

LVIV AND ŁÓDŹ

AT THE TURN OF 20th CENTURY

Structure of Social Space



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PREFACE

The book is dedicated to the social structure of Lviv and Łódź. The contributions included in the volume provide a theoretically-oriented overview of the research on this subject, performed with the use of various approaches and methods.

The issues addressed in the papers were studied with the use of a wide range of analyses and an interdisciplinary approach. The inclusion of concepts from several areas of science puts the subject of the research, i.e. social space, in a wider perspective. The socio-geographical exploration is an attempt to find the balance between the belief that space matters and the claim that space itself is not a satisfactory explanation.

Another intellectual inspiration is the comparison of selected aspects of social structure of two cities with different histories. An attempt to juxtapose the historical metropolis of the western Ukraine and one of the youngest post-industrial cities may cause reservations. Nevertheless, despite many differences, there are several analogies both with respect to the dynamics of development and the social problems which plague both cities. Moreover, both Lviv and Łódź face numerous challenges, especially the socio-spatial ones, which makes this book a relevant answer to their needs. The texts, both by Ukrainian and Polish authors, describe important aspects of the social and spatial structure of the researched cities.

The issues presented in this book form an essential source of knowledge for both local politicians and social activists, who in various ways try to meet the needs of the contemporary world. Undoubtedly, the book will also expand the non-expert readers' knowledge of two interesting cities, Lviv and Łódź.

Monika Mularska-Kucharek
Mykola Habrel

1. SOCIAL SPACE OF LVIV

1.1. Introduction

The study of large cities' social space has become especially actual at the beginning of the 21st century, when the majority of world countries have gone through cataclysms and huge social shocks causing descending tendencies in socio-economic development of territorial social systems as well as intensification of unfavorable processes in societies. Indeed, development of large cities' social space is accompanied by emergence of a range of difficult-to-solve problems. These problems are diverse because often a large city not only performs the functions of regional capital, but also is the place of concentration and the producer of resources, information, goods and premises. Furthermore, large cities are the vital activity environment for hundreds of people.

The problems of large cities are exacerbated by the fact that the exchange of goods, resources, information and people between them and the periphery is not always equivalent. This creates new problems that require the examination of social space of large cities in order to improve its development. Such study in the end will not only enable improvement of its environmental quality, but also secure new possibilities for realization of the population's vital activity. However, at the beginning of the 21st century the examination of large cities' social space received more attention as a result of crime increase. Nevertheless, the basis of social space theory was formed and developed in terms of active advance of sociolo-

gical science by Sorokin (1992) and Simmel (1994), as it is stated in a number of scientific publications, in particular in a treatise by Rushchenko (2012).

German sociologist G. Simmel examined social space in a rather simplified manner and restricted it to anonymous places that can be filled by individuals according to their inner “appeal” and qualifications. He claimed that every personality in society has its own vision of his/her position in society and the kind of activity he/she has appeal to as well as cultural setup that force the search for ways of realization of this vision (Simmel 1994, pp. 111–113).

P.A. Sorokin examined social space in a much wider sense. Furthermore, he managed to build a theory of social mobility and a theory of social stratification in the theory of social space. Herewith, space is characterized by the parameters similar to those used in characterization of physical space. But these parameters (in particular, “point of space”, “bottom”, “top”, “distance”, “space movement”, “space coordinates”, “vertical and horizontal parameters”) are filled with sociological content.

Basic provisions of the theory of social space according to Sorokin are the following:

- in the process of progress the society is differentiated by the factors of sex, age, profession, welfare, national and ethnical origin etc. As a result of such differentiation, the system of social positions (conditional points of space) is formed;
- the person – member of a separate group automatically takes the relevant position in social group (layer, stratum), which corresponds to a concrete position;
- the position of a person in social space is determined not only by his/her belonging to a concrete group but also by the interrelation of existing groups in society;
- the person can move in social space and therefore change his/her social group, join a new one or “ascend”/“descend” in the limits of his/her group (Sorokin 1992, pp. 297–307).

According to Rushchenko (2012), the theory of Sorokin in general represents the static aspect of society research and is “too

objective”, i.e. it does not comprise the subjective, axiological and psychological attitude of person to his/her place in society and phenomenon of activity – agentivity of social space.

However, the theory of social space not only gained wide recognition but was also developed by different scientists. Thus, famous modern French sociologist P. Bourdieu transformed the theory of social space into the theory of interconnected social areas – structures and social positions of individuals, who have specific types of power and “habitus” – certain models of social relations and group settings, which act as the matrices of perception, tasks solution and actions of individuals (Volovychna ed. 1998, pp. 51–52).

P. Bourdieu defines space as the ensemble of subspaces – economic, social, cultural and symbolical areas according to which the relevant types of capital are distributed. He considers every area as abstraction, but it gravitates towards reflection in physical and space artifacts. According to modern scientists, the main point of the area concept consists in the fact that it is considered by P. Bourdieu as the arena of struggle for distribution and redistribution of certain type of capital. For example, the political area involves struggle of certain categories of agents for the power that takes place according to the rules established in society (Rushchenko 2012).

The urbanists and sociologists who examine cities have become interested in the theory of social space. In this context, the publications of the representatives of the Chicago School of Sociology attract interest. The most famous of them are E. Burgess, G.H. Mead, R.E. Park, E.H. Sutherland, F.M. Trasher, W.I. Thomas and F.W. Znaniecki. According to Demkiv (2008, p. 431), urbanistic research, verification of hypotheses on interconnection of urbanization and social problems, cultural contacts, conflicts between ethnic communities, reconstruction of ethnic communities’ institutional structure and finally development of recommendations on improvement of city administration system are the key spheres of interest of the Chicago School representatives.

Modern sources interpret social space as a basic condition of human activity and communication in society (Volovycha ed. 1998, p. 431). Moreover, social space is regarded as encompassing two interdependent levels of vital activity: human attitude to nature that envisages certain location of historical forms of society in geographical space and organizational level of inter-subject, i.e. social links where the space component correlates with certain social systems and characterizes the order of social events and relations variety, their mutual coordination and subordination as well as intention of activity and communication, when social and geographical parameters stand as derivative quantities of social integration, the values of which are transported to the ground (its square, territorial delimitation etc.) (Volovycha ed. 1998, p. 432).

Therefore, specific social space is formed on the territory of a large city, in the limits of which a specific form of society is located and developed. On the one hand, it is defined by the conditions of location, and on the other – it changes these conditions by permanently transforming social space. Consequently, social space is an extremely complex category. Interpretation of this category as polar-multicollinearity considerably complicates the analysis of large cities' social space.

In the following section, characteristics of large cities' social space will be outlined and the peculiarities of Lviv's social space development will be analyzed.

1.2. Social status of Lviv

Today, Lviv is undoubtedly a metropolis. Scientists of different fields of knowledge have always paid special attention to the fact that formation and development of a metropolis is the result of intensification of urbanization processes. Metropolis in the context of this chapter is interpreted by the author as the urban core of agglomeration, which performs the functions of a capital in relation to the region it is located in.

Previously, metropolises were usually examined as cities characterized by certain functions. In the limits of this chapter it is hard to specify the names of scientists, however, it is important to name those Ukrainian scientists who examined cities as regional centres and as the environment of human vital activity, in particular: O. Boyko-Boychuk, M. Dolishniy, O. Drapikovskyy, V. Kovtun, V. Nudelman, V. Onikiyenko, Ye. Pityurenko and A. Stepanenko. The following foreign scientists contributed greatly to research on urban development: J. Beaujeu-Garnier, G. Chabot, Yu. Bocharov, V. Butuzov, A. Hutnova, W. Izard, A. Kotlyar, H. Lappo, K. Lynch, P. Merlen, Ye. Pertsyk, H. Filvarov, J. Forrester, B. Horyev etc.

But as a consequence of the after-independence crisis in Ukraine, a crisis in the theory of urban development emerged as well. The search for new ways to develop theoretical and methodological basis of urban research and substantiation of further advance is currently an issue of utmost importance. Therefore, it is necessary to pay special attention to J. Forrester's treatise *Urban Dynamics* (1974, p. 281), where new economic and mathematic methods for modelling urban organism as a complex social and economic system are presented for profound examination of the latter, prediction of possible behavior and further goal-oriented management with prevention of uncontrolled processes that lead to stagnation and regression. However, this publication is to be interpreted as foreign experience that has to be very carefully and selectively implemented in Ukraine, where it is important to activate urban development, primarily in metropolises, because they are unique cores of scientific and technological progress and centres of territorial and structural processes diffusion both in metropolises and in peripheral zones.

It is hard to overestimate the role of Lviv metropolis at state, national and global levels given that it is located in the Western region of Ukraine, which directly borders the EU countries.

Lviv city is the core of Lviv metropolis. It is also the regional centre of Lviv region with the population of 2 600 000 inhabitants (area – 21 800 sq. km) as well as the centre of the Western region

of Ukraine, in the limits of which it is the only city that comes close to the million population mark. The city has the resident population of nearly 750 000. More than 200 000 persons commute every day from the surrounding villages to Lviv to work, on business trip, excursions and other purposes (Lemko 2003).

The city was founded in the middle of the 13th century by prince Danylo Halytskyi and named it after his son Lev. Lviv quickly became a trade and economic centre of the region. Advantageous situation of the city at the crossroads of trade routes from the ports of the Black and Baltic Seas, Kyiv and Central and Western Europe contributed to its quick economic development. Geographical position and natural resources attracted foreigners: Tatars, Germans, Magyars, Poles, Lithuanians, Austrians and Swedes. They have been bringing here their culture, traditions and religion for ages. That is why Lviv's architecture combines the Gothic, Baroque, Renaissance, Roman, Rococo and Empire styles as well as modern eclecticism and constructivism. Experts state that the influence of Ukrainian culture on the architectural image of Lviv cannot be underestimated.

Lviv greatly influences the peripheral component of the metropolis as half of urban population and 30% of all regional population lives in it. There are 2016 significant architectural places in Lviv, which attract the population of both the Lviv region and other regions of Ukraine (Lemko 2003).

Urban development leads to establishing active cooperation between Lviv metropolis and its periphery reflected in the form of territorial and structural processes, i.e. the processes which constantly influence the change of certain phenomena in the region. This caused urgent need for examination of these phenomena in order to predict possible social and economic consequences and prevent negative results. The 1980s were characterized by concentration of industrial objects on the territory of Lviv and deformation of its territorial and planning structure due to encircling of industrial enterprises by residential estates and passing of considerable transport flows through the city. This substantially worsened

the ecological and demographic situation as well as urban population's health etc. In the 1990s, the situation changed: population began to outflow from Lviv to periphery and outside the region, many enterprises were closed etc. At the same time, the dominance of Lviv over the periphery still remains: it is secured by constant innovative activity, because Lviv has the most intensive contacts in the process of human activity and broader access to information.

Therefore, centre and periphery at any spatial level will continue to be interconnected by flows of information, capital, goods and work force. Along with this, the contrasts centre – periphery will increase and give an impulse to reflection on territorial imbalance that will be strengthened by imbalances of economic growth.

Lviv's image will be still defined by the systemic configuration of three interconnected basic elements-notions: metropolity – identification – education (Drul et al. 2000) and when speaking about the whole Halychyna – by concentration of institutions and establishments of higher level services (management, communications, culture, education, medicine, sport etc.) that naturally emanates from the size and location of the city according to the central place theory. This theory states that metropolitan centres save time and resources for obtaining by the population specific and qualitative services and therefore for self-realization. Thus, during all its history, Lviv has been building itself as the metropolis of Halychyna.

Social space of Lviv can be considered as defined by (Drul et al. 2000):

- for Ukraine – unique character of Lviv as the only large European city in the country; secondly, the only Ukrainian-speaking urban centre; thirdly, the centre of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Therefore, Lviv combines European nature with Ukrainian tradition;
- for Europe – architectural and landscape values of the city, geographical position and potential leadership in prominent spheres of science, art and technology.

In regional dimension, Lviv's social space can be represented by the position of the city in Lviv region according to a range of parameters (table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Share of Lviv in Lviv region (%)

Parameters	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Area	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8
Present population	29.6	29.7	29.8	29.8	29.8	29.9
Local budget revenues	22.1	24.0	24.7	24.5	24.5	21.0
Parameters	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Local budget expenses	26.8	29.3	25.7	24.9	26.2	21.4
Housing facilities (at the end of the year)	27.0	27.1	26.8	26.8	26.8	26.8
Capital assets (at the end of the year)	56.2	57.8	58.7	59.4	68.0	40.3
Capital investment	55.1	55.0	52.6	45.7	48.7	50.2
Foreign direct investment (at the end of the year)	57.5	59.6	66.9	62.4	63.6	65.7
Construction put in place	54.5	59.3	61.3	58.0	59.0	58.7
Total area of the commis- sioned housing	31.8	31.7	31.4	30.7	47.8	28.7
Freight vehicles turnover	43.1	36.7	31.6	30.6	36.3	22.2
Passenger vehicles turnover	51.2	56.3	61.5	66.4	65.6	64.3
Retail turnover	54.6	54.6	55.6	56.9	56.4	55.7
Goods and services export	44.3	38.6	35.0	33.5	29.3	34.8
Goods and services import	54.3	54.6	54.1	57.5	58.6	64.9
Number of employees at enterprises, establishments and organizations	48.4	48.6	49.4	48.9	49.2	49.5
Registered unemployment (at the end of the year)	8.0	7.2	6.9	8.6	11.8	13.0

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department.

The data in the table 1.1 show that the share of Lviv in Lviv region by freight vehicles turnover, capital investment, foreign direct investment, construction put in place, retail turnover, goods and services import and other parameters constitutes more than 50%,

which testifies to considerably higher development level of Lviv's economic space in comparison with the social one. But if we take into consideration the fact that approximately half of the employees of enterprises, establishments and organizations of Lviv region are concentrated in Lviv and the third part of the total area of housing is commissioned every year in this region, it becomes obvious that social space of Lviv is well developed.

1.3. Population and peculiarities of its structure

In 1994, the tendencies in present population dynamics of Lviv and Lviv region started to descend (figure 1.1). This testifies to transformational processes in forming and development of Lviv's social area.

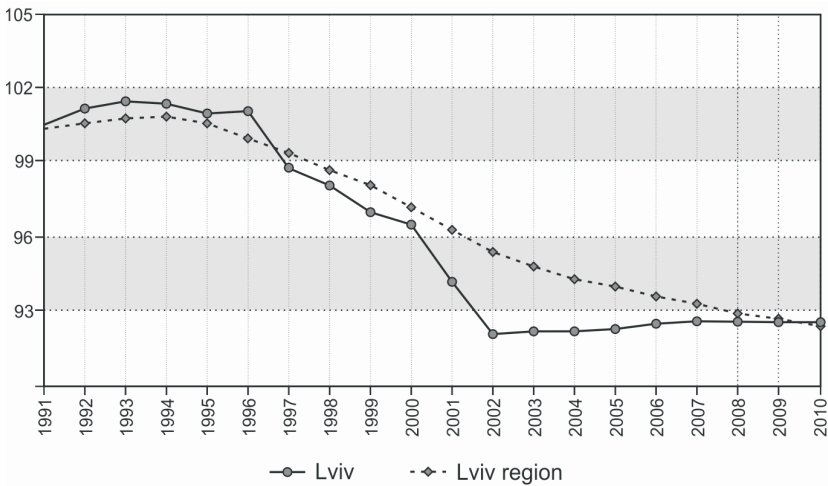


Figure 1.1. Present population dynamics in Lviv and Lviv region (in % till 1990)

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department

According to the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department, Lviv's population as of 1st January 2011 amounted to 7 600 000. During 2010 it decreased by 1700.

In 2010, 7576 children were born in Lviv (5.7% less than in 2009) and 7962 persons died (3% less than in previous year). This year, 9038 persons immigrated to Lviv and 10 317 persons emigrated from it, 5947 marriages and 1814 divorces were registered. The number of marriages increased in comparison with 2009 by 1.7%. Marriage and divorce levels were, respectively, 7.8 and 2.4 per mile.

It should be noted that population in Lviv is located irregularly (table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Population by administrative areas of Lviv

Specification	As of 1 st January 2011		Average for 2010	
	present population	resident population	present population	resident population
Lviv (city council)	760 026	752 187	760 859	753 020
Lviv	732 009	725 342	732 999	726 332
Zaliznychny	126 020	126 302	126 475	126 757
Halytsky	58 812	58 083	59 193	58 464
Sykhivsky	151 371	149 324	151 348	149 301
Frankivsky	148 954	147 765	148 789	147 600
Lychakivsky	102 610	100 258	102 658	100 306
Shevchenkivsky	144 242	143 610	144 536	143 904
Town Vynnyky	15 723	14 976	15 590	14 843
Urban-type settlement Bryuhovychi	5 772	5 348	5 803	5 379
Urban-type settlement Rudno	6 522	6 521	6 467	6 466

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department.

Lviv is still facing a decrease of its population. Thus, according to the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department, in January–July of 2011 Lviv's population (including town Vynnyky, urban-type settlement Bryuhovychi and urban-type settlement Rudno) decreased by 3235 persons and as of 1st August 2011 it was 756 800. Population fall occurred both due to migration decrease by

2952 persons and natural reduction by 283 persons (in 2010 migration and natural decrease amounted to 3071 and 269 persons respectively).

Natural increase of population is recorded in Sykhivsky region (190 persons), town Vynnyky (33 persons) and urban-type settlement Bryuhovychi (8 persons).

In January–July, 2011, 4363 children were born in Lviv, which constitutes 50 infants less in comparison with the relevant period in 2010. The highest birth rate was in Vynnyky (118 persons per 10 000 present population), the lowest – in Frankivsky area (81 person per 10 000 present population). Birth and death dynamics of Lviv population is presented in figure 1.2.

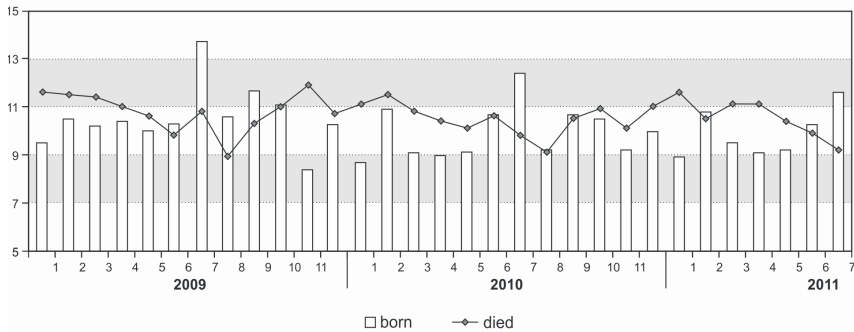


Figure 1.2. Birth and death dynamics of Lviv's Population
(per 1000 present population)

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department

As it is stated in statistical materials of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department, in January–July 2011 the number of deaths decreased by 36 persons in comparison with January–July 2010 and was 4600. 94 live-born infants account for 100 deaths (in January–July, 2010 – also 94 infants).

The highest death rate is in Halytsky area (130 deaths per 10 000 present population), the lowest – in Vynnyky (82 deaths per 10 000 present population).

Natural population change by Lviv's administrative areas is presented in table 1.3.

Table 1.3. Lviv's natural population change

Specification	Number of births		Number of deaths		Natural Change	
	January –July 2011	January –July 2010	January –July 2010	January –July 2011	January –July 2010	January –July 2010
Lviv	4 176	4 241	4 499	4 522	–323	–281
Zaliznychny	775	716	856	852	–81	–136
Halytsky	288	328	442	408	–154	–80
Sykhivsky	1 015	1 014	825	847	190	167
Frankivsky	694	715	882	889	–188	–174
Lychakivsky	520	519	595	658	–75	–139
Shevchenkivsky	884	949	899	868	–15	81
Vynnyky	108	88	75	79	33	9
Bryuhovychi	39	42	31	33	8	9
Rudno	40	42	41	48	–1	–6
Lviv (city council)	4 363	4 413	4 646	4 682	–283	–269

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department.

In comparison with January–July, 2010, the intensity of migration increased due to the increase in the number of emigrants and immigrants by 180 and 61 persons respectively.

In January–July 2011, 3 333 marriages were registered in the city. This number increased by 420 in comparison with January–July 2010.

To sum up, it is worth mentioning that concentration of population on the territory of the city and its basic characteristics, including birth and death rate as well as natural increase, are not only the basic demographic parameters but also important characteristics of social space. If population number grows and natural increase is stable or enlarging, then social space develops, however, its structure and quality get more complicated. As judged by demographic parameters of Lviv, we can make preliminary conclusions

that social space of the city decreases and deforms still remaining extremely unstable. More detailed conclusions can be made after analyzing the other parameters.

Having analyzed the basic social and economic parameters of Lviv and their dynamics (table 1.4), we can only indirectly estimate Lviv's social and economic conditions and peculiarities of its population structure.

Table 1.4. Lviv's basic social and economic parameters

Parameters	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Area, sq. km	171	171	171	171	171	171
Present population (at the end of the year), thous.	761.7	762.6	762.3	762.0	761.7	760.0
Population density, per sq. km	4 454.1	4 459.4	4 458.1	4 455.9	4 454.3	4 444.6
Natural increase, decrease (-) of population, persons	-1 590	-1 184	-1 441	-1 022	-170	-386
Housing facilities (at the end of the year), thous. sq. m	13 832.1	14 066.8	14 028.4	14 172.3	14 322.5	14 554.8
per 1 person, sq. m	17.9	18.2	18.2	18.4	18.5	18.8
Profit or loss on ordinary activities before tax, mln hrn.	859.2	876.3	991.1	-1513.9	-689.3	551.6
Capital assets (at cost at the end of the year), mln hrn.	33 289.2	39 793.8	48 110.6	61 186.4	103 487.0	—
Capital investment, mln hrn.	2 577.9	3 229.4	4 358.8	4 939.1	3 266.4	4 044.9
Direct foreign investment (at the end of the year), mln \$	245.7	307.2	561.2	597.3	762.5	837.1

Table 1.4 (cont.)

Parameters	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total area of the commissioned housing, thous. sq. m	158.7	153.1	210.3	239.6	187.2	184.5
Freight vehicles turnover, thous. t	4 563.6	4 986.5	5 765.2	5 669.6	4 679.6	5 068.2
Passenger vehicles turnover, thous. persons	95 341.2	11 4156.7	134 166.6	148 525.1	144 656.7	145 937.0
Passenger trolleybus turnover, thous. persons	36 498.9	39 191.2	36 633.8	37 306.8	27 386.6	25 876.4
Passenger tram turnover, thous. persons	60 049.9	58 552.2	52 227.3	49 517.3	49 215.3	49 603.1
Retail turnover, mln hrn.	4 800.3	5 985.8	8 383.9	11 866.9	11 895.1	14 055.6
per 1 person, hrn.	6 308.7	7 854.4	10 996.7	15 569.2	15 614.5	18 472.4
Goods and services export, mln \$	301.0	338.8	395.9	377.8	260.3	377.3
Goods and services import, mln \$	525.3	634.4	828.8	1 540.2	987.2	1 361.9
Number of employees in enterprises, establishments and organizations, thous. persons	349.8	361.7	362.4	358.6	331.3	320.0
Average monthly wages per employee, hrn.	802	1 035	1 324	1 734	1 824	2 096
Registered unemployment (at the end of the year), persons	4 155	3 039	2 277	3 626	3 060	3 510

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department.

Table 1.5. Labour market

Parameter	Month										
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November
2010											
Registered unemployment at the end of the month											
persons	2 831	2 796	2 676	2 601	2 486	2 459	2 470	2 612	2 901	3 080	3 297
previous year = 100%	92.5	98.8	95.7	97.2	95.6	98.9	100.4	105.7	111.1	106.2	107.0
corresponding date previous year = 100%	69.7	62.9	59.5	60.7	58.3	57.5	58.9	66.4	77.8	86.5	99.2
2011											
Registered unemployment at the end of the month											
persons	3 571	3 887	4 077	4 153	4 109	4 031	3 839	3 634	—	—	—
previous year = 100%	101.7	108.8	104.9	101.9	98.9	98.1	95.2	64.7	—	—	—
corresponding date previous year = 100%	126.1	139.0	152.4	159.7	165.3	163.9	155.4	139.1	—	—	—

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department.

Data given in table 1.4 testifies to the decrease of Lviv's social space. Let us consider such parameter as the number of employees in enterprises, establishments and organizations. During the period 2005–2010, i.e. during the last 5 years, this parameter decreased almost by 30 000 persons. Labor market data (table 1.5) as well as the number of pupils (students) dynamics per 10 000 present population of Lviv (figure 1.3) also confirm the previously made conclusions.

