

Julia Sowińska-Heim

Department of Art History

University of Łódź

julia.sowinska@uni.lodz.pl

A POST-SOCIALIST CITY: A “TURN” IN SHAPING THE ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE OF A CITY AT THE TURN OF THE 19th AND 20th CENTURIES. THE CASE OF ŁÓDŹ

Abstract: Following the political breakthrough of 1989 architects were faced with completely new challenges. After the lethargy of the 1980s Polish architecture experienced a real turn. A remarkable transformation was taking place along with the general cultural, social, political and economic changes. The opening to the trends in Western culture, the establishment of numerous private architectural studios, the appearance of development companies or foreign investors, coupled with new technological possibilities resulted in the change of Polish urban landscape. As a result, Polish municipal authorities had to review their way of thinking about their cities. The paper aims at analysing the changes stimulated by the “turn” which took place in Polish architecture in the 1990s. It presents some observations on the transformation and the emerging challenges and problems of Łódź urban space.

Keywords: post-socialist city, Łódź, urban regeneration, place promotion, city identity, polish contemporary architecture, architectural changes

Introduction

According to Cicero, architecture as art is closely linked to politics. Political transformations result, among others, in the creation of new conditions for architectural development. This results in rapid turns in shaping the architectural image of the city. A collapse of the Communist regime in 1989 was an important “turn” not only in the political context; it also initiated the processes which strongly influenced architecture and urban planning, as well as the way of thinking about the city in a wider social and cultural context. After the

collapse of the centralised Communist system, the perception and vision of Łódź underwent radical transformation, while the forces influencing its shape became much more complex. In a democratic system, a city is not a fully controllable area and cannot be completely programmed by the authorities.¹ The multi-directional changes resulting from the processes of democratization, commercialization, or globalisation added variety to the city's structure and its architecture. However, according to the principle that in each political system "the language of power is 'urbanized'",² the issues associated with architecture and urban planning have remained an important element of the political debate and the official strategy.

The specificity of Łódź

Łódź is a good example of a Central European city which since the end of the 19th century went through a lot of turns and transformations. A second and now the third largest Polish city, Łódź developed as a 19th-century centre of the textile industry. Its portrayals as "Polish Manchester" and "a country of its own" in the late 19th and early 20th century press reflected the unique character of Łódź very well.³ The industrial character of the city was a key factor influencing its architectural and spatial form. After the political turn of 1989, Łódź was greatly affected by the overlapping processes characteristic for a post-industrial and at the same time a post-socialist city.⁴ The political transformation, resulting in economic changes, led to the collapse of the industry which had constituted the basis of Łódź economy. The crisis affected the situation of the 19th-century architectural urban tissue. It was complicated due to the concentration of the industry in the downtown area and its interlacing with the residential quarters. After a large number of Łódź factories had been put into liquidation, the factory buildings and whole post-factory complexes, characteristic for the cityscape were threatened. The demolition or slow

¹ M. Czepczyński, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities. Representation of Powers and Needs*, Ashgate, Hampshire 2008, p. 1.

² Ibid.

³ K. Kołodziej, „Między „ziemią obiecaną” a „złym miastem” – cała (?) prawda o Łodzi w publicystyce i prasie warszawskiej”, cz. 2, *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 2010, no. 13, p. 177.

⁴ The processes taking place in post-socialist cities are described i.a. by M. Czepczyński, *Cultural Landscapes...*; S.A. Hirt, *Iron Curtains. Gates, Suburbs and Privatization of Space in the Post-socialist City*, Wiley-Blackwell, Cambridge and Oxford 2012; S.A. Hirt, K. Stanilov, *Twenty years of transition: the evolution of urban planning in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, 1989-2009*, UnHabitat, Nairobi, 2009; *The Post-Socialist City. Urban, Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*, K. Stanilov ed., Springer, Netherlands 2010.

degradation of the empty buildings posed the danger of significant disturbance of the urban tissue. While in the 19th century Łódź had developed extremely fast,⁵ in the 1990s, after the transfer to market economy, the city experienced a reverse tendency in an equally dynamic way – the closing of the big industrial plants may be compared to a cataclysm. The city had not experienced such a significant turn even after the second world war, when Poland became one of the socialist countries under the influence of the USSR. At that time the industry was nationalised, yet Łódź factories continued operating, and their functioning, as in the past, was based on textile production.

The political changes and the necessity of functioning in a new, globalised environment not only brought a review of the city's economic situation, but also revealed the need for city promotion and creating its clear and positive image.⁶ Showing the strong and attractive sides of Łódź aims at attracting Polish and foreign investors as well as tourists and consumers.⁷ In the case of Łódź, its architecture and urban planning plays an important role. Former negative associations connected with the industrial character of the city, causing such problems as pollution and unemployment, and with the city's lack of long-standing historical or cultural roots, are being replaced by positive connotations⁸

⁵ Between 1820 and 1914, i.e. within less than a hundred years, the number of the citizens grew from 799 people to 478 thousand, i.e. as much as 598 times. Cf. B. Baranowski, J. Fijałek eds., *Łódź: Dzieje Miasta*, vol. 1, PWN, Warszawa-Łódź 1980; St. Liszewski, „Łódź centrum nowego regionu”, [in:] *Spoleczno-ekonomiczne problemy aglomeracji łódzkiej*, ed. W. Michalski, RCSS, Łódź 1999.

⁶ See e.g. J. Michlic, “Lodz in the Post-communist Era: In Search of a New Identity” [in:] *Post-communist Cities: New Cultural Reorientations and Identities*, eds. J. Czaplicka, R. Blair, Johns Hopkins University Press, Washington 2008, pp. 281-304; C. Young, S. Kaczmarek, “Changing the Perception of the Post - Socialist City: Place Promotion and Imagery in Łódź, Poland”, *The Geographical Journal*, 1999, vol. 165, no 2, pp. 183-191; S. S. Fainstein, “The changing world economy and urban restructuring”, [in:] *Leadership and urban regeneration: cities in North America and Europe*, eds D. Judd, M. Parkinson, Sage, London 1990, pp. 31-47.

⁷ Cf. C. Young, S. Kaczmarek, *Changing the Perception...*, p. 184.

⁸ This problem is raised e.g. by J. Sowińska-Heim, *Architektura Łodzi – próby reinterpretacji i tworzenia nowego wizerunku miasta po 1989 r.*, Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń (in print); T.C. Currit, *Promised Land, Red Łódź, or HollyŁódź: Shifting Identities in an Industrial City. 1820-2010*, University of Washington 2010, http://www.academia.edu/544115/Promised_Land_Red_Lodz_or_HollyLodz_Shifting_Identities_in_an_Industrial_City_1820-2010 (18.06.2013); M. Fleming, “Legitimizing Urban “Revitalisation” Strategies in Post-socialist Lodz”, *East European Politics and Societies* 2012, no. 2, pp. 254-273; J. Michlic, “Lodz in the Post-communist Era...”.

based mainly on the value of the unique post-industrial architecture originating in the 19th century.⁹ The revival of the post-industrial areas and giving them new functions, as well as reinstating the memory of the city's multicultural heritage are mentioned among the important positive effects of the political change.¹⁰

The functional transformation of the post-industrial buildings had also taken place before 1989,¹¹ but it was carried out on an incomparably smaller scale and thus it did not lead to any radical changes in the city's functioning. The greatest changes after the political transformation can be observed in the downtown areas: only in Piotrkowska Street (the urban, historical and symbolic axis of Łódź) 50% of the post-industrial areas changed their function in the 1990s.¹²

What is important for and characteristic of the currently occurring processes is their strong connection with a clear turn in thinking about the past of the city and the need for creating its new urban identity, in which an important role is played by its 19th-century architectural heritage. The attempts at changing the former stereotypes of Łódź as a "red", Communist, working-class city,¹³ a "bad" and unattractive city¹⁴ are associated with the need for clear, consistent policy of the city's development. Appropriate policy and actions concerning Łódź architecture and urban planning, the most external and the most quickly noticeable symptoms of the changes, aim at overcoming the former negative image. What is visible in the official discourse and actions is an orientation towards respecting and preserving the unique character of Łódź as an industrial city.¹⁵

⁹ Other important areas of interest include the multiculturalism of 19th century Łódź and its European character.

