many vulnerable social groups. In the case of courtyard C, groups such as ethnic minorities, families experiencing hardship and people with limited mobility were highlighted by the Local Activity Centre representative. Last of the listed group likely included elderly people, who were also mentioned in two other cases as constituting a large share of residents inhabiting buildings

surrounding courtyards. Alongside elderly people, there were also many students, as according to a few interviewees the decreasing population of elderly residents was (and still is) compensated by an influx of students renting out flats. In the context of courtyard B, these demographic changes were dubbed as contributing to weakening social ties in the courtyard community. For example, second-generation resident of courtyard B described not recognising people in the courtyard or in her building anymore. She specifically presented students as acting more like visitors than residents, who were also not particularly interested in courtyard redevelopment. Mentions of challenges related to motivating residents to take any actions in relation to courtyard redevelopments or courtyards in general were featured in other accounts as well, which further enforces the notion of courtyards as areas with low social capital.

However, there were exceptions, as some accounts suggested courtyard communities were perceived to become more active and have strong social ties. Interviewees shared their impressions of these communities as, for example, advocating for redevelopment despite struggling in life or as working together to achieve collective goals. One of the most striking examples is that of football fans, commonly perceived as a problematic social group, being involved in the redevelopment process of courtyard D. They advocated for creating a meeting spot enabling them to continue routine group activities established prior to the redevelopment, i.e. watching football matches.

Presented perceptions of the general context of courtyards give the idea that courtyard redevelopment was viewed as having great potential to improve lives of residents. Accordingly, these perceptions served as basis for problematisations (Callon, 1986/2007) adopted by actors during courtyard redevelopments. By sharing these perceptions actors also showed that they were attentive to needs of others, i.e. that they engaged in *caring about* (Tronto, 1993). This quote from a manager of courtyard A and D about redeveloping courtyard D can serve as an example:

“We always wanted to take actions in this courtyard, because it was a disaster, not a courtyard!”

(manager of courtyards A and D, translated from Polish)

5.1.2. Courtyard components

Apart from the general context of courtyards, collected accounts also referenced specific components of courtyards. These components were usually described as (1) requiring intervention, (2) being required, or (3) needing to be preserved, if they represented elements of existing courtyard infrastructure appreciated or created by residents.

Specifically, identified courtyard components fell into six categories. These categories were defined based on what courtyards had to offer in respect to satisfying (or not) needs related to: sanitation, safety, accessibility, environment, recreation and community. Combinations of components spanning all six categories found in the courtyards constituted the courtyard infrastructures of care. This is illustrated in descriptions of the six categories of courtyard components featured below and in the *Reception of redeveloped courtyards* sub-section.

Sanitation

Sanitation issues in relation to the courtyards were voiced by several interviewees and featured in multiple documents. Ineffective waste collection system, presence of rats and people not cleaning after their dogs were the main topics regarding sanitation emerging during the courtyard redevelopment processes. This suggests that cleanliness of the living environment was a need that the residents were unable to meet in courtyards prior to redevelopments. The case of courtyard B serves as an extreme example of this. Second-generation resident of courtyard B described the courtyard as a local landfill, where residents of adjacent areas were also disposing of their waste. This quote further illustrates the extent of the problem in courtyard B:

“NC: (...) Children, who were playing around the [rubbish] bins...

R: Yes! Amongst rats. Rats were walking around!

NC: A dump. Rats were on the run. Well, in fact, sanitary inspectorate was here, and many institutions came and saw what was happening here. They were even called to assess, to urge for the project [courtyard redevelopment] to be implemented faster.”

(second-generation resident (R) and ex-member of the Neighbourhood Council (NC) of courtyard B, translated from Polish)

The situation described above was also captured by media contacted by the residents, which aided the initiation of the redevelopment process. The introduction of a proper waste collection system was also a focal point of lobbying efforts related to courtyard B, as this topic was extensively covered in a courtyard redevelopment plan written by the residents and presented to the city administration (see *Strategies* sub-section for details).

Accordingly, interviewees indicated that solutions concerning waste collection were heavily discussed during redevelopments. In the case of courtyard B, residents and architect strongly advocated for the installation of (semi-)underground waste containers. The architect described them as a standard solution for “civilised countries”, but also a novelty for courtyard managers at that time.

Safety

Several interviewees listed safety-related issues amongst problems to be addressed through courtyard redevelopment efforts. These issues included both direct threats occurring in the courtyards, such as criminal activities, but also indirect threats, such as reduced visibility during nighttime. Behaviours that the courtyards were inducive of and additional safety measures were the main components of the courtyards discussed during the redevelopment processes. It was deemed as important to eliminate crimes and anti-social behaviours encouraged by the run-down state of the courtyards. Some interviewees referenced the broken window theory and viewed the simple fact of addressing physical degradation of the courtyards as a solution to this problem. This quote from resident of courtyard A describing the logic behind opting for playground redevelopment can serve as an example:

“But also, probably, a social reason, because there are also such... I have even heard that there are such studies. But also, the police mentioned to us [the neighbourhood council]. (...) That generally where there is a place, where... Such as playgrounds... A public place, there are also fewer minor crimes, acts of vandalism, things like that. That, if there are many eyes directed at some point [place], such as a playground that integrates residents, then this kind of things happen less often.”

(resident of courtyard A, translated from Polish)

The discussions pertaining to additional safety measures concerned installation of surveillance cameras and streetlights. In the case of courtyards A and B, installation of streetlights was an improvement requested by the residents through projects submitted to the participatory budgeting programmes available in Wrocław (see *Strategies* sub-section for details).

Accessibility

Another group of components was related to accessibility of the courtyards. These components included walkability and accessibility by car. Walkability of courtyards was usually restricted because of unpaved surface and drainage issues. For example, interviewees mentioned the necessity of going to the courtyards in rainboots when taking out rubbish or the inability to cross the courtyards “with a dry foot”. This issue was especially highlighted in the case of courtyard C. Puddle forming in the middle of the courtyard after heavy rainfalls was often brought up in the context of the redevelopment. Media articles, Local Activity Centre representative and courtyard managers referenced a common perception of the courtyard as the “lake district” of the neighbourhood. Accordingly, paving the surface of the courtyards and implementing water drainage and/or retention solutions were often posited as important tasks to be undertaken during redevelopments.

In terms of accessibility of the courtyards by car, issues of limited parking spaces were often highlighted. Architect of courtyard D reflected on the consultation process related to his recreation-oriented design of the courtyard as such:

“But also, at these meetings started appearing, as I mentioned earlier, people who had not been involved [in the courtyard redevelopment process] before, and were most interested in this space [western part of courtyard D] not being so green, or so recreational, but also car-friendly and intended for... For these parking spaces. So, these meetings sometimes, well, reached a quite heated tone.”

(architect of courtyard D, translated from Polish)

Accessibility of courtyards by car was a contentious topic in the context of the redevelopments, mentioned in all four cases. Some interviewees suggested that it is important for families with young children or elderly people, also in case of emergency (ambulance access). And that considering the challenges related to parking in densely built-up inner-city area, courtyards should retain parking function. While others viewed courtyards as primarily recreational spaces.

Only in the case of courtyard D accessibility of cars was (partly) restricted, while in other cases implemented solutions concerned organising parking by creating designated spaces. This was a response to chaotic parking caused by lack of such spaces prior to redevelopments. These solutions often left the impression amongst the residents that there will be fewer parking spaces, leading to controversies. Also, issues of people from other areas using the courtyards to park their cars were brought up, especially in the case of courtyards B and C. They raised discussions about the accessibility of courtyards to car users that do not reside in the surrounding buildings. However, ideas related to restricting the access to the courtyards were usually turned down.

Environment

Residential areas where courtyards are located were described in several interviews and documents as having scarce greenery and being affected by the summer heat more intensely than other areas in the city. Local Activity Centre representative mentioned these issues, while listing the needs expressed by residents during consultations in the case of courtyard C:

“There was also a lot about greenery [during consultations]. About the fact that it is very hot there. Indeed, in July, June and August, the temperatures there are awful. And it's really hard to find a space where... Where one can in general... During the day, use this courtyard. [The neighbourhood where courtyard C is located] is in general covered in concrete and it is a heat island from A to Z.”

(Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard C, translated from Polish)

This suggests that the components of courtyards related to environment most relevant in the context of the redevelopments included greenery and shade. Apart from providing shade, the greenery was also presented as being part of surroundings conducive of recreational activities. For example, during the design process for courtyard B, the idea of creating a pergola and locating benches underneath it was equated by interviewees with providing a recreational space for elderly residents. The need to preserve existing and provide additional greenery was also voiced during consultations regarding playground redevelopment in the case of courtyard A, as per the architect and the courtyard managers. Two projects concerning greening of courtyard A were submitted by the resident and the Neighbourhood Council to participatory budgeting programmes (see *Strategies* sub-section for details).

Recreation

Other components of courtyards emerging in the analysed redevelopment processes were recreational opportunities. Courtyards were presented by some as easily accessible recreational spaces. Examples highlighting the close-to-home property of courtyards included children playing outside, while parents can watch them from home, and elderly people with limited mobility getting to

enjoy outdoor time and social interactions. Some accounts suggest that the courtyards served this role even prior to the redevelopment. However, other components of the courtyards that were not taken care of, including ones related to sanitation or safety, were affecting the comfort with which residents could engage in recreational activities (see quote describing children playing near rubbish bins and rats above as an example). Accordingly, for example, the architect of courtyard A highlighted that the goal was to create a *safe* playground for children in place of the old playground that was considered a safety hazard and eventually demolished, as per resident of courtyard A and courtyard managers.

Interestingly, these old structures, also present in other courtyards, were often maintained by courtyard communities. This was the case for a sports field in courtyard B, as per third-generation resident. It was also mentioned in the context of the playground in courtyard A. Courtyard managers described that the story of the playground being of special significance to the courtyard community was featured in a request written to them by a city councillor. The mentioned request prompted the courtyard managers to redevelop the playground. This illustrates how these components were interrelated with the community dimension of the courtyards. What further illustrates this is that some interviews and documents pointed towards creating inclusive recreational spaces in the courtyards, as evidenced by this quote:

“We also knew that we wanted to combine the interests of various social groups, i.e. children, adults, the elderly, in-school youth... Primary school level, but also students and high school youth. So, hence the multifunctional sports field, where everyone can do sports, the gym for the elderly, the benches that are under the trees, where one can also relax and catch one’s breath in our urban space dominated by concrete.”

(third-generation resident of courtyard B, translated from Polish)

Community

When discussing the courtyards, some interviewees demonstrated examples of residents’ attachments to the courtyards and of ties between residents that were made visible during the redevelopment process. Consequently, relations within the courtyards encompassing both people and objects represented courtyard components relevant in the context of the redevelopments. These relations usually surfaced when the involved actors aimed to preserve and/or foster them through the proposed changes to the courtyards. This also illustrates the role of courtyards in supporting the satisfaction of needs related to belonging.

The mentioned examples often referenced routines or habits of residents presented by interviewees as important to consider during redevelopments. This is how third-generation resident described it in relation to courtyard B:

“On the other hand, the rest was arranged by us [a group of a few courtyard residents] from the beginning but also considering factors such as habits of the residents. So, where would they like to collect waste? What are the old, trampled paths? What spaces are better for some laid-back leisure? For proverbial ‘catching of one’s breath’ and so on.”

(third-generation resident of courtyard B, translated from Polish)

More emotional, as opposed to functional, attachments were also brought up by residents during consultations. Third-generation resident of courtyard B described courtyard residents advocating for preservation of greenery they maintained for years. According to him, the greenery represented legacy or memory of deceased residents that lives on as part of the courtyard identity.

Lastly, in two out of four cases, residents required that new possibilities for maintaining the courtyards be facilitated. For example, both bare patches of soil and access to water source were provided for residents in courtyard D through redevelopment efforts. Everything described above illustrates that in some instances the courtyards served not only as sites of care, but they were also the objects of care.

5.2. Courtyard redevelopments

In the analysed cases, upon recognising that courtyards required intervention (see sub-section above), actors took actions to redevelop them. In these processes, individual actors were motivated by specific goals and employed various strategies with the aim of achieving them. Both goals and strategies of the actors involved in courtyard redevelopments that were identified in this study are addressed in detail below.

5.2.1. Goals

Five main categories of goals were identified based on the collected accounts. These categories include goals related to: (1) improving place of living and/or working, (2) responding to needs of residents, (3) fulfilling duties, (4) achieving personal gains, and (5) promoting broader change. They are presented below. It is important to highlight that interviewees and documents often described goals of actors that were multidimensional, i.e. they described a single actor being driven by goals spanning more than one out of five categories.

Improving place of living and/or working

Goals related to improving place of living and/or working were usually expressed by courtyard residents, Neighbourhood Council members and Local Activity Centre representatives. They were also mentioned by architect of courtyard D. They represent actors who stemmed from within the courtyard or neighbourhood communities, which led them to have strong, often personal, ties to the courtyards prior to the redevelopments. This is well-illustrated by this quote from the Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard A:

“You know, we are the residents of this place, right? This is our neighbourhood, we live here and also... And if we don't live... Well, not all of the employees [of the NGO operating the Local Activity Centre] now, but most of the people who are part of the board [of the NGO], or are involved in our activities, are the residents of the neighbourhood. So, these are all our friends, neighbours.”

(Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard A, translated from Polish)

Specific goals described by these actors focused on promoting (1) material changes, (2) community-building or (3) general improvement in place of living and/or working. In relation to promoting material changes, interviewed residents referred to being bothered by disorder, which they viewed as something that takes away from what is otherwise a great place of living. They also equated shaping courtyards so that they are tidy and respond to needs of residents with encouraging positive social behaviours and interactions in these courtyards. Community-building was described as the focal point of involvement in courtyard redevelopments by Local Activity Centre representatives. They focused on fostering sense of agency amongst residents with the final goal of creating resilient communities. While other interviewees, such as Neighbourhood Council member and architect of courtyard D, were preoccupied with improving multidimensional or general quality of life in the neighbourhood.

For most interviewees motivated by described goals, striving for better place of living and/or working was an obvious part of their day-to-day. They were familiar with local needs and viewed courtyard redevelopments as part of larger transformation processes. For example, Neighbourhood Council member of courtyard D presented the courtyard redevelopment as one small component of improving the quality of life in the neighbourhood. Also, actions of these interviewees were often rooted in sense of solidarity with local communities. Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard A stated that everything they do is “sifted through broad public interest” and that there are no activities of theirs that “do not stem from care”. Indicating *caring with* (Tronto, 2013) as the domain of care they operate in, as they were engaged in on-going care for the neighbourhood.