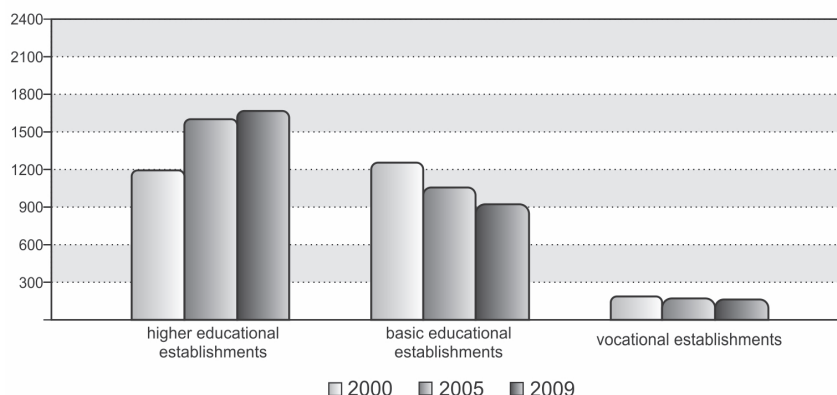


Figure 1.3. Number of pupils (students) per 10 000 present population

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department

The situation on Lviv labor market is not so bad judging from the following data of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department. Thus, the number of available jobs (vacant positions) according to the data of enterprises, establishments and organizations as of 1st October 2011 totaled 3651, which is less by 289 points compared with 1st September 2011 (by 7.3%), and more by 1181 points compared with 1st October 2010 (by 47.8%). Therefore, the number of unemployed persons who had applied for employment assistance was 66 persons per ten vacant positions as of 1st October 2011 and compared with 1st October 2010 it was reduced by 31 person.

Surely, the data on the social structure of Lviv's population are the most important parameter. Unfortunately, this data are lacking in generally available statistics and additional research is necessary to obtain it. However, it will certainly be present to the fullest extent in the materials of the population census that is due to take place soon. Then, we will be able to verify our conclusions.

However, social structure of population can be examined by means of different sociological surveys. The results of one of such surveys are presented by Kovalisko (1998, pp. 7–16). In particular, certain categories are outlined for every selected stratum in Lviv: “upper stratum – enterprises and managers” (leaders and business and production managers) (stratum share in Lviv – 4%); “stratum 2 – experts” (high-skilled employees with significant level of authority) (9%); “stratum 3 – strong adapts” (representatives of different status and professional groups with relatively high level of education and cultural and symbolical capital, (22%); “stratum 4 – weak adapts” (engaged in low-qualified mental and physical work with secondary and vocational education in economically low-efficient and non-prestigious organizations) (16%); “stratum 5 – contenders” (26%) and “lower stratum – excludants” (usually economically unengaged, who due to different reasons are not able to compete for positions and continue to occupy some of them habitually) (23%).

This stratification reflects the specifics of Ukrainian society, which should be taken into account when defining the directions of Lviv's social space development.

1.4. Elementary social spaces and the cores of social concentration

Social space of a large city is very complicated. It can be structured by different sections. In particular, elementary social spaces and cores of social concentration can be emphasized in social space.

Usually, the statuses of individuals in society that can be achieved basically as a result of struggle for access to life necessities,

self-fulfillment and prestige (work, authority, governance, creative work, social welfare distribution, preferences and comfort) are called the cores of social concentration. However, cores of social concentration cannot be formed without performing by population, during a certain period of time, the vital activity which flows in infrastructural objects, in particular in social infrastructure (housing facilities, educational, cultural, trade and public services organizations etc.) located in certain geospatial and time coordinates.

Accumulation of social infrastructure objects forms “spatial social cores” of different size in space. It is obvious that regional economy should examine the location of separate objects of social infrastructure as well as the abovementioned “cores”, the principles of their location in space and their composition or structure. We should notice that within the objects of social infrastructure the inter-subjective reality of “everyday world” can become apparent to the fullest extent. Such reality is created by people through grouping of meanings and experiences and it secures joint subjective basis of human mutual understanding. It is easy to be observed on the example of housing facilities concentration in Lviv and its location peculiarities.

14 600 000 sq. m of housing facilities are concentrated in Lviv. Housing provision is relatively modest – 18.8 sq. m per 1 person against 21.2 sq. m per 1 person on the average in Lviv region in 2010. However, the volume of housing facilities constantly increases (table 1.6). Moreover, during the last years, the housing construction has been accomplished predominantly in free sections near the central zone (multi-storey housing) and near the circular road (individual low-rise housing).

In 2010, 420 residential buildings were commissioned in Lviv with 184 500 sq. m of total area, that is 1.4% less than in 2009 (in 2009 against 2008 – less by 21.9%).

Segregation of social space increases as a result of housing construction: new high standard blocks (residential oases) appeared and living conditions in old housing worsened turning them gradually into residential ghettos.

Table 1.6. Housing construction in Lviv

Year	Period	Total area of commissioned housing	
		sq. m	against corresponding previous period
2008	January–March	48 951	176.0
	January–Juni	109 005	128.4
	January–September	142 770	111.8
	January–December	239 602	113.9
2009	January–March	74 316	151.8
	January–Juni	131 560	120.7
	January–September	138 635	97.1
	January–December	187 179	78.1
2010	January–March	47 903	64.5
	January–Juni	68 621	52.2
	January–September	109 576	79.0
	January–December	184 484	98.6

Source: the database of Lviv Regional Statistics Office Department.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with accommodation, many people tend to settle in this city, as Lviv is a large political, economic, scientific, cultural, educational and religious centre attractive for population in terms of meeting the needs in social services, employment possibilities, high-level supply of goods and services and higher level of living. All the abovementioned and other functions of the city create in its limits the components of social space.

It is worth mentioning that social space created by certain types of objects (for example, ceremonial buildings, sacred places and religious centres) in geographical space and by relations between subjects, which expands to the virtual level, can be regarded as the elementary social space (in this case, we are referring to sacral elementary space). The combination of social spaces as well as their overlay and mutual penetration is proposed by the author to be called integral social space.

Lviv's spiritual space and Lviv's cultural space constitute the unique resources of the city. Due to these resources formed by cultural, educational and spiritual objects located in Lviv, and the characteristics of the citizens, the status of the city is deemed as the capital. It refers foremost to the set of such social and cultural parameters of Lviv's citizens, as the high level of basic and professional education, active attraction to cultural values, civic consciousness, pride in the city, its history and culture, peculiar style of communication, intellectuality, politeness and tolerance.

Elementary social spaces deform due to the closure of the range of particular social infrastructure objects and construction of new social, cultural and household centres, such as gigantic supermarkets.

Elementary social spaces and social centres influence the pace of elementary social time. Elementary social time is considered by the author as the property of social reality expressed by consequent change of the most significant social events in the limits of elementary social space. For example, elementary social sacral time in Christianity is changed during the year by celebration of Christmas, Easter and other important sacral events. A systematic set of elementary social times creates integral social time. Both elementary social time and elementary social space are created and defined by people in order to meet their various needs. Thus, sacral elementary social time is created in order to form individual sense of immortality and sacral elementary social space is formed to develop the sense of safety. In the author's opinion, the elementary social time can be "restricted" or "expanded" in comparison with calendar time. The same can be said about elementary social space in comparison with geographic space formed in separate geospatial and time coordinates. Thus, social space and social time are the specific representations of the peculiarities and structure of the vital activity of Lviv's population for meeting social needs and assurance of socialization processes. Deformations in social space and social time are determinants of the behavior of individuals, groups and society. This means that Lviv's social space has to

be profoundly studied and analyzed in order to use the obtained data for the management of its development in terms of civilization requirements and in the context of the socio-humanistic paradigm of Ukrainian society development.

It is generally believed that Lviv will be the first, among other regional centres to become a sociopolis. In this case, its role as the second capital for Ukrainian society will be strengthened. But this is a matter for the future.

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2. SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL SPACE OF ŁÓDŹ

2.1. Introduction

Social and institutional space is a key element in contemporary municipal policy. This is mainly a result of the guidelines included in national strategy documents whose aim is to implement actions, which benefit the country's socio-economic growth and consequently raise the standard and quality of the citizens' living conditions. This goal is to be achieved through the creation of integrated communities, where each member would be able to fulfill their plans and life goals as well as receive the necessary help and support in life difficulties both from the community itself and from any cooperating institutions and organizations. Placed in this context, the individual aspects of social and organizational space are of great importance. This concerns in particular social capital and organizational affiliation.

Social capital is one of many factors which determine the intensity and pace of urban development. Research on social capital not only expands the knowledge about the phenomenon in question, but may also greatly contribute to our understanding of the problems prevalent in urban areas. This stems from the fact,

which the studies performed so far confirm, that social capital considerably affects social disparities. According to Gardziel and Długosz (2004), social capital is the main factor which contributes to social stratification, unequal opportunities and the quality of life in the new social order. Its holders are able to obtain the support of others and benefit from various kinds of resources available through family and friends. As Sztompka (2002, p. 368) claims, such a situation creates greater opportunities for the individual in question to acquire other socially desired resources, such as wealth, power, prestige etc.

Another key element of balanced development is building a citizen society. "Active social participation is today increasingly often viewed as the main prerequisite for local development, alleviating the results of poverty and performance of social services" (Davis 2000). P. Swianiewicz and W. Dziemianowicz's research confirms R. Putman's thesis which locates the reason for developmental diversity among regions in the civic activity of their residents (Chludziński 2004). In this context, citizen society is understood as "a social community where a free exchange of interests and values occurs through a commitment to institutionalized forms of social coexistence. They influence political decision-making, strive to take political power, secure the group interests of their members and mobilize people to solve important social issues on the local and supralocal level" (Sikora 2004, p. 254).

In conclusion, there are two aspects of social life vital for urban development. Firstly, social capital, which forms a part of the social space, and secondly, an affiliation with institutions dedicated to solving local problems. Both aspects are the subject of this chapter, whose aim is to diagnose the level of social capital and organizational affiliation of Łódź residents.¹

¹ This chapter is empirically based on the results of a supervisor research grant *Social Capital, Entrepreneurial Attitudes and the Quality of Life of Łódź Residents*, implemented in 2010. The research was carried out on 490 adult Łódź residents. The sample is representative.

2.2. The social capital of Łódź residents – selected aspects of the social space

The term “social capital” entered public, political and academic discourse during the last few decades. Originally designed to denote certain characteristics of small groups, the notion was then expanded to include the mesosocial and macrosocial sphere. Today the term is used to describe and prevent phenomena and problems which appear in the economic, social and political spheres. The concept of social capital enjoys a significant popularity, hence the numerous definitions of the term.

Taken broadly, social capital denotes everything which does not constitute physical, financial or human capital and forms the space between the state and citizen society in the process of social development (after: Krzyszkowski 2004). Studies stress that social capital, as opposed to human capital, is not an individual attribute but a cultural phenomenon and is a form of public welfare created in a long-term perspective (Czapiński, Panek 2005). Social capital may also be understood as a resource at the disposal of an individual which allows said individual to obtain specific personal and professional benefits. Therefore, social capital has two facets, an individual one and a group one. The individual social capital may be a result of the holder’s social or ethnic origins, or accumulate as a network of connections. A structural approach to social capital, important for the topic of this study, views the social structure as a value which gives its holders an advantage in the field of social competition (Bartkowski 2007). Regarded as such, social capital resources become one of the determinants which diversify the life opportunities of specific groups (strata), and its social replication (heritage) may lead to further social diversification, expressed as space diversification, which included also urban spaces (Szafrńska 2008, p. 68).

An overview of the basic concepts of social capital shows that the components of the capital exist as parts of three attributes of social life. Most authors list the main elements of social capital as contact networks, norms and values, and various forms of trust (Starosta, Frykowski 2008). This is corroborated by Putnam’s (1995, p. 258)

claim that social capital refers to “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”.

Contact networks are viewed by many researchers as the core of social capital. Some theories regard them as a sufficient condition for an adequate description of the phenomenon (Burt 1992; Baker 2000; Lin 2001). Social trust is viewed in a similar way. In an approach discussed many times by numerous authors, it is regarded one of the main dimensions of social capital (Fukuyama 1997; Coleman 1990; Sztompka 2007). However, another essential attribute of social capital are social norms, which increase the society’s efficiency, facilitating cooperation, and enable people to initiate actions based on common good and the willingness to forgo direct individual benefits.

In accordance with the theories mentioned above, this study is based on the assumption that social capital comprises three components: trust, networks and social norms.

The first component includes three dimensions of social trust, i.e. vertical trust, private trust and so-called generalized trust. The second component refers to social networks. The partial variables of this component pertain to the range of maintained social contacts, their frequency and duration. The third component consists of six items which provide information about the level of acceptance of social norms conducive to the development of social capital.

Partial variables of the network component refer to the social structure. The two remaining components, that is the trust component and the normative component, are not structural in character but concern attitudes and values (Starosta, Frykowski 2008). According to Scott’s (1991) terminology, the first group of variables is called the “relation variables” and pertains to behavior, while the latter one is the “consciousness” variables and concerns beliefs.

Because of the fact that the indices of the analyzed components of social capital comprise a varying number of items, during the creation of the social capital scale, all partial variables included in the components mentioned above were converted into variables with discrete values from the set -1 to $+1$.² This was done to ensure

² The indices of individual items were added up using the SPSS program, after determining the level of scale reliability.

that the selected subscales were fully comparable. The theoretical span of the scales is, respectively, -3 to $+3$ for trust, -6 to $+6$ for social norms, and -7 to $+7$ for social networks. The empirical spans of the scales are presented on respective histograms (see figure 2.1).

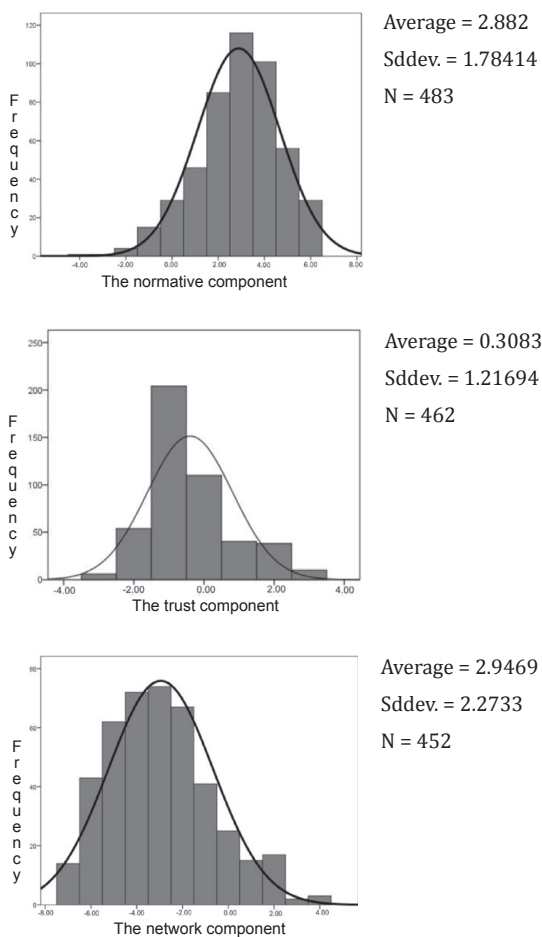


Figure 2.1. Histograms presenting the distribution of the components of social capital

Source: own elaboration

The values of specific components are low when compared to the potential variable span. This is further confirmed by the mean values of the indices subject to analysis. The average level of social trust is 0.39. This variable may take values from the interval -3 to $+3$. The average level of acceptance of social norms in view of the potential variable span is 2.88. The third component is similar, with the index varying from -7 to $+7$, and the average level of the network component reaching 2.9.

For the purpose of further analysis, three levels of each index were defined for each component of social capital (see table 2.1). The newly-defined variables took the values from -1 to $+1$. Higher values indicated an increase in the level of trust, networks and acceptance of social norms. Consequently, it was established that the dominating level for all three components is the medium one.

Table 2.1. Levels of social capital components (in %)

Level	The trust component (N = 462)	The network component (N = 452)	The normative component (N = 483)
Low	19.1	27.2	19.9
Medium	63.2	49.1	62.5
High	17.7	23.7	17.6

Source: own elaboration.

When comparing the components, it should be noted that the network component was the one most frequently described as “high”.

Taking into consideration the fact that at the individual level, social capital resources are determined by the level of features which have been established as constitutive, and the type of the capital is determined by the configuration of these features, the total value of social capital is calculated by summing up the values of the analyzed components and, in the case of the community in question, fits into

the -3 to +3 interval. The percentage distribution of the variable is shown in table 2.2.

Table 2.2. The value of social capital

The value of social capital	Frequency	Percentage
-3	7	1.5
-2	37	8.2
-1	77	17.0
0	145	32.1
1	114	25.2
2	63	13.9
3	9	2.0

Source: own elaboration.

It should be noted that “0” is the predominating category here, and constitutes over 30% of the results. This means that the researched community is dominated by people who have medium-level components of social capital.

Unfortunately, the highest values of the social capital components, i.e. trust, social norms and social networks, occur in the case of only 2% of Łódź residents. Therefore, it may be stated that a fully realized social capital is absent from the community in question.

The average occurrence level of specific components, i.e. trust, networks and norms (measured using the arithmetic mean) is 0.2 with standard deviation at 1.25. This value, in view of the potential variable span (-3 to +3) points to Łódź residents’ low level of social capital, which is presented in the chart showing the distribution of the “social capital scale” variable (figure 2.2).³

³ The reliability analysis of the social capital scale presented here was performed using Cronbach’s alpha method. The value of the alpha statistic was 0.723. It may therefore be assumed that the scale is a reliable measuring tool.

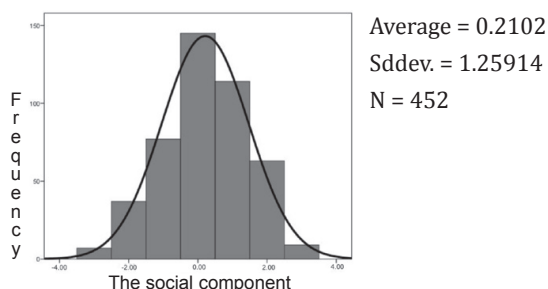


Figure 2.2. A histogram presenting the distribution of the “social capital scale” variable

Source: own elaboration

The value of the skewness coefficient for the analyzed variable is -0.174 , which permits the conclusion that the “social capital scale” variable has an almost symmetric distribution.

It also seems interesting to analyze which social capital components have the greatest influence on the researched phenomenon.

Table 2.3. Pearson’s r coefficient for the “social capital scale” variable

The component of social capital	r	(p)
The trust component	0.553*	0.000
The normative component	0.655*	0.000
The network component	0.680*	0.000

* Correlation significant at 0.01 significance level (two-tailed).

Source: own elaboration.

The analysis shows that social networks are the most influential component for the social capital scale (see table 2.3). This result confirms numerous researchers’ opinion that social networks are an important part of the concept of social capital.

Burt (2005, p. 4) uses the term “social capital” to denote the benefit of individual social networks. According to Flap (2002, p. 37),

social capital is the combination of all expected future benefits resulting not from the work of an individual but from networking with other people. Furthermore, “social networks are not seen simply as yet another constraint in the choice process, but as social capital with which goals can be produced that would otherwise be impossible” (Flap 2002, p. 35). Understood as such, social capital significantly influences the individual acquisition of the key elements of cultural capital: education and skills, as well as individual features conducive to economic success (Coleman 1988; Baker 2000).

Therefore, it should be stressed that “at the individual level, the network component, even if it exists only to a minimal extent, is an indispensable attribute of social capital. Lack of social contacts and relations gives the shared values and norms, as well as trust in others, a verbal-only character” (Starosta 2012, p. 166).

In conclusion, if social networks are a constitutive element of social capital, actions should be initiated to facilitate the establishing of social relations. Social networks may form in various ways: through shared neighborhood, school, workplace, affiliation with various organizations etc. Public space is therefore necessary to establish social relations. However, its availability and quality is not without importance. This means that municipal authorities may actively influence the establishment of social capital through an appropriate management of public space. In these circumstances, knowledge about the spatial distribution of social capital resources becomes crucial.

The spatial approach to social capital allows for the identification of areas with different levels of social capital, which may prove significant when initiating actions whose goal is to improve the quality of residents' lives. A spatial analysis of the researched phenomenon yielded information about the diversification of social capital and its components in the city area. Taking into account the significant role of social capital for the development and pace of changes occurring in the city, as well as its significance for the standard and quality of human life, these results gain a particularly important meaning, the more so when one notes that in most

cases, the correlation between social capital together with its components and the ecological variable is statistically significant.

Based on a chi-square test², a statistically significant association between the following variables was established:

1) between the place of residence in a particular housing estate unit and the level of social networks ($c^2 = 323.779$, $p = 0.023$). However, the strength of association, measured using Cramér's V ($VC = 0.258$, $p = 0.023$), points to a relatively weak association between the network component of social capital and the place of residence;

2) between the housing estate unit and the level of general social trust, which includes three dimensions, i.e. vertical trust, horizontal trust and generalized trust ($c^2 = 195.639$, $p = 0.007$). The strength of association between the analyzed variables equals $VC = 0.268$ ($p = 0.006$), which means that the association is relatively weak.

3) between the housing estate unit and the level of social capital comprised of three components, i.e. trust, social networks, and social norms ($c^2 = 78.260$, $p = 0.006$). The strength of association between the place of residence and the resources available to the individual is, as is the case with the other associations, relatively weak ($VC = 0.297$, $p = 0.006$).

Out of the four analyzed phenomena, only the normative component exhibits no statistically significant spatial diversification. Nevertheless, there are considerable differences when it comes to the acceptance of social norms which form the basis of social capital among the residents of particular regions (see figure 2.3). This may point to the diversification of the normative component in these communities.

Nevertheless, an analysis of the level of social capital in view of its spatial diversification in particular units provides some interesting information.

The maps presented below show regions with a high, medium or low level of social capital and its components, i.e. networks, norms and trust. The results indicate that the normative component is the least spatially diversified one. A high level of this component is

characteristic for three housing estates: Zarzew, Śródmiejska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa, Nowe Miasto. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Łódź residents show a low level of acceptance for the norms in question (see figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3. Level of the normative component in housing estate units

Source: own elaboration

The distribution of the trust component in the city area looks quite interesting. A high level of social trust was noticed in ten housing estate units (including Zarzew, the outskirts of Polesie, the outskirts of Górna, Widzew Wschód). Only two Łódź estates

(the outskirts of Bałuty and Doły) show a low level of the component in question (see figure 2.4). It should be noted that similar data describing the spatial distribution of social trust in the area of Łódź were presented in Frykowski's studies (2006).



Figure 2.4. Level of the trust component in housing estate units

Source: own elaboration

Moreover, when analyzing the spatial diversification of the network component, it should be underscored that the estates which are distinguished by its high levels are Teofilów, Śródmieście and Zarzew. Łódź residents in most housing estate units are character-

ized by a medium level of social networks. The residents of nine estates, including Dąbrowa, Olechów and the outskirts of Górna, have poorly developed social networks (see figure 2.5).

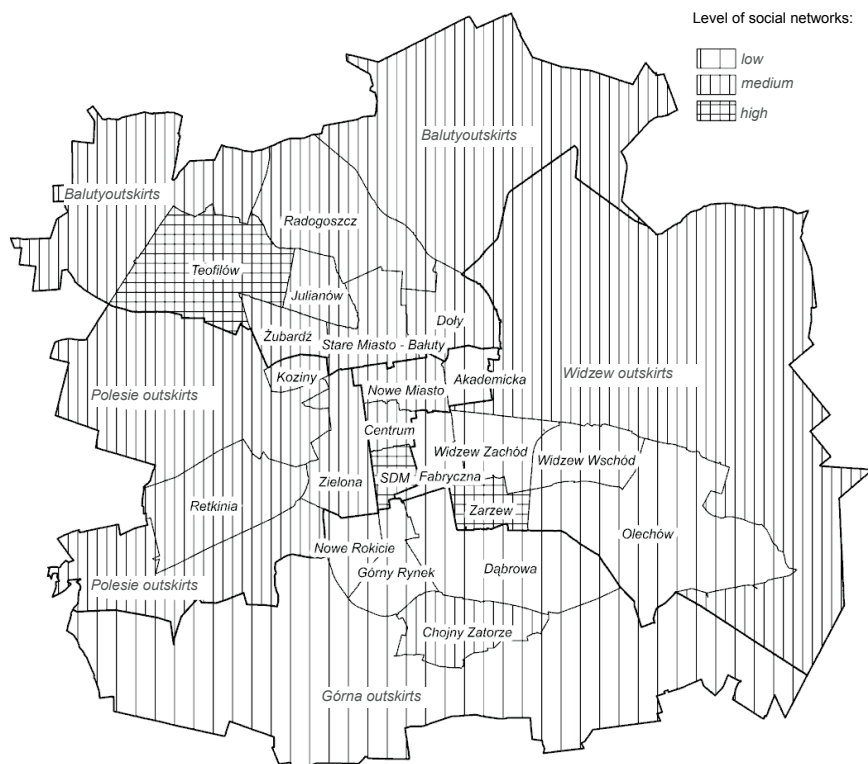


Figure 2.5. Level of the network component in housing estate units

Source: own elaboration

Furthermore, as the map displaying the level of social capital in housing estate units shows, high levels of social capital were diagnosed only in the case of four estates. The large resources of social capital were found in Śródmiejska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa, Zarzew,

the Akademicka estate, Nowe Miasto and Teofilowo (see figure 2.6). It should be stressed that Zarzew and Śródmiejska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa were found to have a high level of social capital in Frykowski's studies (2006). Szafrńska's research (2008) yielded similar results, despite using different indices of social capital.