¹⁰ W. Cudny, "Socio-Economic Changes in Lodz – Results of Twenty Years of System Transformation", *Geografický Časopis* 2012, no. 15, pp. 3-27.

¹¹ E.g. turning Geyer's factory into the Museum of Textiles.

¹² M. Piech, Plansza XXVI: Przemiany przestrzenne, gałęziowe i funkcjonalne terenów przemysłowych Łodzi w latach 1938-1999, [in:] *Atlas Miasta Łodzi*, S. Liszewski ed., ŁTN, Łódź 2002.

¹³ As noted by Currit, it was finally possible to overcome the stereotype of "red Łódź" only thanks to the political and, consequently, economic and cultural transformation. Restoring the concept of a "Lodzermensch" and reinstating positive connotations with the capitalist past of Łódź played an important role in the process. T. C. Currit, *Promised Land...*

¹⁴ The phrase "bad city" [Pol. "złe miasto"] comes from the title of a book published for the first time in 1911: Z. Bartkiewicz, *Złe miasto*, Fundacja Anima, *Tygiel Kultury*, Łódź 2001. In our times, prof. Bohdan Jałowicki and prof. Marek S. Szczepański, analysing the current potential of Polish big cities, mention the "ugliness" of Łódź as a key factor diminishing the chances of the city: B. Jałowicki, M.S. Szczepański, *Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa 2010, p. 286.

¹⁵ See e.g. *Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Łodzi*, Łódź 2010, <http://www.mpu.lodz.pl/page/file.php?id=215> (14.04.2015); or the document *Regionalny Program Operacyjny Województwa Łódzkiego 2007-2013* connected with *Strategia*

Already in the first stage of the changes, in the 1990s, attempts were made to clearly define the urban space, bring out its characteristic features and determine their identity. The program of the urban development of Łódź emphasized the need for a review of Łódź historical heritage and gave an impulse to creating the narratives of identity and the identification of the inhabitants of Łódź with their city.¹⁶ The greatest emphasis was then put on reviving Piotrkowska Street.¹⁷ By and large, the characteristic four-kilometre-long artery has been perceived as a city landmark ever since Łódź came into existence.¹⁸ Closely related to its history and development, it is a vivid reminder of 19th-century Łódź and thus has a unique character.¹⁹ Already in the 19th century it was regarded as an exclusive area of the city. It is where the first lamp posts were installed, where horse cabs carried people to hotels or restaurants, and where the first electric tram line was built in the 1890s. The cultural, social and commercial life of the old Łódź focused around Piotrkowska. The map of Łódź from 2002²⁰ emphasized that "the buildings along Piotrkowska street, forming blocks within the regular layout of the streets, are the most characteristic element of Łódź urban space" and the basic element of the city's identity.²¹ Interestingly, the program of the renovation of the selected downtown and post-factory areas in Łódź for the years 2004-2013, approved by the City Council

Rozwoju Województwa Łódzkiego na lata 2007-2020, Łódź 2011, http://www.rpo2007-2013.lodzkie.pl/wps/wcm/connect/rpo/rpo/strona_glowna/dokumenty_jz_rpo_wl/dokumenty_rpowl/rpo_wl (14.04.2015), as well as *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi jako polityka sektorowa Strategii zintegrowanego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+*, Łódź 2012, https://www.google.pl/search?sa=X&biw=1219&bih=877&q=define+recall&ved=0CCwQ_SowAGoVChMI3tDB3ezLyAIVQqhyCh0kjArD#q=Strategia+przestrzennego+rozwoju+%C5%8lodzi+jako+polityka+sektorowa+Strategii+zintegrowanego+rozwoju+%C5%8lodzi+2020%2B%2C+ (accessed 14 April 2015).

- ¹⁶ The Local Spatial Plan of the City of Łódź from 1993 assumed i.a. the restoration and modernization of the downtown architecture. Cf. K. Bald, *Plansza XLIII: Miejscowy plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego Łodzi z 1993 r.*, [in:], *Atlas Miasta Łodzi...*
- ¹⁷ C. Young, S. Kaczmarek, *Changing the Perception...*, p. 186, M. Flemmeing, "Legitimizing Urban 'Revitalisation' Strategies in Post-socialist Lodz", *East European Politics and Societies* 2012, no. 2, p. 263.
- ¹⁸ See e.g. A. Rynkowska, „Ulica Piotrkowska”, *Odgłosy* 1965 no. 38, p. 8; *Atlas Miasta Łodzi...*; E. Olejniczak, *Obraz Łodzi w tekstach reportażu tygodnika "Odgłosy" (1958-1992)*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2011, pp. 52-68.
- ¹⁹ Piotrkowska Street was delineated as part of the road to Piotrków, an important communication route, when Łódź was still a rural area. Yet it was named only in 1923. Initially the name covered a shorter section from Plac Kościelny in the Old Town to the market of the New Town (currently Plac Wolności). At the end of the 1820s the name was extended to the main axis of the cotton settlement Łódka. Cf. A. Rynkowska, *Ulica Piotrkowska*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1970.
- ²⁰ *Atlas Miasta Łodzi...*
- ²¹ K. Bald, *Plansza XLIV: Przestrzeń dobra publicznego, obszar tożsamości miasta Łodzi*, *Atlas Miasta Łodzi...*

in 2004, emphasized the fact that the industrial collapse and the consequent change of the character of the downtown area as a place for services, including commerce, culture, business and banking, offers a unique chance of rearranging the centre and giving it the character of a metropolis for the first time in the two hundred years long history of the city.²² Nevertheless, Piotrkowska Street needs deeper changes consisting primarily in the renovation of the 19th-century buildings, most of which are degraded and frequently in bad technical condition, and a well-prepared comprehensive functional program. Yet, due to its extent and necessary expenditures, the revival of the historical buildings in Piotrkowska Street is a long-term project.