Responding to needs of residents

Second category of goals related to responding to needs of residents. Courtyard managers and architects referred to these goals most often. They described wanting “do something for residents”, aiming to realise courtyards that would serve residents by fulfilling their needs, wishes, dreams, and so on, or having needs of residents dictate their work. But mostly, when expressing these goals, interviewees focused on improving residents’ “comfort and quality of life”, by directly meeting their needs, which points towards *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993). According to managers of courtyards A and D, this was always what they aimed for during any redevelopments. On the other hand, architect of courtyard A agreed that her work could be viewed as a form of caring for the courtyard residents’ well-being. But she also pointed out that it was not “significant care”, since she did not live there nor kept in touch with the residents.

This perspective demonstrates a characteristic of these goals that separates them from the goals related to improving place of living and/or working. Actors who expressed them did not have close ties with the courtyards, understood as both physical settings and communities. They did not live anywhere near these courtyards and were only made aware of the needs related to them when these needs were “brought” to them by residents. This quote from a manager of courtyards B and C serve as good illustration of goals related to responding to needs of residents:

“We do not make monuments for the [courtyard managers], because it is... We... This is to make it easier for us to operate [the courtyards]. Of course. But above all, it is used by the residents, that is... I will say, well, I sometimes go to these courtyards to see their technical condition, but I do not live there. So, no... Not for ourselves, right? We do it. We do this for those who are reporting problems and... And needs... At our meetings with the residents.”

(manager of courtyards B and C, translated from Polish)

Fulfilling duties

Quote featured above also mentions another goal commonly expressed by courtyard managers. This goal focused on maintaining and servicing courtyards. It fits into the third category of goals related to fulfilling duties, alongside the goal of shaping participation spaces referenced by public participation professionals. In relation to maintaining and servicing the courtyards, courtyard managers described, for example, protecting buildings from being flooded. They mentioned being aware of technical needs of courtyards thanks to routine technical checks. Collected accounts suggest that courtyard managers viewed courtyard redevelopments as opportunities to kill two birds with one stone. As they combined interventions aimed at meeting needs of residents and technical needs of courtyards. For example, managers of courtyard A described addressing drainage issues and paving surface near buildings to prevent flooding during playground redevelopment. Accordingly, goals corresponding with directly responding to needs of objects are also indicative of *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993). However, managers of courtyards B and C pointed out that since they are working for a public entity, they must have caring orientation or “optics”, suggesting that caring itself in this context was perceived by them as a duty.

Goals from this group were also referenced by public participation professionals. They were related to shaping participation spaces, which involved facilitating dialogue between city authorities and residents, having greater influence on city governance. Representative of participation-oriented NGO acknowledged that these goals aligned with the NGO’s mission of promoting and implementing public participation in Poland. At the same time, all public participation professionals described that they were motivated by this being their job. They mentioned, for example, working based on a grant, asking public entities to submit requests for consultations out of obligation or having regular meetings with other public participation professionals to arrange consultations and already working on almost forty of them. Though they also emphasised that doing their job well, i.e. enabling inclusion to materialise during participation processes, was of significance to them. Having self-satisfaction and being perceived as good at their job were also listed as aspects of this goal. Therefore, these actors viewed

participation in courtyard redevelopments as just another task, but also as an opportunity to do a good job. This quote illustrates everything described above well:

“As I was saying, we do not choose these topics for consultations. They come to us by themselves. So, we are more interested to, no matter what topic comes, what story, whether abstract or... Or quite concrete. To conduct this conversation well, right? To feel this sort of self-satisfaction, right? But also, so those who come [to the consultation meeting], but also the civil servants, so that they would be happy, that it was a good meeting, right? So, I think we care more about that.”

(representative of participation-oriented NGO, translated from Polish)

While the desire of fulfilling one's duties well so all participants of consultation processes can be satisfied with their outcomes points toward *caring with* (Tronto, 2013), according to interviewees emotional relations did not play a role in this. Public participation professionals mentioned not needing to care or deliberately not caring as part of work ethic. Specifically, representative of participation-oriented NGO emphasised the importance of being neutral or “transparent” when involved in courtyard redevelopments for them to be successful. Again, positioning caring in this context as a duty and not a personal experience.

Interestingly, Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard C also acknowledged that caring for the local community is part of the NGO's duties. He specifically mentioned writing evaluation reports for the city administration describing their activities. In that he emphasised wanting to do a good job and for his team to be perceived as “a safe pair of hands”.

Achieving personal gains

There were also actors who participated in the courtyard redevelopments for personal gain. In collected data, groups of actors, whose goals were related to satisfy their individual interests, was represented mostly by architects, an artist and local politicians. Two out of three interviewed architects brought up the notion of authorship. They described designs as pieces of work they have author's right to and being mentioned as authors of these designs in media. Pointing towards ambitions of being recognised for their involvement in courtyard redevelopments or being able to present it as one of their achievements. These goals were most prevalent in case of courtyard D. There were tensions between the architect and the artist caused by struggles over creative control and authorship of the final design of the courtyard. In addition to this, being able to feel proud and striving for the final design to adequately represent one's orientation was of importance to interviewed architects. For example, architect of courtyard B described refusing to propose solutions below a standard set by “civilised” Western countries and potentially feeling ashamed if he was not able to follow through with that. Adhering to a standard different to the one set in Wrocław also related to a goal focused on promoting broader change described in detail below.

Interestingly, for the interviewed architects, who were paid for their services, monetary gains were not so much of significance. Conversely, architects of courtyard B and D described designing courtyards as becoming unprofitable for them in the process, due to, for example, low base rate and redevelopments being dragged in time.

When it comes to local politicians, they were not represented amongst interviewees, so only perceptions of their goals by other actors were featured in collected accounts. These perceptions related to goals of the Mayor of Wrocław (or city administration in general) were referenced in three out of four cases. It was implied that the city administration was involved in courtyard redevelopments because of the Mayor's ambitions of gaining public support to secure his political legitimacy. For example, according to architect of courtyard D, highly publicised success of community-building activities carried out by the artist in courtyard D was likely not without its meaning when the Mayor advocated for continuing the redevelopment despite years of struggle. The struggles being caused by formal constraints, material constraints of the courtyard, conflicts between actors, and so on. The architect also highlighted that the Mayor had background in social work, making the bottom-up

character of redevelopment even more appealing. Everything described above points towards these goals being self-serving and not caring.

Promoting broader change

Architect of courtyard D also claimed that the success of the community-building activities accompanying courtyard redevelopment was to be used for creating an example of best practice by city administration. This goal fits into another category, which groups goals related to promoting broader change. These goals were not common amongst actors. Only three interviewees and one document referred to them. The interviewees included architects of courtyards B and D, and third-generation resident of courtyard B. Goals related to promoting broader change were dictated by overarching ambition to disseminate planning and design approaches adopted in courtyard redevelopments. On the one hand, architects (and city administration) strived to promote solutions that could be deemed as breaking the mold. These actors focused on showing how things can be done differently in respect to courtyard redevelopments. Case of courtyard D is most illustrative. Hiring a professional (artist) to activate courtyard community and ensure its full participation was positioned as testing a “model” approach to planning/designing public spaces by city administration. While the architect considered creating a design prioritising walkability and green and recreational spaces non-standard for densely built-up urban areas.

On the other hand, third-generation resident of courtyard B was hoping to build a courtyard redevelopment process that could pave the way. This goal focused on taking note of experiences that could be worth sharing with others to make courtyard redevelopments easier for them. It was about leading with an example that redeveloping courtyards is possible and causing a ripple effect. This is well-illustrated by the quote:

“[Describing goals driving his actions in courtyard redevelopment] Developing a kind of model form of cooperation and participation. And translating this into a broad city programme, first a neighbourhood programme, and then a city programme in Wrocław. (...) Because I would like to walk through [the name of the neighbourhood where courtyard B is located] in a few years, when my daughters are already adults, and say ‘Damn... Nice residents live here. It’s great there. They are satisfied here...’. Of course, you can never please everyone, right? Because it doesn’t happen like that. But see how this space looks like, and if we went to the courtyards nearby, it is not so great. I would like the courtyards nearby to look like this as well.”

(third-generation resident of courtyard B, translated from Polish)

The quote demonstrates that this goal stemmed from solidarity with residents of whole neighbourhood and city. Similarly, architect of courtyard D stated that promoting nature-inclusive design was generally something he was passionate about in his work, also in other projects, suggesting his solidarity with both humans and non-humans. In these contexts, goals related to promoting broader change were caring goals, indicative of *caring with* (Tronto, 2013). However, collected accounts also suggested that other actors, mostly city administration, might have equated promoting broader changes with gaining broader recognition. Specifically, third-generation resident of courtyard B mentioned local politicians “signing under” courtyard redevelopment city programmes created based on initial ideas “sold to them” by him and his collaborators. This points towards goals related to achieving personal gains (see above).

5.2.2. Strategies

Sub-section above presented an overview of goals driving actors involved in courtyard redevelopments. To achieve their goals, these actors employed ranges of strategies, which were also of interest in this study. Strategies of actors identified across the four analysed cases of courtyard redevelopments are described in this sub-section.

These strategies were categorised as being related to: (1) advocating for and initiating courtyard redevelopments, (2) assembling and managing resources necessary for redevelopments, (3) visioning

and designing courtyards, and (4) keeping in touch with communities. Each category of strategies is addressed below in detail.

Advocating for and initiating courtyard redevelopments

First category groups strategies employed by actors early on in analysed processes with the intention of enrolling courtyard managers into the courtyard redevelopment actor-networks, therefore they can be considered interestment strategies (Callon, 1986/2007). Across the four analysed cases, these strategies were used by residents, Neighbourhood Councils and city councillors. They included efforts related to submitting project proposals to participatory budgeting (PB) programmes implemented in Wrocław, lobbying and enrolling media.

Submitting project proposals to participatory budgeting programmes

Amongst the PB programmes implemented in Wrocław by city administration, two were the most relevant in the context of initiating courtyard redevelopments. Interviewees and documents described submitting project proposals to the Wrocław Civic Budget (WBO) and the Neighbourhood Fund (FO). The former programme was mentioned in all four cases, while the latter in two cases. The logic behind submitting these project proposals was to earmark certain amounts of public funds to be handed over to courtyard managers and put towards redevelopments of indicated courtyards in specified budgeting periods. For this to happen, residents followed two paths, depending on the programme they choose to participate in. In the case of FO, resident of courtyard A described proposing ideas for projects to the Neighbourhood Council. These ideas were later included by the Neighbourhood Council in a ranked list of projects submitted to city administration. On the other hand, securing funds through WBO involved campaigning for public votes, as only if the projects passed review done by the city administration and enough public votes were collected, they were selected for implementation. Case of courtyard A can serve as an illustration. Resident of courtyard A, also representing the Neighbourhood Council, described submitting several projects related to redevelopment of the courtyard to both programmes since 2019. He specifically mentioned proposing projects concerning small developments, such as upgrades of waste collection systems, installations of streetlights or planting of additional greenery, scattered across multiple locations in the neighbourhood, including courtyard A. This quote demonstrates well the mechanism of using this approach, or strategy of submitting project proposals to PB programmes in general, to initiate redevelopment of courtyards:

“That is, some small things that can be scattered around all the courtyards to, so to speak, break the ground. Because it also turns out that this is also an effective way to revitalize these courtyards in general. That is, to simply force civil servants to act. Even if you do something, a playground, anything, someone has to go after it. Someone has to check all these permits. And it is starting to happen, you know?”

(resident of courtyard A, translated from Polish)

Lobbying

Furthermore, data collected for all four cases featured descriptions of lobbying efforts carried out by residents, Neighbourhood Councils or city councillors in early stages of courtyard redevelopments. These actors aimed to enrol courtyard managers into courtyard redevelopment actor-networks by urging them directly or indirectly (for example, by targeting city officials) to start an intervention in the courtyards. They did this using direct communication methods, which included passing resolutions, sending requests and e-mails, making phone calls and attending public meetings. For example, third-generation resident of courtyard B, also representing the Neighbourhood Council at the time of redevelopment initiation, described creating a plan for redevelopment of courtyards in the neighbourhood in collaboration with another courtyard resident. He stated that the plan was passed around amongst various city officials. It was also adopted as a resolution of the Neighbourhood Council. In this plan, redevelopment of courtyard A was proposed as a pilot. This is how the third-generation resident of courtyard A described his lobbying efforts related to the plan:

“I just had the feeling that I was probably coming out of their fridges, of these [city] officials. In the windows, when they open it, they also see my face somewhere. This project ‘Courtyards for [name of the neighbourhood where yard B is located]’ was everywhere.”

(third-generation resident of courtyard B, translated from Polish)

Enrolling media

Involvement of media also played a role in initiating courtyard redevelopments in two of the four analysed cases. In cases of courtyards B and D, residents aimed to enrol courtyard managers by bringing media attention to the degraded courtyards via, for example, building relationships with journalists and collaborating with them on media articles or TV features, sending letters to local papers, posting on social media platforms or participating in activities carried out by an artist as part of a highly publicised event. The most detailed description of this strategy was provided by interviewees in the context of courtyard B. Third-generation resident of courtyard B admitted to contacting local TV station, which produced a TV feature showcasing state of the courtyard, and especially the lack of proper waste collection system and presence of rats. However, he emphasised that his intention was not to point fingers at the city authorities, but rather to initiate dialogue. This strategy proved to be successful. Third-generation resident mentioned receiving phone calls from the Mayor and courtyard managers following the TV appearance. While interviewed architect also shared that he was first contacted by the courtyard managers around the time the situation in courtyard B was publicised.

Overall, the three strategies represent targeted actions taken by actors upon recognising that conditions in the courtyards posed challenges to residents trying to satisfy their basic needs. For example, resident of courtyard A described moving into one of the buildings surrounding the courtyard, being confronted with its state and attending meetings organised by the Neighbourhood Council to propose WBO or FO projects related to its redevelopment. This shows that through these strategies, actors engaged in *caring about* and *caring for*, i.e. in identifying unmet needs and taking responsibility for satisfying them (Tronto, 1993, 2013).

However, it was not without sacrifice or challenges of their own. The described strategies required actors to spend considerable time and effort. Third-generation resident of courtyard B, who employed all of them throughout the courtyard redevelopment, stated that he had to make trade-offs with family time. It was common for actors to use more than one of the strategies or make multiple attempts, for example, by submitting WBO or FO projects in a few consecutive editions of the programmes. Also, it was reported in all cases that the hit-or-miss effectiveness of these strategies led to grievances and mistrust towards the city authorities and/or diminishing interest in supporting any bottom-up initiatives amongst residents. This in turn, for example, made campaigning for WBO projects more demanding.

Assembling and managing resources necessary for redevelopments

Another category of strategies employed during courtyard redevelopment focuses on assembling and managing resources necessary for the redevelopments. These strategies were directly aimed at bringing about material changes in courtyards that would meet needs and expectations of residents, and standards set for public spaces, for example, by law. Specifically, interviewees and documents described surveying courtyards, enrolling professionals, making “funding collages” and phasing redevelopments. Courtyard managers, architects and public participation professionals were the main actors using these strategies.