Figure 2.6. Level of social capital in housing estate units

Source: own elaboration

To refer again to Frykowski's studies (2006), specifically to his ranking list of housing estates according to social status, it should be stated that it is the residents of estates with high social status who have large social capital resources. Furthermore, the areas with

the highest level of the researched phenomenon have more than average number of residents with higher education, low levels of unemployment and a low number of people dependent on social assistance, as well as high-standard housing conditions (Szafrńska 2008). The residents of Łódź who live in the areas mentioned above also enjoy a high standard of living (Wiktorowicz, Mularska-Kucharek 2012).

To sum up, a spatial analysis demonstrated that the areas which need particular attention are these where social capital and its components adopt extreme values. Communities residing in areas with high levels of social capital simultaneously possess the greatest potential for development. The condition of areas with low levels of social capital is radically different. They need external help in initiating basic actions to enhance social capital and, consequently, improve the residents' living conditions.

2.3. Organizational activity – a selected aspect of the institutional space

Social activity is a crucial element of citizen society. One of its aspects is the involvement in various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are a separate type of social organizations classified as the “third sector”, next to the public and private sectors.

Such organizations are a form of social institutions dedicated to fulfilling the residents' various needs. They serve numerous vital functions, such as the reinforcement of social order and a contribution to the improvement of the conditions and quality of life. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that both theoreticians and practitioners of social life have long since been interested in the functioning of NGOs, even more so because the level of involvement in such organizations in Poland is at a relatively low level.

The data obtained by the Public Opinion Research Centre (Centrum Badań Opinii Publicznej, CBOS 2008) indicate that few Poles see NGOs as an opportunity for social activity. In 2008, the NGOs activity index reached only 11%, a rather low value in comparison

with other European countries. Moreover, according to the data from the first edition of the European Social Survey for the years 2002–2003, Poland took the last place when it came to involvement in social organizations. The level of affiliation with social organizations reached only 19.1%, which, compared to the highest index – 83.8% (the Netherlands), is a very low value (Domański 2009).

Nevertheless, the research carried out in recent years on a nation-wide sample (Czapiński, Panek 2007) show that the interest in involvement with social organizations is growing. To cite an example, the last year saw the highest index of activity in civic organizations since the beginning of the monitoring process, i.e. the year 1998 (CBOS 2008). Unfortunately, the indices remain disappointing. Polish society exhibits relatively little interest in community work within civic organizations. As it turns out, this also applies to the residents of Łódź.

The research performed up to now revealed that Łódź residents' involvement in various organizations runs at a rather low level. As the data in table 2.4 show, the majority of research interviewees, almost 83%, do not belong to any of the 26 organizations included in the study. It should be noted that a somewhat higher passivity index was found among the residents of Gdańsk, where it reached 88%.⁴

Table 2.4. The level of involvement in NGOs

Number of NGOs which the subject is a member of	Frequency	Percentage
0	412	82.9
1	58	11.7
2	15	3.0
3	7	1.4
4	1	0.2

⁴ A report from the research on the assessment of the activity of Gdańsk municipal authorities' and social activity of Gdańsk residents carried out in 2008 by the University of Gdańsk.

Number of NGOs which the subject is a member of	Frequency	Percentage
5	3	0.6
6	1	0.2
Total	497	100.0

Source: own elaboration.

Although the majority of the subjects did not belong to any organization, just somewhat less than 12% were affiliated in at least one and 5.4% were active in more than one of the 25 organizations subject to the analysis. Comparable data regarding activity in organizations were recorded in Miasto Podlaskie (11.5%) and Miasto Warmińskie (13.9%) (Theiss 2007). These facts put Łódź residents' low activity in civic organizations in a more favorable light.

However, it does not change the fact that the overall level of Łódź residents' involvement in NGOs is relatively low. The average, measured using a 0–6 scale, reached 0.26, with standard deviation at 1.74. The problem is very well illustrated by the “organizational affiliation” scale, which consists of 26 items included in the field of activity subject to the analysis. The values of the scale are presented as a histogram with a normal curve (see figure 2.7).

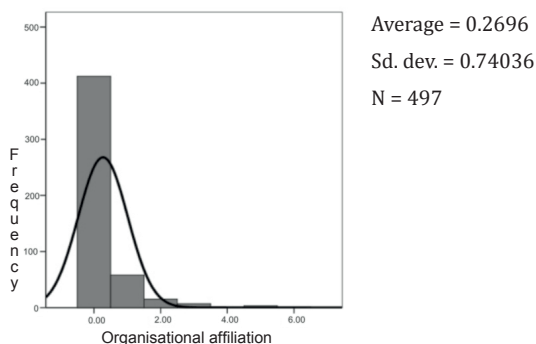


Figure 2.7. A histogram presenting the distribution of a synthetic variable “organizational affiliation”

Source: own elaboration

The descriptive statistics calculated for the analyzed variable indicate that there is one modal value in the analyzed set, and it equals 0. This means that the prevailing type of behavior for Łódź residents is lack of involvement in civic organizations.

The value of the skewness coefficient for the analyzed variable is 3.952. Thus, it may be claimed that the distribution of the “organizational affiliation” variable is extremely asymmetric (positive asymmetry), which means that for most Łódź residents, the value of this coefficient is less than average (0.26).

As far as the structure of organizational affiliation by particular organizations is concerned, it is somewhat concurrent with the results obtained in nation-wide studies (CBOS 2008). Łódź residents are usually involved in activities related to education and the school system, trade unions, sports clubs and associations. They also devote their spare time to associations of garden allotment owners, anglers and hunters, charities, organizations for the protection of natural environment, church organizations and movements, parish communities and youth organizations. It should be noted that the subjects' involvement in the fields of activity mentioned above did not exceed 4%. The level of involvement in the other 16 organizations is lower than 1%. The last two ones, i.e. tourist organizations and associations, as well as committees devoted to the resolution of a particular issue and protest groups, were not selected at all (table 2.5).

Table 2.5. Łódź residents' fields of activity according to research

1. Trade unions	19
2. Trade associations and councils	5
3. Employees councils	1
4. Associations and unions of garden allotment owners, farmers, anglers, hunters	16
5. Sports unions, clubs and associations	12
6. Collectors' clubs	2
7. Youth organizations, e.g. Scouts, youth clubs, students' unions and organizations	7

8. Art organizations and associations, e.g. choir, orchestra, dance team, community theatre	4
9. Educational organizations, e.g. parent-teacher association, parents' council, school or university foundation, Civic Educational Association etc.	12
10. Church organizations and movements, parish communities	9
11. Charities	9
12. Self-help organizations	5
13. Organizations for the protection of natural environment	6
14. Animal Welfare Society, organizations for the protection of animals	1
15. District and estate councils, e.g. boards of residents, residents' committees etc.	5
16. Non-profit associations for the promotion of the city	1
17. Organizations supporting public health facilities	3
18. Political parties and associations	3
19. Societies for the promotion of friendly relations with foreign countries, nations	2
20. Other organizations, associations, movements, clubs or foundations	5

Source: own elaboration.

To put it in more specific terms, the highest number of respondents declared an affiliation with a trade union.⁵ The same trend can be observed in Wrocław. As many as 8% of the city residents declared an affiliation with a trade union. The preferred one is a nation-wide trade union, All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions Solidarity (OPZZ Solidarność). Only in around a quarter of all the cases did the respondent choose a considerably smaller trade union, active only at their workplace or at several cooperating companies (Skiba 2006). This is a legacy of the Communist system. Polish people, who remember the surprising power of the Solidarność trade union, still believe that its membership gives them to a larger or lesser extent, if

⁵ According to Sowa (1988), a trade union is a qualified public association. It forms in the socio-professional-personal category. Its aim is to include all members of a given community.

not job security, then a possibility to be better informed about their workplace. Although the active members of the anti-Communist opposition have over the course of time left *Solidarność*, they have retained their enthusiasm for social activism. An involvement in trade councils and associations has similar overtones. The second place in the ranking of preferred organizations is occupied by hobby-related associations, such as associations of garden allotment owners, farmers, anglers, hunters and sports clubs. Art organizations and affiliations, such as choirs, orchestras, dance teams and community theatres, may also be included in this group. Leisure activities play an important role in the lives of Polish people. They contribute to the tightening of interpersonal relations and have been always a popular form of spending free time. A total number of 32 people spend their time acting in leisure-oriented organizations. Another popular field of involvement is educational activity understood in its broadest sense. The successive levels of the school system in a way impose upon the students and parents this type of activity. The parents wish to support the school through their actions and improve their children's educational experience by organizing cultural events on the school premises and school trips. The children, on the other hand, become involved in youth organizations such as the Scouts, youth clubs, students' unions and associations.

Among the analyzed group, only 51.3% of the respondents stated that they are religious. Hence, it comes as no surprise that church organizations and movements as well as parish communities are popular areas of activity. This phenomenon is related to the involvement in charities, since they have somewhat strong ties with the church, and the church in turn is an inseparable part of Polish life. Łódź residents do not forget organizations protecting natural environment and animal welfare, supporting public health facilities and friendly international relations. They are also active in so-called district and estate councils, such as boards of residents and residents' committees. This fact is a result of the ever-growing role which these organizations play in the development of the region. Localism, understood as a devotion to one's place of origin, determines involvement in activities improving the situation of the region.

2.4. Conclusions

In the authors' opinion, the data presented in this study allows the following conclusions to be drawn concerning the social and institutional space of Łódź.

Firstly, the level of social capital and its individual components in Łódź residents is low. The analyzed phenomenon exhibits relatively high spatial variation. Within the city, there are areas of high and low levels of social capital. Needless to say, it affects various aspects of social life, including the standard and quality of life for the residents of the areas in question.

It is important to stress that the research on the social capital of Łódź residents is of diagnostic and applied character. Knowledge about the usefulness of social capital may contribute to a widespread use of new forms of capital, which may in turn form a significant complement to the overly utilized human capital. Information on the spatial diversification of the researched phenomenon allows for enhancing the initiatives undertaken to develop social capital in areas where it is the lowest. Because of the range of the research, the results obtained are of importance both to the creators of social life and individuals.

Secondly, the organizational affiliation of Łódź residents runs at a very low level. As it turns out, few respondents explore the possibility to become involved in various organizations, foundations, unions, parties, councils, clubs, committees etc., and in this way develop their social capital and gain certain benefits.

The reasons for such a low level of organizational activity are probably numerous, from cultural factors to the type of system and individual factors. Researchers analyzing the conditions for involvement in non-profit organizations also point to the level of social subjectivity, that is an individual's ability to influence his or her social structure. The feeling of subjectivity proves to be a necessary condition for social inclusion, that is citizens' participation in managing the matters of their community (Hausner ed. 1999), and the citizens' need to mark their existence as conscious, active and responsible

agents is being expressed to an ever-greater extent. Therefore, developing subjectivity is a significant challenge.

In view of this situation, organizers of local community activation programs face an important task. Through organizing training courses raising the qualifications of the local leaders, NGOs and public institution employees, and through counseling sessions and consultations, they educate local communities, enhance the activities of local civic groups, develop the identity of local communities and help people to create their own local communities. These activities are nothing else than a way of taking over the control over one's own life and therefore develop the citizens' subjectivity. Investing in local activation programs may therefore bring numerous benefits to the municipal authorities. "As the experiences up to now show, it is precisely citizen society which can prevent the social marginalization of many Poles and the weakening of the state" (CBOS 2004, p. 3), which in the case of Łódź is of key importance. Initiating activities aimed at creating conditions conducive to the establishment of social relations in the city may become a significant factor in a balanced social development, since imposing ready-made models of development may yield only short-term effects, sometimes contrary to the desired ones and destructive to the local community (Juroszek 2008, p. 54).

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3. CHANGES IN LVIV PUBLIC SPACE IN THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD

3.1. Introduction

Ukrainian cities entered the 21st century with new phenomena and problems of social stratification, separation of exclusive zones with no access, removal of a considerable part of the society from active processes of socio-economic life, intensification of problems with space disorder, problems with real estate loans and homelessness etc. Urban environment is figuratively divided into territorial zones with various spheres of people's activity, but in the city planning context, all of them are definitely associated with urban public space. It is defined in order to regulate relations arising outside private spaces where legal status and possible presence of certain citizens are limited due to private norms. Public space is viewed as space with free access for everybody, where a person can be admitted free of charge. It can be *subdivided* into the space of the city centre, new residential districts, communication space, recreational and park space, the space of new trade and entertainment centres which arise at the entrance to the city. In the chapter the author examines its main types and changes throughout last 20 years. Within borders of a particular state features and classifications of public space are

established in the context of certain legislative and normative acts. These specifications are determined by norms of architectural and spatial as well as administrative competence of the state and local authorities. Typology of public places in different countries varies. However, the same type of public place in different countries presupposes different requirements, limitations and prohibitions.

Public spaces in Ukraine include places meant for temporary use, and the latter include institutions where access for citizens is limited by the order of the day or other reasons. In all countries, there are limitations concerning behavior in public places which are based on national and religious traditions as well as specific moral norms and hygiene. Certain countries and cities may introduce limitations on a seasonal and permanent basis. Thus, a number of cultures consider it inappropriate to commit actions associated with private life in public spaces.

Urban public spaces perform the following *functions*:

- social and culturological as a place for social contacts;
- spatial and ecological (landscape formation, conservation and protection);
- economic and marketing (to commercialize urban life and increase competitiveness of cities).

A city cafe is a symbol of a public place; it is simultaneously a territory for communication, a recreational zone and a workplace for people of creative professions. Nowadays, as the share of services and creative industry increases in urban economy, public spaces are more often used for business talks and workplaces. Public spaces determine the quality of life in the city. They structure cities, enrich urban space with human dimension, comfortable density of the environment and infrastructure objects. Another important function of the public space consists in opposition to social and property segregation. Mini-parks, cafes, trade and entertainment centres, sports complexes become buffers between quarters of elite and social construction. Residents of different social layers make a contact in such places. Therefore, public spaces serve for social development. In specially established public places, groups of citizens can organize various events, development centres, games and entertainment.

Such spaces boost creative possibilities and motivate citizens to get involved in events that develop the city.

According to the accepted classification and functions of the public space, the author has chosen *methods of research* which presuppose characteristics, analysis and assessment of changes in Lviv's public space in the post-Soviet period (social and cultural, spatial and ecological, economic and marketing aspects). A twenty-year period of the most recent urban studies does not give the possibility to carry out periodization of changes in organization of public spaces, they may be figuratively and generally divided into the initial period when attempts to ruin old stereotypes were made, the mid-period with efforts to master new approaches to organization of spaces and the latest period which continues up till now and which is characterized by increasing interest to such processes. On the basis of classification and analysis of the functions performed by public spaces in the cities, the author has explained the index system of organization and change assessment in the given spaces.

Assessment indices of organization and changes in urban public space:

- intensity of residential construction, i.e. correlation between finished and open construction per one resident;
- introducing objects of technical and social infrastructure into spaces;
- the structure of public territories in the city (correlation between its different types);
- percentage of the territory within ecological limitations;
- the amount of public space in an urban territorial unit (heterogeneity of distribution in the city structure);
- architectural and aesthetic organization and condition;
- space accessibility and organization of external contacts;
- sanitary and hygienical condition;
- space structuring and the level of organization.

Presentation of the material takes into account changes in particular types of public space (recreational and park space, the space of a municipal centre, housing development areas, new trade and entertainment centres as well as Lviv's communication space) in

the following order: condition of a certain space at the end of the Soviet period is characterized, examples of its changes in post-Soviet times are given and analyzed. Eventually, changes are generalized and assessed.

3.2. Changes in post-Soviet Lviv's recreational and park space

City recreational zone plays a dominating role in formation of public space: parks, mini-parks, city-forests and tree belt areas within the city. A modern city, which exhaustively exploits every square metre of its territory, makes greenery around the place of residence a considerable luxury, and anthropogenic influence on the territories intensifies. Greenery was systematically planted in the Soviet period of city's development. Firstly, city-forest zones, which were preserved though with some losses, were included into the city network almost everywhere. Secondly, planting trees and flower beds in the streets of the city had considerable dimensions. Thirdly, city planning presupposed that every residential district had at least one park or very often more. The lower level of the greenery system belongs to elements within a mini-district. At the beginning of the 1980s, a complex greenery program for Lviv was developed with the author's participation. The planning structure of the city includes a green diameter, based on forest areas, parks and mini-parks. It is complemented with the south-east green semi-circle at the joint of central and southern planning districts. In order to form city ecological framework, city planning documentation presupposed that development of territories located between separated green areas should be less dense and have a high percentage of greenery.

Designing greenery systems of Soviet decades, architects seemed not to be very much concerned with maintenance and development of such vast greenery areas. That is why the same trees dominate, they are planted in "boring" rows, lawns are disorganized and lopsided, flowers are planted irrationally. Expectations that inhabitants would participate in maintaining them did not prove true. Due to lack of experience, a wide range of trees and bushes were

planted right below the windows of residential units. In 20 years, they have to be thinned out.

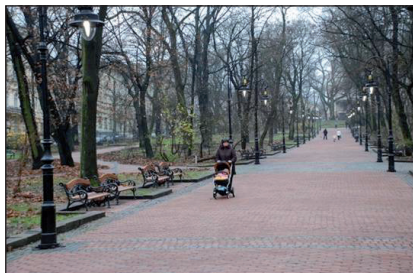
Nowadays, there are nearly thirty major recreational and park zones in Lviv (figure 3.1). Each park has its individuality. These are: Ivan Franko Park, Culture and Leisure Park, Stryisky Park, Znesinnya, Shevchenkovsky Hay, the High Castle, Tsyttadel, the Garden of St. George Cathedral, Zalizni Vody, Snopkivsky Park, Pohulyanka, Lychakivsky, Levandivsky and Zamarstynivsky city-forests, the Park of Lviv 700th anniversary, Kotumova Hora, Yaniv Cemetery, the Student Park, Piskovi Oзера, Horikhovy Hay, Bondarivka, Sknyliv Park, Sykhiv city-forest, Lychakiv Cemetery, the Botanical Garden, Vynnyky and Bryukhovychi city-forests. Below it is presented briefly characteristic some of them and underline changes that can be traced in their space in the post-Soviet period (figure 3.2).



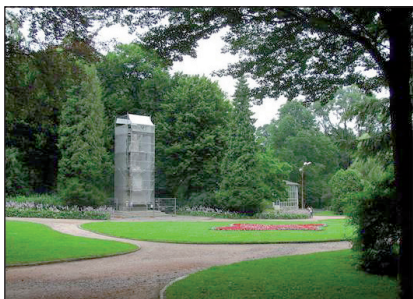
1. Ivan Franko Park
2. Culture and Leisure Park
3. Stryisky Park
4. Park "Znesinnya"
5. Park "Shevchenkovsky Hay"
6. Park "The High Castle"
7. Park "Tsyttadel"
8. The Garden of St. George Cathedral
9. Park "Zalizni Vody",
10. Snopkivsky Park
11. Park "Pohulyanka"
12. Lychakivsky
13. Levandivsky
14. Zamarstynivsky city-forests
15. Park of Lviv 700th anniversary,
16. "Kotumova Hora"
17. Yaniv Cemetery
18. The Student Park
19. Park "Piskovi Oзера"
20. Park "Horikhovy Hay"
21. Park "Bondarivka"
22. Sknyliv Park
23. Sykhiv city-forest
24. Lychakiv Cemetery
25. The Botanical Garden
26. Vynnyky city-forest
27. Bryukhovychi city-forests

Figure 3.1. The landmarks of most popular parks in Lviv

Source: own elaboration



Ivan Franko Park

Bohdan Khmelnyts'ky Culture
and Leisure Park

Stryisky Park



The Museum "Shevchenkovsky Hay"

Figure 3.2. The landmarks of most popular parks in Lviv

Source: phot. M. Habrel

Stryisky Park (Kiliński Park) was founded in 1879. This is one of the oldest and most beautiful parks in Lviv, a monument of garden art of national value. It was designed by a famous park architect Arnold Rering in 1876–1877 and it occupies 58 ha. Planning of the park's territory is based on a deep erosion valley where the brook Soroka flew; now, there is a footpath connecting the upper terrace with the lower part of the park. There are more than 200 trees and plants in Stryisky Park. In 1894, it housed the regional exhibition and numerous pavilions were built there. The main entrance to the park is decorated with an arc, constructed by the project of H. Shvetsky-Vinetsky in 1952. The park houses Lviv Polytechnic sports complexes, the main department of Ukrainian Design Academy, cinema "Lviv", 3 restaurants and Lviv Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In the post-Soviet period, the first skating-park in Ukraine was opened in the upper part of Stryisky Park. In 2009, the monument to Jan Kiliński was restored for the funds, granted by the Polish Government. After 2009, reconstruction of the park has accelerated, in particular, outer illumination is being repaired and footpaths are being paved.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky Culture and Leisure Park is a monument of gardening art of local value. It was founded in the 1950s on 20 ha. The park is viewed as an entertainment park. It was one of the most organized green zones that houses the Concert and Dance Hall “Romantyk”, the stadium “Yunist”, an amusement park, the main stage, numerous bars and cafes, an observation wheel where you can have the city view. The entrance to the park is decorated with a colonnade.

In 2010, only two architectural objects, namely the colonnade of the central entrance and the building of the cinema “Druzhba”, remained from the original Stalin version of the park. The given park complex is considered an example of skilful adjustment of architectural objects to landscape specificity and successful use of historicism in architecture. The park remains one of the most popular parks in the city. However, by the data given by park administration, its attendance decreased twice as compared with the 1980s. Exhibitions and accounts of Lviv region agrarians “Golden Autumn” take place here annually in October. The stadium “Yunist” had to be reconstructed in the process of preparation to football Euro-2012. Development of the park did not change in the post-Soviet period.

Ivan Franko Park had many names. Up till 1779, it was called the Jesuit Garden, in 1779–1919 – the Post-Jesuit Garden, in 1919–1945 – Tadeusz Kościuszko Park. After the Second World War it was renamed into Ivan Franko Park. It is considered the oldest city park in Ukraine. From the times of its foundation, there are still preserved three-hundred-year oaks and maples. In 1855 a famous urban gardener Bauer organized the territory in a landscape style, and the majority of trees were planted during 1885–1890. In the centre of the park, there is a summerhouse, the only one from

several summerhouses which survived. Since 1964, a monument to Ivan Franko is located in the parterre part of the park in front of Ivan Franko National University. The park occupies 14 ha.

In 2009, the park was reconstructed, in particular, footpaths were newly paved, the cinema "Park" was liquidated, the summerhouse was renovated. Commercialization of the city life explains why the summer cafe was located at the main entrance to the park from Sichovi Striltsi Street. The public managed to stop planned construction of "MacDonald's" in the park at the corner of Krushelnytska and Slovatsky streets.

The Park "Znesinnya" is a regional landscape park, located near the city centre. The park is declared an object of nature preserved of Ukraine. It was founded to conserve and reproduce unique nature and historical complex of the ridge Znesinnya and it is adjacent to territories of old settlements Znesinnya and Kryvchytsi. The park is situated on a well wooded hill Roztochchya, in locality Kayzervald. The park itself occupies 312.1 ha, but in order to regulate the impact of urban environment, to form a single nature and architecture ensemble of the park and to be adjacent to these areas, the protected zone extends to 473.6 ha. It is quite understandable that on such a big territory there are unique nature landscapes, certain valuable complexes and objects of nature, history and culture that are subject to special protection; low-rise residential houses with summer cottages as well as historical quarter medieval mid-rise houses, the Museum of Folk Architecture and Everyday Life "Shevchenkivsky Hay"; an industrial zone; educational and medical establishments, churches, monasteries, sports and military objects, engineering constructions and networks, the Church of God's Ascension and St. Elias, the former Roman Catholic Church of St. Wojciech, the old Znesinnya cemetery, the pharmaceutical factory and glassworks. On the territory of the park, there are also foundations of an old 13–14th centuries defense tower and the track for downhill skiing.