In the first years after the transformation, Piotrkowska Street attracted many brand and luxury shops. The author of the documentary on *The two faces of Piotrkowska* observes that "Within quite a short time Piotrkowska underwent a radical metamorphosis, showing its Western face to the surprised passers-by. This change is marked by the compulsorily foreign names of the shops (...) and a chauffeured luxury limousine with a satellite dish arriving at the entrance to the Grand Hotel".²³ According to the research carried out in 2000, over 50% of the businesses situated in Piotrkowska Street were shops, including those of well-known international brands.²⁴ The main artery of Łódź also became famous for the number of its restaurants and other eating places. In 2004, 70% of all the cafes and 60% of the restaurants were located there.²⁵ In the 1990s Piotrkowska Street, as the most important element of the architectural structure of the city, playing the leading role in the promotional activities, was the main area of important investments of both public and private funds.²⁶ Yet the first years of the 21st century brought a crisis resulting mainly from the investments in the immediate vicinity of the street. Two of them influenced the situation of Piotrkowska Street the most: the shopping malls Galeria Łódzka, opened in 2002, and Manufaktura, whose opening ceremony took place in 2006. According to a report from 2009, in only seven years the number of the shops in and around Piotrkowska Street dropped by 20%. In the first place, the main artery was deprived of the trading venues of the popular international

²² *Uproszczony lokalny program rewitalizacji wybranych terenów śródmiejskich oraz pofabrycznych Łodzi na lata 2004-2013*, Uchwała Nr XXXIV/568/04 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 14 lipca 2004 r., p. 5.

²³ Transl. from the Polish by the author. M. Matuszak, „Dwa oblicza Pietryny”, *Odgłosy* 1991, no. 3, p. 1.

²⁴ A. Wolaniuk, R. Przewłocka, *Plansza XXXVI: Ulica Piotrkowska*, [in:] *Atlas Miasta Łodzi...*

²⁵ J. Nalewajko, „Rozwój, funkcjonowanie i miejsce usług gastronomicznych w przestrzeni Łodzi” [in:] *Łódź wybrane zagadnienia zagospodarowania przestrzennego*, ed. T. Marszał, Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź 2005.

²⁶ M. Fleming, *Legitimizing Urban "Revitalisation"...*, p. 10.

brands.²⁷ The changes were perceived as heralding "the end" of Piotrkowska Street.²⁸ However, researchers emphasize that this process has also brought positive changes, such as a greater functional diversification of the street with an increasing number of big-city institutions, such as political and social organizations, local government bodies, and academic, educational and financial institutions locating their venues, offices and headquarters there.²⁹ However, trade and gastronomy still predominate here and Piotrkowska Street retains its characteristic multifunctional character.

Despite an attempt to find some positive aspects of the occurring changes, the local public debate has been dominated by the perception of the crisis of "the heart of Łódź",³⁰ and the fear of the decline in the city's attractiveness and popularity.³¹ This conviction also became an impulse for drawing up the official *Strategy of development of Piotrkowska Street in Łódź for 2009-2020*, approved by the City Council in 2009. Another worrying phenomenon was the spatial, economic and social chaos of the city.³² The city's President even appointed a curatorial team for Piotrkowska, which, like a commanding unit in the armed forces, was to find a way to restore Piotrkowska's greatness (from the times of Łódź as the Promised Land³³) and to turn it into a metropolitan artery, similar to such famous streets as Champ Elysees in Paris, La Rambla in Barcelona, or Oxford Street in London.³⁴

The special team appointed for the better coordination of the activities and the implementation of the instructions formulated in the *Strategy* for

²⁷ Wolaniuk A. *Plansza LI: Przemiany funkcjonalne w otoczeniu ulicy Piotrkowskiej*, [in:] *Atlas miasta Łodzi: (suplement 1)*, S. Liszewski ed., Urząd Miasta Łodzi, Łódź 2009.

²⁸ The final conclusions of the URBAMECO program, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund in 2009, emphasized that Piotrkowska Street was losing its prestige both as cultural and a business area. URBAMECO, *Local Action Plan for Piotrkowska Street*, http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/lap_piotrkowska.pdf (accessed 14 May 2015).

²⁹ Wolaniuk A. *Plansza LI...*

³⁰ *Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej w Łodzi na lata 2009-2020*, p. 5.

³¹ A. Hac, „Jak umiera legendarna Piotrkowska, czyli wszystko po 3 zł „, *wyborcza.pl*, 2008 http://wyborcza.pl/1,91713,5452979,Jak_umiera_legendarna_Piotrkowska_czyli_wszystko.html; M. Witkowska, A. Zboińska, „Piotrkowska umiera. Uciekają nawet lumpeksy”, *Dziennik Łódzki*, 2012, <http://www.dzienniklodzki.pl/artukul/678553.piotrkowska-umiera-uciekaja-nawet-lumpeksy,id,t.html?cookie=1>; M. Witkowska, „Ulica Piotrkowska, dawna wizytówka Łodzi pustoszeje „, *naszemiasto.pl*, 2011, <http://lodz.naszemiasto.pl/artukul/ulica-piotrkowska-dawna-wizytowka-lodzi-pustoszeje,826316,art,t,id,tm.html>.

³² *Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej...*, p. 5.

³³ *Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej...*, p. 6.

³⁴ The motives and aims of the President's decision to appoint the Piotrkowska team were summed up in the *Contract for Piotrkowska [Kontrakt dla Piotrkowskiej]*, which became an important document allowing for the formulation of the *Strategy of Development of Piotrkowska Street in Łódź for the years 2009-2020. Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej w Łodzi na lata 2009-2020*, p. 3.

Piotrkowska, viewed it as a product which must be consciously managed and shaped.³⁵ The four-kilometre long street was divided into two sections. The first of them, between Plac Wolności (historical New Town Market) and Piłsudski Avenue, was given the role of a “promenade”, while the second section of the street, from Piłsudski Avenue to Plac Niepodległości was assigned for business purposes.³⁶ The stated goal of the project was turning Piotrkowska Street into “a landmark of metropolitan Łódź, a European street functioning as an important place of business, culture, tourism and entertainment, a friendly space for the citizens and the visitors.”³⁷ The postulated necessary actions included the creation of new public and semi-public areas and modernizing the existing ones in order to improve the attractiveness of the street as a meeting space,³⁸ as well as the revival of the quarters neighbouring Piotrkowska Street. As regards the tenement houses located in Piotrkowska Street, the only accepted directive was to conduct repairs and renovation of the elevations, gates, and side walls.³⁹ Superficial as these may seem, these directives were undoubtedly aimed at improving the aesthetics of the buildings and slowing down the process of degradation of the architectural tissue of the street. The renovation of Piotrkowska Street is still in progress. Its surface has been repaired and covered with granite blocks, new lamp posts and so-called small architecture have been installed.⁴⁰ Another important change was the installation of benches along the street.⁴¹ Some friendly public spaces, such as the modernized section of 6 Sierpnia Street,⁴² start to appear. The street is described as a “woonerf”, the first “living courtyard” in Łódź.⁴³

Such initiatives as the Foundation of Piotrkowska Street established in 1990, which organizes numerous events aiming at the restoration of “the social significance” and identity of Piotrkowska Street.⁴⁴ One of the initiatives

³⁵ *Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej...*, p. 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 11.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 12.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 16.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁴⁰ In 2011 the city announced the competition *Piotrkowska Obiecana [The Promised Piotrkowska]* for the development of an architectural and artistic concept of Piotrkowska Street, functioning partially as a promenade. The competition resulted from the assumptions of *A Strategy of Development of Piotrkowska Street...*

⁴¹ The improvement of the quality of the urban space resulting from the introduction of benches was noted e.g. by Jan Ghel. Cf. J. Ghel, *Miasta dla ludzi*, Wyd. RAM, Kraków 2014, pp. 16-18, 140-145, 155.

⁴² „woonerf – podwórzec miejski”, http://woonerf.dlalodzi.info/spot_6s.html (15.06.2015).