Surveying courtyards

Interviewed courtyard managers mentioned going to the courtyards to assess their condition. They were either prompted by requests to redevelop these courtyards received from residents (or other actors on behalf of residents, for example, city councillors via lobbying, Neighbourhood Councils via FO), or they did it as part of their routine technical checks. These visits marked moments in courtyard

redevelopments when initial decisions about taking up redevelopment efforts were made by courtyard managers. Though these intentions often did not materialise for long periods of time, for example, due to scarcity of funds available for redevelopments or formal constraints, such as restricted legal access to courtyards. Obtaining legal access to courtyards required courtyard managers to sign servitude agreements with housing or homeowner associations usually owning the entrance plots to courtyards. This issue emerged in cases of courtyards A and D. In case of courtyard A, legal access to the courtyard had not been obtained by courtyard managers as of April 2025, blocking further redevelopment efforts. On the other hand, interviewed architects described visiting courtyards before starting their work on courtyard designs. Amongst activities they engaged in during these visits, they mentioned taking photographs and measurements, “feeling the atmosphere”, having quick conversations with passer-by residents and participating in an event organised in the courtyard.

Enrolling professionals

In terms of enrolling professionals, interviews and documents featured descriptions of courtyard managers recruiting architects and construction companies through tendering procedures to realise different tasks during redevelopments, such as to prepare complete design documentation or to execute construction works. Two out of three interviewed architects were invited by the courtyard managers to participate in the tenders based on previous experiences working with them or with city administration in general. In addition, in the context of courtyards A and C, courtyard managers were mentioned submitting requests to the City of Wrocław Public Participation Division for consultation processes related to courtyard redevelopments to be carried out. In both cases, this prompted the Division to enrol third sector public participation professionals, including child participation expert. In the case of courtyard D, the artist was enrolled to execute the consultation. This strategy was also employed by interviewed architects, who referenced working together with other professionals specialising in, for example, designing utility infrastructure, to prepare the complete design documentation.

Making “funding collages”

In response to scarcity of funds mentioned above, courtyard managers made “funding collages”. Initially obtained funds, for example through WBO or FO, were usually not enough to cover the costs of comprehensive courtyard redevelopments, which resulted in courtyard managers using funds gathered from different sources for each redevelopment. For example, redevelopment of courtyard B was financed through two PB programmes (WBO and a programme operating as predecessor of FO), additional public funds and EU funds obtained by courtyard managers. These collections of funds were referred to as “funding collages” by Neighbourhood Council member of courtyard D. She explained:

“We knew that 750 thousand [zlotys made available through the WBO] was not enough. But we also have (...) this experience. We know that then the City adds in [funds], and they [funds] make such collages, right? That you collect money from various sources. And that's what we wanted.”

(Neighbourhood Council member of courtyard D, translated from Polish)

Based on this common knowledge, the strategy was replicated by residents and Neighbourhood Councils in cases of courtyards A and B, who submitted a single project proposal related to a small development or multiple such projects for one courtyard.

Phasing redevelopments

Another strategy used exclusively by courtyard managers in three out of four cases related to realising construction works in courtyards in distinct phases. The aim was to efficiently use funds available at a given time by, for example, addressing most burning issues first, or to “buy some time” for getting additional funding. Courtyard C can serve as an example. Interviewed managers of courtyard C described starting the redevelopment with realising bin shelters, only to continue with the rest of redevelopment efforts, including recreation spaces, road system, and so on, once EU funds were

obtained. This strategy was also employed to ensure at least partial functionality of courtyards during construction stage or as a result of restricted legal access to some part of the courtyards (case of courtyard D). However, decisions related to phasing redevelopments were contingent, which was most prominent in the case of courtyard B. Comprehensive redevelopment of courtyard B was initially split into four phases, which later were to be implemented as two phases, only for the entire redevelopment to be realised in one go, meaning that the phases were implemented one after another without breaks. During interview architect of courtyard B complained about constant adjustments he had to make in design documentation, including cost estimates, because of, for example, courtyard managers changing phasing of the redevelopment. At the same time, interviewed residents and ex-members of Neighbourhood Council of courtyard B acknowledged that external factors, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, war in Ukraine or inflation, also affected the choices courtyard managers could make in relation to carrying out the construction works in courtyards.

Other external factors influencing courtyard redevelopments, though not necessarily their phasing, but their time frame, were also mentioned in other cases. They included public entities being understaffed, political changes and responsibilities being moved from one public entity to another. Nevertheless, delays or plan alterations caused by these and other contingencies, were dubbed by some of the interviewed residents and architects as poor management of redevelopments on courtyard managers' side. Specifically, architects of courtyards B and D described courtyard managers failing to fulfil their tasks during courtyard redevelopments, which at times caused the architects to take over these tasks.

As demonstrated, strategies included in this category described actions aimed at providing adequate material conditions, as defined by residents and law, and thus enabling satisfaction of needs in the courtyards. This way, actors employing these strategies engaged in *care-giving*, i.e. in direct meeting of needs (Tronto, 1993). This quote from managers of courtyards A and D can serve as an example further highlighting the focus of these strategies:

"We went, we saw it, we decided that it [redevelopment of the playground] was necessary. And we started this... We wanted to make a design, but it was a bit complicated. There was no money. And we finally made this simplified design. (...) And our designer, whom we selected, started to make sort of a concept, a consideration. It turned out that there is a very complicated problem, because no conditions imposed by the construction law are met. [The playground was] [t]oo close to the windows, too close to the rubbish bins, and so on."

(managers of courtyards A and D, translated from Polish)

Visioning and designing courtyards

Range of strategies concerning visioning and designing courtyards was also employed during courtyard redevelopments. These strategies served actors to arrive at or develop concrete plans for redevelopments of courtyards and included actions aimed working out practical steps and solutions. They focused on either proposing these solutions or designing agreeable solutions. Residents, Neighbourhood Councils, architects, courtyard managers and local politicians were the actors that used these strategies in pursuit of their goals.

Proposing solutions

Solutions specifying how degradation of the courtyards should be addressed were proposed by actors in each of the analysed cases. These actors either referenced certain material changes to be implemented in courtyards or adopted a more holistic approach by creating more robust plans or programmes, which also considered the processual aspects of courtyard redevelopments. Actors putting forward proposals related to material changes included residents and Neighbourhood Councils, who, for example, listed design solutions for courtyards in WBO and FO projects or put forward ideas during consultations, and architects who presented their drawings of courtyard designs during meetings with residents. On the other hand, examples of the plans/programmes include the

plan used by a resident for lobbying in case of courtyard B (described in detail above) and courtyard redevelopment programme created by the Mayor.

These actions demonstrate that actors went beyond just identifying unmet needs in relation to courtyard to also determine how to address them, which denotes *caring for* (Tronto, 2013). Proposing concrete solutions signifies actors taking on some of the burden of satisfying these needs. This quote from the Mayor featured in media article announcing the *Programme for the Comprehensive Modernisation of Public Courtyards 2021-2024* highlights this well:

“We are starting with a very ambitious program, taking into account the scale, time of implementation and the current pandemic situation also affecting the city's finances. (...) Gathering these plans into one program is not only our public commitment, but also easier planning of further works and securing funds.”

(Mayor of Wrocław, as cited in a media article, translated from Polish)

Designing agreeable solutions

While the mentioned programmes were not deliberated during redevelopments, many actors had diverging visions related to the design solutions that should be applied in courtyards (as mentioned in the *Courtyard components* sub-section). Courtyard managers were usually the initial reviewers of solutions proposed for courtyards by residents or Neighbourhood Councils, for example, in WBO or FO projects, or during consultations (see their responses to residents' opinions featured in public consultation reports/notes). However, mostly architects, responsible for preparing the final designs of courtyards, employed strategies aimed at creating design solutions that were agreeable. Apart from having to consider, often conflicting, opinions of residents received during consultation meetings, they also had to fulfil requests made by courtyard managers. All while having their own vision and being constrained by laws and regulations, material components of courtyards, and so on. They juggled these relations by, for example, proposing alternative solutions, adjusting proposed solutions or using their expertise, including knowledge of laws and regulations, to convince other actors to their design choices. This was described in the context of three out of the four courtyards, but description provided by interviewees in relation to courtyard A is most illustrative. During consultation meeting in the courtyard, the architect presented three versions of playground design brought photos of playground toys that could be included in the courtyard for it to comply with building regulations. Final design was comprised of elements of the three versions chosen by residents (children and adults) that could fit in the small space of the courtyard. Architect also mentioned going over the final design with courtyard managers to ensure the redevelopment would stay within budget.

These steps taken by architects also contributed to direct meeting of needs of residents by securing conditions for care in courtyards. By creating final designs that were later materialised architects engaged in *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993). It was apparent in how architects explained their designs or design choices they made for the courtyards. This quote from architect of courtyard A can serve as an example:

“Well, one couldn't go too crazy. Because I had a tiny section of a large courtyard [to make a design for]. The only thing I could do was to protect those residents living in the nearest tenement building, so that they wouldn't be bothered by this noise [from the playground] later. And protect the kids. Their entrance to this playground, their safety, well the physical one. Because cars park there very close [to the playground], so we made a sidewalk, barriers that separate cars [from the playground] and...”

(architect of courtyard A, translated from Polish)

Keeping in touch with communities

Last category is comprised of strategies aimed at keeping in touch with communities through scoping and developing or maintaining (more or less) personal relations with them. Strategies falling into this category included: collecting proposals from residents, consulting residents, enrolling local “big players”, campaigning, networking, relying on trust, covering redevelopments in media, organising

events in courtyards. They were employed by nearly all actors involved in the analysed courtyard redevelopments. During analysis it was observed that specific purpose of employing these strategies (or the perception of their purpose) differed significantly depending on which actors performed the related actions and what was the broader context of their application. Apart from the general aim of keeping in touch with courtyard communities related to these strategies, there were also three more specific aims: (1) gaining support necessary for initiating courtyard redevelopments, (2) involving residents in courtyard redevelopments, and (3) managing public perceptions.

Gaining support necessary for initiating courtyard redevelopments

Local Activity Centres, Neighbourhood Councils, artist, city councillor and residents were the actors employing these strategies to gain support necessary for initiating courtyard redevelopments. In two out of four cases, the first four actors were scoping neighbourhood communities (or, in case of courtyard D, the artist was scoping the courtyard community) to learn about their needs. They did that by encouraging residents to come forward with ideas for potential (re)developments during organised meetings or events. On the other hand, in all four cases residents enrolled local “big players” by either participating in mentioned meetings or events and proposing courtyard redevelopments, or by reaching out to these actors on their own. Local “big players”, referred to as such by resident of courtyard A, included a range of individuals, organisations and institutions operating on a neighbourhood level, usually gathered around informal local partnerships led by Local Activity Centres. This was usually done by residents in the context of lobbying or submitting project proposals to WBO or FO. Strategies being at the disposal of Local Activity Centres and Neighbourhood Councils included networking and relying on trust. Therefore, the support they provided to residents proposing courtyard redevelopments amounted to connecting the residents with civil servants (in context of lobbying), or other local “big players” and residents with the aim of preparing redevelopment proposals and/or campaigning for WBO projects. While the role of local “big players” in initiating each of the analysed courtyard redevelopment differed, their involvement in campaigning for WBO projects was observed in all four cases. Resident of courtyard A described enrolling local “big players” as a crucial strategy for ensuring collection of enough votes for WBO projects to be implemented after changes were made to rules of the WBO programme.

Most illustrative example relates to the case of courtyard A. WBO project related to redevelopment of three playgrounds scattered around the neighbourhood was created as a collaboration. Resident of courtyard A was able to connect with another resident of the neighbourhood during an annual meeting organised by the (members of) local partnership dedicated to collecting WBO project ideas. Later, the project was included in a robust promotional campaign led by the local partnership. Description of the project was featured in a neighbourhood bulletin. Local “big players” hanged posters and posted videos on their Facebook pages encouraging residents to vote for WBO projects included in the campaign. Interviewed representative of the Local Activity Centre commented that due to having more personal and authentic relations with residents of the neighbourhood, promotional activities come easy to them.

What this example shows is that in the context of gaining support for redevelopments during their initiation, the strategies described above were an element of on-going support within neighbourhoods, developed thanks to relations of trust between local partnerships and residents. This points towards solidarity, which is related to *caring with* (Tronto, 2013).

Involving residents in courtyard redevelopments

To ensure involvement of residents in courtyard redevelopments after they were taken over by courtyard managers, actors participating in these processes consulted courtyard residents on many occasions in all four cases. Consultation processes were usually initiated by courtyard managers, but they were carried out by either public participation professionals, architects or an artist (courtyard D). They were realised in forms of meetings (online, in courtyards or offices of courtyard managers),

workshops for children (both in courtyards and in school) and/or online forms. In three out of four cases, consultations were also executed with the help of local “big players”, such as local school (courtyard A), Neighbourhood Council (courtyard B) and Local Activity Centre (courtyard C). They were enrolled by courtyard managers or public participation professionals to support campaigns related to consultations by sharing information about them with key local stakeholders to encourage their participation in these processes. In case of courtyard A, collaboration with local school enabled special access to children that were a part of the courtyard community by organising an in-class consultation meeting. In two other cases the local “big players” were also responsible for moderating meetings in courtyards. Once again, all by relying on their social networks and public perceptions as trusted local organisations.

In this context, the described strategies were related to learning about the needs of a broad group/range of residents, to ensure that redeveloped courtyards would be spaces of inclusion, tailored to needs of residents, and not spaces of exclusion. Based on interviews and documents, it can be said that the learning happened in two realms. Courtyard managers reported that consultations set directions for the redevelopments. Interviewed managers of courtyards A and D described it as such:

“CM1: Well, it's actually the form of consultation. Because we ask them [residents] what they expect, what expectations they have in relation to this courtyard. What... What they need. And above all, we ask where the problem is, because if we don't live there, we don't know where the problem is. So, during consultations, they [residents] have the opportunity to convey, point with a finger where the problem is, what the problem is and what it is about. And we are simply trying to solve these problems at the design stage.

CM2: Yes. Construction stage, too.”

(managers of courtyards A and D, translated from Polish)

On the other hand, third-generation resident of courtyard B shared that the consultations were important so residents could get to know each other's interests and needs and hopefully grow to feel responsible for the courtyard. The responsibility aspect was also mentioned by child participation expert (courtyards A and C) and analysed best practice report (courtyard D).

Everything described above suggests that the strategy of consulting residents fostered caring relations, both between actors operating the consultation processes (courtyard managers, architects, public participation professionals) and residents, and amongst courtyard communities. This is more in line with the notion of *caring with* (Tronto, 2013), promoting a more democratic approach to care/caring.

Nevertheless, these positive processes, were hampered if there was a history of mistrust between residents and city administration. This was the case for three out of four analysed courtyard redevelopments. Then, consultations served as opportunity for residents to air out their grievances. For example, representative of participation-oriented NGO and Local Activity Centre representative recalled the tensed atmosphere during consultation meeting in courtyard B, stemming from lack of earlier intervention into serious drainage issue prevalent in the courtyard, which was also heavily lobbied for by residents. In these contexts, enrolling local “big players” or, in some cases, also tried-and-tested architects known to be good with residents was perceived by the architect of courtyard A and Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard C as placation strategy aimed at managing public perceptions.