In the post-Soviet time, complex city planning documentation of the regional landscape park Znesinnya was developed. Volun-

teers partly strengthened the hills in order to minimize had slips and water erosion.

The Museum “Shevchenkivsky Hay” appropriately combines hilly landscape, reproduced Carpathian vegetation and transferred historical buildings from different regions of Western Ukraine. The Museum’s exposition counts 124 monuments of architecture that are united in 54 dwellings. The Museum has 4 exhibition halls and 2 of them have permanent expositions. The territory of the Museum amounts to 60 ha and it is figuratively subdivided into 6 ethnographic zones, each of which appears to be a mini-village, consisting of 15–20 monuments of folk architecture. Residential and household premises house about 20 000 items of everyday life and applied art. Mini-villages are called Boykivshchyna, Lemkivshchyna, Hutsulshchyna, Bukovyna, Podillya and Lvivshchyna. A village house of 1749 is the oldest exhibit. It is also possible to see a smithery, timber works, a fullery, a water mill and a wind mill. In two recent decades, the Museum has lost some objects that burned down. However, its territory is more and more used for folk holidays and mass festivals. On weekdays one can feel emptiness and desolation in this part of urban public space.

The Park “Vysoky Zamok” towers over the city on the Knyazhy Hill. Here you can have a beautiful view of the city and remnants of the castle wall that survived. The park is located on the highest hill in Lviv and it extends on 36 ha; it consists of the lower and the upper terrace where the television tower and an artificial hill are situated. The park was opened in 1853.

In post-Soviet times, some work to beautify the park was carried out. However, the lower observation platform and the majority of stairs to the upper observation platform remain rather neglected.

The characteristics and analysis of changes in Lviv’s recreational and park space in the post-Soviet period allow to make certain generalizations and evaluation of changes in recreational and park space of Lviv. This space is predominantly desolate. In the last 20 years, repairs have been unsystematic and fragmentary, almost no greenery

has been planted, the environment of parks and mini-parks looks "littered" with patchy block pavement, billboards seem not skilful and improperly located, they do not artistically correlate with the scale, colour, material, style, small architectural forms and city facilities. There arises the need to take some action in order to form and develop an interconnected system of greenery organization on the basis of complex approach to their arrangement and organization. Planting greenery became the first victim on the way to extended urban development. Examples of Lviv testify to that fact as far as here green belts are cut down for major construction despite public protests.

In order to provide inhabitants of the city with the system of greenery for public use, general plans from 1993 and 2008 suggested that a part of Bryukhovychi and Vynnyky forest-parks, which neighbor on residential construction, should be transformed into urban forest-parks with the corresponding development of facilities. However, this suggestion is not being implemented. The requirement of low-density construction with a big percentage of inner greenery on areas between separated greenery stripes is not fulfilled. Great attractiveness of the space causes its intense development and complicates formation of an integral ecological framework of the city.

The analysis has shown that where were vast areas for extension of recreational and park spaces, conditions for people's mass recreation in Lviv forest-park zone, in fact, have worsened. The most valuable natural components of the locality have become major objects of mass disorganized recreation and they have obtained visible features of natural landscape degradation. There are some other negative tendencies in residents' development and use of green territories: unauthorized use of valuable landscape plots for construction of residential housing, garages and parking areas, transformation of valley lines into waste deposits, arrangement of low-expressive architectural objects on significant visual connections of the environment.

Hilly territory of Lviv green zones is well visible from different points of the city and requires individual architecture and composition approach, and also conservation of its observation points. The practice of recent years demonstrates that views on unique park objects, namely Vysoky Zamok gardens, are “interrupted” by new objects. As an example one can mention formation of the space in Viacheslav Chornovil Avenue where new multistoried buildings liquidate the views on Vysoky Zamok.

Nowadays, only 30% of needed funds are granted for park maintenance. Major reconstruction in parks is rather pro forma and this negatively affects how the greenery looks and facilities are arranged. Technical documentation to determine park limits the lack of which leads to unauthorized use of territories has been worked out and affirmed for 10 years. The condition of parks in Lviv requires city planning decisions and development of a complex program and measures to improve the city and to plant the greenery.

3.3. Changes in the space of Lviv municipal centre

The historical part of the city, where buildings from different epochs dominate, is very well preserved and since 1998 it belongs to UNESCO cultural heritage. Lviv is proud to have about 11% of historical monuments of architecture of Ukraine. The city has preserved different elements of urban structure, landscapes and buildings of different historical epochs, beginning from the 14th century. Lviv’s central part is unique with its planning structure, architecture of complexes and background construction. Its picturesque nature is complemented with the relief of the Poltava low and vast areas of greenery. The historical centre occupies 140 ha and includes the zone of the Old Rus and medieval city. Within those limits, there are 1276 monuments of architecture, in particular, 216 monuments of national value (figure 3.3).

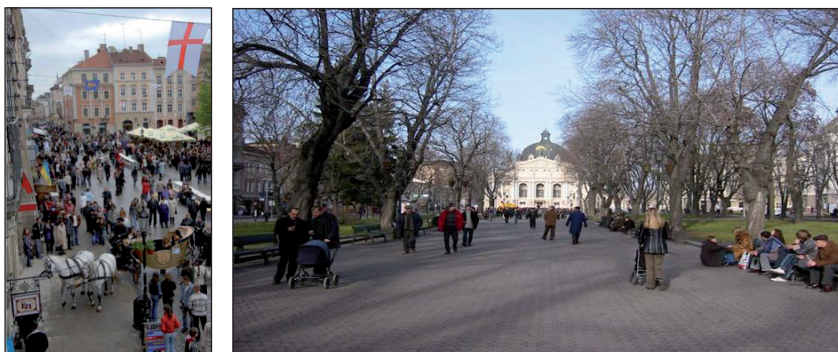


Figure 3.3. The examples of the uniqueness Lviv centre

Source: phot. M. Habrel

Along with important positive changes of the post-Soviet period, there still remain many problems from the previous period and those arising under new conditions. They are the following:

1. Social and political changes that happened in Lviv after the Second World War – nationalization of private property as well as the fact that there were no systematic restoration and repairs during Soviet decades – caused rather poor condition of the centre of Lviv with its 2700 buildings. During the first 10 years after the declaration of Ukraine's independence and privatization of housing, there were no repairs and modernization of houses. Restoration was done predominantly in buildings serving for public purposes. Preservation of historical architectural heritage is threatened, in particular due to wrong repairs or use of building constructions and materials that are incompatible with monuments of architecture throughout Soviet times. Technical infrastructure needs fundamental modernization. Water supply and drainage systems are especially problematic.

2. Intensification of investment activity has brought about powerful pressure on real estate market in the city centre and leads to social changes in economic life and socially attractive sites of the central part of the city, while changing patterns of ownership of historical objects of the given part strengthens opposition and

incoherence of different patterns of ownership in the process of reconstruction.

3. Intense automobilization of the post-Soviet period has led to increase in individual traffic and transit flow that complicated the situation with traffic and parking in the historical part of the city and neighboring areas, and therefore, considerably lowers the quality of the given space.

4. Construction of big trade centres in the suburbs and related transfer of trade operations and funds, on the one hand, threaten small shops in historical trade streets and, correspondingly, satisfaction of needs of residents of the old part of the city in service objects, and on the other hand, it eases anthropogenic pressure on the historical part of the city.

5. In the post-Soviet times, the number of city holidays and festivals has increased considerably – every year Lviv hosts over 100 festivals and this boosts interest and the number of tourists visiting the city. In 2000, Lviv was visited by 122 000 of tourists, 24 800 of whom came from abroad, in 2005, correspondingly, 164 000 (51 500), while in 2008 – 305 000 (more than 70 000 came from abroad). Construction of new hotels intensified.

Other problems of public space of Lviv municipal centre include the following:

- bad condition of pavements of the square and street furniture;
- negative influence of outdoor advertising on the quality of public space;
- overloading of certain parts of public space with business functions;
- lack of play and sports grounds in the centre, the condition of their organization;
- insufficient use of the green circle potential around city historical centre due to poor organization of connections;
- yards of residential houses are more and more often used for parking which leads to deterioration of their state and living conditions;
- considerable amounts of sick street trees in this part of the city.

Assessment of changes in the public space of Lviv centre at the end of the 20th and at the dawn of the 21st centuries:

- extension of functional composition of public spaces, as a result of active social and economic changes in the given period;
- intense use of ground floors for in-built objects used for trade and everyday life purposes and concentration of subject and spatial environment;
- non-standard approaches to environment reconstruction caused by changes in customers' likings which required constant search for new decisions by architects;
- in the reconstruction public spaces and objects, the architects take into account the level of clients' income, expensive hotels and boutiques are built etc.;
- within the central historical nucleus, new construction in the form of separate buildings and complexes intensified violating the scale of historical space and limitations of superficiality and density of construction;
- loss of organization and ensemble character of construction.

Changes are introduced into development of streets, the majority of new buildings were designed by different architects, buildings have no similar features and this does not ensure subordination of the street front to general architectural intention.

The speed of deterioration of buildings exceeds progress with restoration and renovation works. When at the beginning of 2009 scientists analyzed 150 historical buildings, they found out that only 2% of them are in a good condition, while 41% of objects are in a bad or extremely bad condition, sometimes there is a threat of destruction. Destruction poses a threat to separate elements of buildings. It mainly concerns parts of roofs, facades, windows, doors, balconies and decoration elements. Many owners changed original wooden windows into vinyl ones which do not correlate with historical windows in colour, structural division and material. Up till 2007, only in Halytsky district over 12 000 windows were changed. There is no efficient mechanism of restoration works in places of public use (basements, attics, staircases). In spite of cultural value, facade dec-

oration is being ruined. When there arises danger for their elements to fall, they are disassembled. Besides, a part of decoration is destroyed and lost for ever. Bad condition of the parts leads to considerable loss in value of the whole building.

In recent years, there dominates the tendency to concentrate budgetary and private investments in order to achieve visible effect in renovation of the central part of the city. It proves necessary because city's current financial possibilities do not suffice to simultaneously implement necessary measures concerning modernization on wider territories in the city. Development conception of Lviv centre, which is considered to be a planning instrument, formulates the development strategy of the old city. General aims are specified in projects and measures in thematic branches. They have to be implemented during the following 10 years. The conception formulates historical and architectural, normative and legal as well as economic framework conditions for further development of the historical centre as the main public space of Lviv.

3.4. Public space of districts of residential housing construction

In the USSR, housing was rather an object of building activity and not architectural creative activity; this was explained by severe shortage of housing in post-war time of industrial development and rise in city population. Architect's work was cut down to replication and connection of typical objects in the centre. Another important tendency of Soviet housing policy consists in implementation of the city planning idea of "residential districts and mini-districts". That is how the residential district "Sykhiv" appeared in Lviv with the population of above 100 000, the northern and southern planning districts and Rvasne. Such bedroom residential districts with low-quality construction, bad connection to the city centre and workplaces cause their residents' discontent. Construction was very fast and had impressive dimensions, but the housing problem still remained unsolved.

After 5-storey houses, there appeared 9-, 12- and 16-storey buildings, counterplates and towers in groups. Apartments and open spaces in housing construction grew bigger and more spacious. The facades of houses got colour. Loggias and balconies gave the superficiality of the facade certain depth, underlined with chequered light and shade.

3.4.1. Examples of changes in public space of Lviv new residential districts

Levandivka is located in the western part of Lviv. With other parts of Lviv the district is connected by Syayvo and Levandivska streets. In the post-Soviet period, there opened 4 churches and the Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's witnesses, Levandivsky market, supermarkets "Vopak", "Barvinok", "DTs" and "Bila Vorona", also the polyclinic of Lviv Railway Hospital was reconstructed.

Viacheslav Chornovil Avenue residential district is characterized by multi-storey buildings, separate houses with large territories around them. The district was created in many stages, that is why the buildings, their planning structure and style can differ. As far as it was formed within the existing buildings, there are great differences in the number of stories. The district lies close to the mini-district with dominating detached house construction. In recent years, transport infrastructure has stopped developing: the lack of parkings causes littering areas around houses with cars, especially during off-hours. The condition of inner-yard spaces is getting worse.

Naukova Street residential district is located in the southern part of Lviv. Since Soviet times, in the mini-district there have been the Central Universal Department Store "Lviv", a school and a college. In the last 20 years, there have been built "Aquapark", food products supermarkets "VAM" and "Arsen", a building and furniture supermarket "Mark", a produce market, a consumer goods market

as well as restaurants, cafes, bank branches and 4 churches. The mini-district has a potential to be developed further – to lengthen Knyahynya Olha Street through village Sokilnyky to the by-pass.

3.4.2. Assessment of changes in the public space of residential districts

A rise in social protests against Soviet standards and colossal dimensions of construction, movement for revival and development of originality of urban architecture changes the old order. Decrease in the number of stories, renovation of the inner yard and quarter with their reasonable dimensions started bearing the first fruit in Soviet times, namely: use of ground floors for in-built objects of trade purposes and concentration of object and spatial environment. Increase in mid-rise residential houses; higher land prices and more concentrated urban construction; non-standard implementation, caused by changes in customers' style and aesthetic preferences requires from architects to constantly search for new decisions; the tendency towards organization and ensemble character of construction intensifies.

The situation with public space of residential districts focuses on two problems: firstly, humanization of the environment of Soviet times mass construction through transformation of existing public spaces; secondly, creation of public space samples in zones of post-Soviet construction where high density of construction practically minimizes spaces of general use and isolates these zones from the urban environment.

The problem of humanization of the environment with mass construction areas in Lviv in the second half of the 20th century belongs to topical architectural and city planning problems. It can be explained by a number of reasons; first of all, the amounts of housing, built in mass construction areas, several times exceed everything that was built during the whole historical period according to the occupied territory and the number of residents. The districts

which initially occupied suburbs now are located in the mid-zone, which is well supplied with engineering, transportation and some elements of social infrastructure, at the same time the consumer's quality of housing and environment in these districts does not meet modern consumer's requirements. Therefore, problems of reorganization and renovation of territories of residential districts, built in the second half of the previous century, reproduction of the system of public functions and public space here, systems of social and spatial connections and public transport have to belong to city's most important problems for the next decades.

Architectural and city planning activity in the post-Soviet period, its character, directions and dimensions are predetermined by global changes in political, social and economic spheres, culture, public mind and residents' behavior in the space. In general, it is possible to mention several positive changes in the sphere of residential housing construction during the independence period affecting the quality of public spaces as well: denial of typical design and orientation in design on individuality, extended typology of residential housing, increased nomenclature of housing, integration of housing and social infrastructure objects. These positive tendencies are back-pedaled by officials and bureaucracy as well as imperfection of material and technical base. The overall volume of new residential housing construction decreased in the post-Soviet time from 350 000 sq. m annually in 1985–1990 to 100 000 sq. m in 1995. At the same time, the share of individual construction rose to 25%. Since 2005, building activity has intensified and in 2007 the volume of new construction reached 185 000 sq. m, and abruptly declined due to 2008 crisis (figure 3.4).

The problem of new construction in Lviv consists in the fact that it contributes greatly to space disorder and exclusion of public space. Space order starts outside the limits of a building land plot. However, it is known that the quality of housing is also determined by its environment which is proved by the real estate market. Excessive construction intensity, lack of common spaces and spatial chaos are felt.

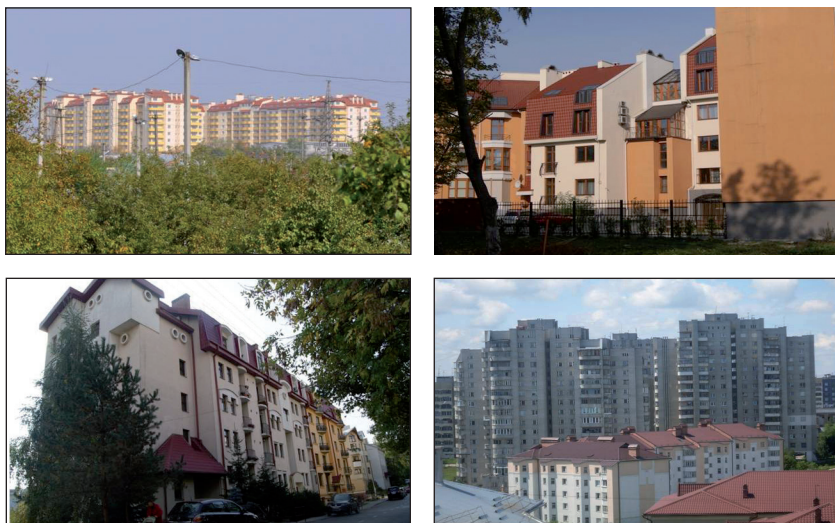


Figure 3.4. New residential area in Lviv

Source: phot. M. Habrel

It can be noticed that in the post-Soviet period they return to classical urban studies with the clear structure and separation of public (streets), group (yards), private (residential housing) spaces and even some conservatism, where such structure of spaces is identified with social order. These spaces are formed by architectural objects.

There appeared the requirement to stop investors from excess and to make them understand the rules according to which the space of person's existence is formed. New shapes surrounding the space are distorted by a primitive understanding of beauty (excessively big houses, hidden behind high fences, even in the central zone of the city). Cheap money of the first post-Soviet years, which was obtained by certain inhabitants, was realized in numerous palaces that were like a protest against person's oppression in the Soviet times. But this period was rather short. It is worth emphasizing that living in residential district apartments and their secretiveness

(exclusion from the urban environment) demonstrate the social status. Apart from big residences, built in the palace style, quarters of elite construction, as a rule, are deprived of public spaces. In recent years, the idea of cheap accessible housing (residence) gained some popularity, but it is necessary to mention that the number of such housing is insufficient for analysis.

In socialist times, the country dealt with construction of large quarters with multi-storey buildings, and a little number of inhabitants were building their family houses. After 1990, along with changes in the system of law, ownership and funding of residential housing, developer's companies started constructing houses for sale. A developer himself becomes an architect's partner and influences architectural and urbanistic decisions, namely the size and organization of open spaces in residential housing construction. However, the construction of one-family houses is the prerogative of a client who is both an investor and a would-be owner.

Zones of individual construction also lack public spaces. Territories that were presupposed by the project for public needs with time are sold for the purpose of residential housing construction. Modern housing architecture is formed under the influence of tendencies when the buildings which are considered as good and become popular on the market, are characterized by the organized environment, convey an image and functional idea of open spaces around which qualitative architecture is created. Buildings grow simpler and more rational, excessive details are denied for the benefit of integrity of shape and skilful use of the material. Such architecture forms public space of residential housing construction.

The activity concerning humanization of the living environment can be characterized as disorganized. Non-developed territories are being reorganized gradually, in certain fragments. Social infrastructure is developing according to investor's financial capabilities in order to earn the money back as fast as possible, but not according to the society's needs. Thus, there appear a great number of retail trade objects. In the post-Soviet time, in new residential districts predominantly two functions are developed, namely sacred and

trade. Meanwhile, cultural infrastructure is concentrated in the historical centre and practically does not cover these districts.

The conception of a functional city, by which housing, work and recreation places have to be separated in space, seems not topical any more. Mixed construction allows to solve several problems at once: population's push-pull migration by the route "housing – work". Workplaces appear in residential districts. Nowadays, a residential district includes housing, offices, entertainment centres, shops and even industrial enterprises. Multifunctional construction creates new housing environment that is more versatile, intensive as for communication. Such districts are "alive" 24 hours a day, and this considerably reforms and intensifies the efficiency of public space in residential districts.

Intensification of business activity has promoted development of infrastructure that is necessary for modern business, credit and banking system, new forms of social and political activity, the realization of which requires concerted action. What is special about it, is substantial rise of the number of investors and customers that requires to intensify mechanisms of coordination and search for compromises, to develop national and municipal city planning policy, choice of the general strategy concerning development of the territory and associated current programs. Privatization of city real estate resulted in changes in the system of functional zones, the traditional system of spatial connections and spatial behavior of the population.

It appears impossible to remove manifestations typical of population's marginal behavior on territories "not belonging to anyone". They reveal themselves in destruction of nature and distortion of building facades. As practice has shown repressive methods preventing negative manifestations of population's behavior turn out to be unsuccessful. Trifling charges have not become a restraining incentive, urban architecture continues to be destroyed and the speed of it only accelerates. Methods based on the positive action program turn out to be more efficient. Another way out is to form unions of building and building surrounding grounds owners which will lead

to personal and collective responsibility for disobeying behavior rules by the residents.

Improvement of functional and aesthetic qualities of the environment in residential districts depends on the population, residents' public mind, in particular, collective responsibility for the condition of public zones including building surrounding grounds, i.e. yards, entrances, playgrounds, greenery, and small architectural forms. Considering the building surrounding space as continuation of housing, an integral component of the living environment, in fact, the only space localizing processes of population's activity, residents start to view the unchanged value of "a piece of wildlife" in the urban landscape as something personal.

3.5. New centres of trade, entertainment and services in Lviv

Public space for spending free time is an important component of the urban environment. Many centuries of urban life have worked out a rule according to which places for spending free time were and still are places for informal meetings. Such establishments in the urban environment belong to social infrastructure.

In the post-Soviet time, especially after 2000, there actively appear super- and hypermarkets, trade and industrial complexes ("Pivdenny", a row of supermarkets "Arsen", "VAM", "Metro", "Epitsentr"), polyfunctional centres start to form, namely entertainment complexes "Leopolis", "Kvadrat" etc. A classic example of the post-Soviet centre is the new **Central Universal Department Store in Knyahynya Olha Street**, one of Lviv arterial streets crossing Volodymyr the Great and Naukova streets. In 1980, Bozhenko Street was widened, there was introduced tram route No. 3, later route No. 5 was added. In the post-Soviet period, tram track along Truska-vetska Street and the plant "Intehral" was planned to be built, but due to economic situation, the construction remained unfinished. There survived a bridge across Naukova Street as a continuation of

Knyahynya Olha Street in the southern direction; from mid-1980s the bridge was reorganized into a parking. Youth leisure centres have been forming lately. Now, they are not only music clubs, but multi-component and multifunctional communication centres. It is not the architect who includes leisure centres into the city plan according to his own views, the task of designing the system of leisure centres is solved through a dialogue between the designer and the staff who organizes the leisure. There appeared new entertainment establishments with a new set of functions. Moreover, such centres started to associate with trade or even office centres into modern multifunctional complexes which, in turn, adopted functions of new urban public spaces (figure 3.5). Therefore, polycentricism of the city becomes more visible. Functional structure of public spaces was extended as a result of change in priorities of socio-economic development of the city.

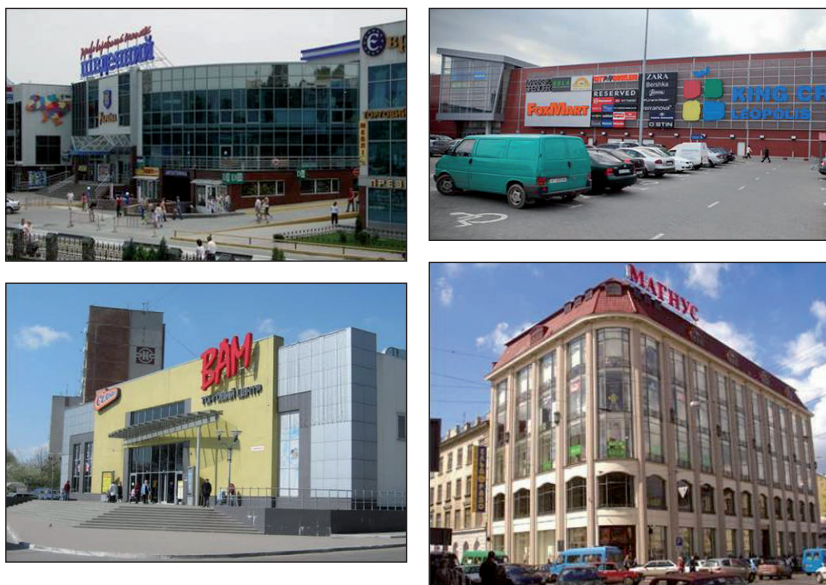


Figure 3.5. New centres of trade, entertainment and services in Lviv

Source: phot. M. Habrel

“Pivdenny” Market is the largest trade complex in Lviv, founded in 1996. It is located in the southern part of the city. The market territory was wasteland where with time appeared an unorganized market. The territory of the market is 10 ha. Here, there are 10 trade complexes, supermarkets, a food market, a hotel and a church. On the territory of the market, there are about 2000 shops, a sports complex and a fitness centre, civil law notaries, banks and post-offices offer their services here, there are restaurants and numerous cafes. The market is visited by 15 000 – up to 30 000 people every day. There is a medical centre “Fitoriya” with modern diagnostic equipment and ambulance cars. The sports complex “Olimpik” is opened for mini-football, there also function gyms and swimming pools. There work the hotel “Pivdenny” and the kindergarten “Dyvovsit” for 150 children. “Pivdenny” has employed about 17 000 people, among them 2500 represent small and middle business.