⁴³ bec, „Woonerf – pierwszy miejski podwórzec w Łodzi”, *Bryla.pl*, 2014, http://www.bryla.pl/bryla/1,85301,16347673,Woonerf___pierwszy_miejski_podworzec_w_Lodzi.html (accessed 12 June 2015).

⁴⁴ *Fundacja Ulicy Piotrkowskiej [Foundation of Piotrkowska Street]*, <http://www.piotrkowska.pl/page.php?mypage=17>. (12 June 2015).

involved the creation of *the Monument of Łódź Citizens of the Turn of the Millennium* and the later *Monument of Łódź Citizens of the New Millennium* in the form of paving blocks engraved with names, inserted in the surface of Piotrkowska Street.

After the first period of the transformations occurring in Łódź in the 1990s, the beginning of the 21st century saw a wide-scale process of conversion of the post-factory buildings to new functions. The most spectacular effect was achieved through the revival of a part of the post-industrial complex comprising the buildings of the former textile plant established by Israel Poznański. This huge complex located in the city centre, in the neighbourhood of Piotrkowska Street, occupying the space of three city blocks, had lost its original function in 1997, when the company was put into liquidation. The post-factory buildings were bought by the French consortium Apsys⁴⁵ and converted into a modern shopping mall called Manufaktura, advertising itself as the biggest commercial-entertaining centre in Poland. According to the promotional materials, the place is visited each year by millions of people from all over the world.⁴⁶ Manufaktura is an interesting example of a competent creation of an image of modern commercial space based on the selectively treated history and past of the place, dating back to the times of 19th-century prosperity. It is also based on the symbolic meaning of the architecture of former Poznański's factory, which is a permanent fixture of the cityscape.⁴⁷ According to one promotional text, "Poznański's factory complex (together with the neighbouring palace) was a European architectural icon of the 19th century, and Manufaktura has now become a model investment, frequently awarded and complimented".⁴⁸ Although created inside 19th-century walls, Manufaktura, having met the need for a modern spectacular architectural realization, became a symbol of modern Łódź.

⁴⁵ Currently Manufaktura belongs to the international investment company, Union Investment Real Estate AG. In 2012 it was sold for 1.6 billion PLN. As reported by the press, this was a record amount on the Polish real estate market. M. Wojtczuk, „Łódzka Manufaktura sprzedana za rekordową kwotę 1,6 mld zł”, *wyborcza.biz / nieruchomości*, 2012 [web portal of „Gazeta Wyborcza”]. http://wyborcza.biz/finanse/1,108340,12763387,Łodzka_Manufaktura_srzedana_za_rekordowa_kwote_1_6.html (accessed 12 June 2015).

⁴⁶ *Manufaktura*, 2008 [from the official website of Łódź City Council] http://uml.lodz.pl/miasto/o_miescie/skarby_lodzi/manufaktura/ (14.06.2015).

⁴⁷ More details in: J. Sowińska-Heim, “Conversions and redefinitions – architecture and identity of a place”, *Art Inquiry / Recherches sur les Arts* 2013, vol. XV (XXIV), pp. 191-205.

⁴⁸ *Manufaktura*, 2008...

A visually and functionally consistent fragment of urban space disassociated from the surrounding city space has thus been created in the city centre. The former factory complex was only partially modernised and converted, which has resulted in the new divisions of the historical layout, modifying its composition.⁴⁹ As a privately owned space, Manufaktura, advertised and perceived as a modern “driving force” of Łódź and “the beating heart of the city”,⁵⁰ has not contributed to the development of Piotrkowska Street, simply becoming its dangerous competitor.⁵¹ Although the *Strategy for Piotrkowska Street* clearly emphasizes that, as an essential element of “the heritage and identity (...) of the city, its priceless treasure and landmark”⁵² it plays a superior role in relation to other complexes in the urban space serving similar cultural, entertainment and business functions,⁵³ in practice keeping the balance has turned out to be very difficult. According to the program of the revival of selected downtown and post-factory areas in Łódź,⁵⁴ adopted by the local Council in 2003, the creation of links between the city landmarks is an important task accompanying the revival process, which would facilitate the restoration of much-needed consistence within the central area of the city.⁵⁵ The zone between Manufaktura and Piotrkowska Street was indicated as an important fragment of public space and an important element of the city’s identity, though still requiring renovation and reorganization. It was emphasized that the changes must contribute to a harmonious coexistence of the commercial-entertainment centre with the city facing a crisis.⁵⁶

A challenge to the preservation of the urban space and at the same time an attempt to build a new identity of the city is a big-scale urban undertaking, namely the creation of the New Centre of Łódź.⁵⁷ It is a priority investment financed

49 Originally, the main axis of the layout was Ogrodowa Street; now the axis has been moved to the area of the Manufaktura “market”; Cf. J. Sowińska-Heim, “Margins and marginalizations in a post-socialist urban area. The case of Łódź”, *Art Inquiry / Recherches sur les Arts*, vol. XVI (XXV), 2014, pp. 303-318.

50 Cf. *Manufaktura napędza Łódź*, [official website of Manufaktura] http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas; (05 June 2013).

51 M. Danielewski, Al. Przybylska, „Od dziś miasto jest tam”, *Kultura*, supplement to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 2007 no. 260, 21; „Łódzki Disneyland. Debata o Manufakturze”, *Gazeta Wyborcza - Łódź*, 2004, no. 261, p. 4; A. Hac, „Łączmy to, co kochamy, z tym, co w Łodzi najlepsze”, *Gazeta Wyborcza - Łódź*, 2009, no. 294, p. 5.

52 Transl. by the author. *Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej...*, p. 6.

53 *Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej...*, p. 5.

54 *Uproszczony Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji wybranych terenów śródmiejskich oraz pofabrycznych Łodzi na lata 2004-2013*, p. 5.

55 *Ibid.* p. 13.

56 *Ibid.* p. 15. A competition announced in 2009 *U źródeł Piotrkowskiej [At the roots of Piotrkowska]* aimed at finding methods of integrating this part of the city.

57 The program for the New Centre of Łódź was approved by the resolution of the City Council of 2007 and then amended with the resolutions in 2012 and 2015. Cf. *Program Nowe*

by the City of Łódź and the European Fund.⁵⁸ The design of the New Centre of Łódź was effect-oriented; it was intended to be as spectacular as the new museum quarter in Bilbao. The prestigious character of the project was to be ensured by the famous figures associated with it, such as Rob Krier (who developed the spatial schema for the works within the area of the Łódź Fabryczna station), Frank Ghery, Daniel Liebeskind or David Lynch. The New Centre was expected to attract both investors and tourists and initiate the economic resuscitation of Łódź. A huge quarter adjacent to Piotrkowska Street, covering 100 ha, was subject to a functional change and architectural reconstruction. The plan foresees the creation of an aesthetically consistent space with well-planned layout of communication routes and internal squares.⁵⁹ The priority of the planners is the construction of the new Łódź Fabryczna station and the revival of the former EC1 power plant⁶⁰ and its adaptation to cultural and artistic functions. In this way a new central space is being construed and another Łódź "icon" is being created.⁶¹ Although the power plant in Targowa street is an interesting building from the beginning of the 20th century (1906), it has never been a significant spot within the city and it has never served public functions. Still, the main goal of the New Centre of Łódź project "is creating a new functional city centre with multiple public spaces".⁶² As early as at the concept stage it was also assumed that the new market square created near the new station would become "the city centre", while a "monument which would become a new symbol of Łódź" would be situated at the Kobro Square, the so-called Small Market.⁶³ Originally the square was to become part of a system of public spaces linking the New Centre of Łódź and Piotrkowska Street,⁶⁴

Centrum Łodzi, Uchwała nr XVII/279/07 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 28 sierpnia 2007 r. ; *Program Nowe Centrum Łodzi*, Uchwała nr XLV/840/12 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 4 lipca 2012 r.; *Program Nowe Centrum Łodzi*, Uchwała nr XII/241/15 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 20 maja 2015 r. (accessed 20 May 2015).