Managing public perceptions

Management of public perceptions was the domain of city administration and courtyard managers. Interviewed courtyard managers did not make explicit references to these types of activities. However, other interviewees implied that this was how they perceived some of city administration's and courtyard managers' actions, based on how they interpreted their goals (as related to achieving personal gains rather than caring for residents). Specifically, city administration and/or courtyard managers were described to put out public statements related to courtyard redevelopment by covering them on their online media platforms and organise events for residents in the newly

redeveloped courtyards in collaboration with local “big players”. They also published articles and posts featuring announcements of consultation processes, publications of public consultation reports or notes, publications of courtyard visualisations, updates on the progress of redevelopments or reports from press conferences organised in courtyards after final commissioning. For example, resident of courtyard A referenced city administration taking photos of the courtyards using drones or him checking Facebook posts shared by public entities. He suggested that for city administration this form of communication is better image-wise. This suggests the residents’ impression of these updates was that they were meant for a broader public rather than for the courtyard residents. These efforts of public entities were more so mobilisation or black-boxing strategies, aimed at stabilising courtyard redevelopment actor-networks, so they were not subject to questioning or negotiation anymore.

In addition, some interviewees stemming from local communities (residents, Neighbourhood Council members, Local Activity Centre representatives) suggested that public statements or media publications were the primary form of communication with the residents used by city administration (other than consultations). They described not receiving other updates or feedback in the meantime between the media publications, their direct inquiries being ignored or responded to with unclear statements. Local Activity Centre representative shared that consultations in courtyard C were followed with a long period with no updates on the redevelopment, and then visualisations of the courtyard were published. He mentioned that the only update was the public consultation report, but he also described it as mostly useless to courtyard residents, who are primarily interested in knowing “When? Was my opinion considered? And what is going to be realised [in the courtyard]?”.

The description above shows that these strategies employed by the mentioned public entities (city administration, courtyard managers) were mostly perceived as being self-serving and not caring. Residents were quick to question or make judgments about the intentions behind these actions of the public entities, without trying to understand their situation first. Amongst the interviewees, some residents, Neighbourhood Council members and Local Activity Centre representatives pointed towards communication with residents as an area requiring improvement. However, they also recognised that courtyard redevelopments are complex processes likely posing many challenges to city administration or courtyard managers. This suggests that their disposition towards mentioned actors was more caring. This can be further illustrated by the Local Activity Centre representative’s perception of a picnic organised by the courtyard managers with their help after courtyard C was redeveloped. He acknowledged that the date of the picnic was close to mayoral elections in Wrocław, which caused residents to have mixed reactions. But he also described viewing the event as a nice gesture of the courtyard managers or, more specifically, a form of expressing their gratitude towards residents for being patient with them.

5.3. Reception of redeveloped courtyards

Since the interviews were carried out after the courtyards were (at least partly) in use after their redevelopments, several interviewees reflected on the changes observed in the courtyards. This illustrates that response to the courtyard redevelopment was recognised by them as part of the process they were asked to describe. It also points towards the last phase of the four caring phases presented by Tronto (1993), which is *care-receiving*.

Several interviewees took note of how the residents were using the courtyards after the redevelopments. In turn, these accounts reflected on courtyards capabilities to fulfil their intended functions. Examples included children playing on the playgrounds, people using sports fields, courtyard being “alive” and almost never empty and neighbours meeting in the same spots as before. Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard C referred to this as “infrastructure doing its job”. He evaluated it as an important outcome to aim for. To justify his view, he brought up an example of similar redevelopment processes carried out in an adjacent neighbourhood, which “wiped off the face of the earth” signs of past uses, such as desire paths, and resulted in residents steering clear of the courtyards.

While such instances were not observed in any of the analysed courtyards, interviewees described situations in which residents misused the infrastructure, often leading to first signs of degradation. Both courtyard managers and neighbourhood council member described residents walking their dogs in the newly redeveloped part of courtyard D and not cleaning after them. They also mentioned cigarette burns being left on benches. This represents needs that cannot be satisfied in the courtyards, suggesting a mismatch between the provided conditions and the actual care needs of residents.

In some cases, the realisation of this mismatch had already led to adjustments of courtyard infrastructure. For example, courtyard managers described plans of installing additional waste containers and fine-tuning waste collection schedule in the case of courtyard A. These efforts serve as signs that providing/receiving not just any, but *good* care, i.e. care that adequately responds to needs, was of value to some actors involved in the courtyard redevelopment process.

The aspiration of providing good care was perfectly reflected in a remark made by the Local Activity Centre representative regarding redevelopment of the playground in courtyard A. She described redeveloping only the playground as “too little” for the courtyard to be truly used by residents. She further commented:

“That’s why I also think that there as a base... This kind of first instinct and the first thought of all of us [people gathered around local partnership led by the Local Activity Centre] was to bring about a comprehensive revitalization of this courtyard, rather than to redevelop the playground, right? (...) [about being for comprehensive revitalisation of courtyards] I mean, it seems to me that the key... I always see it like this, clean it up first, right? And remove what is ugly, disgusting, unnecessary, generates mess, right? So first clean up, then turn it green, and then think about infrastructure.”

(Local Activity Centre representative of courtyard A, translated from Polish)

Her point about prioritising certain improvements over others emphasises, what was mentioned in the *Courtyard infrastructure of (un)care* sub-section above about a combination of courtyard components being required to reach an optimal level for some needs to be comfortably met.

Apart from observations of interaction between residents and the courtyards, a few interviewees also recalled interactions between residents and other actors, including courtyard managers, Local Activity Centres and Neighbourhood Councils. These interactions included conversations between mentioned actors or feedback received/given during final commissioning of courtyards or picnics organised to celebrate the redevelopments. In addition, Local Activity Centre representatives of courtyards A and C described going to the courtyards to ask around and observe how residents are using it as their intention or as something that, in their opinion, might be useful to do in the future.

Other interactions described by interviewees also served as testimony for courtyard redevelopments having additional or unexpected outcomes, which sometimes even exceeded courtyard communities themselves. Courtyard-based outcomes included better social control and expressing desire to contribute to shaping the courtyards or already taking actions in this direction. For example, resident of courtyard A described other residents coming visiting the Neighbourhood Council to inquire about further interventions into the courtyard. He further reflected on this event by stating:

“So, there is also something that, on the one hand, we [the Neighbourhood Council] implement these projects [WBO projects] a bit top-down. Well, because we somehow determine it internally here, but it also triggers bottom-up processes later, right? Once something is built, people want more.”

(resident of courtyard A, translated from Polish)

On the other hand, outcomes exceeding courtyard communities mentioned by interviewees were related to visitors spending time in a courtyard, people coming to a courtyard and taking photos, people from other courtyards asking for advice on how to initiate or realise a courtyard redevelopment. This illustrates that in some cases, the redevelopments not only made care possible, but also promoted more care in the courtyards and beyond them.

These examples point towards *caring with* (Tronto, 2013), i.e. a form of caring that is on-going and encompasses a broader range of relations than only the ones established in the first phase of caring. In accordance with this perspective, resident of courtyard B emphasised that they (him and his collaborators) are “still in the process”. To him, educating residents (old and new) on how to operate in the new courtyard reality, evaluating the redevelopment, anticipating new needs to arise, and so on, were all integral parts of the redevelopment.

6. Discussion

This section discusses the main insights emerging from this study. Firstly, sub-section 6.1. addressed the contribution of the actor-network theory to gaining a deeper understanding of caring practices in planning context in this study. Secondly, key insights related to infrastructure of care are presented by introducing the narrow and wider perspective on the concept (see sub-section 6.2.). Thirdly, the process of translating care through re-making infrastructure of care is reflected upon in section 6.3. Lastly, sub-section 6.4. features a methodological reflection, which indicated the limitations of this study.

6.1. Actor-network theory: towards comprehensive understanding of care in planning processes

Actor-network theory was employed in this study as an overarching analytical tool based on its compatibility with the concept of care (Tronto, 1993, 2013) and the infrastructure of care framework (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023) (see *Theoretical framework* section for details). It was done with the aim of situating infrastructure of care in planning context, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the framework and of the translation of care through planning processes more broadly. In this sub-section, three main ways in which application of the ANT contributed to achieving this aim are reflected upon. They relate to: (1) inclusion of relations forged beyond infrastructure of care, (2) inclusion of relations forged across scales, and (3) inclusion of non-caring relations. To illustrate them, some insights related to infrastructure of care framework (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023) and care dynamics in planning processes emerging from this study are indicated. These insights are addressed in detail in the *Reflection on infrastructure of care* and *Translation of care* sub-sections below.

Firstly, actor-network theory provided tools that helped to untangle the messy socio-material realities of re-makings of infrastructure of care, making them more intelligible. The untangling process was facilitated by the “follow the actor” rule (Latour, 2005, p. 12) describing an approach to tracing connections between actors as they unfold without adopting any *a priori* selection criteria (Rydin, 2018). As a result, relations that were forged not only between individual care-givers and components of urban environment (cf. Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023), but also between other actors shaping infrastructure of care, were also analysed. For example, it was possible to identify that for residents to achieve their individual care-giving goals for their communities through courtyard redevelopments, they had to enrol courtyard managers (via lobbying, submitting project proposals to PB programmes, enrolling media), who in turn had to enrol architects to come up with agreeable courtyard designs, and so on. This made it possible to see that other dynamics evolving beyond infrastructure of care also have a real influence on how infrastructure of care operates.

Secondly, owing to actor-network theory’s flat ontology (Rydin & Tate, 2016; Rydin, 2018) no distinction was made between actors involved in re-makings of infrastructure of care directly and from a distance. As a result, influence of the latter on infrastructure of care was treated in analysis equally to other dynamics, and not as separate external force or part of broader context (cf. Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). Paraphrasing Rydin (2018, p. 304), tracing relations using actor-network theory “repeatedly took the researcher to and from the courtyards”. This was useful to, for example, observe how courtyard redevelopments became politicised in Wrocław, how they made its way onto political agendas and the City’s media platforms. This in turn resulted in advancing the understanding of infrastructure of care from being locality-based to operating across different scales (cf. Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023).

Lastly, care in this study is understood as a fundamentally relational practice, which is in line with the understanding of the socio-material reality informing actor-network theory. However, the analytical focus of Tronto’s (1993, 2013) theory of care is exclusively on caring relations. Employing actor-network theory, and especially operationalising the concept of translation (Callon, 1986/2007; Latour,

1987, 1999, 2005), made it possible to describe formation of relations between actors involved in re-makings of infrastructure of care without predetermining them as care relations. It allowed for mapping them out and understanding them for what they were before applying care lens and making judgments about if and how caring they were. It helped reveal that in courtyard redevelopments care was also “running on” relations that were not caring when they were first formed, because they were not created with caring intention or goal in mind. For example, the Mayor might not have been motivated by satisfying needs of residents, but at the same time he provided funds that made it possible for courtyard managers to care for residents by redeveloping the courtyards. This also shows that adopting an actor-network theory perspective helped to understand specific care dynamics as relational effects (Rydin & Tate, 2016; Rydin, 2018), which dependent not only on relations between care-givers and care-receivers, or in the case of courtyard redevelopments courtyard managers and residents, but also relations within the broader context. It highlighted how formation of a broad range of relations informed care dynamics, such as distribution of caring tasks amongst actors.

6.2. Reflection on infrastructure of care

Previous sub-section reflected on how employing actor-network theory in this study facilitated gaining deeper understanding of infrastructure of care in planning context. Now this sub-section turns to discussing the specific insights about infrastructure of care yielded through adopting actor-network perspective. This discussion lies upon contrasting findings of this study with the findings of Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023).

Situating infrastructure of care in planning context prompted an alternative interpretation of Binet’s framework to emerge from collected data. Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) defined infrastructure of care as combinations of components of urban environment that support (or not) care-giving and care-receiving. They did that based on findings suggesting that for individual residents everyday care-giving in the city involves the work of assembling resources present (or not) in urban environment. However, applying actor-network lens to analyse findings of this study allowed to make the distinction between two perspectives on infrastructure of care: narrow perspective and wider perspective.

6.2.1. Narrow perspective on infrastructure of care

Narrow perspective on infrastructure of care is represented in Binet’s (2021; Binet et al., 2023) study. It focuses on how components of urban environment are made to serve individual care-givers, i.e. residents driven by care-giving goals, on a daily basis, which is reflected in care-giving strategies adopted by these residents (Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). Looking through actor-network lens in this study allowed to see these strategies as translation work (Callon, 1986/2007; Latour, 1987, 1999, 2005). But more importantly, adopting this understanding helped determine that Binet’s (2021; Binet et al., 2023) approach demonstrated an individualised perspective on the process of re-making infrastructure of care. Binet’s (2021; Binet et al., 2023) approach did that by positioning care-givers as the focal actors and only mediators (Latour, 1999, 2005) in the care-giving actor-networks. While also describing components of urban environment as the only other actors in these actor-networks that care-givers can or have to negotiate with to achieve their care-giving goals. Therefore, the nature of the translation work is rather linear, as it happens exclusively between individual care-givers and the urban environment. Making what urban environment has to offer vis-à-vis care-givers, i.e. if enrolment and mobilisation of its components in care-giving actor-network can be conducive of achieving care-giving goals, the clou of the care-giving process. For this reason, such a view on the described process is considered a narrow perspective on infrastructure of care. This becomes even more clear when compared with the wider perspective emerging from findings of this study.

6.2.2. Wider perspective on infrastructure of care

Sticking with the actor-network lens, it can be said that the wider perspective centres on infrastructure of care taking form through planning process involving multiple human and non-human actors. These multiple actors are entangled in a web of relations, which denote multiple translations that occur

simultaneously (Callon, 1986/2007; Latour, 1987, 1999, 2005). There is no focal actor, meaning that each actor can take on the role of a mediator (Latour, 1999, 2005). This view highlights the collective work of re-making infrastructure of care, where the individual perspectives on the process become intertwined, necessitating more negotiations. These negotiations are crucial to achieving alignment and thus, reaching both the collective goal of re-making infrastructure of care and the individual goals of each actor. This is evident from findings of this study related to relevant components of urban environment, and goals and strategies of actors involved in re-making infrastructure of care, which are addressed in detail below.