In the last 5 years, building activity is concentrated on developing the territory in Stryiska Street, not far from the newly built Euro-2012 stadium and the main bus station. This part of Lviv has a great potential to create new centres: sports, business, trade, education and entertainment centres. New public centres with a great number of functions will be established soon.

King Cross Leopoldis is a trade centre in Stryiska Street in Lviv. This is the biggest trade centre in Western Ukraine. Its overall territory occupies 116 546 sq. m: a supermarket, building materials, a skating rink, bowling and a multiplex. Its official opening took place in March 2010. During the first phase, King Cross Leopoldis let out for lease 50 000 sq. m of the overall area on two levels, including the building materials hypermarket DIY (Praktiker). It also comprises the hypermarket “Ashan Sokilnyky” with the territory of 13 000 sq. m, and more than 100 trade places: boutiques, household ware, cafes, restaurants etc.; the cinema “Planet” with 7 cinema halls, a bowling alley, an indoor skating rink, a large recreation complex, ground-level and underground parkings for 1800 parking lots. The second development phase will make it possible to let out 20 000 sq. m of the overall territory for lease. Here will be another

130 trade premises. The parking will increase by 600 additional lots for visitors.

Public space of the airport “Lviv” now undergoes the biggest transformations since the time it has been built. The airport was constructed in 1940 and after the Second World War, it was reconstructed and developed many times. Airport terminal was built in 1953. In Soviet times, the airport terminal accepted 125 passengers per hour, and the international sector worked with 200 passengers per hour, the overall area of these buildings covered 6700 sq. m. Next to the airport, there is a 3-storey hotel for 90 people. The takeoff runway is 2500 m long and it is located completely outside the city. The distance between the airport and the city centre amounts to 6.5 km and it can be covered by a trolleybus whose terminal stop is in front of the airport building. Within preparation to Euro-2012, the airport was reconstructed and extended in order to accept up to 1000 passengers per hour. Besides, the takeoff and landing runway was lengthened, the square in front of the airport was improved, the parking for 900 lots was built and access ways were reformed.

The Eurostadium. To locate the stadium, a land plot of 25 ha was chosen in the southern part of Lviv, next to the hippodrome. Its complex presupposes objects and facilities that were necessary for servicing Euro-2012 championship. Development of the territory had several stages:

- construction of a new stadium, a new multifunctional sports arena. The overall development area is 25 ha;
- construction of a new first-class office centre, shops and a new exhibition centre. The overall development area is 100 ha;
- construction of new office, residential and trade premises, cottages and summerhouse quarters. The overall development area is 150 ha.

Assessment of spaces of new public centres. The space of new public centres that have been recently built in its organization and arrangement completely corresponds to analogous spaces of European cities. Foreign specialists take part in their design, especially if foreign investments are involved.

3.6. Communication space

Transport occupies a special place in urban public space. The space next to railway lines within the city, squares near railway and bus stations, stations of external passenger transportation appears to be rather special, the railway from the east to the west (Lviv–Krasne) as well as the line Lviv–Khodoriv make a curve within the city which separates the central part of the city from its northern and southern areas. This complicates connection of new districts with the city centre and requires development and reconstruction of the existing crossovers. Within the city, at the junctions of the railway and the street network, there are 15 crossovers and 20 crossings.

Construction of the crossover and road junction in Sykhiv direction was finished in the post-Soviet period. External transportation starts from the main bus station (123 routes, 51 of them are international), bus station No. 8 (39 routes, 13 of them are international) and bus station No. 2 (32 routes, one of them is international). A considerable number of bus stations servicing suburban transportation in different directions, located in appropriate buildings, were liquidated. It resulted in the fact that suburban buses of Yavoriv, Bryukhovychi and Zolochiv direction do not have properly equipped route terminals, they penetrate deeper into the city structure and impose additional pressure on the transport network. However, this situation created more favorable conditions for passengers of suburban directions (figure 3.6).

In post-Soviet Lviv, there happened irredeemable changes for which traditional city planning structure was absolutely unprepared. Motorized transport started to break into the city. Many hundred thousands of cars started to accumulate at the entrance to the city, and especially, on the way to its central part, but it proves impossible to widen external communications. In the post-Soviet period, they reorganized the railway line from the station Lviv the Main Station to the station Sykhiv for intracity transportation. In this time, the main railway station and the building of Pidzamche station were reconstructed and renovated, and the suburban territories were rearranged. Due to preparation to Euro-2012, the square in front of the railway station was reconstructed.

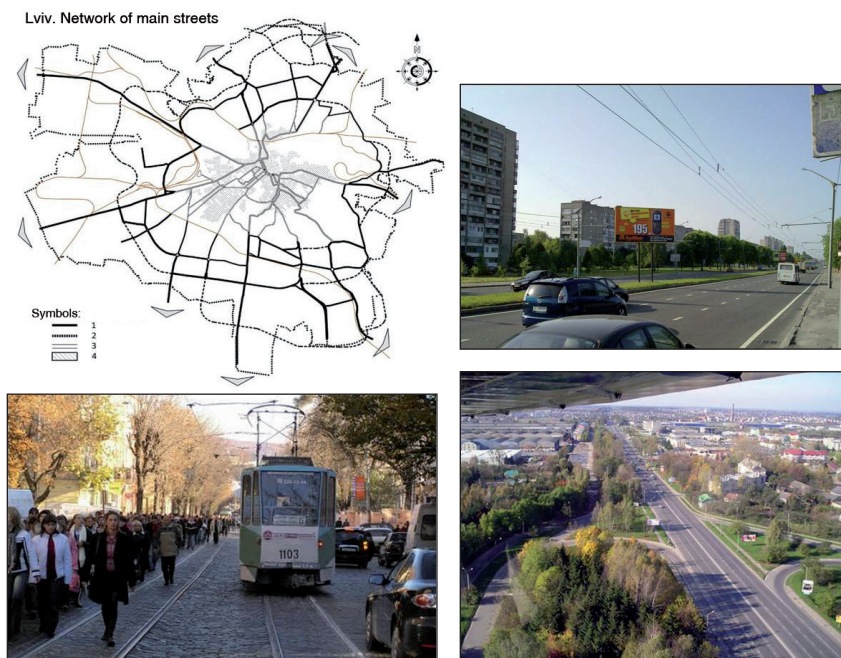


Figure 3.6. Communication space of Lviv

Source: own elaboration; phot. M. Habrel

Lviv byroad with multilane traffic was constructed back in Soviet times. However, the problem of cars in the city still remains topical. There were radical suggestions – wide arterial roads ran across the city in certain directions (the link road: north–south, or up on the overpass with its other engineering structures instead of the railway in the northern part of Lviv). A part of roads should be hidden in artificial valleys and underground tunnels. The price of these works is exorbitant, ecological, social and even practical effects are barely predictable. In the post-Soviet period, such ideas are still mentioned in the general plan, but their implementation seems nearly impossible.

Currently, there are 9 tram and 13 trolleybus routes as well as numerous bus and microbus routes. In the post-Soviet time, the system

of public electric transport is hardly developing, tram lines in the old part of the city are being renovated. In recent decades, the system of petrol stations and car service centres within the city and in its suburbs is developing rather fast. They have absolutely changed the architecture of street space which causes certain complaints due to its typical character and aggressiveness towards existing space. At the same time, considerable fragments of this space were rearranged, their appearance was improved and the number of service objects increased.

Thoughtless rejection of development of high capacity transport in the post-Soviet period brought about considerable losses for Lviv. City street network reflects planning characteristics and it has been formed historically. Its shortcomings can be explained by both Soviet past and actions of recent years. Increasing traffic flow into the city overloads its streets, especially in the northern part, because there is no northern part of the byroad. Streets in the central part of the city are the most loaded. Dense historical construction does not allow to make radical changes, but adoption of the single-lane system and local changes of the street network (in particular, behind the Opera House and in Viacheslav Chornovil Avenue), introduced in recent years, not only improve the traffic, but also make aesthetic characteristics of communication space in this part of the city much better.

Recently, it could be observed development of the system of city entrance due to preparation to Euro-2012. It was necessary to arrange large parkings outside the city when the passengers could leave their cars and take public transport. However, city line parkings were organized near suburban electric train stations, from them one could move by the electric train to the station and then take public transport there. It appears quite natural that Lviv road construction architects and engineers were busy searching for or analyzing possible ways of traffic which would be optimal in every particular case.

Analyzing and assessing Lviv streets (as public space) and changes in their space, I painfully notice intensification of spatial chaos where in recent decades styles are mixed and designers com-

pete in using new, rather absurd architectural forms. Spatial disorder of communication space is complemented by new residential housing construction where non-scale “fillings” of unusual shapes and details are introduced between old buildings. Obviously, such architecture could be valuable, but in another neighborhood and in another place. Besides, in new construction quarters, it is possible to observe the disease of “multi-storied residential districts” and there appear new residential formations which preserve all characteristics of residential districts (from the 1960s), although are a little newer.

3.7. Conclusions

During the last 20 years, dimensions extended and the quality of architecture of public spaces improved. This is largely explained by significant socio-economic changes in society. Public space starts to correspond to certain criteria more slowly: *scientific and information criteria* – the unique nature of information whose carrier are objects of historical, culturological, composition and artistic, stylistic, engineering and construction, technological and regional integrity; *sociocultural* – satisfaction of aesthetic and inquiring needs of the modern society; one of the means helping to pass nation’s spiritual and intellectual achievements to future generations, to raise and strengthen national self-conscience; *economic* – commercial prospects of observance of public functions, namely comparison of expenditure assessment and perspectives of their reimbursement in the process of commercial use; *functional* – the level of correspondence between structural characteristics of an object and modern functional requirements as well as an alternative way of using it and adaptational capabilities of the object in the context of limitations which are imposed by the environment; *composition and image* enrichment of a certain fragment of urban construction.

Major threats and problems of the public space in post-Soviet Lviv may include the following:

- lack of municipal public space where the main functions of the city are localized. The municipal centre of Lviv does not extend territorially;
- structuring of urban space according to social characteristics (private, group and public space) is rather slow and their opposition intensifies;
- investment pressure on the public space in order to own it is becoming more intense, erroneous understanding of market relations as growth of economic value only and ignoring socio-economic components happen more often;
- residents' public mind is rather weak, they do not wish to take part in organization of the space of general use;
- low-efficient connection of urban and extra-urban public spaces.

This analysis gives the possibility to divide the city into districts according to typical authorities and the intensity of changes in public space. Here, we single out 9 types and among them, the space of the historical centre that survived the greatest changes occupies a special place. According to the intensity of changes, the second place belongs to communication public space and the space of new public centres. Public space of residential districts of the Soviet time was changed the least.

Compliance with established architectural and urbanistic conditions resulted in creation of a homogeneous spatial base of the urbanistic canvas which takes into account person's scale. What is the most important, is spatial harmony. If in Soviet times under conditions of industrial and typical construction the architecture lacked details, nowadays, it is possible to observe their excess, inappropriate inclusion into the shape and function of the building, when the architecture of the building would be improved but not spoiled without them. To improve the situation with the public space in Lviv means:

- to combine dispersed elements of the public space into an integral system (intensification of space integrity);
- to improve functional connection of intracity public space and the space outside the city through the system of communication spaces as well as visual connections.

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4. PUBLIC SPACE IN ŁÓDŹ

4.1. The meaning and understanding of public space

The main aim of the chapter is to present the problem of public spaces in Łódź. To begin with, it should be determined what constitutes public space and how it should be comprehended. It appears that it can simply be set against private space; however, drawing the distinct line between the two spaces is difficult, if not impossible. Of course, one can take advantage of the fact that, in the legal sense, every space is someone's property. Nonetheless, it has also got a definite value which makes the space symbolically appropriated or absorbed. In that case, legal property does not have to coincide with the actual possession (Jałowiecki, Szczepański 2006). It can be assumed that "an invisible curtain extends between what is public and what is private. The curtain that is easy to draw ensures the continuity between both spaces which overlap to a certain extent" (Filipek 1998). It is much more suitable to discuss the lines, taking into consideration the presence of more real and perceptible borderlands (Golka 1999). One can deem a borderland to be a kind of open space which is widely accessible, but at the same time, it is considered neither private

nor public. In order to illustrate the notion of borderlands, one may refer to I. Altman, a psychologist who divided spaces into three territories, according to the individual's control over space (Lewicka, Zaborska 2007). Therefore, one can distinguish: *primary territories* (apartment, house), *secondary territories* being semipublic places where a person interacts with others on a comparatively regular basis (staircase, backyard etc.) and finally, *public territories* which are accessible to everyone (public library, park bench, squares and city streets). The notion of borderlands is reflected, more accurately, in the division of space used by architects, such as O. Newman (Lewicka, Zaborska 2007). In this regard, *secondary territory* is additionally divided into *semi-private* and *semi-public* spaces. Although the boundary between them is also elusive, there is no doubt that the staircase or the inner courtyard in a multi-family house or a tenement house, where one can usually find more or less well-known people (the neighbors), will constitute a *semi-private* space, and a generally accessible workshop or a café-garden will be regarded as *semi-public* spaces – allegedly open to everyone, but not entirely public yet.

No matter how previous deliberations allow for better understanding of the differences between the private and public spaces, further substantiation of this dilemma seems to be unavoidable for the purposes of this paper. Typologies of spaces presented above would exclude from further analysis places such as: the nearest surroundings of blocks of flats, tenement houses as well as yards, pavements etc. Officially, these places might be treated as public ones, since each person may get easy access to them; however, in view of above types, it seems right to classify them as *secondary territories* or *semi-public* and *semi-private* spaces, and therefore, exclude them from the set of analysed places. Nevertheless, in a broad set of public space, places such as playgrounds, market places, squares, streets etc., also would have to be analyzed, which would go beyond the possibilities and qualifications of the authors. Therefore, it has been decided that the subject of this analysis would be spaces enabling optional activities, and above all, social behavior.

Gehl (2009) enumerates three types of outdoor activities in public space, each of them places different demands on the physical environment. The first type includes *necessary activities* which are more or less compulsory, e.g. walking to school/work, shopping, waiting at a bus stop etc. *Optional activities*, which are the second type, take place when people are willing to participate in some activities and when time or place make it possible, e.g. going for a walk to breathe fresh air as well as standing and enjoying the surrounding views. The last type – *social activities* – are those activities that depend on the participation of others in public space, including children's play and conversation; concisely, all sorts of urban activity in a variety of human interactions. It is worth noting that the two types of activities occur mainly when external conditions are favourable and the place itself encourages the citizens because of its aesthetic, urban and architectural appeal as well as functional attractiveness, which is manifested by so called urban furniture, i.e. benches, fountains, playgrounds etc.

In connection with the above-mentioned circumstances, the subject of the paper will be chiefly squares and parks in Łódź, which to a greater or lesser degree allow for both optional action and, most significantly, social behavior. What is more, it should be emphasized that this approach coincides with the idea of public space defined in the *Act on Spatial Planning and Development (Ustawa... 2003)*. In accordance with the provisions of the Act, the aim of public space is to meet various needs of citizens, improve their quality of life and create a favourable environment of communication and action. M. Dymnicka observes that in the past properly shaped public space provided the city with distinctness and legibility. What is more, referring to the communitarian perspective, she points out that it strengthens the spirit of community in the living environment. This is expressed by "providing people with a common area that allows for coming into contact with others" (providing people with shared space to mingle), and the examples include benches, parks, playgrounds etc. (Dymnicka 2007). It should be noted as well that

public space appears in the open spaces of the city, and thanks to the initiatives of individuals, it turns into agora – the political space. According to many theoreticians and politicians, we should aim at creating and maintaining the civil society, and the public space is just the key component of it (Dymnicka 2007).

4.2. Public space in Polish cities

The understanding of public space presented by the authors as well as the brief argumentation stressing its significant role account for the issues discussed in the chapter in the context of Łódź. Particularly, since it remains difficult to clearly define the centre of Łódź, and a city without a centre is nothing more but a homogeneous and trivialized place where, except for your district, you are always a guest. Nonetheless, before discussing public space in Łódź, it seems fairly reasonable at this point to refer to Polish specific character and understanding of public spaces in the post-war and transformation period.

Since the mid-20th century, the disappearance of the traditional meaning of public space has been observed in Poland. The old squares were turned into intersections of streets or parking lots to accommodate a growing number of vehicles. The square and the street ceased to be a meeting place for residents and they have become dangerous, noisy and polluted sites on the city's map. Regular flagstone and common landscaping elements, such as standardized lamps, benches and litter bins, prevailed on most of them, while café tables and shopping booths have been long gone. Public space has turned anonymous.

The changes in political and economic realities that were initiated in the early 1990s have contributed to the increase in the number of urbanized space transformations. These processes have taken place at all levels of life and, as a result, they have changed spatial, architectural and social structure of the city, its cultural and symbol-

ic identity as well as lifestyles of people living in them. At that time, a shift in approach towards public space took place when along with the development of spatial planning city centre revitalization programs began to be introduced. In effect, zones of limited traffic were introduced in many cities where pedestrians have priority over vehicles. Standardized small architecture has been replaced by projects of unique design and character. Public space was filled with fountains and sculptures. Trade and catering returned to the streets (Zauski 2002).

At present, public spaces in Poland represent increasingly higher quality becoming vital elements of the city structure and they are strongly associated with urban lifestyle. However, it should be emphasized that this evolution is extremely slow, which is especially true in the case of Łódź, while the quality of existing public spaces is not yet conducive to social behavior as described by J. Gehl. The relocation of human activity to large shopping malls or other quasi-public spaces is another worrying phenomenon (Danilewski, Przybylska 2007). In the case of Łódź, the Centre of Trade and Recreation, Manufaktura shopping mall, located in the historic complex of Izrael Poznański's factory, is an excellent evidence to this process. It was intended that Manufaktura's market square was to become a true market square and the centre of the city, although it is hard to tell whether it has actually happened. It is a large and well-planned space, but reigned by its commercial character (figure 4.1). The senses are constantly attacked with advertisement and the overwhelming impression is that the city's residents are chased away by consumers and that this private, commercial and controlled area has become the perfect illusion of a public place. One may have the impression that only a contemporary flaneur, as described by Bauman (1997), i.e. a representative of the new middle class, feels completely comfortable and safe there.

We are thus in a situation which justifies the validity of carrying out some kind of reconsideration of the quality of Łódź's public spaces.



Figure 4.1. Market square in Manufaktura

Source: www.manufaktura.pl (last entry: 06.2011)

4.3. The characteristics of public spaces in Łódź

Notwithstanding the foregoing, it should be noted that in the urban context a very clear layout of public spaces prevails in Łódź. It was created within the entire historical (19th century) area of the city. Clear and consistent pattern of streets modeled on the American grid pattern, building frontages of average height in between 12–18 m and street corners distinguish Łódź from other major Polish cities and create a unique expressions of its identity.

In the area inside the peripheral rail zone but outside of the historical city centre, these distinct characteristics are less common.

The investments standards in these areas were much lower and did not favor the development not tightly related to the building's requirement and its service. Similarly, in the outer new residential areas, it is impossible to distinguish clear and molded public spaces (*Stadium...*).

The greatest role within public spaces is played by squares, streets, promenades, arcades and parks. Each of these spaces has a very characteristic shape and form, and also appropriate development and functions. Public spaces are designed with the aim to bring people together allowing the usage of these sites in a convenient, accessible and safe manner, not only through actions required and optional, but mostly through social behavior. In a later part of this chapter, we have identified several individual places out of a wide group of public spaces which represent specific and recognizable architectural ensembles. Its elements form together a unique urban interior sites and play symbolic and cultural roles through which they have become part of the city's identity.

There are not many public spaces in the form of public squares in Łódź and a large proportion of them still functions as market-places (figure 4.2). The oldest public squares are: Stary Rynek, Wolności Square, Katedralny Square, Reymont Square and Niepodległości Square. They are located along the main north-south axis of the city, which is determined by Piotrkowska Street. Only Dąbrowski Square is located to the east of this artery.

In terms of chronological order, most of public squares in Łódź were founded in the 19th century. They represent more than a half of the total number of squares in the city. Pamięci Narodowej Square located north of downtown and the square of Manufaktura complex were formed after the Second World War. The dimensions of squares in Łódź vary. The average size of the square is 1.3 ha. Niepodległości Square of over 2 ha is the largest one of them, while Reymont Square, whose area is less than 0.3 ha, is the smallest. Squares have mostly rectangular shapes with the exception of Pamięci Narodowej Square with its triangle form, Wolności Square with an octagonal shape and the "market square" in Manufaktura complex characterized by a rather fragmented and polygonal shape.

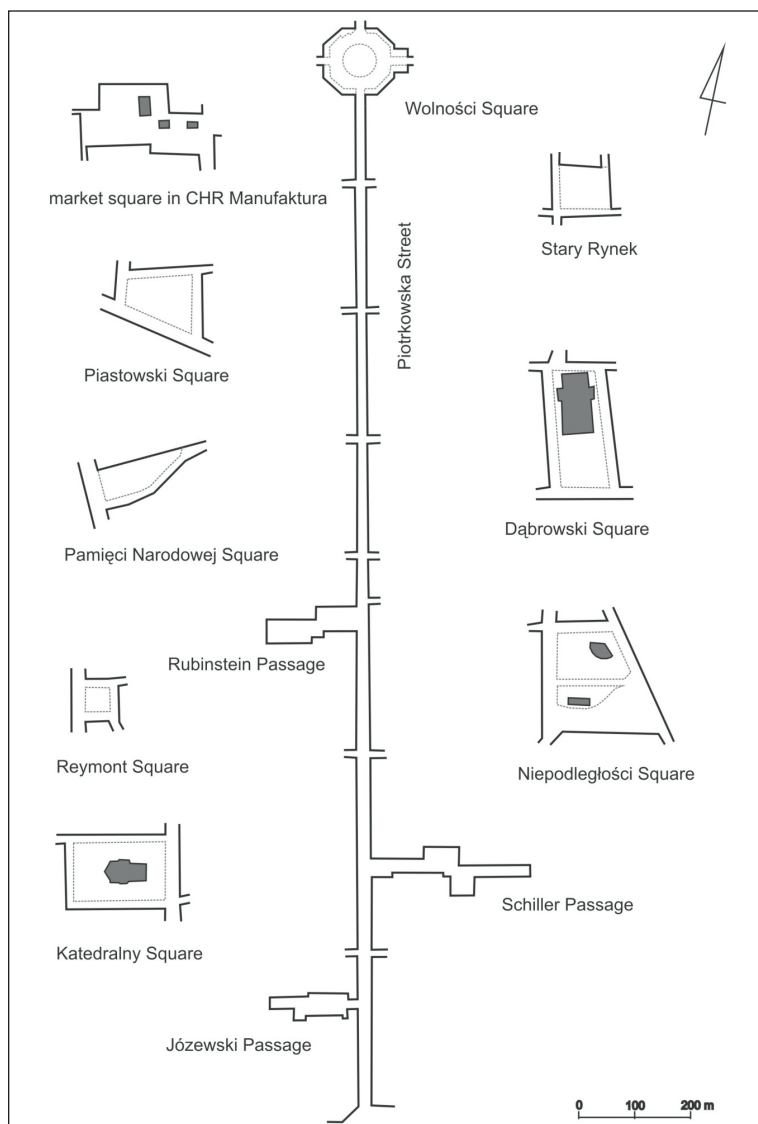


Figure 4.2. The shape and dimensions of selected public spaces in Łódź

Source: own research

Piotrkowska Street, which serves public functions, is a crucial public space in the city forming the central compositional and functional axis of the city (figure 4.3). This is a representative street of the city, one of the longest shopping streets in Europe with a length of 4.2 km, running meridionally in a straight line and connecting Liberty and Independence squares. In 1990, its northern part was gradually revitalized and turned into a sort of a promenade where vehicles were banned and where a “pedestrian zone” was brought to life. This fragment has a length of 1.9 km and lies between Wolności Square and the intersection with Mickiewicza Street. The average width of the street on that stretch is 21.5 m.