- 58 Within the scope of *the Regional Operational Programme of Łódź Voivodeship for the years 2007–2013*; Cf. EC1, <http://www.ec1lodz.pl/EC1,12> (22 June 2015).
- 59 *Nowe Centrum Łodzi. Rewitalizacja EC1* [official website of the City Council] http://www.uml.lodz.pl/miasto/rewitalizacja_i_zabytki/_nowe_centrum_lodzi_rewitalizacja_ec1/ (10.06.2015).
- 60 The designers were the Home of Houses studio from Poznań for EC1 Wschód, and the consortium based on the cooperation of Łódź Investment Implementation Bureau "Fronton" and the Company Mirosław Wiśniewski Urbanistyka i Architektura projekt for EC1 Zachód.
- 61 Long before the new building was opened, the revitalised EC1 power station won the contest for the Design of the 2013. bec, "Stara elektrownia zmieniona w ikonę miasta", *Bryła.pl*, 2014 http://www.bryla.pl/bryla/56,85301,15635143,EC1_w_Lodzi__Od_starej_elektrowni_do_BRYLY_ROKU_2013.html (08.06.2015).
- 62 *Nowe Centrum Łodzi Program*, annex to the resolution no XVII/279/07 of the City Council, 2007, p. 2.
- 63 *Ibid.* p. 13.
- 64 *Nowe Centrum Łodzi*, Resolution no XLV/840/12 of the City Council in Łódź, 2012, p. 3.

yet, despite the assurances about the importance of Piotrkowska – “a priceless treasure” and the city landmark, contradictory decisions have been taken and inconsistent signals have been sent. Even the language and the marketing strategy used in promoting the place, emphasizing the need for creating the New Centre of the city (the capital letters are not accidentally used) devalue other city spaces, including, primarily, Piotrkowska Street.

2011 saw the appearance of a new grass-roots initiative, called *Sewing up the city*, whose aim is to prepare the project of integrating the New Centre of Łódź with its historical and actual centre, namely Piotrkowska Street.⁶⁵ An important element of the undertaking were the consultations and debates with the local inhabitants. Their results were summed up in *The Strategy for the Spatial Development of Lodz 2020*⁶⁶ approved in 2012. The document answers the need for a comprehensive outlook on the architectural and urban transformations of Łódź urban tissue and the integration of the interesting areas scattered in the urban space. It distinguishes the Metropolitan Urban Core, with a concentration of historical architectural edifices crucial for the city’s character and identity.⁶⁷ The dominant feature of this zone are characteristic buildings within a regular network of streets and quarters. It is where the greatest number of buildings from the industrial period, both palaces, tenement houses and factories, have been preserved.⁶⁸ An important assumption of the adopted *Strategy* is the inward development of the city and thus the concentration of investment in the city centre, whose architecture, including ca. 11000 buildings from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries determines the identity, value and uniqueness of Łódź.⁶⁹ According to the assumptions, capital engagement should be based on the use of the city resources.⁷⁰ New landmarks, complying with modern requirements, have to cohere with the historical city structure. The clear orientation towards creating a consistent Metropolitan Urban Core arouses hopes for restoring the integrity of Łódź city centre. In this concept, even the

⁶⁵ The initiative has the patronage of the President of Łódź, and the co-organizer is Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna.

⁶⁶ *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+* considered various different documents, including the results of the competitions, such as: *Koncepcja zagospodarowania terenu położonego w Łodzi w rejonie ulic Piotrkowskiej 198-216 i Wigury 3 i 5/7* z 2008 r., *U źródeł Piotrkowskiej* z 2009 r., *Wielkowiejska Piotrkowska* z 2010 r. and *Koncepcja zagospodarowania Pasażu im. Leona Schillera w Łodzi* also from 2010.

⁶⁷ *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+*, eds. M. Janiak, M. Wiśniewska, B. Poniatowski, Urząd Miasta Łodzi Departament Architektury i Rozwoju Biuro Architekta Miasta, Łódź [n.d.], p. 11.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 11; *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+*, Uchwała nr LV/1146/13 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi, 2013, p. 8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

New Centre of Lodz seems to find its proper place. It functions inside it, not as "a heart of Łódź", but as an important and attractive investment project allowing for the reorganization of a significant part of the city and its unification with the neighbouring "historical city centre".⁷¹ Thanks to the acquisition of the EU funds, an integrated revival of the Metropolitan Urban Core is being planned. This time it will include complex activities solving the problems of the whole area as well as those considering a wide social context.⁷²

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries (1994–2009), 13122 buildings were erected in Łódź.⁷³ The office buildings and hotels are situated in the city centre or in the neighbourhood of Piotrkowska Street, some of them located in modernised post-factory buildings. However, most of the new buildings are residential ones, scattered around the city. No residential areas have been recently created in the very centre of Łódź, while urban sprawl could be observed due to the location of residential buildings in the poorly urbanised suburbs.⁷⁴ One of the important aims set in the *Strategy* is preventing the process of the city sprawl by limiting investments outside the centre of Łódź.⁷⁵ Such programs as *Strych* [The Attic] or *Remontuj i miej* [Renovate and move in] aim at encouraging people to live in the centre. They are also accompanied by social programs motivating people to live in the city centre.⁷⁶ Significantly, in the period of 1960–2000 Śródmieście [Downtown] was the only district where the number of inhabitants did not grow but systematically dropped.⁷⁷ According to statistics, the process of citizen outflow was also observed in the 1990s, in the period

⁷¹ *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+*, eds. M. Janiak, M. Wiśniewska, B. Poniatowski..., p. 32, 38.

⁷² The Strategy determines the directives for the *Local Regeneration Programme for the years 2014–2020*; S. Brajter, *Kontekst: rewitalizacja obszarowa centrum Łodzi*, Urząd Miasta Łodzi, <http://uml.lodz.pl/rewitalizacja/kontekst/> (accessed 12 May 2015).

⁷³ S. Kaniewicz, W. Michalski, *Plansza LXV: Zmiany w przestrzeni Miasta Łodzi w latach 1994 - 2009* [in:] *Atlas miasta Łodzi: (suplement 2)*, ed. S. Liszewski, Urząd Miasta Łodzi - Łódzki Ośrodek Geodezyjny, Łódź 2012.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Contrary to the *Spatial Plan of the City of Łódź* from 1993, when it was assumed that the new city programs would cover the areas which had not been urbanised so far. K. Bald, *Plansza XLIII...*

⁷⁶ *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+*, eds. M. Janiak, M. Wiśniewska, B. Poniatowski..., p. 37.