Similarly to Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023), this study identified specific components of urban environment that in combinations worked (or were meant to work) as infrastructure of care. This means that findings confirm their role as important resources for day-to-day care-giving. But there is also an additional finding related to how these components operated in planning context. Specifically, six categories of courtyard components emerged from collected data. These categories group courtyard components related to sanitation, safety, accessibility, environment, recreation and community. They largely correspond with components of urban environment listed amongst Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) findings. This is not surprising considering that basic needs, universal for all humans, can be satisfied in similar ways in various urban environments, just as using green spaces is commonly associated with satisfying recreational needs. Differences can be explained by the exclusive focus of this study being on small semi-public spaces that are courtyards, contrasting with Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) analysis of entire neighbourhoods. However, findings also show that during planning processes components of urban environment are actually multiple. In other words, the same components are interpreted differently by different actors at the same time, denoting multiple translations happening at once. For example, interviewees described conflicts between residents over certain courtyard components emerging during public consultation processes, most notably in relation to accessibility of the courtyards by car and parking arrangements. While interviewed architects referred to developing agreeable solutions based on the multiple needs and demands expressed in relation to courtyards by not only residents, but also courtyard managers, or building regulations. These types of interactions were left out of Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) understanding of infrastructure of care and components of urban environment were presented as having singular or "fixed" identities during re-making processes set in relation to individual care-givers.

Moreover, findings present that components of urban environment are multiple in planning processes, because they are simultaneously interpreted by multiple actors through the lens of their individual goals. Also, some of these goals are not related to care-giving nor are they coupled with intentions to directly use the infrastructure of care for satisfying needs. This can be demonstrated by some interviewees with strong attachments to the courtyards or local communities expressing goals aimed at improving their place of living and/or working. For example, talking about wanting their children to be safe while playing in the courtyards. While other interviewees referred to goals (theirs or of other actors) related to using the "success" of courtyard redevelopments. They viewed this "success" as catalyst of broader change, which can be considered a more expansive form of care-giving. For instance, third-generation resident of courtyard B aimed to build a courtyard redevelopment process that could lead as example and motivate others (residents, courtyard managers, and so on) to take up similar efforts. Accordingly, he wanted courtyard B to offer possibilities for a broad range of activities to ensure its impact. But also, other actors saw "success" of courtyard redevelopments as opportunity for personal gain, such as gaining recognition for their contribution to the process. This was evident in the case of courtyard D, when artist insisted on including a specific motif referencing community-building activities she led in the design of the courtyard. These dynamics differ from Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) narrow perspective on re-making infrastructure of care. As different types of infrastructure of care users, both direct and distant, caring and not caring, were not considered by Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023).

Then, strategies of actors that emerged from this study went beyond enrolling components of urban environment into care-giving actor-networks (cf. Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023). Their overview shows that various actors at once develop their agency to influence outcomes of re-making infrastructure of care through multiple rounds of problematisations, interessments, enrolments and mobilisations (Callon, 1986/2007). They enrol and mobilise both other humans and non-humans in these processes. They do it vis-à-vis all other actors involved in the process with the aim of gaining control over the entire actor-network to re-make infrastructure of care tailored as much as possible to their individual goals. This can be illustrated by third-generation resident of courtyard B creating a courtyard redevelopment plan in collaboration with another resident and then using it to lobby courtyard managers, city administration, and so on, in efforts to initiate the redevelopment. As mentioned above, Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) suggested that care-givers' agency to engage in care-giving was shaped by urban environment, which necessitated negotiations only with its components. They acknowledged that strategies of care-givers were also determined by, for example, their socio-economic status shaped by structural forces. And that infrastructure of care itself was affected by planning decisions. Yet, Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) did not further explore these aspects of infrastructure of care.

Dynamics described above related to components being multiple due to actors having varying goals and strategies demonstrating ongoing translation efforts of multiple actors were all rendered visible in this study owing to application of actor-network theory, and especially of its core concept of translation (Callon, 1986/2007). This made it possible to conceptualise these dynamics as comprising wider perspective on infrastructure of care, which adds onto Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) narrow understanding of infrastructure of care, that focuses on relations between individual care-givers and urban environment. The wider perspective also expands on other frameworks describing care-giving in the city that did include influence of planning outcomes on these practices, but did not consider the planning dynamics arriving at the planning outcomes impacting care-giving (see, for example, Bowlby & McKie, 2019; Power, 2019; Power & Mee, 2020).

Findings discussed above clearly indicate that the additional dynamics relevant to infrastructure of care, identified using actor-network theory, are a domain of planning processes. This necessitates further reflection on care dynamics observed in re-making of infrastructure of care. Details related to this are presented in sub-section below.

6.3. Translation of care

Alongside wider perspective on infrastructure of care emerging from findings, there are also additional insights related to how care is translated during re-making infrastructure of care. These insights are described below, starting with an overarching finding guiding the remainder of discussion featured in this sub-section.

The overarching finding is that provision of infrastructure of care can be viewed as a practice of care itself. Adopting actor-network perspective in this study entailed understanding re-making of infrastructure of care as an outcome of multiple translations between involved actors (see Rydin & Tate, 2016; Rydin, 2013, 2018). Amongst dynamics related to these translations were identified the five phases of caring described by Tronto (2013), including *care-receiving*, which solidified that care was indeed provided through the re-making processes. Specifically, looking at the analysed cases, recognising need for courtyard redevelopments aligned with *caring about* (Tronto, 1993, 2013), advocating for courtyard redevelopments denoted *caring for* (Tronto, 2013), designing and implementing material changes in courtyards represented *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993, 2013), reflecting on redevelopments was a form of *care-receiving* (Tronto, 1993, 2013), and consulting courtyard residents on redevelopments could be defined as *caring with* (Tronto, 2013).

This finding yielded through application of actor-network theory made it possible to distinguish between two in reality intertwined, but analytically separate, outcomes of re-making infrastructure of care. First one being the tangible infrastructure of care. In this study it refers to observable changes

implemented in courtyards, such as constructing playgrounds, upgrading waste collection systems or planting greenery. While the other outcome is provision of care. Making analytical distinction between the two outcomes facilitates observation of the dynamic work of enacting care through re-making infrastructure of care or planning process. Insights related to this work are discussed below under three headings: nested caring, collective caring and complex caring.

6.3.1. Nested caring

Translation was described as both a process and an outcome (Callon, 1986/2007). Accordingly, Rydin and Tate (2016) wrote this about applying actor-network theory as an analytical tool:

“We see such ensembles [of relations across human and non-human actors] as being nested, so that micro-analyses can co-exist with accounts of the macro context; we see ANT as being just as capable of analysing the aggregate as the constituent.” (pp. 18-19).

Findings confirm that this is indeed what actor-network perspective has to offer in terms of analytical possibilities. As applying it to re-making infrastructure of care in this study helped reveal that caring in the city is a nested practice. Caring practices in general were described as nested within one another by Tronto (2013, p. 21). What it means is that depending on their particular purpose, more specific caring practices can be part of broader caring practices. Tronto (2013) also highlighted that outcomes of these practices might be interdependent. To illustrate this, she referred to an example of a doctor using medical equipment provided to him/her to treat his/her patients. Provision of the equipment was viewed by Tronto (2013) as a caring practice, which enabled the doctor to engage in caring (p. 21).

Collected data suggest that this understanding also applies to caring in the city considered from planning perspective. Simply put, this study shows that planning practices can be caring practices that facilitate other caring practices carried out in urban environment. Nested nature of caring practices in context of courtyard redevelopments was best illustrated by residents who wore two hats, serving as planners and courtyard users. When engaging in planning activities, such as advocating for courtyard redevelopments or participating in consultation meetings, they contributed to collective caring (see below for more details) by *caring for* (Tronto, 2013). Simultaneously, they were care-receivers, as evidenced by reflections on how residents used courtyards post-redevelopments shared by interviewees. While interdependence of nested caring practices was exemplified in case of courtyard C, when Local Activity Centre representative described residents putting significant efforts into lobbying for courtyard redevelopment vis-à-vis city administration to address flooding issues only to be dismissed for years. It points towards residents evaluating care received from city administration for these years as inadequate, resulting in them struggling to use the courtyard to satisfy basic needs prior to redevelopment.

In terms of nested nature of caring practices, findings of this study confirm claims made in literature about everyday caring practices depending on planning practices (or more specifically their outcomes) (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Power, 2019; Power & Mee, 2020). However, these findings also add another layer of understanding by revealing that some planning practices can also be caring practices and providing empirical evidence that show how and when exactly they can operate as such. This is a valuable addition to existing literature that explored potentials of conceptualising planning practices as caring practices (see, for example, Lyles & White, 2019) or of applying care logic to planning processes (see, for example, Miraftab, 2023) but is predominantly theoretical or has an ethico-political tone. In other words, this study shows how planning efforts can double as caring efforts in practice. Next step for research could be to explore alternative ways of evaluating planning practices in contexts when they also serve as caring practices. This could contribute to re-centring care in planning practice.

6.3.2. Collective caring

Turning to another insight on how care was translated through re-makings of infrastructure of care, it was already mentioned that re-making infrastructure of care is a collective work (see *Reflection on*

infrastructure of care sub-section). Now, by combining it with the overarching finding introduced at the beginning of this sub-section, it can be said that planning for infrastructure of care is a form of collective caring. This means that many actors join their efforts to carry out this caring process. In courtyard redevelopments, these actors included residents, Neighbourhood Councils, Local Activity Centres, courtyard managers, architects, local politicians, amongst others. All of them contributed to realising the collective care-giving goals, which were courtyard redevelopments.

This is consistent with claims made by Binet (2021) that infrastructural labour of care, i.e. part of caring that refers to assembling key resources for care present (or not) in urban environment, can be collectivised through planning practices. According to Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023; Binet & Arcaya, 2023), this collectivisation is meant to contribute to democratisation of caring in the city. However, findings of this study reveal that it is more nuanced than that.

All analysed courtyard redevelopments were advocated for by residents, who prior to that engaged in individualised caring hindered by state of courtyards. For example, interviewed residents mentioned taking out rubbish in rainboots because of courtyards' muddy surface. Collected data suggests that efforts aimed at initiating these redevelopments were often taxing for residents, as they required them to make sacrifices in their personal lives or to make multiple attempts at lobbying, submitting project proposals to WBO, and so on. In addition, for example, Local Activity Centre representative highlighted that in case of courtyard C, these residents came from disadvantaged backgrounds. Literature suggests that for such people day-to-day care already comes as a heavy burden (see, for example, Fraser, 2016; Tronto, 1993, 2013). What this shows is that collective caring through planning can only promote more equitable outcomes related to caring in the city, when the caring responsibilities in planning processes are democratically distributed. Otherwise, residents might still engage in same form of caring in a collective as individually, which points towards additional burden, but serving, for example, a whole community (see MirafTAB (2023) referring to *municipal housekeeping*; Traill et al. (2024) and Alam & Houston (2020) on *alternative infrastructure of care*).

This is why Tronto (2013) introduced *caring with* as fifth phase of caring that “requires that caring needs and the ways in which they are met need to be consistent with democratic commitments to justice, equality, and freedom for all” (p. 23). This type of dynamic was observable in courtyard redevelopments, but only at their particular stages, such as consultations with residents. Yet, it was outside the scope of this study to determine whether these democratic commitments materialised in those moments.

6.3.3. Complex caring

Moving to last insight, observing how caring relations were formed and nurtured (or not) through ongoing processes of translation (see Rydin & Tate, 2016) rendered visible complexities and contingencies related to collective caring in planning context. Therefore, the image of re-making infrastructure of care emerging from this study is one of a complex caring process rife with various caring and not caring dynamics that are interdependent and have a context-specific interpretation.

Findings show that different actors involved in re-making infrastructure of care engage in different caring practices corresponding with the five phases of caring by Tronto (2013). Looking at a broader context of contemporary societies, Tronto (1993, 2013) also presented processes of caring as complex due to distribution of different caring task amongst multiple actors. This study reveals that such assessment of caring is also applicable to planning processes. It was found that in courtyard redevelopments caring tasks were passed like a baton from one actor to another. For example, residents engaged in *caring for* (Tronto, 2013) by advocating for courtyard redevelopment, courtyard managers and architects were responsible for *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993, 2013) through designing and implementing material changes in courtyards, Neighbourhood Councils and Local Activity Centres were *caring with* (Tronto, 2013) by consulting residents and supporting them in their advocating efforts. However, findings also suggest that some practices of actors contributing to re-making infrastructure

of care are not caring. For example, local politicians (or city administration more broadly) took part in *caring for* (Tronto, 2013) by providing funds (see programme created by the Mayor) and engaged in *not caring* by publicising courtyard redevelopments.

Observing distribution of (not) caring tasks in planning process gives rise to questions of who decided on this distribution and is this distribution ideal for all involved actors. Findings hint at potential answers. It could be said that distribution was decided by city administration based on how WBO programme operated or that some actors were not satisfied with this distribution, as they engaged in insurgent practices (see residents enrolling media) and critique. Nevertheless, to be able to provide complete answers to these questions it would require further research.

Simultaneously, following logic of actor-network theory, where each activity in network contributes to a more global shift (Rydin & Tate, 2016; Rydin, 2013, 2018), (not) caring practices of actors involved in re-making infrastructure of care were found to be interdependent. In other words, some form of alignment between them was required for the caring/planning process to succeed. This is largely consistent with Tronto's (1993, 2013) conceptualisation of the phases of caring as being prerequisite to subsequent phases (see also Fisher & Tronto, 1990), but again, when describing caring process, she did not consider the role of practices that were not caring. The interdependence was best illustrated by courtyard managers and architects not being able to engage in *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993, 2013) if not for *caring for* (Tronto, 2013) done by residents. Interviewed courtyard managers described not knowing what residents' needs in relation to courtyards might be, because they did not use the courtyards themselves. Similarly, architect of courtyard A stated that it would be most convenient to visit the courtyard, make a design and implement it without consulting residents, but that the courtyard was meant to serve the residents. Suggesting that without using experiential knowledge of residents, provided care would likely be inadequate.

Lastly, this study reveals that interpretation of certain (not) caring practices in planning process depends on specific context. This was observed owing to actor-network theory's emphasis on including perspectives of multiple actors when analysing relations (Rydin, 2018). Meaning of care shifting depending on the context was also described by Tronto (2013) as one aspect of care. In courtyard redevelopments, it was apparent when enrolment of Local Activity Centre to moderate consultation meeting in courtyard C by city administration was interpreted as a strategy meant to placate displeased residents. Pointing towards caring more about keeping up appearances than caring about residents. While same strategy of enrolling Local Activity Centres employed by residents in the context of campaigning for WBO projects was part of their efforts aimed at initiating courtyard redevelopments, with their communities in mind, which paints it as a caring practice. This finding supports voices of planning scholars cautioning about the possibility of co-opting care by planning practices, for example by being overtly "caring" but not having caring intentions. As they emphasised the need for analysing planning practices aimed at caring in their specific contexts (see, for example, Madanipour, 2021). Similar conclusion can be drawn from described findings of this study.

Throughout this sub-section practices that were a part of collective caring process but were *not* caring practices were mentioned a few times, but not properly addressed. Accounts of such practices were also threaded through findings of this study. Therefore, a separate sub-section featured below is dedicated to further discussing these specific dynamics.