It is precisely Piotrkowska Street which is regarded as the city centre by the majority of the population, although many predict that its status will come to an end due to the flux of activity from the public sphere into private surroundings of Manufaktura and Galeria Łódzka shopping malls, which surround Piotrkowska Street from the north and from the south.



Figure 4.3. Public spaces in Piotrkowska Street

Source: phot. S. Kowara, 2011/2012

Other spaces with strong public character are passages. Three passages adjacent at straight angles to Piotrkowska Street are located in the city centre. This is Schiller Passage, 170 m long with an

area of 0.7 ha, Rubinstein Passage having almost 300 m of length and area of 1.2 ha and Józewski Passage arcade sized appropriately 160 m and 0.5 ha.

The first of these passages is particularly worth mentioning, because this component of public space is exploited by the citizens and various community groups who arrange events, happenings, meetings and demonstrations most frequently. It is one of few open places in the city where public space is arranged as a result of initiatives of city dwellers, becoming the substitute of modern agora. It should be noted, however, that in recent years a large part of the passage has been annexed by vehicles of politicians and applicants visiting the nearby City Hall. Also in Rubenstein Passage one may come across diverse forms of citizen activity (figure 4.4). The rich small architecture of this spot is conducive to social behavior in J. Gehl's understanding.



Figure 4.4. Mass demonstration in Schiller Passage

Source: <http://manifalodz.blogspot.com/> (last entry: 08.2012);
<http://oknonalodz.blogspot.com/> (last entry: 08.2012)

Parks, green squares and other sites with vegetation are an important type of public spaces in Łódź, constituting 6.7% of its area (*Statystyka... 2006*). These sites occupy a large part of the city centre and they are of greatest importance in it. Many of them still remember the industrial city from the 19th century. At that time, they were the private parks, created next to the manufacturers' mansions.

Currently, there are 35 public parks, of which 12 are considered as monuments of culture. Parks with areas from 2 to 5 ha constitute the largest group.

4.4. The availability of public space in Łódź

Since public space, according to the law on spatial planning and development, is to meet the needs of residents, improve their quality of life and provide favorable conditions for social contacts depending on its location and functional and spatial characteristics (*Ustawa...* 2003), it must fulfil certain conditions. First of all, it should be available for public use.

The public spaces of Łódź are located in the central part and inscribed in the city's public transport system. Each of them is limited either by main streets in which public transportation lines run, or by secondary streets accessible to individual vehicle traffic. Therefore, we can conclude that public spaces located in the city centre are available for both the residents of the city and for people coming from outside.

A basic condition for the functioning of a public space serving a cultural purpose, rather than having a technical or transportation character, is the introduction of appropriate communication setting, which gives priority to pedestrian and bicycle traffic. In downtown Łódź we will not come across an area reserved only for pedestrians of a size that may be encountered in other large Polish cities, e.g. in Wrocław, Cracow or Warsaw, where large parts of the historical city centre have been cut off from the vehicle transport system or they are intersected by streets with a balanced traffic regime.

Piotrkowska Street took form of a pedestrian zone in Łódź. Although this street is referred to as a promenade and car traffic is partly banned from it, the central part of the street is still used only by vehicles. The number of vehicles with conditional entry permits is so large that a stroll in the street becomes dangerous and most people usually walk on the sidewalks. This arrangement changes

only during public events, when the street is effectively cut off from vehicle traffic, as it is for example during the Days of Łódź.

The space of Piotrkowska Street is also obstructed by intersecting streets which are major traffic routes and which have very limited restrictions on private vehicle traffic. According to *The Integrated Revitalization Program "Prorevita"* (*Zintegrowany program...* 2004), the organization of traffic in the centre of Łódź is incorrect, and its improvement should move towards the introduction of balanced traffic regime, as a primary form of transportation scheme. This arrangement would result in elimination of transit traffic through the calmed area, creation of spatial order and improvement of the appearance of streets as well as restoration of social values and functions of the street (as a place of trade, meetings, recreation). The expansion of pedestrian zones, including the extension of the pedestrian zone in Piotrkowska Street up to the Manufaktura (Rudnicki et al. 2004), was envisaged in *The Program* as a part of the inner city transportation system in Łódź.

Vehicles remain the most challenging competition for residents in a race to participate in public space. They steal a large part of open spaces in the city centre. Parking lots continue to occupy a large portion of space on Wolności Square, Reymont Square or Schiller Passage. A tram station is located within Independence Square, which takes more than a quarter of its area.

4.5. Town planning and architecture

Another requirement which should be fulfilled by public space is its urban and architectural attractiveness – its design, arrangement and aesthetic value. It is a key factor influencing the quality of the space.

Depending on the type of public space, it is developed in different ways. Due to its function, the space should be available to users and therefore, it is mostly free from construction.

There are various types of objects within the public spaces of Łódź: buildings, technical infrastructure and landscape architecture.

The setting for public spaces is made up of facades of the objects that surround them – mostly buildings, and to a lesser extent, green areas or undeveloped space. Building frontages are an essential element of Piotrkowska Street, and so they are the squares and passages. Piotrkowska Street along the entire length of its promenade is built over mainly by 19th century townhouses and palaces of former manufacturers. These are historic buildings, among which we can find architectural styles represented mainly by two trends: Historicism that refers to the Renaissance and Baroque and Art Nouveau. A characteristic feature of Łódź townhouses is abundance of architectural details with their specific aesthetics and stylistic richness, which contributes to the character and identity of the city. The majority of townhouses have had the facades and doors restored, and a growing number of restorations concerns also the yards and outbuildings.

The surrounding buildings also play an important role in the case of city squares. Squares with complete and compact frontages have clear form and shape. Wolności Square, Dąbrowski Square or Reymont Square belong to this group. Breaks in the continuity of buildings decompose space in a square. This situation occurs in the case of the Stary Rynek, whose southern frontage was destroyed during the war, and Niepodległości Square, whose western frontage is made up of commerce halls and is thus spatially difficult to define.

Frontages of the majority of squares consist of pre-war houses, which, however, are not as rich in facade ornamentation as townhouses in Piotrkowska Street. Only Wolności Square and Dąbrowski Square stand out of this group.

The adjacent buildings are of relatively lesser importance in the case of passages. Passages in Łódź diverge from Piotrkowska Street and run along the sides of townhouses, which are not functionally related with them. Fronts of townhouses are not facing the passage, but they are turned in the direction of streets running perpendicularly to the passages. That is why in some locations bare side walls of townhouses overlook the passages. Some of these bare walls are decorated with murals in order to improve their appearance.

A vital role is also played by the form of buildings, which determines the representative dimension of public space. Monumental buildings of representative character are a good example. They are necessary elements of the city's identity, enhancing its prestige and scale. Among them we can distinguish the Grand Theatre, the Court in Dąbrowski Square, the City Hall and the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Wolności Square. Religious buildings, such as the Cathedral of St. Stanisław Kostka in Katedralny Square, may be included in this group as well.

In the architecture of public spaces in Łódź we can notice some shortcomings. One of them is the presence of large post-war buildings, whose dimensions often differ greatly from other nearby buildings. The presence of such buildings has led to a fundamental change in the proportions of Reymont Square or Independence Square. Also in Schiller Passage it is located a dozen-storey, unattractive building "House of Technology", which abruptly closes the passage on its east end. Deterioration of the condition of buildings is another distressing factor. This phenomenon mostly concerns objects of no historical value.

Elements of small architecture are an attractive landscape component of Łódź's public spaces. They have various character and appearance. We can find here elements purely decorative and having also the utility value. The former include monuments, sculptures, fountains and flower beds, while the latter range from benches, lamps and advertisement pillars to litter bins. In the parks we can come across more peculiar objects, such as gazebos, pergolas, or bridges. However, it should be noted that the density of urban furniture in Łódź's public spaces is largely insufficient and their condition is not satisfactory. Nevertheless, we are witnessing gradual improvement of the quality of street furniture in Łódź's public spaces. The most unique and eye-catching objects can be found along Piotrkowska Street and in the accompanying passages. Since 1999, Piotrkowska Street has been decorated with bronze open-air statues which commemorate famous people related to Łódź – a so-called Gallery of the Great People of Łódź (figure 4.5). Monument of Łódź Residents at the Turn of the Century – the road surface of Piotrkowska Street

made up of more than 13 thousand paving stones, each signed with the name and surname of the founder is the second interesting object in Łódź's landscape. Another example is the "Avenue of Stars" in Piotrkowska Street near Rubinstein Passage (figure 4.6).

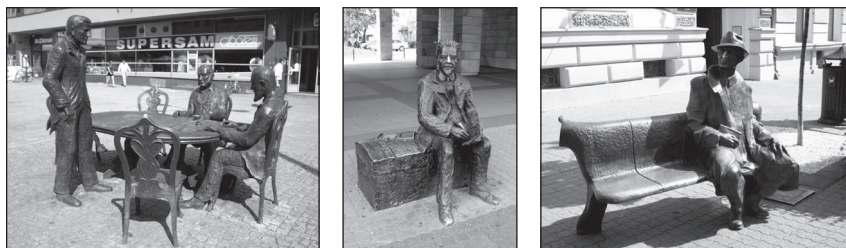


Figure 4.5. Gallery of the Great People of Łódź: Creators of Industrial Łódź, Reymont Trunk and Tuwim Bench, W. Gryniewicz, R. Sobociński and M. Szytencelm, Piotrkowska Street

Source: phot. S. Kowara, 2012



Figure 4.6. Landscape architecture in Piotrkowska Street

Source: phot. S. Kowara, 2012

Fountains are an increasingly common element in Łódź. They can be found in almost each of previously mentioned parts of the city. The largest number of them is situated in Piotrkowska

Street and its passages. They were incorporated into public space both in the post-war years and recently. In 2009, a street drinking water system made up of small fountains called “minizdroje” was created thanks to the program “Fountains for Łódź”. Water fountains in the shape of columns with bowls, decorated with motives of children and fish, are located in four places in Piotrkowska Street (figure 4.7). The most monumental and spectacular fountain is in Dąbrowski Square, while the fountain located in Manufaktura was awarded the title of Europe’s longest fountain.



Figure 4.7. Fountains in Łódź’s public spaces. From left to right: fountain in Schiller Passage, fountain in Reymont’s Park, one of the “minizdroje” in Piotrkowska Street

Source: phot. S. Kowara, 2012

Apart from their decorative function, the landscaping elements also perform utility functions. The aim of this type of objects is to assist users in using public space, allow them to rest and make contacts. Błazy (2010) emphasizes the function of public space as a meeting place, provided that it is appropriately designed. If a space lacks benches, it will be used as a transit area. It is mostly small architecture which allows optional actions, like resting on a bench in a park, or it is conducive to social behavior, like talking to a stranger that shares the bench or taking an afternoon family stroll.

Łódź’s public space lacks this kind of equipment. Even though there are benches in city parks, they are often scarce in other types

of public space. The most unfavorable situation is in Piotrkowska Street, where along its entire length there are only a few benches in the southern part. However, it should be noted that the situation is improving as a result of ongoing renovation of the street. On the other hand, the number of bicycle racks, which until now were lacking in the city centre, is increasing quickly.

Among the factors which shape public space, there are also the elements of urban greenery. The use of greenery in the form of shaped trees and shrubs, park greenery, lawns, flower beds, and hanging plants in containers enhances the positive perception of space. In the parks greenery is the basic component for composition of the landscape. Here we find its greatest diversity, starting with trees, clusters of shrubs and hedges, and ending with lawns and flowerbeds. In Łódź's parks, there also are abiotic components, such as watercourses, ponds, boulders and rocks.

4.6. Social behavior in public spaces of Łódź

Previously mentioned J. Gehl enumerates three types of outdoor activities (*necessary activities, optional activities and social activities*) which take place in public places. It appears, however, that there is one more type of action, namely, *citizen activities*. They may constitute separate (the 4th one) type of activities or they may be treated as specific sub-category of social behavior. They include demonstrations, protests, rallies etc. – all kinds of initiatives which make public space socially or politically involved. One may think of recent protests on the streets of Greece or Wall Street occupation, associated with economic crisis, as the best examples of *citizen activities*. Similar actions take place also in public spaces of Łódź, although on a smaller scale. Places that are most frequently used for this kind of activity are Wolności Square, Schiller Passage and Piotrkowska Street. Among such events, there are the annual feminist demonstration Manifa and campaigns launched by anarchists or political groups (figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8. Posters above advertise protests in Schiller and Rubinstein passages. Photographs below depict protests against ACTA in Piotrkowska Street and Wolności Square

Source: <http://www.facebook.com/events/215272295237177/>;
<http://www.facebook.com/events/420177411333668/>; [http://porozumienie-antytotalitarne.blogspot.com/\(last entry 08.2012\)](http://porozumienie-antytotalitarne.blogspot.com/(last entry 08.2012)); [http://lodz.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/galeria/1266161,lodzianie-protestowali-przeciw-acta-tuskowi-i-zdanowskiej,id,t.html \(last entry: 08.2012\)](http://lodz.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/galeria/1266161,lodzianie-protestowali-przeciw-acta-tuskowi-i-zdanowskiej,id,t.html (last entry: 08.2012))

However, the citizens use these spaces not only for protests and organized demonstrations. Once a month, in Schiller Passage, a group of citizens arranges the meeting of cyclists who ride across the city demonstrating their presence on roads, so-called Critical Mass. In Wolności Square, the Political Critique Club in collaboration with the Museum of the City of Łódź supervises a so-called “summer reading spot”.

Public spaces in Łódź, particularly Piotrkowska Street, are the sites of both national and international festivals, such as the Feast of Łódź, Kinetic Art Festival of Arts “Light move festival”, International Festival of Street Art “TrotuArt”, International Folklore Workshop, and many others (figure 4.9). On such occasion, the streets and squares are filled with the crowds of people.



Figure 4.9. On the left, Critical Mass in Piotrkowska Street; on the right, 29th International Folklore Workshop in Schiller Passage

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/32547254966/> (last entry: 08.2012); <http://expressilustrowany.pl/> (last entry: 08.2012)

Nonetheless, lack of proper public space management brings the reason for lack of interest in these spaces, making them places rarely attended, serving only as transit space, where it is difficult to find signs of behavior described by J. Gehl, i.e. noncommittal contacts, conversations about daily issues, children playing around, walkers, people resting on benches, reading books or newspapers. The functions of public spaces in Łódź are increasingly taken over by Manufaktura, which provides the citizens with secure and aesthetic space equipped with appropriately selected urban furniture. Every weekend, regardless of the hour, crowds of people gather there, forgetting about local parks, let alone the largest European urban forest (Łagiewniki Forest). Admittedly, such attitude is the result of the patterns of behavior widespread in contemporary society, such as consumerism, individualism, hedonism etc. However, proper adaptation of public spaces to meet the citizens' needs

is also of great significance. Two contrasting pictures below illustrate the importance of small architecture: the Stary Rynek which on weekdays reminds an empty desert, and a square being a part of a housing estate in Łódź, which due to proper management is filled every day with people having conversations and children playing around (figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10. On the left, the Stary Rynek; on the right, a square in a housing estate in Łódź

Source: <http://www.pulsmiast.pl/pl/artykul/stary-rynek-w-lodzi.html>
(last entry: 08.2012); K. Brzeziński, 2012

4.7. Łódź's public spaces in planning documents

Public spaces with elements of cultural and natural heritage contribute to the identity and image of the city. They create an effect which emphasizes its uniqueness. *The Study of the Conditions and Directions of Spatial Development of Łódź* states that the quality of the public spaces in terms of their functions, surroundings and systemic linkages is not satisfactory (*Studium...* 2010).

Simplified Local Revitalization Program for Selected Post-industrial Inner Areas of Łódź for the Years 2004–2013 expresses that public spaces in the city centre are generally in a very bad state. An example of such a degraded urban space is the Square of the Paris Commune. At its present state of development, it is a public space

only by name. The northern part of the square is occupied by a petrol station, and the remaining space is devoted to parking and unordered greenery (*Uproszczony...* 2005).

According to the authors of *Strategy for the Development of Piotrkowska Street for the years 2008–2020*, due to lack of specific rules for creation of spatial order in public spaces of Piotrkowska Street and to years of neglect, they generally do not present themselves attractively (*Strategia...* 2008).

The creators of these documents put forward several proposals concerning the plan of action related to public spaces.

The Study... indicates public spaces to be preserved, while others are recommended for transformation. It attributes particular role to the city centre, which is the preferred area for creation and maintenance of public spaces.

It emphasizes activities aimed at assurance of high quality of public spaces and urban interiors. One of the suggested guidelines for areas requiring special protection and conservation is creation of a public space which suitably represents the character of the city. It is also stressed that policies should seek to maintain and reinforce the continuity of the spatial relationships between elements of the system of identity of Łódź.

Simplified Local Revitalization Program... attributes certain planning activities to public spaces selected for revitalization, such as restoration or introduction of connections between spaces which have already had individual expression and character; support for exposition and conservation of the surrounding buildings and groups of objects which constitute crucial elements of the city's identity; promotion of the establishment and regulation of public space of different character (e.g. intimate space and representational space, built-up space and green space) (*Uproszczony...* 2005).

As far as Piotrkowska Street is concerned, the authors of *Strategy...* decided that because of its high potential and the unusual character and unique atmosphere, the street should become an attractive place for meetings and leisure activities (*Strategia...* 2008). Therefore, a number of actions is planned, including rehabilitation

and thematization of Józewski, Schiller and Rubinstein passages, construction of new passages at Piotrkowska Street, equipment of the street with new landscaping elements – “street furniture” – and reparation of damaged building facades, gateways and side walls of buildings.

Local Development Program for Łódź 2007–2013, too, calls attention to the improvement of aesthetics and quality of public space in the central part of the city. Emphasis is also placed on developing a program of elimination of architectural barriers in urban public space (*Program rozwoju...* 2008).

All documents state the need for creation of new public spaces and improvement in access to the interior city blocks through the construction of traffic and pedestrian passageways along with new objects of small architecture, and arrangement of urban greenery.

The following programs whose goals include renovation of public spaces have been initiated by the City of Łódź: *Project for Functional and Spatial Transformation of Wolności Square in Łódź*, *Revitalization of EC-1 and Its Adaptation for Cultural and Artistic Objectives* and *The Illumination for the City of Łódź* (*Projekt...* 2007; *Program iluminacji...* 2008; *Rewitalizacja...* 2009). In 2009, modernization of Dąbrowski Square was completed (figure 4.11).



Figure 4.11. Dąbrowski Square before and after modernization

Source: phot. J. Mehlich, 2007; S. Kowara, 2012

4.8. Conclusions

Public space should be designed in a manner which facilitates creation of a maximum number of interesting places and possibilities of its use, as the place of meetings, conversations and relaxation. Public squares, pedestrian streets, arcades and parks play the most important role among public spaces in Łódź. Each of them has unique shape and form, appropriate development and function. In general, these spaces are characterized by low quality and intensity of development, and also poor provision of public services. In addition, they are not adapted to the needs of disabled people. In many cases they are dominated by communication.

The quality of the existing public spaces is not fully conducive to social behavior. The activities carried out in the public spaces of Łódź include mainly demonstrations, protests, mass meetings etc. The relocation of social activity to large shopping malls, which are a kind of semi-public space, is a disturbing phenomenon.

The policy of the city should support protection of public space, which is an important element of the city's identity. It should prevent their degradation and support activities aimed at improvement of their quality. In Łódź, these activities are performed in the framework of various programs of revitalization or strategies for the city's development, which emphasize the need for creating new public spaces and improving access to existing public spaces along with provision of new objects of small architecture and proper management of urban greenery.

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5. URBAN GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF LVIV

5.1. Introduction

Currently, the role of large cities as the centres of economic, political and cultural life of the state is increasing in all European countries. They are becoming important participants in the globalization processes and exert significant influence on economic growth and state policy in general. As a result, the scientific interest in urban governance issues is growing.

The peculiarities of modern urban systems are the following:

- heterogeneity and a large number of elements;
- self-organization;
- obligatory system development governance.

A large city is a complex self-developing open multifunctional meso-level territorial social system. Accordingly, it represents an interdisciplinary object of study. The use of synergistic and institutional approaches allows expanding of scientific instruments of the complex territorial social systems research.

In the context of institutional approach, the social system development depends not only on the structure of its economy, but it is largely determined by the efficiency of basic institutions functioning – public and private, formal and informal as well as economic, social and political. Institutes, which are formed as part of a social system, arrange and structurize social and economic interaction between economic actors and social groups as well as create matrices of economic and social behavior.

Methodology of the synergetics as the science about the self-developing systems substantiates convergence, approximation of the governmental, business and public functions on the basis of their partnership relations expanding.

The choice of urban governance system depends on such factors, as political regime in the state, form of state structure, national and historical characteristics, socio-cultural traditions, and other. Various principles of relations between local authorities and with central authorities exist at the basis of these systems.

Currently, the efficiently organized urban governance is one of the main indicators of the modern democratic society development, because it is most approximate to the citizens' real interests and needs and it can provide them with adequate services for the organization of vital activity.

The most characteristic feature of a democratic country is decentralization of the authorities by delegating a significant part of management functions to the local level. Constitutions of the vast majority of modern countries represent the institution of local self-government as an important principle of the functioning of the political system.

According to the *European Charter of Local Self-Government*, local self-governance means the right and the ability of local authorities, within the limits of the law, to regulate and manage a substantial share of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of the local population. This right is exercised by councils or assemblies composed of members freely elected by secret ballot on the basis of direct, equal, universal suffrage, and which

may possess executive organs responsible to them.

According to *The Strategy for Innovation and Good Governance at Local Level* (2008), the basic principles of good democratic governance at local level are:

- 1) fair conduct of elections, representation and participation;
- 2) responsiveness to the citizens' requirements and expectations;
- 3) efficiency and effectiveness;
- 4) openness and transparency;
- 5) rule of law;
- 6) ethical behavior;
- 7) competence and capacity;
- 8) innovation and openness to change;
- 9) sustainability and long-term orientation;
- 10) sound financial management;
- 11) human rights, cultural diversity and social cohesion;
- 12) accountability.

Two types of the authorities function at the territory of the large city – urban and state – which have both common and distinctive features. Common features are: established administrative boundaries, the authority powers and means for their implementation. Urban authorities differ from the state ones by their functions attachment to a certain place. It is responsible both to the state and to local community and acts by “the permission” of the state as well as on the basis of public trust.

While analyzing the role of urban self-government authorities as structures that act on behalf of urban community it should be noted that they perform two types of functions: *presentation* and *realization* of the community interests. The presentation function is associated with identification and formulation of community needs, elaboration of the urban development concept and necessary decision-making in the form of legislative and administrative regulations. Realization of interests is provided through development and implementation of operation program aimed at implementation of the goals fixed in the development strategy. These two types of functions correspond to two types of authorities – *representative* and *executive*.

At the beginning of the 1990s, post-Soviet republics and the former socialist countries, which had strongly centralized systems of government over a considerable period of time, faced the necessity of efficient local government system, forming as the basis for building a democratic and legal state. The requirement of transition from direct administrative influence of subject on object to more complex structural management, which includes combination of state governance functions with development of democracy and self-organization mechanisms, appeared in large city governance.

Forming of modern European vision of this issue started as well in the Ukrainian scientific thought. Significant contribution to this process was made by the following Ukrainian scientists: V.M. Babaev, M. Habrel, N.M. Dyomin, Y. Klyushnychenko, V.S. Kuybida, M. Lesechko, M. Pitsyk, M. Pukhtynsky and others.

5.2. Historical background of modern governance system forming in Lviv

Lviv has great historical experience in local self-government organization. In the 12th and 13th centuries, in Western and Central Europe appeared “free cities”, which created their own administrating authorities. Then the famous Magdeburg law emerged. At first, it appeared in Germany, in the city of Magdeburg, in the 13th century. Afterwards, it expanded to the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania, eventually reaching Ukraine. Lviv received the Magdeburg law in 1356. Cities that used the Magdeburg law had the urban self-government authority – magistrate. Magistrate was in charge of administrative, economic, financial, police and judicial affairs.

Self-government principles in Lviv remained during Austrian and Polish periods in the city’s history. Among the legislative acts that regulated its activities, Kuybida (1999, p. 45) emphasizes the role of the Lviv City Charter (1870), a law on urban self-government adopted by the Galician Sejm in 1889 and the Polish law on local self-government adopted in 1933. After Western Ukraine was affiliated with the USSR in 1939, the Magistrate of Lviv was eliminated.