⁷⁷ S. Kaniewicz, B. Nowakowska, A. Wosiak, *Plansza XIV: Rozwój i rozmieszczenie ludności, Atlas Miasta Łodzi...*

of the transformation, when the inhabitants moved from the downtown area not to the huge socialist settlements in the suburbs, such as Widzew, Retkinia or Teofilów, but to the new apartment complexes and to low-rise multi-family houses.⁷⁸

Although twenty six years have passed since the political transformation, Łódź has not managed to achieve one of its strategic goals, namely “creating a positive image of the city in the eyes of its inhabitants and its potential external users”.⁷⁹ According to the research carried out in 2010, as much as 67% respondents, mainly Łódź citizens, did not see any characteristics distinguishing Łódź from other cities. Even such events as the Festival of the Four Cultures, the photo contest *Potęga Łodzi* [The Mighty Łódź], *Urodziny Tuwima* [Tuwim’s Birthday] or *Gwiazdka z Piotrkowską* [Christmas Eve with Piotrkowska] organised by the Foundation of Piotrkowska Street did not help. In 2005 the Foundation, together with the City Council and the University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Łódź organized a conference with the significant title “Łódź – identity and challenge”. Its participants prepared an appeal to the city authorities, conservators and media, in which they protested against the destruction and consequent shrinkage of historical architectural tissue from the period before the first world war.⁸⁰ Attempts were made to define the identity of Łódź, based mainly on the 19th century industrial architectural heritage. The participants also called for the creation of a clear symbol of the city, the creation of “new mythology” and new narration about Łódź, development of the plans for the festivals and events promoting Łódź.⁸¹

Summary

The changes taking place in Łódź are reflected in its functional transformation and development,⁸² but also in the aesthetics of the main city artery – Piotrkowska Street, “our own 5th Avenue on the Łódka and Jasień rivers”,⁸³

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Transl. by the author. *Uproszczony Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji wybranych terenów śródmiejskich oraz pofabrycznych Łodzi na lata 2004-2013*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ M. Janiak, *Zbudź w sobie Łódź. „Tożsamość miasta - łódzkie wyzwanie” cz.1*, <http://www.piotrkowska.pl/dokumenty/201207041455350.TozsamoscMiasta.pdf> (accessed 12 May 2015).

⁸¹ Ibid. „Definicje tożsamości”, *Kronika miasta Łodzi*, 2006, no 1, p. 8.

⁸² A. Wolaniuk, *Plansza LI...*

⁸³ Transl. by the author. Fundacja Ulicy Piotrkowskiej, „Czym jest Piotrkowska?”, <http://www.piotrkowska.pl/page.php?mypage=53&myitm=1&selecteditm=73> (12.06.2015).

and other areas in the centre. After the chaotic activity of the initial period of de-industrialisation, the declarations included in the *Strategy 2020+* and the regeneration programme for 2014–2020 have brought some hope for integrated and consistent actions reviving the whole metropolitan urban core. The slightly pompous motto of the *Strategy 2020+*, "The work and achievements of previous generations which created great Łódź are the foundations of our city's identity" clearly outline the direction of those efforts and emphasize the role of revival as their key element.

Today, in consequence of the collapse of traditional industries, many European cities face the necessity of going through the processes of revival. Restoring cultural values and highlighting the unique character of the architectural tissue of a city is an important tool of creating an attractive image of that city and enhancing its competitiveness.⁸⁴ However, the deeper benefits of such a strategy include a change of attitude towards the artefacts from the past and the restoration/creation of the city's identity,⁸⁵ resulting in the inhabitants' identification with their city. These changes lead in turn to the activation of the citizens and their involvement in the revival programs.

Łódź is a city whose history does not reach back beyond the industrial 19th century. In recent times it was particularly hard-hit by the process of de-industrialisation and transfer to free-market, global economy. We can observe the phenomena which have also occurred in many other European cities, such as the urban sprawl, the degradation of the central part of the city, creating islands of poverty in that area, or the problems of gentrification.⁸⁶ The need to attract domestic and foreign investors, resulting from the transfer to free-market economy, has also brought the danger of chaotic and frequently unfavourable changes geared towards the interests of the particular players on the economic market. This phenomenon is also connected with the annexation of the public spaces important for the city by private investors.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ A. Wojnarowska, „Rewitalizacja zdegradowanych obszarów miejskich. Przykłady praktyczne”, Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź 2011, p 18; St. V. Ward, *Marketing re-invented cities*, [in:] A. Tallon ed., *Urban regeneration and renewal. Critical Concepts in Urban Studies*, vol. III, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 48-81; R. Paddison, "City marketing, image reconstruction and urban regeneration", [in:] A. Tallon ed., *Urban regeneration and renewal. Critical Concepts in Urban Studies*, vol. III, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 34-47.

⁸⁵ J. Sowińska-Heim, *Architektura Łodzi - próby reinterpretacji...*; M. Fleming, *Legitimizing Urban "Revitalisation"...*; J. Michlic, *Łódź in the Post-communist Era...*, Marek Janiak, *Zbudź w sobie Łódź...*; *Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+*, eds. M. Janiak, M. Wiśniewska, B. Poniowski.

⁸⁶ J. Sowińska-Heim, "Margins and marginalizations..."; S.A. Hirt, *Iron Curtains...*, pp. 49-52.

⁸⁷ The most spectacular action of this kind in Łódź is the sale of the former textile factory, Poltex, to the Absys company and its revitalization as Manufaktura, a shopping and entertainment centre. Cf. S.A. Hirt, *Iron Curtains ...*, pp. 49-52.

In the case of Łódź, those problems are made worse by the upsetting of the continuity of the narration about the city by undermining its roots in the socialist period and the criticism of the manufacturers (“bloodsuckers” and “exploiters”) and thus their heritage.⁸⁸ Another important factor hindering the citizen’s identification with the city and its heritage was the breaking of its social continuity, which occurred after World War II.⁸⁹ Pre-war Łódź was a multicultural city with ca. 44.5 % of German and Polish inhabitants, while 21.1% – of the inhabitants were Jewish.⁹⁰ After the war we may speak about a monocultural social structure.

The processes resulting from the political transformation of 1989 are still ongoing. Experiencing the urban space of contemporary Łódź, we become conscious or uninterested “readers” of the complex story of contemporary cultural and social changes provoked by the great political turn of 1989. As Ewa Rewers points out, architecture reflects “the world of human desires” and values, thus becoming “a clear culture text”.⁹¹ The transformations which architecture and urban planning are going through reflect the social, cultural and economic turns of the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bald Kazimierz (2002) *Plansza XLIII: Miejscowy plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego Łodzi z 1993 r.*, [in:] S. Liszewski ed., *Atlas Miasta Łodzi*, Łódź: ŁTN.

Bald Kazimierz (2002) *Plansza XLIV: Przestrzeń dobra publicznego, obszar tożsamości miasta Łodzi*, [in:] Liszewski Stanisław ed., *Atlas Miasta Łodzi*, Łódź: ŁTN.

Baranowski Bohdan, Fijałek Jan eds. (1980) *Łódź: Dzieje Miasta*, Warszawa-Łódź: PWN.

Bartkiewicz Zygmunt (2001) *Złe miasto*, Łódź: Fundacja Anima "Tygiel Kultury".

Cudny Waldemar (2012) *Socio - Economic Changes in Lodz - Results of Twenty Years of System Transformation*, "Geografický Časopis", no 15, pp. 3-27.