6.3.3.1. Not caring

It was already demonstrated above that practices of not caring are entangled with caring practices in translating care through re-making infrastructure of care. In this sub-section, the observed not caring practices are illuminated by referring to three types of dynamics: practices of actors being perceived as not caring, actors being driven by not caring goals and actors treating caring as their duty.

Firstly, findings suggest that complexity of the caring process was in itself contributing to formation of not caring relations during re-making infrastructure of care. It was observed that involved actors were not entirely sure about caring tasks and capabilities of each other, which is in opposition to Tronto's (2013) imaginary of democratic caring, where all actors understand caring processes in their entirety. They did not seem to grasp how interdependencies between actors constrained their abilities for caring, such as courtyard managers being constrained in *care-giving* (Tronto, 1993, 2013) by city administration providing them (or not) with funds through *caring for* (Tronto, 2013). This was exemplified in analysed cases when residents were airing out their grievances during consultation meeting. They were usually directing these grievances at whoever associated with city administration was present in that given moment, including courtyard managers, architects and meeting moderators. At the same time, interviewed courtyard managers expressed goals that were related to caring (responding to needs of residents). Therefore, this perception of certain practices as not caring could be caused by poor communication between involved actors, as it was also shown that city administration and courtyard managers had preference for formal or public forms of communication that were not always received well by other actors.

Secondly, some actors contributing to collective caring through re-making infrastructure of care were not driven by caring goals, which also manifested in some of their practices being not caring. An example of this in the study is the conflict between architect and artist over designing courtyard D. Both actors were at least partly driven by goals aimed at achieving personal gains and the conflict caused the courtyard redevelopment to be dragged out in time, according to courtyard managers. This was not in best interest of residents who had to endure subpar condition of courtyard D for longer.

Lastly, this study shows that some actors participating in re-making infrastructure of care view caring as their duty. In other words, planning practices that double as caring practices can lack the emotional or personal aspect of caring. For example, such perspective on caring was shared in analysed cases by interviewed courtyard managers, architects and public consultation professionals, when they emphasised having no relations to the courtyards or their communities, or these relations not being of significance during planning processes. This somehow overlaps with claims made in literature about planners neglecting emotions when engaging in planning practices (see, for example, Lyles et al., 2018; Lyles & White, 2019) but also expands on the potential reasons for such attitude to encompass lack of personal attachments. As Lyles and White (2019) emphasised the role of education and professional standards in installing rational thinking as default approach for planners. For Toronto (1993), such planning practices can be hardly considered caring, as she highlighted a caring disposition as indispensable aspect of caring practices (p. 105). Nevertheless, findings suggest that these practices, caring or not, still contributed to collective caring through re-making infrastructure of care.

Overall, findings revealing complexity of caring in planning processes add to existing literature that claimed capitalist forces locked planning actors into uncaring relations (see, for example, Miraftab, 2023) by highlighting more nuanced dynamics of (not) caring. While also showing that despite not caring practices being part of the planning process, care was still achieved at the end through provision of infrastructure of care. These insights are closer to conclusions featured in Allison's (2024) study, which demonstrated that in urban governance processes "(...) care practices are neither purely altruistic nor entirely exploitative, operating in a murky space where support and indifference coexist." (p. 338). Questions that emerge on ground of presented findings relate to whether this care provided through planning process is *good* and how its *goodness* is affected by practices of not caring. Addressing these questions was outside scope of this study, but they might serve as avenues to be explored in future research.

6.4. Methodological reflection and limitations

Reflecting upon execution of this study reveals potential limitations that should be considered when interpreting findings. These reflections refer to selection of cases, recruitment of study participants, interview processes and positionality and discretion. They are addressed in detail below.

In this study cases were selected only amongst courtyard redevelopments advocated for by residents, which were also identified through review of projects submitted to past editions of WBO. It is important to acknowledge that this choice, even though deliberate, situates findings in a particular context, which is not applicable to most cases of courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław. Also, two out of four cases were taken up later in data collection process to compensate for difficulties accessing interviewees (see paragraph below). However, due to time constraints, the researcher was not able to extend the data collection period for the added cases. This limited opportunities for recruiting study participants for these cases, which also contributed to overrepresentation of some cases in the data. For cases that were underrepresented in terms of interviewed actors, the researchers relied on documents to fill in the gaps in data as much as possible. This strategy mostly failed to illuminate interesting aspects or unique dynamics of these cases previewed in interviews. However, accounts related to underrepresented cases provided additional evidence for dynamics that occurred in more than one case. This was apparent when interviewing Local Activity Centre representatives and Neighbourhood Council members from different neighbourhoods and identifying similarities in their motivations and roles in courtyard redevelopments. It was possible thanks to taking up additional cases. Nevertheless, doing preliminary field research into courtyard redevelopments could aid the case selection process and prevent selection of cases that posed challenges accessing interviewees. In such scenario, two cases would likely be sufficient for reaching saturation, while also allowing for taking advantage of the comparative potential of multiple case study design.

Accessing interviewees involved some difficulties related to low level of trust towards research activities, controversial nature of courtyard redevelopments and limited availability of certain actors, to name just a few. Facing these challenges resulted in sampling bias favouring actors who were more open to participation in this study, such as Local Activity Centre representative and Neighbourhood Council members. This means that different perspectives on courtyard redevelopments were not sufficiently covered in collected data despite researcher's best efforts to ensure their inclusion. These efforts included identifying interviewees who could act as potential gatekeepers and trying to recruit study participants with their help as well as mobilising researcher's personal connections to the study area during recruitment process.

Apart from difficulties accessing interviewees, some limitations of this study also arise from interview processes. Firstly, aiming to gather accounts from a wide range of actors led to interviewing actors who had little involvement in the analysed courtyard redevelopments. In addition, these actors' involvement was often related to their routine professional duties, making it difficult for them to grasp the exact courtyard redevelopment processes the researcher was interested in. Public participation professionals serve as one example. This posed challenges to collecting sufficient and accurate data to answer the research question. Collecting accurate data was also compromised due to inquiring about past events, in some cases taking place even almost 10 years ago. Nonetheless, accounts that had these characteristics still contributed to this study by providing alternative views on courtyard redevelopments. In addition to that, corroborating interview data with documents was a strategy used to minimise influence of these issues on findings.

Challenges encountered during interviews were also related to employing the narrative interviewing technique. Successful use of this technique heavily relies on single prompt/question introduced at the beginning of interviews and used to elicit the stories/narrative from interviewees. This is a known pitfall of employing narrative interviewing technique (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). It was experienced by the researcher in a few instances when communication between researcher and interviewee faltered and/or interviewee understood the prompt differently than intended, leading to collection of data of limited usefulness. However, in efforts to prevent this problem from arising, the researcher engaged in rapport-building prior to data collection to ensure comfortable communication with study participants and proper framing of interviews.

Some interactions with interviewees suggested that their answers were strongly influenced by the characteristics of the interviewer. Interviewer's positionality as a student researchers prompted study participants to leave out details that would be too revealing or express hope for attracting the attention of research community. Furthermore, in the context of interviews with representatives of local communities, managing researcher's positionality, as someone who has personal ties to the study are, emerged as a challenge. While familiarity with the local context helped built rapport with some interviewees, it also made it difficult to remain objective when interacting with them. Researcher aimed to gain better control over this by setting tone for interactions with study participants through introduction of interview procedure, indicating that it is not a casual conversation. In addition, the researcher attempted to grasp the positionality of study participants prior interviews by reflecting on initial interactions with them and doing preliminary research into them (if possible). This way the researcher could anticipate potential outcomes of specific interactions during interviews and prepare to respond to them objectively. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that despite the fact that the researcher engaged in reflexivity to minimise the effect of obvious/conscious biases on the research process and its outcomes, decisions were discretionary and influenced by knowledge of the context, which cannot be fully grasped from the collected data (see researcher's positionality).

7. Conclusion

This section gathers key findings and highlights their contribution to existing literature by providing answers to the research questions (see sub-section 7.1.) and leading to main conclusions of this study (see sub-section 7.2.), that serve as basis for recommendations for planning research and practice featured at the end (see sub-sections 7.3. and 7.4.).

7.1. Answering research questions

This study was meant to address the knowledge gap related to dynamics of caring in planning processes being generally understudied. The main objective was to analyse processes of shaping infrastructure of care by focusing on relations between involved actors. It was realised through a qualitative case study based on four cases of courtyard redevelopments initiated by residents in Wrocław (Poland).

Overall, this study combined actor-network theory (see, for example, Callon, 1986/2007; Latour, 1987, 1999, 2005), Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) perspective on infrastructure of care and Tronto's perspective on care (1993, 2013) to address the main research question of:

How were infrastructures of care re-made by involved actors through courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)?

Specifically, the focus was on relevant components of urban environment, on the goals and strategies of involved actors, and on translation of care through the re-making processes. This corresponds with the four sub-research question guiding this study. These sub-research questions are answered below based on findings, leading to answering the main research question.

7.1.1. What components of the urban environment were relevant in courtyard redevelopment processes in Wrocław (Poland)?

Most relevant components of the urban environment in courtyard redevelopments were components of the courtyards. Specifically, courtyard components that supported (or not) satisfaction of needs related to sanitation, safety, accessibility, environment, recreation and community. In respect to sanitation, overall cleanliness of courtyards affected by waste collection systems, presence of rats and dog faeces was referenced by interviewees and documents. Accessibility encompassed walkability of courtyards facilitated or inhabited by type of surface and water retention/drainage, and their accessibility by car, in general and for parking. Greenery and shade were amongst environment-related courtyard components discussed during analysed processes. Courtyard components related to recreation included recreational opportunities that are close to home and inclusive. Lastly, community dimension of courtyards defined by functional and emotional as well as current and potential relations encompassing both people and objects was also of significance. These courtyard components emerged as relevant in the context of densely populated urban areas characterised by severe physical degradation and low social capital.

Similar components of urban environment were found by Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023) to be relevant during re-making infrastructure of care on day-to-day basis. However, in contrast to Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) interpretation of these components as having singular identities defined by their relations with individual care-givers, findings emphasise that these components in planning contexts are multiple. The same components are interpreted simultaneously by the many actors involved in re-making infrastructure of care.

7.1.2. What were the goals of actors involved in courtyard redevelopment processes in Wrocław (Poland)?

Goals of actors involved in courtyard redevelopments identified in this study related to: (1) improving place of living and/or working, (2) responding to needs of residents, (3) fulfilling duties, (4) achieving personal gains, and (5) promoting broader change. They show that in planning context many actors

depend on infrastructure of care to achieve their individual goals that are also not necessarily associated with care-giving nor directly using this infrastructure. This finding yielded through applying the concept of translation (Callon, 1986/2007) to processes of re-making infrastructure of care helped reveal two distinctive perspectives on infrastructure of care: a narrow and wider perspective.

According to narrow perspective, translation of infrastructure of care is a linear process occurring between individual care-givers and the urban environment. Therefore, individual care-givers are focal actors pursuing their goals through re-making infrastructure of care. This perspective was represented in Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) analysis of day-to-day care-giving.

However, this study presents that a wider perspective on infrastructure of care is more applicable to planning contexts. This perspective highlights that translation of infrastructure of care happens thanks to collective efforts of many human and non-human actors required to align their goals with goals of all other actors involved in the re-making process. Only then are they able to achieve their individual goals.

7.1.3. What strategies did actors employ to achieve their goals in courtyard redevelopment processes in Wrocław (Poland)?

Strategies employed by actors involved in courtyard redevelopments to achieve their goals fell into four categories of: (1) advocating for and initiating courtyard redevelopments, (2) assembling and managing resources necessary for redevelopments, (3) visioning and designing courtyards, and (4) keeping in touch with communities. Strategies related to advocating for and initiating were employed by residents, city councillor and Neighbourhood Councils, and included submitting project proposals to participatory budgeting programmes, lobbying and enrolling media. Assembling and managing resources necessary for redevelopment was a domain of courtyard managers, architects and public participation professionals. Strategies corresponding with these efforts covered surveying courtyards, enrolling professionals, making "funding collages" and phasing redevelopments. Another set of strategies related to visioning and designing courtyards was employed by residents, Neighbourhood Councils, architects, courtyard managers and local politicians. They focused on proposing solutions and designing agreeable solutions. Lastly, most actors were using strategies that helped them keep in touch with communities throughout courtyard redevelopments. Interviewees reported employing them in three main contexts of gaining support necessary for initiating courtyard redevelopments, involving residents in courtyard redevelopment and managing public perceptions.

This overview of strategies reinforces distinction between narrow and wider perspective on infrastructure of care. As it reveals that in planning contexts the individualised perspectives on re-making infrastructure of care, described by Binet (2021; Binet et al., 2023), become entangled. This entanglement necessitates additional translation work, illustrated by strategies identified in this study, through which various actors simultaneously develop their agency to influence outcomes of the re-makings vis-à-vis all other human and non-human actors, and not just the urban environment (cf. Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023).

7.1.4. How was care translated through goals and strategies of different actors involved in the courtyard redevelopment processes and the relevant components of the urban environment in Wrocław (Poland)?

Combinations of components of urban environment were deemed as supportive (or not) of caring practices in day-to-day context, which aligns with Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) understanding of infrastructure of care. Therefore, this finding references the narrow perspective on infrastructure of care.

In addition to this, emergence of the wider perspective on infrastructure of care yielded insights related to translation of care in planning context. The overarching finding is that provision of infrastructure of care can be viewed as a caring practice. Goals and strategies of actors involved in

courtyard redevelopments corresponded with five phases of caring described by Tronto (1993, 2013). This means that care is enacted through re-making infrastructure of care. Three additional insights arose on the ground of this finding.

Firstly, this study shows that planning practices can be caring practices that facilitate other caring practices carried out in urban environment. Therefore, caring in the city can be understood as a nested practice, where day-to-day caring practices are facilitated (or not) by caring/planning practices, such as courtyard redevelopments analysed in this study. This insight supports findings of other studies that positioned caring in the city as being depended on planning decisions (see, for example, Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Power, 2019; Power & Mee, 2020), while adding another layer of understanding that real-life planning practices coming to these decisions can also double as caring practices.

Secondly, planning for infrastructure of care is a form of collective caring, meaning that many actors are involved. This was exemplified by the involvement of residents, Neighbourhood Councils, Local Activity Centres, courtyard managers, architects, local politicians, and others, in courtyard redevelopments. Collectivisation of infrastructural labour of care through planning practices was posited as potentially contributing to alleviating social inequalities in existing literature (see Binet, 2021; Binet et al., 2023; Binet & Arcaya, 2023). This study provides a more nuanced outlook on this matter. Findings show that extensive efforts put into re-making infrastructure of care by residents directly affected by subpar conditions of care can inflict on them additional care burdens rather than relieve them (see also Miraftab, 2023; Traill et al., 2024).