In the Soviet period of urban management, the functioning of both central and local authorities in Ukraine was formally carried out by a unified system of councils, which received the status of state governance authorities. They had their own structure, defined functions, facilities, executive committees and they had to resolve almost all issues concerning local community needs.

However, the Communist Party played the main role in the authorities' organization and activity in Ukraine. Councils were under the tutelage of party bodies and they played the role of decrees and directives executors. All heads of councils or executive committees obligatorily belonged to the ruling party. Due to the lack of independence, councils and their executive committees actually remained a link of a centralized management system and they could not carry out the functions of local governance.

The actual revival of local government in Ukraine, in the widest sense, began after Ukraine gained independence – at the beginning of the 1990s.

5.3. Current legal framework of local self-government

On 7th December 1990, in the period of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the law on local councils of deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and local self-government was adopted by Verhovona Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. This law was the first attempt at transformation of the city councils into local self-government authorities.

Adoption of the new version of the law on local self-government on 26th March 1992, was the next step of this process (*Zakon Ukrayiny...* 1992). Here, local and urban self-governance, in particular, was declared as the foundation of democratic governance system in Ukraine. The fact that councils of people's deputies of both district and regional levels were deprived of their executive bodies and became entirely representative was the main point of this law. It has eliminated so-called "Soviet matryoshka", i.e. vertical subordination of councils to each other. Due to adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine, in 1996, local self-government has acquired constitutional status.

On 21st May 1997, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the law on local self-government in Ukraine, which defines according to the Constitution the local self-government system, basis of its organization and activity as well as legal status and responsibilities of local self-government authorities and officials.

Delimitation of powers and competences between public administration and urban self-government authorities that simultaneously operate in the large city is regulated by a number of Ukrainian legislative acts, the main of them being the law on local self-government in Ukraine and the law on local state administration.

On 6th November 1996, in Strasbourg, on behalf of Ukraine, the European Charter of Local Self-Government was signed, ratified later by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 15th July 1997. Among other international legal acts that operate in Ukraine since independence the Worldwide Declaration of Local Self-Government (1985), the European Declaration of Urban Rights (1992), the European Urban Charter (1992) and the Charter of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (1994) should be also mentioned.

The competence of local self-governance authorities – councils, their executive authorities and mayor – is defined in the law on local self-government in Ukraine.

The City Council is entitled to consider and resolve issues assigned to their competence by the Constitution and laws of Ukraine. All issues that can be resolved at plenary meetings of the appropriate council stay in the sphere of their exclusive jurisdiction, including issues of council self-organization and forming of its apparatus, organization and functioning of local self-government system, economic and social development of the area, budgeting and management of communal property, control functions etc. (*Zakon Ukrayiny...* 1997, Art. 26). The City Council also makes decisions about the powers delimitation between the executive committee, subdivisions, departments and other executive authorities and the mayor.

When outlining the competence of the mayor, it is reasonable to consider three main aspects of his powers: as a representative of

the central authority (delegated powers), as a board chairman and as an executive committee chairman.

The main authorities of the mayor in particular include (*Zakon Ukrainy*... 1997, Art. 42):

- exercise of executive authorities competences at the appropriate territory;
- organization of the City Council and its Executive Committee activities;
- convocation of the council session, presidency at the council plenary meetings, introduction on approval of the council of the proposals on the Council Executive Committee's quantitative and membership structure as well as proposals on the council executive authorities, council apparatus and its staff structure;
- council apparatus and its executive committee governance, appointment and dismissal of heads of departments, subdivisions and other council executive authorities as well as businesses, institutions and organizations of communal ownership.

The mayor is responsible to local communities and to the City Council when exercising his self-governance powers. In the cases stipulated by law, the mayor's powers may be terminated by local referendum or by the decisions of the council made by the secret ballot with at least two thirds of deputy votes from overall council structure.¹

Therethrough, the model "council – a strong mayor" was legally fixed in the city management. This form is characterized by a certain dualism in the organization of urban governance – the mayor is directly elected by the city community, he makes recommendations over council legislative activity and he is responsible for urban budget preparation and exercise. He also assigns and dismisses the urban officials, thus forming the administration as "the like-minded team", distributes the powers between the urban administrations and resolves many other current governance issues.

¹ The City Council used this right once, expressing distrust to the mayor L. Bunyak.

The mayor also has the authority to represent the interests of local communities in their relations with other local communities and central authorities.

Babayev (2010) notes that this form of city management has its advantages and disadvantages. The complexity of operational management of a large city requires a concentration of power in one hand. In practice, the efficiency of such a management model depends on personal characteristics of the mayor, who simultaneously has to be both an influential political leader and professional administrator.

Main advantages of the model “council – strong mayor” (Babayev 2010, p. 62) are:

- concentration of the executive power, responsibility and coordination functions, which secures decision-making efficiency;
- increased role of staff and professional elements in the personal composition of all urban government departments.

Disadvantages of this model:

- large amount of functions performed by the mayor, who takes the role of both political and administrative functionary;
- potential danger of the conflict between the mayor and council in the issues of power delimitation.

The law on local self-government in Ukraine clearly divided the concepts of executive committee as a collegial authority and the executive council bodies, i.e. the structural units. Therethrough, departments, divisions and other units have actually came out of the executive committee “umbrella”.

The quantitative composition of the executive committee is determined by the council and its personal structure is approved by the council according to the proposal of the mayor. Executive council bodies (divisions, offices) are also formed by the council upon the recommendation of the mayor. The council may approve the provisions about relevant departments and statutes of the enterprises that are in communal ownership.

The Executive Committee of the City Council may examine and settle issues within its competence. Particularly, the law on local self-government in Ukraine (*Zakon Ukrayiny...* 1997) defines

the powers of the executive council bodies in the spheres of socio-economic and cultural development, planning and accounting (Art. 27), budget, finance and prices (Art. 28), communal property management (Art. 29), housing and utilities domestic and trade services, public catering, transport and communication (Art. 30), building industry (p. 31) and other areas (pp. 32–40).

Due to the large population, the administrative-territorial structure of Ukrainian large cities is divided into urban districts with their councils. According to Art. 41 of the law on local self-government in Ukraine, the issue of districts management is in the competence of urban councils. The ambit and scope of the district councils' powers and their executive bodies are determined by appropriate city councils taking into account the general urban interests and needs of urban district's community. The complexity of the authority organization in these cities is determined by the conflict of interests between the self-governing bodies of the urban self-government authorities as integrated socio-economic and politico-legal phenomena and self-governing bodies of its separate components.

5.4. Changes in the city management structure during the independence period

After Ukraine gained its independence, Lviv city got the same urban management system that was functioning in the Soviet time:

1. Two-level representative authorities system:
 - City Council;
 - District councils (there were 5 district councils according to the administrative-territorial structure of the city).
2. Three-level executive authorities system:
 - Urban Executive Committee with the structural units (departments and subdivisions);
 - District Executive Committees;
 - Offices of Housing Operations.

It should be noted that the first changes in the management of the city took place in 1990 when after the local elections the deputies of Lviv City Council for the first time democratically elected the mayor. It was B.D. Kotyk. From 1994, according to the new legislation, all mayors are elected directly by citizens of the city.²

The city authorities faced the task of creating a new system for the vital activity governance that would be based on the transition from the nomenclature and command-administrative management models to the current models of urban management. Adoption of a number of legislative acts by Verhovna Rada of Ukraine on local government has created opportunities for reforming the urban government system.

As a result, some changes in the structure of the city took place, which concern the different levels of representative and executive local self-government authorities.

5.4.1. Creation of the profile departments, which combine the city authorities of similar sectoral areas

Analysis of the organizational structure of local self-government executive bodies led to the conclusion about partial compliance of the urban government system (structural units of urban executive committees) to the system that is managed. It caused modernization of the city management structure, according to the market environment. The main element of such modernization is the transition to the so-called functional-programming model of the city management authorities structure.

In the process of city reforming, in 1996, the subdivisions and departments of the urban executive authority of the city were grouped into departments. Structural subdivisions that are functionally closely linked to each other according to their activities

² City mayors of Lviv since independence: Vasyl Spitzer (1991–1994), Vasyl Kuybida (1994–2002), Lyubomyr Bunyak (2002–2005), Andriy Sadovyi (2006 – until today).

were connected into single organizational unit. Department is a legal entity that decides personnel affairs independently.

The City Council Session as a representative body of the whole city's population elects the executive committee, which consists of the mayor, deputy mayor for executive authorities, deputy for economic development, urban executive committee affairs manager, secretary of the council, districts administration heads and others. According to this scheme, the mayor, his deputy for the executive bodies, secretary of the council and urban executive committee affairs manager are political figures. Other deputies and department heads are urban officers. Director of the department obtains the right to give orders and administer funds allocated from the budget. He upholds his operational program to the executive committee or the City Council Session. Herewith, the appointment and dismissal of urban officials is carried out in accordance with the applicable legislation not by the session, but by a competition committee of the departments.

Head of Department or the district administration has an opportunity to change promptly, in agreement with the mayor, the internal structure without exceeding the total number of employees.

Appropriate controlling mechanism for the use of existing resources allocated for urban economy management has been developed. The City Council Session identifies priorities and controls the actual expenditure of financial resources. Specifically, the issues of financial resources use control are managed by parliamentary committee, the financial authority and internal control committee of the urban executive authority.

Currently, seven departments operate in the structure of Lviv City Council executive authorities: Financial Policy Department, Urban Development Department, Euro-2012 Department, Economic Policy Department, Housing and Infrastructure Department and Mayor Administration Department (figure 5.1). In addition to the departments, separate divisions and subdivisions operate in the city management structure.

It should be noted that more difficult coordination of various functional activity types is the main defect of the functional

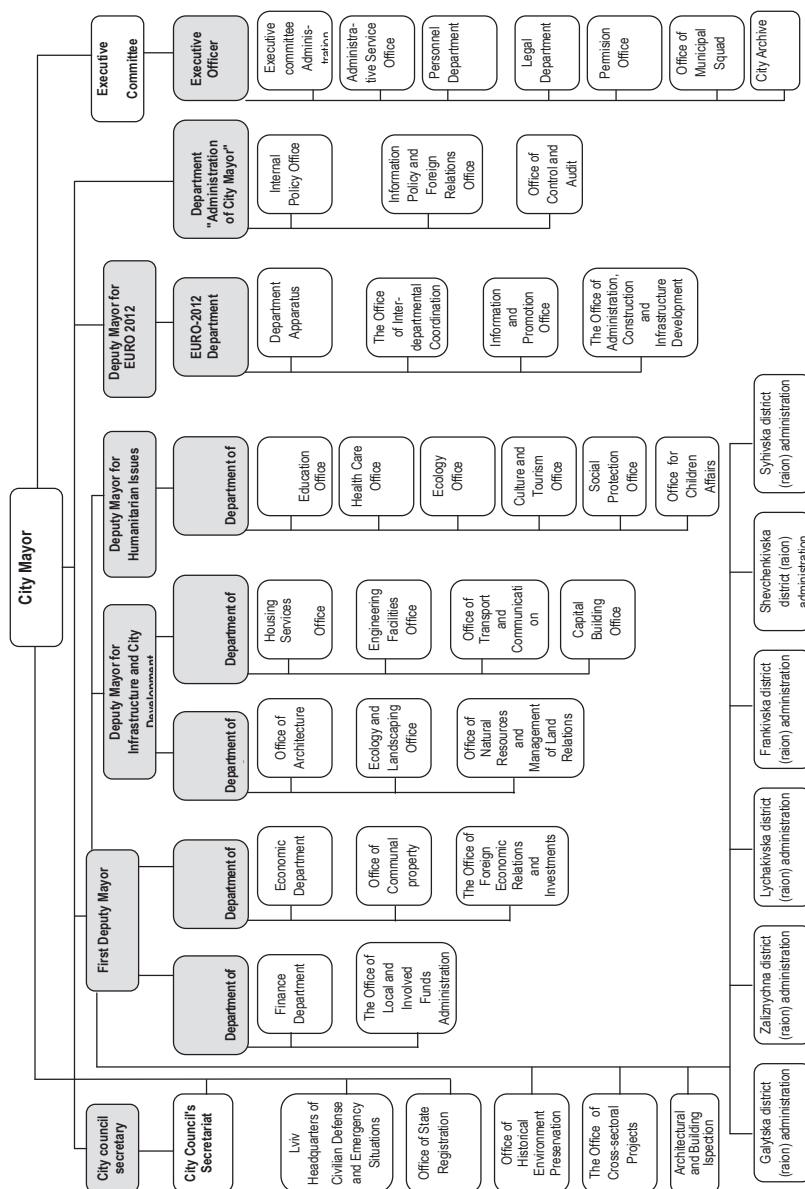


Figure 5.1. The current structure of Lviv city governance

Source: own elaboration

structure associated with the introduction of departments. However, this shortcoming should be eliminated by the existence of a collegial coordination body – the Executive Council. Moreover, the functions of general coordination have to be covered by the mayor, to whom the department heads are subordinated.

5.4.2. District councils liquidation

In Lviv, as well as in other large cities in Ukraine, there is administrative-territorial division into districts, in which in the early 1990s district councils and district executive committees functioned. Lviv was divided into 5 districts (currently – 6 districts³). According to Art. 41 of the law on local self-government in Ukraine, the issues of districts management in cities are in the competence of urban councils. The existence of districts in the cities often created conflicts for the functioning of self-governing bodies of various hierarchical levels.

In 1994, Lviv City Council Session decided not to elect district councils. The following position was taken as a starting point: the city is an integral organism, which should be managed from one centre. Besides this, a lot of questions arised in public property privatization with the district councils' permission and without the City Council approval and consideration of local communities' interests. Thus, since 1994, economic and social policies in Lviv have been developed by one council. All other entities perform direct executive functions.

District Councils after self-termination transferred their powers to the urbanity. Accordingly, district executive committees in the city were eliminated. Instead of them district administrations were created subordinated directly to the urbanity. Therefore, the confrontation between regional councils and the City Council was removed and both material and financial resources were focused in one centre. Such city governance structure harmonized the decision-making

³ After Sykhiv District creation on the basis of the resolution of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine about Sykhiv District creation in Lviv on 10th February 2000, No. 1454–III.

process, particularly the duplication of decisions, which often occurred in the past, was eliminated.

District Administration Heads joined the executive committee. Herewith, the District Administration Chairman, his powers and his duties are approved by the City Council. Heads of district administrations in the city as members of executive committee are able to influence the development of general urban policy for the region.

Lviv's experience was adopted by representative authorities of a number of other Ukrainian cities that have regional division.

The reorganization was established also at the bottom level – urban public utilities appeared instead of the former Offices of Housing Operations. Their activity is subordinated to district administration.

It should be mentioned that at the bottom level the technical, personnel and resource capabilities are insufficient to provide quality services to the population, although exactly at this level, the management system works with the citizens of the city. As a result, the management system of the bottom level is not able to fully manage its functions.

The great disadvantage of urban governance system is that the population does not participate properly in governance. Such participation mainly comes down to applications and complaints about the condition of the urban environment, quality of urban services and the city management authorities' activity, law enforcement authorities' activity and health care system. The opportunity to influence the level of citizens' needs satisfaction vanishes without their participation in the administrative process.

In recent years city, the authorities actively support such a tool of the citizens self-organization as creation of Apartment Building Co-owners Association (condominiums) responsible for both buildings and surrounding areas maintenance.

Currently, 426 condominiums are functioning in Lviv.⁴ Increasing of the number of such associations is attracting people

⁴ <http://zik.ua/ua/news/2011/08/03/301851>.

not only to participate in buildings and surrounding areas arrangement but also in full self-serving and financing of accommodation.

In 2009, the department of condominiums support was established within the City Council structure, which provides full support to creation and operation of condominiums, conducts free educational seminars for initiative groups and condominium leaders in cooperation with the public organization Resource Centre for the Condominiums.

Thus, currently, there is a three-level system of the city management in Lviv. At the bottom level – public utilities, at the medium level – district administrations and at the upper level – city council, mayor and executive committee. All management resources are mainly focused at the upper level. Accordingly, the *current* and *strategic* urban management can be identified.

The main purpose of current management can be considered as the insurance of stability and harmony in urban system. Strategic management is concerned with implementation of the concrete urban development paradigm.

Lack of systematic vision of the desired future of the local community and ways of its achievement is one of the major reasons of local self-government authorities' insufficient functioning. Therefore, the situational governance methods dominate. This happens as a result of insufficient professionalism of the managers and underestimation of the importance of strategic documents.

The main strategic documents which define the urban development strategy are a general plan of city development and a strategy of city development.

5.5. General Plan

The *General Plan* allows long-term and consciously controlled ways of spatial development to be established and serves as the main document for important decisions-making and as a management and control tool for local authorities. It plays a crucial role in local

community needs and opportunities identification based on the analysis of competitive advantages and limitations of their development (Habrel 2003, p. 172). The plan is the basis for local council decision-making on the assignment of different functionality land plots. It identifies the most attractive territories for investment as well as the most troubled areas and the terms of their use.

In 1992, the State Institute of Urban Design “Mistoproekt” developed the *General Plan of Lviv* (approved in 1993) that contained the estimated figures of city development until 2011. However, the prognosis of urban development, incorporated in this plan in terms of dynamic changes of socio-economic conditions in the state, was significantly different from the trends that emerged during its implementation. This created a necessity of its correction, particularly in respect of future population size, volumes and forms of housing construction, territorial development of the city as well as the search for alternative priorities of economic activity.

So in 2001, “Mistoproekt” elaborated the concept of Lviv’s development in cooperation with leading specialists as well as academic, research and project organizations in Lviv and Kiev. And in 2009, a new *General Plan of Lviv City* was developed (approved by the City Council in 2010).

5.6. The development strategies of Lviv city

Future vision suggests elaboration of a clear conceptual position on city development model. This means that local authorities have to be the carriers of a clear and reasonable socio-economic development strategy verified in time and by subjects of decisions exercise.

A number of strategic initiatives for Lviv city development have been developed during the last decade, in particular:

- *Strategy of Lviv Region Development till 2015* (developer – United Kingdom Embassy Department for International Development (DFID) in cooperation with Ukrainian and foreign experts, 2005);

- *The Strategic Concept for Lviv City and Region till 2025* (developed by association of consultants Expert-Group, 2007);
- *Strategy of Lviv until 2027* (developer – Centre for Urban and Regional Development, 2008);
- *Strategy of Lviv city development* (initiated and developed by Uchnivska group, 2008);
- *Plan for Euro-2012* (initiated and developed by the City Council, 2009);
- a range of sectoral strategies.

Lviv Competitiveness Strategy till 2015 should be noted among the most interesting documents relating to Lviv city development. It was developed by consulting firm Monitor Group in cooperation with Lviv City Council in the framework of the project of the Regional Economic Development Fund “Effective Governance”, adopted by Lviv City Council in 2010.⁵

The strategy identified priorities and singled out approaches to forming an appropriate action plan aimed at improvement of Lviv’s economic competitiveness. The methodology of economic clusters building lies at the basis of the proposed strategy.

Two priority clusters for Lviv city were defined – a tourism and a business services. *The General Plan* of activities and expected results from implementation of the strategy was developed as well as approaches to organizing and monitoring of the strategy implementation were elaborated.

Currently, a *Draft Lviv Complex Strategy for Sustainable Development till 2025* was elaborated by the City Development Institute (*Lviv Complex Development Strategy 2010*).

Two levels of *Lviv City Development Strategy* were defined:

- competitiveness priorities (tourism, business services, EURO-2012);
- quality of life priorities (housing utilities, ecology, energy efficiency, education, transport, health care, physical culture and sport, culture and historical environment protection).

⁵ http://city-adm.lviv.ua/adm/attachments/1058_strategy%202015.pdf.

5.7. Institutional factors of urban development

Creation of a favorable institutional environment is an important task to ensure the development of the city.

Institutional environment of city development – a totality of interacting with each other institutions and organizations of various property forms that are located in the city area as well as organizational forms and legal conditions of their activity, which ensure the forming and implementation of development strategies.

The institutional factors that play an important part in urban development are (figure 5.2):

- framework conditions: public policy (regional, industrial, scientific-technological, budgetary, tax) and external influences;
- formal institutions for city development (local authorities, strategic and spatial planning, target programs);
- informal institutions for city development (professional associations, community associations, public self-organization bodies etc.);
- network structures and relationships;
- intensification of regional social capital, development of social partnership.

Weak interaction between local authorities, business and community as well as a low level of trust between them are the key problems of efficient functioning of the urban government institutional system. Despite some positive improvements (the publication of strategic draft documents on urban development, condominium creation, the beginning of clusters formation etc.) the imbalance of direct and inverse connections is observed. The impact of business and community on decision-making is limited due to the lack or weakness of the “binding” elements of the institutional structure (this refers, for example, to community councils under local self-government authorities).

In this context, it is important to enhance cooperation between government, business and community through a mechanism of social partnership, which is implemented on the basis of testing procedures for coordination of community, government and business interests,

and adoption of organizational, legal and political norms that harmonize the interests of all participants in these relationships.

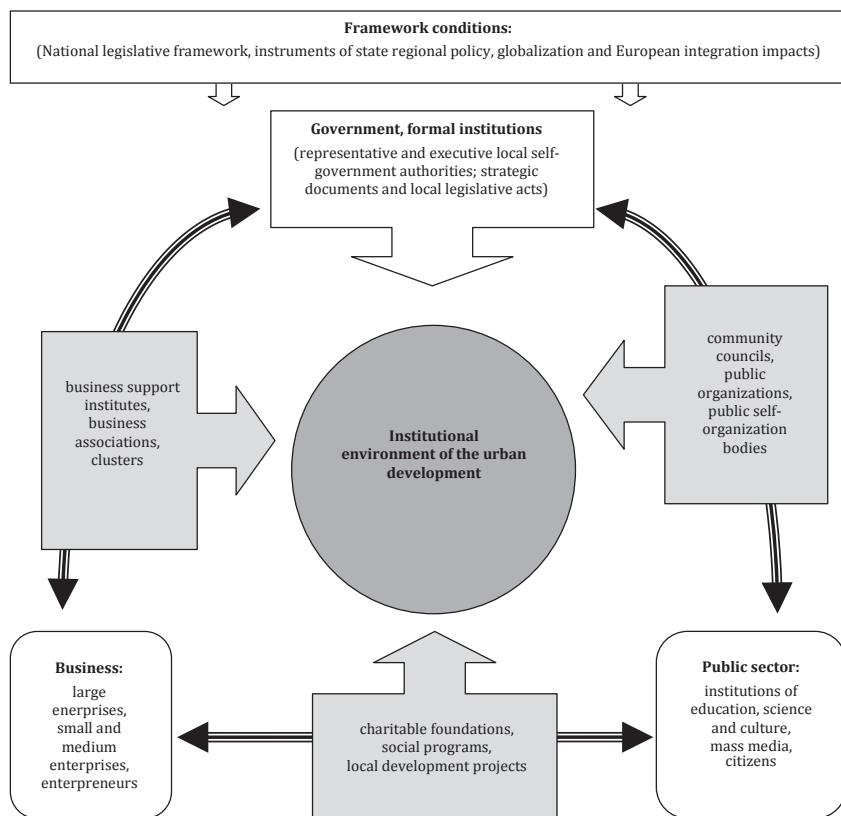


Figure 5.2. Institutional environment of the urban development

Source: own elaboration

It is based on the following principles:

- institutionalization of the relations between business entities, civil society and the authorities through creation of private institutions, business associations, community councils, NGOs etc. as well as realization of social and charitable programs;

- business participation in social and economic life of the local community through public-private partnership;
- increasing of the social responsibility of government, business and citizens.

5.8. Conclusions

At the beginning of the 1990s, Lviv city like other big Ukrainian cities faced the necessity of switching from strict direct functional governance of the big city, which was widely implemented in the administrative command system, to the problem-oriented governance of large and complex urban systems, taking into account peculiarities of both socio-economic and cultural-historical processes.

During the transformation processes, in the city, there has been done a lot for the actual revival of local self-governance, formation of the system and structure of local government and improvement of mechanisms of public services provision for citizens.

Particularly:

- democratic election of local governments was ensured;
- three-level city management system was formed: the upper level – city council, mayor, executive committee, the medium level – district administration, the bottom level – public utilities;
- the transition to the functional urban government by creation of specialized departments was completed;
- the district councils were liquidated. This fact eliminated the duplication of functions and contributed to resources concentration in one place;
- strategic documents that define the prospects of the city were developed.