Brajter Stefan, *Kontekst: rewitalizacja obszarowa centrum Łodzi* [official website of Urząd Miasta Łodzi, <http://uml.lodz.pl/rewitalizacja/kontekst/> (12.05.2015).

⁸⁸ T. Daniszewski, „W Łodzi przed pół wiekiem”, *Głos Robotniczy*, 1946, no. 118, p. 4; J. Sowińska-Heim, *Architektura Łodzi - próby reinterpretacji...*

⁸⁹ J. Sowińska-Heim, *Architektura Łodzi - próby reinterpretacji...*

⁹⁰ Figures for 1865. W. Puś Wiesław, „Początki Łodzi przemysłowej”, [in:] K.A. Kuczyński ed., *Wizerunek Łodzi w literaturze, kulturze i historii Niemiec i Austrii*, Urząd Miasta Łodzi, Łódź, p. 20.

⁹¹ E. Rewers, *Język i przestrzeń w poststrukturalistycznej filozofii kultury*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 1998, p. 38.

Currit Travis C. (2010) *Promised Land, Red Łódź, or HollyŁódź: Shifting Identities in an Industrial City. 1820-2010*, University of Washington, http://www.academia.edu/544115/Promised_Land_Red_Lodz_or_HollyLodz_Shifting_Identities_in_an_Industrial_City._1820-2010 (18.06.2013).

Czepczyński Mariusz (2008) *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities. Representation of Powers and Needs*, Hampshire: Ashgate.

Daniszewski Tadeusz (1946) *W Łodzi przed pół wiekiem*, "Głos Robotniczy", no 118, p. 4.

Definicje tożsamości, "Kronika miasta Łodzi", 2006, no 1, pp. 6-10.

EC1 [official website of EC1 Łódź - Miasto Kultury], <http://www.ec1lodz.pl/EC1,12> (22.06.2015).

Fainstein Susan S. (1990) *The changing world economy and urban restructuring*, [in:] D. Judd, M. Parkinson eds., *Leadership and urban regeneration: cities in North America and Europe*, London: Sage, pp. 31-47.

Fleming Michael (2012) *Legitimizing Urban "Revitalisation" Strategies in Post-socialist Łódź*, "East European Politics and Societies", no 2, pp. 254-273.

Fundacja Ulicy Piotrkowskiej, *Czym jest Piotrkowska?*, <http://www.piotrkowska.pl/page.php?my-page=53&myitm=1&selecteditm=73> (12.06.2015).

Ghel Jan (2014) *Miasta dla ludzi*, Kraków: Wyd. RAM.

Hac Aleksandra (2008) *Jak umiera legendarna Piotrkowska, czyli wszystko po 3 zł*, "wyborcza.pl" [a web portal of "Gazeta Wyborcza"], http://wyborcza.pl/1,91713,5452979,Jak_umiera_legendarna_Piotrkowska_czyli_wszystko.html (06.06.2015).

Hac Aleksandra (2009) *Łączmy to, co kochamy, z tym, co w Łodzi najlepsze*, "Gazeta Wyborcza - Łódź", no 294, p. 5.

Hirt Sonia A. (2012) *Iron Curtains. Gates, Suburbs and Privatization of Space in the Post-socialist City*, Cambridge and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hirt Sonia, Stanilov Kiril (2009) *Twenty years of transition: the evolution of urban planning in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, 1989-2009*, Nairobi: UnHabitat.

Jałowicki, Bohdan, Szczepański Marek S. (2010) *Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Janiak Marek, *Zbudź w sobie Łódź. "Tożsamość miasta - łódzkie wyzwanie" cz.1*, <http://www.piotrkowska.pl/dokumenty/201207041455350.TozsamoscMiasta.pdf> (12.05.2015).

Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+ (brak daty) J. Marek, M. Wiśniewska, B. Poniatowski eds., Łódź: Urząd Miasta Łodzi Departament Architektury i Rozwoju Biuro Architekta Miasta.

Kaniewicz Stanisław, Michalski Wojciech (2012) *Plansza LXV: Zmiany w przestrzeni Miasta Łodzi w latach 1994-2009*, [in:] *Atlas miasta Łodzi: (suplement 2)*, S. Liszewski ed., Łódź: Urząd Miasta Łodzi - Łódzki Ośrodek Geodezyjny.

Kaniewicz Stanisław, Nowakowska Barbara, Wosiak Anna (2002) *Plansza XIV: Rozwój i rozmieszczenie ludności*, [in:] S. Liszewski ed., *Atlas Miasta Łodzi*, Łódź: ŁTN.

Kołodziej Karolina (2010) *Między "ziemią obiecaną" a "złym miastem" - czy (?) prawda o Łodzi w publicystyce i prasie warszawskiej*, cz. 2, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica", no. 13, pp. 177-188.

Liszewski Stanisław (1999) *Łódź centrum nowego regionu*, [in:] W. Michalski ed., *Spoleczno-ekonomiczne problemy aglomeracji łódzkiej*, Łódź: RCSS.

Łódzki Disneyland. Debata o Manufakturze (2004) "Gazeta Wyborcza - Łódź", no. 261, p. 4.

Manufaktura (2008) [official website of Urząd Miasta Łodzi]

http://uml.lodz.pl/miasto/o_miescie/skarby_lodzi/manufaktura/ (14.06.2015).

Matuszak Monika, *Dwa oblicza Pietryny*, "Odgłosy", 1991, no. 3, p. 1, 4.

Michlic, Joanna (2008) *Lodz in the Post-communist Era: In Search of a New Identity*, [in:] J. Czaplicka, R. Blair (red): *Post-communist Cities: New Cultural Reorientations and Identities*, Washington: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 281-304.

Miejscowy plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego Łodzi Uchwała nr LVII/491/93 Rady Miejskiej Łodzi z dnia 2 czerwca 1993 r., "Dz. Urz. Woj. Łódzkiego", 1993 r., no. 6, poz. 71.

Nalewajko Jacek (2005) *Rozwój, funkcjonowanie i miejsce usług gastronomicznych w przestrzeni Łodzi*, [in:] T. Marszał ed., *Łódź wybrane zagadnienia zagospodarowania przestrzennego*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ.

Nowe Centrum Łodzi. Rewitalizacja ECI, [official website of Urząd Miasta Łodzi] http://www.uml.lodz.pl/miasto/rewitalizacja_i_zabytki/_nowe_centrum_lodzi_rewitalizacja_ec1/ (10.06.2015).

Manufaktura napędza Łódź, [official website of Manufaktura] http://www.manufaktura.com/26/o_nas (05.06.2013).

Olejniczak Elwira (2011) *Obraz Łodzi w tekstach reportażu tygodnika "Odgłosy" (1958-1992)*, Łódź: Primum Verbum.

Paddison Ronan (2010) *City marketing, image reconstruction and urban regeneration*, [in:] Tallon Andrew ed., *Urban regeneration and renewal. Critical Concepts in Urban Studies*, vol. III, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 34-47.

Piech Maria (2002) *Plansza XXVI: Przemiany przestrzenne, gałęziowe i funkcjonalne terenów przemysłowych Łodzi w latach 1938-1999*, [in:] S. Liszewski ed., *Atlas Miasta Łodzi*, Łódź: ŁTN.