Thirdly, re-making of infrastructure of care emerges as a planning process rife with complexities and contingencies related to collective caring. It involves caring and not caring practices that are interdependent and have a context-specific interpretation. Not caring dynamics were prevalent across findings and manifested, for example, in actors such as courtyard managers treating caring as a duty. Therefore, this study presents a more nuanced and context-sensitive account of (not) caring dynamics in planning context than the ones dominating in literature (see, for example, Miraftab, 2023). While also highlighting that provision of care through planning practices is possible even if uncaring dynamics are at play.

7.2. Main conclusions

To answer the main research question of:

How were infrastructures of care re-made by involved actors through courtyard redevelopments in Wrocław (Poland)?

re-making of infrastructures of care can be described as such. Re-making of infrastructure of care is a caring/planning process that happens on two planes of day-to-day life and planning practice. Residents have day-to-day care-giving goals the achievement of which depends on combinations of components of urban environment. Unavailability of these combinations leads residents to translate their day-to-day care-giving goals into planning goal of re-making them. Initiated planning process involves multiple human and non-human actors, all aiming to achieve their individual goals through this process, which prompts ongoing translation work between them. In addition, these actors relate to the same components of urban environment in many ways expressed in their goals, that are not necessarily associated with care-giving. Alignment between the multiple actors is required to re-make the infrastructure of care. This also means the caring/planning process is not guaranteed to shape urban environment that responds to needs of all actors equally and that getting there is associated with equal amounts of effort for all actors.

Based on provided answers, the three main points of attention in relation to addressing the knowledge gap described in the *Introduction* can be indicated. These three points are:

1. Infrastructure of care served as entry point for exploring the nexus of planning and caring practices, while actor-network theory facilitated situating it in the context of planning processes. This resulted in a dynamic account of this nexus that yielded new insights encapsulated in the wider perspective on infrastructure of care, expanding on Binet's (2021; Binet et al., 2023) narrow perspective;
2. Wider perspective on infrastructure of care rendered visible broad range of dynamics shaping infrastructure of care in planning contexts. This revealed that provision of infrastructure of care can be understood as a planning practice doubling as a caring practice enabling other caring practices performed in urban environments;
3. To provide care through planning practices, care needs to be translated during planning processes. This translation involves interactions between multiple human and non-human actors, which confirms that care is negotiated in planning processes. However, these negotiations are context-specific and incredibly complex. This proposes more nuance than accounts emphasising influence of global structural forces on position of care in planning practice (see Miraftab, 2023; Miraftab & Huq, 2024).

These points provide valuable input into further research by introducing some conceptual clarity related to what care means and how it operates in planning contexts, while highlighting complexity of the planning-caring nexus in practice. Also, through capturing the micro-dynamics of caring/planning processes this study reveals possibilities for *small work* (see Rydin, 2013) that planners can do to support care as basic concern of living through efforts aimed at shaping urban environments. Specific recommendations formulated based on described findings are outlined in sub-sections below.

7.3. Recommendations for research

There are three main recommendations for research that emerge from findings of this study. First, future research could focus on expanding conceptualisation of planning practices as caring practices. One point of attention could be how good or adequate care is understood in planning context. Do these understandings align with Tronto's (1993, 2013) criteria of attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness and plurality, communication, trust and respect (or solidarity)? Interviewees referenced these criteria by stating that courtyard managers steered redevelopment processes poorly or that recognition of residents' efforts and their needs was important part of courtyard redevelopments. But are there any other criteria that matter when re-making infrastructure of care or providing care through planning practices? In addition, interviewees presented caring as their duty or suggested that their work was not a significant form of care, hinting at specific understanding of care/caring in contexts of their roles in courtyard redevelopments. It could be interesting to see how these understandings affected their caring practices. Addressing these topics seems relevant considering popularisation of policies, projects, and so on, that explicitly mobilise care across many cities in the world (see, for example, Williams & Rodela, 2025), which also necessitates developing ways of evaluating them.

Another direction for future research is to pay closer attention to mechanism behind distribution of caring tasks in caring/planning processes, as findings reveal it as important aspect of planning for infrastructure of care that requires further reflection. Questions like how caring roles were decided in courtyard redevelopment or if the way they were assigned was ideal were posed in the *Discussion* section alongside potential answers derived from findings. These answers could certainly be expanded by analysing specific dynamics in courtyard redevelopments that enable or constrain specific forms of caring. For example, how did it happen that Local Activity Centres could engage in *caring with* (Tronto, 2013), but courtyard managers could not? Findings of this study suggest a few mechanisms that could be significant, including role of trust, forms of communication and agenda setting. Examining these and other mechanisms could advance our understanding of what shapes how care is translated through planning processes.

Lastly, in this study caring dynamics were analysed in cases of courtyard developments that were initiated by residents, meaning that there was a strong element of social pressure on courtyard managers and city administration. Interviewed managers of courtyards B and C described it as one of the key factors influencing their decision to take up courtyard redevelopments. However, a few interviewees also made references to other courtyard redevelopments that were implemented more top-down and resulted in courtyards being left unused or rapidly devastated. Analysing how caring operated in these types of processes could contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of caring dynamics in courtyard redevelopments in general.

7.4. Recommendation for practice

Key recommendation for practice emerging from this study is for planners to recognise planning processes related to provision of infrastructure of care as caring processes and apply principles of Tronto's (2013) *caring with* to shape them. This means engaging in prior reflection on who might be the actors likely involved in these processes, including non-humans, distant actors and actors not intending to directly use the infrastructure for caring. Subsequently, it is important to develop an effective caring-through-planning model in collaboration with mapped out actors. Participation of these actors is meant to facilitate learning about needs and interests of all actors in relation to the infrastructure of care that is being planned and making decisions about "who is doing what caring, for whom, and why" (Tronto, 2013, p 149), or assigning caring roles, in the planning process. In addition, it is recommended for actors to agree on common standards for providing care and to set up evaluation and monitoring mechanisms, to ensure that needs are actually being met through the planning process.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview guide (English and Polish version)

ENG:

Interviewee:

Date:

Location:

Information to be conveyed to the interviewee and questions directed at the interviewee are written in regular font style, while structural elements of the interview are underlined and directions for the interviewer are written in *italics* or *[in brackets in italics]*.

Before start of interview:

[1] State topic of thesis and describe purpose of study again:

- The study is a part of a Master thesis project realised at the Land Use Planning Group at the Wageningen University & Research (Netherlands). The thesis project is about courtyard redevelopments initiated by citizens in Wrocław (Poland). The aim of this study is to analyse the courtyard redevelopment processes, while focusing on the persons involved in these processes and the connections between these persons.

[2] Explain interview procedure:

- The interview procedure is going to be as follows. The interview is going to be audio recorded using a mobile phone. However, if at any point of the interview you would like to say something off-record, you can stop the recording and then restart it whenever suits you. But before I start the recording, we are going to discuss details of your participation in the study. Then, the recorded portion of the interview is going to begin. In the first part, I am going to introduce the central topic of the interview and invite you to tell me a story about it. The topic relates to the redevelopment process of the courtyard located within the residential block between streets. I am not going to interrupt your storytelling, but I am going to take some notes. After you indicate that you are done telling your story, we are going to move on to the next part of the interview in which I am going to ask you questions related to your story and to the central topic introduced at the beginning of the interview.

[3] Ask if interviewee has any questions before the interview begins.

[4] Ask interviewee to sign informed consent form.

[5] Start audio recording, while informing the interviewee about it.

Eliciting narrative:

[1] Introduce initial central topic of interview:

- The central topic of this interview is your participation in the courtyard redevelopment process, from the moment you first became involved in the process to the moment you stopped being involved. Or to the current moment, if you are still involved, for example, in maintaining the redeveloped courtyard or advocating for further improvements to the courtyard.

[2] Invite interviewee to tell his/her story of participation in courtyard redevelopment:

- Could you tell me about your time participating (or being involved) in the courtyard redevelopment process?

[Do not interrupt the interviewee until he/she gives clear signals that he/she is done telling his/her story. Only encourage interviewee to continue telling his/her story through active listening. Take notes for later questioning.]

[3] Probe end of story:

- Is this everything you want to share with me? Is there anything else you want to add?

Questioning:

[Ask questions based on interviewee's story to fill in the gaps and elicit more detailed information on aspects of the story most relevant to the study. Paraphrase or use interviewees own words to ask the questions. Use the list of topics and questions below as reference, but treated it more as a checklist to make sure the topics were sufficiently covered in the interviewee's story and/or in the questioning phase.]

1. Goals

- Involvement in the courtyard redevelopment process
 - In what way were you involved in the courtyard redevelopment process?
 - How did you become involved in the courtyard redevelopment process?
- Motivations
 - What motivated you to be involved in the courtyard redevelopment process?
- Desired outcomes
 - What did you aim to achieve through the courtyard redevelopment?
 - Did it only relate to your personal interests, or did you also consider interests of others (local community, environment, etc.)?
- Changes in desired outcomes
 - Did what you aimed to achieve change throughout the courtyard redevelopment process?
 - How did it change?
 - What situation(s) led to this change (or these changes)?

2. Strategies

- Actions aimed at achieving desired outcomes
 - What did you do to achieve what you aimed to achieve throughout the courtyard redevelopment process?
- Aids or enablers
 - What helped you achieve what you aimed to achieve throughout the courtyard redevelopment process?
- Obstacles or constraints
 - What were some obstacles to achieving what you aimed to achieve throughout the courtyard redevelopment process?
 - How did you overcome these obstacles (or not)?
- Changes in approach
 - Can you think of specific moments when your approach to achieving what you aimed to achieve radically changed?
 - What situation(s) led to these moments?

3. Components of urban environment

- Aspects of courtyard important to interviewee during redevelopment

- What aspects of the courtyard were the most important to you throughout the courtyard redevelopment process, amongst both physical aspects and those aspects that are not necessarily visible, but shape the character of the courtyard (or the atmosphere of the courtyard)?
 - Why were these aspects important to you?
 - How did that affect your involvement in the courtyard redevelopment process (your actions, decisions, etc.)?
 - b. Contentious aspects of courtyard during redevelopment
 - What aspects of the courtyard were discussed the most throughout the courtyard redevelopment process, amongst both physical aspects and those aspects that are not necessarily visible, but shape the character of the courtyard (or the atmosphere of the courtyard)?
 - Can you briefly describe how these discussions went?
4. Care
- a. Neighbourhood as place of caring
 - Would you describe the neighbourhood as a place, where the citizens care about each other (or others)?
 - b. Significance of courtyard to care
 - Do you think that the courtyard plays a role in this caring?
 - Could you give me examples of the roles it plays (or of situations illustrating that it does not play any role)?
 - c. Significance of courtyard redevelopment to care
 - Do you think that the courtyard redevelopment played a role in this caring?
 - Could you give me examples?
 - d. Significance of care to involvement in courtyard redevelopment process
 - Do you think that care played a role in your involvement in the courtyard redevelopment process?
 - Could you give me examples?

Closing:

[1] Ask if there is anything the interviewee wants to add or if there is something else, I should know about the courtyard redevelopment.

[2] Ask about other organisations or persons that I could approach for an interview about their involvement in courtyard redevelopment.

[3] Thank the interviewee for the interview.

[4] Stop audio recording, while informing the interviewee about it.

[5] Ask if the interviewee has any additional questions or requests.

[6] Ask if the interviewee would like to be contacted in the future for the purpose of reviewing the transcript, results, direct quotes before using them in thesis report, etc.

[7] Ask if the interviewee is alright with being contacted again if any other questions arise later in my thesis project.

[8] Ask about contact information of or possibility of connecting me with persons mentioned during the interview.

After end of interview:

[Immediately after the interview ends make notes about: (1) location and duration of the interview, (2) any relevant information shared by the interviewee after stopping the audio recording, (3) issues encountered during the interview (noisy/busy setting, issues with audio recording, etc.), (4) general impressions about the interview (how it went, what information stand out, etc.)]

PL:

Osoba udzielająca wywiadu:

Data:

Lokalizacja:

Informacje, które mają być przekazane osobie udzielającej wywiadu i pytania skierowane do osoby udzielającej wywiadu są napisane normalnym stylem czcionki, natomiast elementy struktury wywiadu są podkreślone, a instrukcje dla osoby przeprowadzającej wywiad są napisane *kursywą* lub *[kursywą w nawiasie kwadratowym]*.

Przed rozpoczęciem wywiadu:

[1] Powtórnie przedstaw temat pracy magisterskiej i opisz cel badania:

- To badanie jest przeprowadzane w ramach pracy magisterskiej realizowanej w katedrze planowania przestrzennego na holenderskim uniwersytecie Wageningen University & Research. Tematem tej pracy są remonty wrocławskich podwórek zrealizowane za sprawą inicjatyw oddolnych mieszkańców. Celem tego badania jest analiza procesów realizacji remontów podwórek, ze zwróceniem szczególnej uwagi na uczestników tych procesów i powiązania pomiędzy nimi.

[2] Wyjaśnij procedurę wywiadu:

- Przebieg wywiadu będzie następujący. Wywiad zostanie nagrany dźwiękowo przy użyciu telefonu. Jednak, jeśli w trakcie wywiadu zechce Pan/Pani powiedzieć coś do mojej prywatnej wiadomości, może Pan/Pani zatrzymać nagranie, a następnie wznowić je w dogodnym dla Pana/Pani momencie. Natomiast zanim rozpocznę nagrywanie dźwięku, chciałabym z Panem/Panią przedyskutować szczegóły Pana/Pani uczestnictwa w badaniu. Po tym przejdziemy do nagrywanej części wywiadu. Na początek przedstawię Panu/Pani główny temat wywiadu i zaproszę Pana/Panią do opowiedzenia historii dotyczącej tego tematu. Temat jest związany z procesem realizacji remontu podwórka w kwartale otoczonym ulicami
W trakcie, kiedy będzie Pan/Pani opowiadał/a swoją historię, nie będę Panu/Pani przerywać, ale będę robić notatki. Jak już zakończy Pan/Pani opowiadanie swojej historii, przejdziemy do kolejnej części wywiadu, podczas której zadam Panu/Pani pytania dotyczące kwestii wspomnianych w Pana/Pani historii oraz tematu przedstawionego na początku wywiadu.

[3] Zapytaj, czy osoba udzielająca wywiadu ma jakiegokolwiek pytania przed rozpoczęciem wywiadu.

[4] Poproś osobę udzielającą wywiadu o podpisanie formularza świadomej zgody na udział w wywiadzie.

[5] Rozpocznij nagrywanie dźwięku, jednocześnie informując o tym osobę udzielającą wywiadu.

Stymulowanie narracji:

[1] Przedstaw główny temat wywiadu:

- Głównym tematem tego wywiadu jest Pana/Pani uczestnictwo w procesie realizacji remontu wspomnianego podwórka, od momentu, kiedy pierwszy raz zaangażował/a się Pan/Pani w ten proces, do momentu, kiedy przestał/a się Pan/Pani w niego angażować. Lub też do obecnego momentu, jeśli wciąż jest Pan/Pani zaangażowany/a, na przykład, w utrzymanie wyremontowanego podwórka lub też w postulowanie o dalsze działania mające na celu poprawę stanu podwórka.

[2] Zaprosz osobę udzielającą wywiadu do opowiedzenia historii o jej/jego uczestnictwie w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka:

- Czy mógłby/mogłaby Pan/Pani opowiedzieć mi o swoim uczestnictwie (lub zaangażowaniu) w proces realizacji remontu podwórka?

[Nie przerywaj osobie udzielającej wywiadu, dopóki nie da on/ona jasnego sygnału, że zakończyła opowiadanie swojej historii. Wyłącznie zachęcaj ją/jego do dalszego opowiadania historii poprzez aktywne słuchanie. Rób notatki z myślą o późniejszym zadawaniu pytań.]

[3] Upewnij się, że osoba udzielająca wywiadu zakończyła opowiadać swoją historię:

- Czy to już wszystko czym chciał/a się Pan/Pani ze mną podzielić? Czy chciałby/aby Pan/Pani coś jeszcze dodać?

Zadawanie pytań:

[Zadaj pytania bazujące na historii opowiedzianej przez osobę udzielającą wywiadu w celu uzupełniania luk oraz uzyskania bardziej szczegółowych informacji dotyczących kwestii poruszonych w historii osoby udzielającej wywiadu istotnych w kontekście badania. Zadając pytania, parafrazuj wypowiedzi lub używaj słów osoby udzielającej wywiadu. Wykorzystaj poniższą listę tematów i pytań jako odniesienie, ale traktuj ją bardziej jako listę służącą do upewnienia się, że wszystkie tematy zostały omówione w historii osoby udzielającej wywiadu i/lub w fazie zadawania pytań.]

1. Cele

a. Uczestnictwo w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka

- W jaki sposób był/a Pan/Pani zaangażowany/a w proces realizacji remontu podwórka?
 - Jak zaangażował/a się Pan/Pani w proces realizacji remontu podwórka?

b. Motywacje

- Co motywowało Pana/Panią do uczestniczenia w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka?

c. Dążenia

- Co chciał/a Pan/Pani osiągnąć poprzez proces realizacji remontu podwórka?
 - Czy Pana/Pani dążenia były związane z Pana osobistym interesem czy brał/a Pan/Pani pod uwagę także interes innych (społeczności lokalnej, środowiska, itp.)?

d. Zmiany w dążeniach

- Czy to co chciał/a Pana/Pani osiągnąć w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka uległo w czasie jego trwania zmianie?
 - Jeśli tak, to jaka to była zmiana (lub zmiany)?
 - Jaka sytuacja (lub sytuacje) doprowadziła do tej zmiany (lub tych zmian)?

2. Strategie

a. Działania mające na celu spełnienie dążeń

- Jakie działania Pan/Pani podjęła, żeby spełnić swoje dążenia w trakcie procesu realizacji remontu podwórka?
 - b. Elementy ułatwiające lub umożliwiające spełnienie dążeń
 - Co ułatwiło (lub umożliwiło) Panu/Pani spełnienie swoich dążeń w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka?
 - c. Elementy utrudniające lub uniemożliwiające spełnienie dążeń
 - Co utrudniło Panu/Pani spełnienie swoich dążeń w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka?
 - Jak poradził/a (lub nie) sobie Pan/Pani z tymi trudnościami?
 - d. Zmiany w podejściu do spełnienia dążeń
 - Czy może Pan/Pani przywołać jakiś moment, w którym Pana/Pani podejście do spełnienia swoich dążeń w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka uległo radykalnej zmianie?
 - Jaka sytuacja (lub sytuacje) doprowadziła do tej zmiany (lub tych zmian)?
3. Elementy środowiska miejskiego
- a. Aspekty podwórka ważne w kontekście remontu dla osoby udzielającej wywiad
 - Jakie aspekty podwórka były dla Pana/Pani najważniejsze w trakcie procesu realizacji remontu podwórka, zarówno spośród elementów fizycznych jak i tych niekoniecznie widocznych gołym okiem, ale wpływających na charakter podwórka (lub atmosferę na podwórku)?
 - Dlaczego akurat te aspekty były dla Pana/Pani ważne?
 - Jaki miało to wpływ na Pana/Pani zaangażowanie w proces realizacji remontu podwórka (Pana/Pani działania, decyzje, itp.)?
 - b. Kontrowersyjne aspekty podwórka w kontekście remontu
 - Jakie aspekty podwórka były najczęściej przedmiotem dyskusji w trakcie procesu realizacji remontu podwórka, zarówno spośród elementów fizycznych jak i tych niekoniecznie widocznych gołym okiem, ale wpływających na charakter podwórka (lub atmosferę na podwórku)?
 - Czy mógłby/aby Pan/Pani krótko opisać przebieg tych dyskusji?
4. Troska
- a. Osiedle jako miejsce troski
 - Czy opisałby/aby Pan/Pani osiedle jako miejsce, gdzie mieszkańcy troszczą się o siebie nawzajem (lub o innych)?
 - b. Znaczenie podwórka dla troski
 - Czy uważa Pan/Pani, że podwórko odgrywa jakąś rolę w tej trosce?
 - Mógłby/mogłaby Pan/Pani podać przykłady ról jakie ono odgrywa (lub przykłady sytuacji, które ilustrują, że nie odgrywa żadnej roli)?
 - c. Znaczenie remontu podwórka dla troski
 - Czy uważa Pan/Pani, że remont podwórka odegrał jakąś rolę w tej trosce?
 - Mógłby/mogłaby Pan/Pani podać przykłady?
 - d. Znaczenie troski dla uczestnictwa w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka
 - Czy uważa Pan/Pani, że troska odegrała jakąś rolę w Pana/Pani uczestnictwie (lub zaangażowaniu) w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka?
 - Mógłby/mogłaby Pan/Pani podać przykłady?

Zakończenie:

[1] Zapytaj, czy osoba udzielająca wywiadu chciałaby jeszcze coś dodać albo czy powinienam jeszcze o czymś wiedzieć w kontekście remontu podwórka.

[2] Zapytaj o inne organizacje lub osoby, z którymi mogłabym się skontaktować w celu przeprowadzenia wywiadu dotyczącego ich uczestnictwa w procesie realizacji remontu podwórka.

[3] Podziękuj osobie udzielającej wywiadu za udzielenie wywiadu.

[4] Zatrzymaj nagrywanie dźwięku, jednocześnie informując o tym osobę udzielającą wywiadu.

[5] Zapytaj, czy osoba udzielająca wywiadu ma dodatkowe pytania bądź prośby.

[6] Zapytaj, czy osoba udzielająca wywiadu chciałaby, żebym skontaktowała się z nią w przyszłości w celu zweryfikowania transkrypcji, rezultatów badania, bezpośrednich cytatów wykorzystanych w pracy magisterskiej, itp.

[7] Zapytaj, czy osoba udzielająca wywiadu zgadza się na ponowny kontakt, jeśli jakieś dodatkowe pytania pojawią się na późniejszych etapach realizacji mojej pracy magisterskiej.

[8] Zapytaj o dane kontaktowe lub możliwość skontaktowania mnie z wybranymi osobami wspomnianymi podczas wywiadu.

Po zakończeniu wywiadu:

[Natychmiast po zakończeniu wywiadu zrób notatki dotyczące: (1) lokalizacji i czasu trwania wywiadu, (2) wszelkie istotne informacje przekazane przez osobę udzielającą wywiadu po zatrzymaniu nagrywania dźwięku, (3) problemy napotkane podczas wywiadu (ruchliwe/głośnie otoczenie, problemy z nagrywaniem dźwięku, itp.), (4) ogólne odczucia związane z wywiadem (jak przebiegał wywiad, jakie informacje wyróżniają się na tle innych, itp.).]

Appendix 2 Informed consent form (English and Polish version)

Informed consent form used in this study was based on a template made available to students on the *MSc Thesis Land Use Planning* Brightspace.

ENG:

INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Purpose of study: You are invited to participate in a research study on courtyard redevelopments initiated by citizens in Wrocław (Poland). This study is a part of a Master thesis project realised at the Land Use Planning Group at the Wageningen University & Research (Netherlands). The aim of this study is to analyse the courtyard redevelopment processes, while focusing on the persons involved in these processes and the connections between these persons.

Consent to participate in study: I declare that I understand the aim and content of the interview, which have been clearly explained to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that:

- I can refuse to answer questions, and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.
- personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name, will not be shared beyond the researcher and her thesis supervisor.
- audio recording of the interview will be stored according to Wageningen University & Research guidelines until after completion of the thesis project.

I declare that:

- I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.
- I give permission for the use of the results of this interview in a scientific report or publication, including anonymised direct quotes.
- I give permission to audio record the interview.

Further contact: If you have any additional remarks, complaints or questions about the study or your participation in the study, you can directly contact the researcher, Anna Słobodzian, via e-mail at anna.slobodzian@wur.nl or via phone on +48 795 949 130.

Study Participant

By signing below, you are indicating that understand the aim and content of the interview and that you agree to take part in this research study.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Researcher

I have accurately explained the aim and content of the interview to the potential participant and, to the best of my ability, ensured that the participant understands to what he or she is freely consenting.

Signature:

Date:

PL:

ŚWIADOMA ZGODA NA UDZIAŁ W WYWIADZIE

Cel badania: Został/a Pan/Pani zaproszony/a do udziału w badaniu naukowym dotyczącym remontów wrocławskich podwórek zrealizowanych za sprawą inicjatyw oddolnych mieszkańców. To badanie jest przeprowadzane w ramach pracy magisterskiej realizowanej w katedrze planowania przestrzennego na holenderskim uniwersytecie Wageningen University & Research. Celem tego badania jest analiza procesów realizacji remontów podwórek, ze zwróceniem szczególnej uwagi na uczestników tych procesów i powiązania pomiędzy nimi.

Zgoda na udział w badaniu: Ja niżej podpisany/a oświadczam, że zrozumiałem/am udzielone mi informacje dotyczące celu i tematyki wywiadu. Miałem/am możliwość zadania pytań dotyczących badania oraz otrzymałem/am wyczerpujące i satysfakcjonujące mnie odpowiedzi na zadane pytania.

Przyjmuję do wiadomości, że:

- mogę odmówić odpowiedzi na dowolne pytania zadawane przez osobę przeprowadzającą badanie oraz mogę w każdej chwili wycofać się z udziału w badaniu bez podania powodu, jeżeli uznam to za stosowne;
- moje dane osobowe umożliwiające moją identyfikację, takie jak imię i nazwisko, nie będą udostępniane osobom innym niż osoba przeprowadzającą badanie podpisana poniżej i promotorka jej pracy magisterskiej;
- nagranie dźwiękowe wywiadu będzie przechowywane zgodnie z zasadami ustalonymi przez Wageningen University & Research do momentu zakończenia działań związanych z pracą magisterką.

Oświadczam, że:

- wyrażam świadomą i dobrowolną zgodę na udział w tym badaniu;
- wyrażam zgodę na wykorzystanie informacji pozyskanych w tym wywiadzie w raporcie naukowym lub innej publikacji naukowej, włącznie ze zanonimizowanymi bezpośrednimi cytatami;
- wyrażam zgodę na nagranie dźwiękowe wywiadu.

Dalszy kontakt: Jeśli ma Pan/Pani dalsze uwagi, zastrzeżenia lub pytania dotyczące badania oraz Pana/Pani uczestnictwa w tym badaniu, może się Pan/Pani bezpośrednio skontaktować z osobą przeprowadzającą badanie, tj. Anną Słobodzian, mailowo na adres anna.slobodzian@wur.nl lub telefonicznie pod numerem +48 795 949 130.

Uczestnik/uczestniczka badania

Składając poniżej podpis, oświadczam Pan/Pani, że zrozumiał/a Pan/Pani cel i tematykę wywiadu, i że wyraża Pan/Pani świadomą i dobrowolną zgodę na udział w tym badaniu.

Imię i nazwisko:

Osoba przeprowadzająca badanie

Ja niżej podpisana wyjaśniłam potencjalnemu uczestnikowi/uczestniczce badania cel i tematykę wywiadu, i upewniłam się, że uczestnik/uczestniczka zrozumiał/a przedmiot swojej świadomej zgody.

Podpis:

Podpis:

Data:

Data:

Appendix 3 Codebook

Code	Grounded
○ Actor-network elements	1164
○ Black boxes	48
○ laws, regulations and procedures	24
○ public consultation reports	24
○ Human actors	821
○ architects	112
○ artists	55
○ city administration	129
○ communities of urban activists and local initiatives	13
○ construction companies	11
○ courtyard managers	159
○ courtyard users	364
○ Local Activity Centres and local partners	117
○ media	9
○ Neighbourhood Councils	137
○ politicians	36
○ property owners	39
○ public participation professionals	61
○ Wroclaw Revitalisation	24
○ Non-human actors	620
○ mascot	12
○ mobilisation devices	79
○ participation mechanisms	211
○ physical components of courtyards	250
○ planning and design devices	107
○ public funds	77
○ Infrastructure of care	757
○ Courtyard components	408
○ accessibility	125
○ community	101
○ environment	89
○ recreation	151
○ safety	89
○ sanitation	92
○ Courtyard-based care	175
○ Redevelopment-related care	480
○ being neutral (“it’s our job”)	11
○ care-giving	42
○ care-receiving	70
○ caring about	47
○ caring for	92
○ caring with	264
○ Translation	1166
○ Controversies	301
○ (old) grievance and mistrust	32
○ conflicting problematisations	34

o diminishing interest amongst citizens	15
o dragging out redevelopment in time	27
o external factors	21
o formal constraints	73
o not enough votes	21
o physical constraints of courtyards	44
o poor redevelopment management	30
o project being unprofitable	5
o rule changes	26
o scarcity of funds	37
o struggling over roles and contribution claims	8
o Enrollment	202
o consulting residents	106
o enrolling professionals	62
o making “funding collages”	37
o Interesement	393
o adjusting solutions and/or proposing alternatives	56
o campaigning	65
o collecting proposals from citizens	26
o enrolling local “big players”	71
o enrolling media	12
o lobbying	51
o managing conflicts	9
o networking	52
o referring to laws, rules and regulations	16
o relying on trust	36
o surveying courtyards	10
o using citizen-level participatory budgeting	54
o using neighbourhood-level participatory budgeting	14
o Interests	191
o achieving personal gains	19
o community-building	51
o fulfilling duties	13
o improving place of living and/or working	38
o maintaining and servicing infrastructure	8
o promoting broader change	20
o responding to needs of residents	37
o shaping participation spaces	27
o Mobilisation	50
o covering redevelopments in media	34
o organising events in courtyards	16
o Problematisation	225
o covering many and/or popular locations	13
o diagnosing low social capital	31
o diagnosing physical degradation	82
o phasing redevelopments	21
o prioritising small developments	24
o proposing solutions	73

Appendix 4 Statement about use of AI

No generative artificial intelligence (AI) was used at any stage of this study.