Program Nowe Centrum Łodzi, Uchwała nr XVII/279/07 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 28 sierpnia 2007 r. (28.08.2015).

Program Nowe Centrum Łodzi, Uchwała nr XLV/840/12 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 4 lipca 2012 r. (4.07.2012).

Program Nowe Centrum Łodzi, Uchwała nr XII/241/15 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 20 maja 2015 r. (20.05.2015).

Puś Wiesław (2005) *Początki Łodzi przemysłowej*, [in:] Kuczyński Krzysztof A. ed., *Wizerunek Łodzi w literaturze, kulturze i historii Niemiec i Austrii*, Łódź: Urząd Miasta Łodzi, pp. 11-22.

Rewers Ewa (1998) *Język i przestrzeń w poststrukturalistycznej filozofii kultury*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.

Rynkowska Anna (1970) *Ulica Piotrkowska*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie.

Rynkowska Anna (1965) *Ulica Piotrkowska*, "Odgłosy", no. 38, p. 8.

Sowińska-Heim Julia (in press) *Architektura Łodzi - próby reinterpretacji i tworzenia nowego wizerunku miasta po 1989 r.*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK.

Sowińska-Heim Julia (2013), *Conversions and redefinitions - architecture and identity of a place*, "Art Inquiry. Recherches sur les Arts", vol. XV (XXIV), pp. 191-205.

Sowińska-Heim Julia (2014) *Margins and marginalizations in a post-socialist urban area. The case of Łódź*, "Art Inquiry. Recherches sur les Arts", vol. XVI (XXV), pp. 303-318.

Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+, Uchwała nr LV/1146/13 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 16 stycznia 2013 (16.01.2013).

Stanilov Kiril ed. (2010) *The Post-Socialist City. Urban, Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*, Netherlands: Springer.

Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+ (brak daty) M. Janiak, M. Wiśniewska, B. Poniatowski eds. Urząd Miasta Łodzi Departament Architektury i Rozwoju Biuro Architekta Miasta, Łódź.

Regionalny Program Operacyjny Województwa Łódzkiego 2007-2013 (2011) Łódź, http://www.rpo2007-2013.lodzkie.pl/wps/wcm/connect/rpo/rpo/strona_glowna/dokumenty_iz_rpo_wl/dokumenty_rpowl/rpo_wl (14.04.2015).

Strategia przestrzennego rozwoju Łodzi jako polityka sektorowa Strategii zintegrowanego rozwoju Łodzi 2020+ (2012)

<http://www.google.pl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CCAQFjAAahUKEwj7393IxaPHAhWH6RQKHUBmAI8&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.uml.lodz.pl%2Fget.php%3Fid%3D3681&ei=yjvLVfvSIYfTU8DMgfgI&usg=AFQjCNHfu7LY-UO5yJ0C1rG2qzP6tyKSF7A&bvm=bv.99804247,d.d24> (14.04.2015).

Strategia rozwoju ulicy Piotrkowskiej w Łodzi na lata 2009-2020, Uchwała nr LVII/1074/09 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 13 maja 2009 (13.05.2009).

Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Łodzi (2010) Załącznik nr 1 do uchwały nr XCIX/1826/10 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 27 października 2010 r. (27.10.2010), <http://www.mpu.lodz.pl/page/file.php?id=215> (14.04.2015).

Uproszczony Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji wybranych terenów śródmiejskich oraz pofabrycznych Łodzi na lata 2004-2013, Uchwała nr XXXIV/568/04 Rady Miejskiej w Łodzi z dnia 14 lipca 2004 r. (14.07.2015).

URBAMECO, *Local Action Plan for Piotrkowska Street*, http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/lap_piotrkowska.pdf (14.05.2015).

Ward Stephen V. (2010) *Marketing re-invented cities*, [in:] Tallon Andrew ed., *Urban regeneration and renewal. Critical Concepts in Urban Studies*, vol. III, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 48-81.

Witkowska Matylda (2011) *Ulica Piotrkowska, dawna wizytówka Łodzi pustoszeje*, "naszemiasto.pl" [news bulletin], <http://lodz.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/ulica-piotrkowska-dawna-wizytowka-lodzi-pustoszeje.826316,art,t,id,tm.html> (06.06.2015).

Witkowska Matylda, Zboińska Alicja (2012) *Piotrkowska umiera. Uciekają nawet lumpeksy*, "Dziennik Łódzki", <http://www.dzienniklodzki.pl/artykul/678553,piotrkowska-umiera-uciekaja-nawet-lumpeksy,id,t.html?cookie=1> (11.07.2015).

Wojtczuk Michał (2012) *Łódzka Manufaktura sprzedana za rekordową kwotę 1,6 mld zł*, "wyborcza.biz / nieruchomości" [a web portal of "Gazeta Wyborcza"], http://wyborcza.biz/finanse/1,108340,12763387,Lodzka_Manufaktura_sprzedana_za_rekordowa_kwote_1_6.html (05.06.2015).

Wojnarowska Anna (2011) *Rewitalizacja zdegradowanych obszarów miejskich. Przykłady praktyczne*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ.

Wolaniuk Anita (2009) *Plansza LI: Przemiany funkcjonalne w otoczeniu ulicy Piotrkowskiej*, [in:] *Atlas miasta Łodzi: (suplement 1)*, S. Liszewski ed., Urząd Miasta Łodzi, Łódź.

Wolaniuk Anita, Przewłocka Renata (2002), *Plansza XXXVI: Ulica Piotrkowska*, [in:] Liszewski Stanisław ed., *Atlas Miasta Łodzi*, ŁTN, Łódź.

Woonerf podwórzec miejski, http://woonerf.dlalodzi.info/spot_6s.html (15.06.2015).

Young Craig, Kaczmarek Sylwia (1999) *Changing the Perception of the Post - Socialist City: Place Promotion and Imagery in Łódź, Poland*, "The Geographical Journal", vol. 165, no 2, pp. 183-191.

MIASTO POST-SOCJALISTYCZNE - "ZWROT" W KSZTAŁTOWANIU ARCHITEKTONICZNEGO OBLICZA MIASTA PRZEŁOMU XX I XXI WIEKU. PRZYKŁAD ŁODZI. (streszczenie)

Przełom polityczny i systemowy, który nastąpił w 1989 r., otworzył przed architektami całkowicie nowe możliwości działalności twórczej. Po marazmie lat 80. w architekturze polskiej nastąpił prawdziwy zwrot. Swoista rewolucja dokonała się w korelacji ze zmianami ogólnokulturowymi,

społecznymi, a także politycznymi i gospodarczymi. Otwarcie na nurty obecne w architekturze "Zachodu", powstawanie licznych prywatnych pracowni architektonicznych, pojawienie się firm developerskich, czy też zagranicznych inwestorów, wraz z nowymi możliwościami technologicznymi wpłynęło na przeobrażenia zachodzące w krajobrazie polskich miast. Jednocześnie zmusiło władze miast do zrewidowania sposobu myślenia o mieście. Artykuł stanowi analizę zmian stymulowanych "zwrotem", który miał miejsce w polskiej architekturze lat 90. Prezentuje on spostrzeżenia dotyczące przeobrażeń, jak również pojawiających się nowych wyzwań i problemów zachodzących w łódzkiej przestrzeni miejskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: miasto postsocjalistyczne, Łódź, rewitalizacja, strategia promocji miasta, polska architektura współczesna, tożsamość miasta.