However, the present system of city management still does not fully correspond to the current needs. The essential problems that retard the development of local self-government and require urgent solution are: incomplete reform of the urban government system,

lack of professionalism, lack of financial support for local development, weakness of civil society structures, alienation of the majority of citizens from government activities.

Each level of the city management needs improvement. Development and implementation of the mechanisms of both development strategy and urban general plan is necessary. Therefore, creators of the *Strategy of Lviv City Development* noted the following obstacles in its implementation:

- isolation of all existing programs, policies and strategies;
- uncreated opportunity of community, business and government solidarity;
- inconformity of legal framework and government structure to the strategy priorities implementation;
- budget isolation from programs, conceptions and strategies;
- lack of communal resources management control and office duties execution administrative control.

There is a necessity of optimization of medium-level system – district administrations. Due to its status, on the one hand, this level is insufficiently working directly with citizens, on the other hand, it does not have sufficient resources to meet all citizens' needs and solve strategic problems. It is necessary to provide constant monitoring of the real citizens' needs directly in places of their residence.

On the bottom level, quality improvement of services for residents through the reorganization of existing or creation of new housing and public utilities of different ownership forms is an urgent task.

The government must move from the regulation of relations to the creation of conditions for social capital self-organization. On the other hand, the citizens need to understand their role as an active participants and driving force in local processes.

Overall, according to the European trend, it is necessary to move from the communities governance to the system of “good and proper” governance (good governance), which provides the implementation of the following principles: transparency, intolerability

to corruption, public participation, predictability, answerability and professionalism.

Creation of hospitable institutional environment is the key task as well. Establishment of real cooperation between local authorities, business and society on the base of social partnership as well as public control over the local self-government activity should be an important element in government system reforming.

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6. URBAN MANAGEMENT – THE CASE OF ŁÓDŹ

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the notion of strategic integrated management in local government, using the case study of one of Poland's metropolitan cities – Łódź – as an example and reference point.

The first part discusses the need for introducing and implementing strategic integrated management in municipalities in general, and in large metropolitan cities, such as Łódź, in particular. Then the author describes chosen aspects of strategic integrated management, emphasizing key concepts and instruments which are meant to ensure that its objectives are attained.

The second part is devoted to describing Łódź in the context of its approach to strategic integrated management as reflected by various strategic planning documents. The article focuses on several planning documents of strategic scope and importance (such as the *Local Development Program for Łódź 2007–2013*, integrated development strategy 2020+, study of conditions and directions of spatial development, long-term investment plan).

The aforementioned documents serve as sources for identifying long-term, strategic development objectives which were and are currently set for the city. The ensuing analysis attempts to assess

the local authorities' success rate in attaining these objectives and the degree in which development in spatial, social and economic dimensions has been programed and controlled.

6.2. The need for integrating approaches to management of cities

Efficiency and effectiveness are nowadays sought as the characteristic features of management in business and in public administration alike. However, the traditional, bureaucratic way in which public administration often operates does not fall in line with such ambitious objectives. Many deficiencies and shortcomings in the public sector gave rise to questions and criticisms already in the 1970s. The criticism concentrated on issues such as excessive growth of administrative structures, insufficient effectiveness and flexibility (Mazur 2005, pp. 57–62). This, together with a renaissance of liberal ideas emphasizing the need for reducing the state's involvement in social and economic affairs which was reflected in the public choice theory, agency theory and transaction costs theory (Stawasz et al. 2011, pp. 62–65), gave rise to the concept of New Public Management, which was intended as an answer to evident problems in public administration (Zawicki 2011).

New Public Management as a concept includes numerous theories and methods which all have a common denominator – to manage the public sector using the same methods as in the private sector, whenever and wherever possible. Some of the concepts created within New Public Management include *managerialism*, *market-oriented administration*, *entrepreneurial government* or *business-like management*. Most, if not all, concepts falling within this broad concept postulate decentralization of power. Gaebler and Osborne (1994, pp. 84–85) even write about reducing the bureaucracy's monopoly on power. Recently, more and more attention has been paid to the concept of *governance* which emphasizes the need for far-reaching co-operation between numerous local stakeholders.

The origins of New Public Management can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon countries – United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Later, the concept arrived in the EU countries (Kozuch 2004, pp. 16–17). The New Public Management concept assumes that public administration should move away from a model which is based entirely on procedures in favor of a model which emphasizes performance and reaching objectives (see Mazur 2004, pp. 14–19). Admittedly, New Public Management has also been criticized, sometimes severely, on the grounds that public administration has radically different objectives than businesses and that using business management methods is possible, if at all, only to a limited degree.

New Public Management came to Poland soon after the start of the political and economic transformation in the early 1990s. There were several projects carried out in Poland with the aim of professionalizing local government operations and introducing some of the ideas of New Public Management. The first two notable programs were prepared by external agents – the Local Government Partnership Program (LGPP) was running in the early 1990s and was financed by the United States' Agency for International Development (USAID), while the other notable project was sponsored by the British Know-How Fund and was launched in 1992. The first major Polish project which was aimed at popularizing the concept and methods falling within the broad notion of New Public Management – the Institutional Development Program – was launched in 2001 by the Ministry of the Interior and lasted until 2003.

All these programs concentrated on several aspects of strategic management in public administration, notably in local government administration, including issues of local government finance management. The Local Government Partnership Program went as far as proposing an integrated approach to managing local government finance, assuming that financial aspects of management take precedence before all others. The major features of the model of integrated management of local government finance, which was proposed under the LGPP framework, were grounded in the experiences of several municipalities that were perceived by the team of LGPP experts, as the best managed territorial units worldwide.

The need for implementing the concept of New Public Management in Poland is currently felt with growing strength as Poland has adopted a model of local governance, which makes local authorities responsible for a wide variety of tasks (Denek 1997, pp. 134–136; Osiński 2008). The scope of competencies at the local level is being constantly widened. This entails a need to implement strategic integrated planning and management of local development processes. Such an integrated approach to management in local governments needs to be placed firmly on two foundations: firstly, on sound financial planning, and secondly, on appropriate spatial planning and development. Otherwise, the notion of territorial cohesion understood as an alignment of economic, social and spatial (including environmental) development objectives will remain out of local governments' reach.

What is more, the ongoing processes of urbanization in the world bring the number of city dwellers to over 3 billion people worldwide. This brings additional challenges with regard to the efficiency of public and social service provision, such as increasing externalities caused by excessive expansion of urban areas which need to be alleviated. Thus, the contemporary debate on development of urban areas more and more frequently points to the significance of smart cities in social and economic development of the world, going as far as highlighting a new stage of urbanization – stage of smart city creation (Stawasz et al. 2012). This trend represents a new and important determinant of development for contemporary cities and should be incorporated into any management strategy.

Speaking of strategic integrated planning and management, two issues need to be emphasized. Firstly, all planning, organizing, leading and controlling activities performed by the local authorities need to be integrated with the overriding objective of local authorities – one of creating conditions for coherent, which is to say territorially balanced economic, social as well as environmental development – in mind. Achieving this requires that some form of instrumental integration of management occurs whereby the local authorities use a system of well-devised and comprehensive – in-

deed integrated – instruments in planning and implementing their local development policies.

Secondly, the general strategic management needs to integrate the financial dimension with the spatial development dimension. The development strategy, which is the primary document for outlining development objectives and programs for activities, needs to be further expanded in the financial dimension as well as in the spatial development dimension. Its financial dimension should be further extrapolated in long-term financial and investment plans as well as in annual budgets, while its spatial development dimension should be given more depth through studies of conditions and directions of spatial development as well as through local spatial development plans. Figure 6.1 outlines the major spheres which strategic integrated management should encompass, together with appropriate documents which serve this purpose.

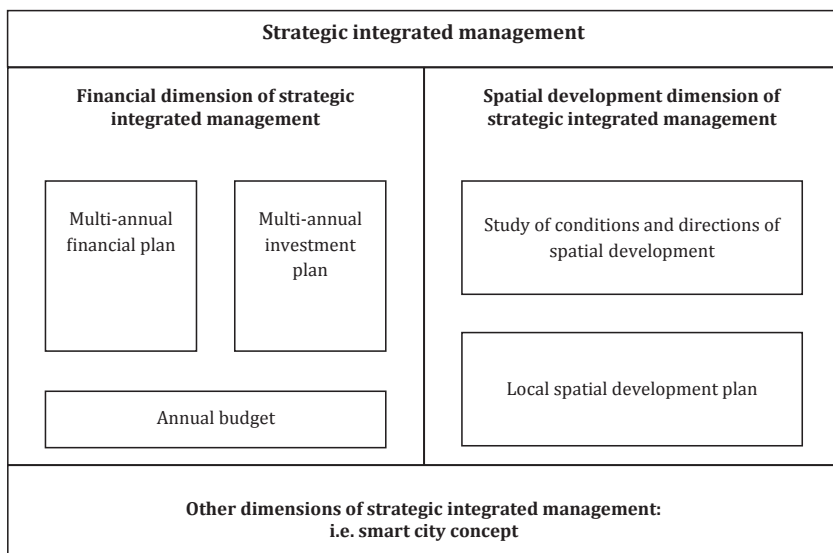


Figure 6.1. Strategic integrated management – documents

Source: own elaboration

There are two significant issues of great importance which relate to the financial dimension of strategic integrated management and which should be raised – firstly, it is necessary to provide the local authorities with sufficient levels of income enabling them to carry out all their tasks, and secondly, it is vital that these authorities use the available funds in the most effective way possible. In that respect, the local authorities need to concentrate on strategic financial management as reflected by long-term financial and investment programs as well as annual budgets the construction of which determines the effectiveness of the financial management process.

Insofar as the spatial development dimension of strategic management is concerned, it has to be emphasized that the decisions which are made in relation to spatial development result in consequences which become petrified and which are present in space over many years. In that respect, spatial planning truly needs to be recognized as part of strategic integrated management in local governments and aligned with its financial and other dimensions.

The other notable dimension of management which needs to be incorporated into strategic integrated management relates to the smart city concept. Large, metropolitan cities in particular need to be aware of reductions in the quality of life and deteriorating living conditions which come about as a result of uncontrolled growth of cities. Smart growth is one of new concepts aimed at economizing the use of resources (including financial resources) through appropriate spatial planning, i.e. designing transport networks and other types of infrastructure so that increases of costs resulting from urban sprawl may be avoided. The smart city concept is based firmly on (1) advanced technologies which allow for economies in terms of both time and energy as well as (2) human capital and (3) social capital which are also of prime significance for city development. According to this concept, today's city is becoming more a network of cyber-connections than a purely physical structure. The networks and technologies which the city incorporates all lead to optimal allocation of the city's resources and diffusing negative externalities.

It needs to be emphasized, however, that approaches to the smart city concept differ significantly. The European approach concentrates primarily on reducing costs of city functioning, especially in terms of economizing energy usage. The American approach, on the other hand, emphasizes that space itself is a scarce resource which ought to be used as economically as possible. Even though no clearly defined set of criteria for identifying smart cities exists, it is generally agreed that a “smart city” should follow a participatory system of governance which coordinates transport and communication infrastructure policies with policies aimed at development of social and human capital. The European Commission goes as far advocating creation of such organizational structures for management of individual territories (i.e. cities) which would enable vertical coordination of policies between various levels of public administration (Stawasz et al. 2012).

Summarizing, the smart city concept seems to be a modern development of earlier development paradigms. It incorporates notions of sustainable development (by emphasizing the need of economizing usage of energy and other resources) and territorially coherent development, which also incorporated economic, social as well as spatial and infrastructural dimensions. The concept of “smart growth” or “smart development” supplements the previously dominating concepts with advanced technologies which are meant to facilitate achieving development objectives.

6.3. Integrated management of local government finance

Polish communes are the most autonomous and independent (financially) of all types of local governments in Poland. Therefore, skilful management in terms of both local finance as well as spatial development becomes vitally important – well-constructed budgets and effective spending may help the local authorities to carry out their existing tasks better or even to complete a greater scope of tasks than would seem possible with the limited resources at hand,

while comprehensive spatial development plans may set out long-term development objectives, which will enable future development in all dimensions.

The concept of integrated management of local government finance (Pakoński 2001) provides conceptual foundations for a broader strategic integrated management system, which incorporates also the spatial development dimension. The main aim of integrated management of local government finance is to assure that spending by the local authorities is carried out with maximum efficiency. Since available resources are best allocated in the private sector, therefore, the concept of integrated management aims at introducing the methods used in the private sector into the sector of public finance, including the local governments.

In order to manage local finance according to this concept it is necessary to acquire far more detailed information, especially financial information, than is possible using only the traditional budgeting methods (traditional line-item budget) based on the budget classification (a categorization of all budget income and expenditure which divides all income and expenditure into a hierarchy of items based on several criteria). Current situation with regard to management of local finance is unsatisfactory, mainly because the traditional methods and documents offer too little information which could be considered useful for analyzing the efficiency of undertaken actions and, ultimately, for improving the efficiency of financial management. Considering this, it seems that altering the approach to budget construction may be perceived as key to achieving expected effects of integrated management. The concept of integrated management of local government finance offers several instruments which are to widen the scope of available information so that the local authorities become capable of integrated management of their financial situation (i.e. task-based budgets or performance budgets).

Integrated management of local government finance emphasizes long-term perspective and efficiency. The long-term perspective requires that both objectives and activities are planned in the long-term, while efficiency requires that emphasis is put on measuring and constantly improving the efficiency of all actions and projects. These

requirements mean that it is necessary to prepare and implement several instruments in order to manage local finance well.

Some additional features may also be specified, e.g.: (1) goals in local governments should be formulated in a quantitative way which would allow for measuring efficiency and effectiveness, (2) municipalities should extensively use territorial benchmarking while (3) financial and management accounting used in local administration should be in line with the contemporary trends in business – like adopting the activity-based costing (Oulasvirta 1999, pp. 353–364; Jaruga et al. 2001).

Effectiveness, which is a key feature of the model of integrated management, is emphasized therein by a concept of an effectiveness improvement cycle which has been developed by the LGPP experts as a variation and extension of the Deming's PDCA (plan-do-check-act) cycle. Lewcock (1998) described the simplest form of the cycle as having three stages – long-term planning stage, short-term planning stage and finally, evaluation, assessment and conclusions stage. Its extended version is comprised of eight stages: (1) diagnosis, (2) mission and vision creation, (3) formulation of sector strategies, (4) formulation of annual tasks, (5) implementation, (6) implementation assessment, (7) planning assessment, (8) conclusions (Pakoński 2001, p. 37).

On the other hand, a multi-annual perspective and compositeness are ensured by two other instruments: a multi-annual financial plan (Cichocki 2001, pp. 10–23) and a multi-annual investment plan (Stanek, Śmiałkowski 2001, p. 38).

It has already been mentioned that in order to manage local finance in a pro-development and rational way, an emphasis has to be placed on an appropriate budget construction, as it ensures high quality of actions in all spheres of management. The budget is a tool, which integrates all actions undertaken by any given local government. The development strategy, multi-annual financial plan and multi-annual investment plan are important, even necessary for integrated management, but it is the budget which allows all the requirements of those documents to be 'translated' into a yearly plan of action. The budget, more than any of the other documents, is

capable of making the actions undertaken by a local government rational and efficient. Formulating a development strategy, even if it is supported by multi-annual financial and investment plans, will not bring expected results lest there is a budget which covers all aspects of activities at the local level and directs them so that they all lead to the same long-term vision of a commune. Task-based budgets and performance budgets are two types of budgets which allow a local government to fully profit from its strategy and multi-annual plans.

Apart from planning and control, the budgets prepared in accordance with the methodology of task-based or performance budgeting have two other functions (Domański 1999): financial management and communication. What is more, the Efficiency Improvement Cycle is also based on these budgets, as they allow for an evaluation of convergence between yearly plans of action and long-term strategies (Pakoński 2000, pp. 21–26). Both these methods of budget preparation are alternatives for the traditional way of preparing a line-item budget. Using these methods means that the budget becomes more transparent and understandable by both the councillors and the local public and, in addition, it ensures better allocation of resources, resulting in a higher level of citizens' satisfaction than would be possible with traditional budgeting methods (Szołno-Koguc 1999).

The annual budgets are essential for the success of strategic integrated management, yet they are, but a reflection of strategic goals set in the strategy and then re-emphasized in more detail in multi-annual investment and financial plans. In fact, these documents create an interlinked system required for efficient management of local government finance (see figure 7.1).

6.4. Strategic integrated management in Łódź

Łódź is an example of a post-industrial city which nowadays faces the challenge of adapting to entirely new economic and social conditions. The city is located in central Poland, some 140 km south-west of Warsaw. Łódź, with over 700 000 inhabitants (within city

limits), is currently the third largest city in Poland. Although Łódź was awarded a status of a city in the 15th century (in 1423), its rapid development began much later – in the first half of the 19th century. Throughout the 19th century Łódź was transformed from an agricultural settlement into an industrial city, based on textile industry. Its population began to grow rapidly – the number of inhabitants was doubling every 10 years during that period. Between the 1870s and 1890s Łódź entered a period of rapid growth. During the First World War, the city was occupied by German forces. The war stopped the process of economic development and the city lost nearly half of its inhabitants. During the interwar period, the textile industry remained in crisis. The Second World War once again brought German occupation. Relatively little infrastructural damage meant that between 1945 and 1948 Łódź was performing as a capital of Poland, while Warsaw was being frantically rebuilt. In those years, the industry was modernized, the city also gained new functions – it became a significant cultural as well as academic centre.

Today, the textile industry no longer plays a major role in the city's life and development. During the economic transformation of the 1990s, most of the textile industry collapsed, meaning that today Łódź is a city which is looking for a new identity and a new path of development, a city with many post-industrial areas which require immediate revitalization, a city facing numerous challenges of economic and social nature.

The many question marks and uncertainties with regard to the future path of the city's development are highlighted by the fact that Łódź does not have a long-term comprehensive development strategy at the moment. Its development objectives and directions are included in medium-term plans, such as the *Local Development Program for Łódź 2007–2013*, or sector strategies, such as the study of conditions and directions of spatial development, the long-term investment plan, the strategy for development of Piotrkowska Street, the strategy for cluster development or the program of natural environment protection and waste management.

The initial assessment of strategic integrated management in Łódź may lead to the conclusion that this system is relatively weak.

There exist certain elements of the system which may be assigned to the financial management sphere and to the spatial development sphere as well as some other elements which relate to various other, often sector or thematic, issues. There is, however, no long-term comprehensive development strategy which would outline precisely the city's vision, mission and strategic objectives in all important spheres. It needs to be brought up that there is currently work under way on preparing and approving an integrated development strategy for the city in the perspective exceeding 2020.

6.5. Strategic dimension of urban management in Łódź

Integrated Development Strategy 2020+, which is currently being prepared together with the *Local Development Program for Łódź 2007–2013*, outlines the foundations of strategic dimension of urban management. The draft of the *Integrated Development Strategy 2020+* identifies eight key challenges for future development of the city (*Strategia...* 2012):

- 1) infrastructural development: a new train station and development of railway connections, roads – including highways and expressways, and development of the airport;

- 2) quality of life, as reflected by the level of unemployment and wages, which are less attractive than in other, comparable Polish cities, and which are a leading cause for emigration of young people from Łódź;

- 3) demographics: the ongoing processes of ageing population and depopulation of the city;

- 4) social capital and social participation, which are on the lowest level of all large cities in Poland;

- 5) urban management – Łódź is assessed as underperforming with respect to urban management in comparison to other Polish cities, there are very few spatial development plans, communal property is not managed effectively, well-developed investment land is scarce, while transport and communication networks are underdeveloped;

6) relatively low financial potential which restricts the city's capabilities of carrying out investment projects;

7) pressing need for revitalizing physically as well as socially the city centre;

8) economic crisis which may reduce the city's incomes and make it more difficult to attract new investors.

The strategy is based on a foundation of improving the efficiency of resource allocation and ensuring that the provided public services are of adequate standard. Furthermore, the strategy envisages two pillars which describe strategic objectives. The first pillar concentrates on opening Łódź towards the world and includes mainly infrastructural investments, which aim at improving the city's accessibility and providing groundwork for full usage of the city's economic potential which stems from the central geographical location of the agglomeration in Poland.

The 2020+ strategy intends to provide a strategic layer to planning local development – the currently existing mid-term *Local Development Program for Łódź 2007–2013* is not a fully-fledged strategy. Interestingly, the new strategy is being drafted towards the end of the period covered by the local development plan. Comparing these two documents in terms of their diagnoses and objectives provides some interesting insights into the effectiveness of local authorities in achieving objectives defined in documents.

The first observation is that local authorities are reacting to various events rather than taking initiative, while various documents are prepared with huge delays. The local development plan (LDP), for example, was approved by the city council as late as November 2008, nearly two years after the period for which it was prepared started. The LDP is an example of a defensive strategy, which is built around weaknesses and threats identified with regard to the local economy, living conditions and local society.

The second observation relates to the SWOT analysis in the local development plan and the outline of development challenges in the 2020+ strategy. The LDP claims that one of the city's strengths lies in availability of well-educated labour force, in particular amongst younger people. On the other hand, the draft strategy

points to the emigration of young people as one of major development challenges. Another strength of the city identified in 2008 by the LDP was the “intensification of revitalization processes leading to a new image of the city”. The strategy drafted in 2011/2012 emphasizes rather a need for performing numerous integrated revitalization projects, particularly in the city centre, than any strengths originating from already completed undertakings.

The two documents are, perhaps not surprisingly, in general agreement with regard to the weaknesses and threats which the city faces. However, looking at the opportunities which were outlined in the LDP 2007–2013, it may be claimed that either the perception of the environment was overly optimistic at the time of preparation of the development plan or many chances were missed and the local authorities failed to capitalize on them or rather ensure that they endure as external factors which positively influence local development. Some examples of missed chances include: (1) fast railway connections with Warsaw, Poznań and Wrocław – a project which is now scratched by the central government, (2) obtaining a status of the European Capital of Culture – a competition which was lost by the city’s authorities, (3) positive perception of the city by investors – the currently prepared strategy emphasizes rather inadequate supply of well-developed land for investments and underdeveloped transport and communication networks.

Further analysis of strategic and operational objectives set in the *Local Development Program for Łódź 2007–2013* also shows that although some of the objectives were met (i.e. creation of a Scientific and Technological Incubator or creation of Council for Coordination of Innovativeness), some of them were unrealistic and were failed. For example, the objectives of the LDP outlined in the economic dimension included, amongst others, an objective of preparing local spatial development plans and preparing infrastructure for investments. In mid-2011, only 4.54% of the city’s surface was covered by such plans. Since July 2011, the city has changed two of the previously existing plans and has approved six new ones, covering rel-

atively small areas. Furthermore, the LDP outlined ambitious plans for revitalization of downtown areas, which were not implemented either fully or in part.

6.6. Financial dimension of urban management in Łódź

The multi-annual financial and investment plans reflect the financial aspect of strategic objectives and investments included in the development plan and/or strategy. The multi-annual investment plan, which is currently in force, was approved in December 2007 and became law as of 1st January 2008. The provisions of this document are very much in line with the provisions of the *Local Development Plan for Łódź 2007–2013*. The document comprises descriptions of six programs, which include information on objectives, time frame, total costs and sources of funding as well as effects which the implementation of the program is expected to bring. The following programs are mentioned in the document (*Wieloletnie programy...* 2007):

- 1) improvement of ICT solutions for urban management;
- 2) economic cohesion;
- 3) revitalization and development of housing construction activities;
- 4) sustainable development of communal services;
- 5) infrastructural improvements in the field of education, culture and sport;
- 6) infrastructural improvements in the field of health care and social policy.

The current multi-annual financial plan was approved in January 2011. It outlines a financial forecast for a period of 20 years, emphasizing expenditures related to debt-related payments and expenditure on investments. The document also comprises an outline of multi-annual tasks, including those enclosed in the multi-annual investment plan. These two documents are coherent and provide a solid foundation for management of long-term projects. What is

more, the provisions of both multi-annual plans are well in line with the general outline of objectives included in the draft *Integrated Development Strategy 2020+*.

6.7. Spatial dimension of urban management in Łódź

The study of conditions and directions of spatial development is the major document which incorporates the spatial dimension of urban management. In a sense, it is a broad and general document which links up the provisions of the local development plan and/or strategy with spatial determinants and conditions. Interestingly, the study was drafted at roughly the same time as the development plan and multi-annual financial and investment plans – it was approved by the city council in October 2010.

The study's provisions relate to the *Local Development Plan for Łódź 2007–2013* and outline the following directions and objectives for spatial transformation of the city (*Studium...* 2010):

- attaining full functional efficiency of existing and creating new areas subordinated to ecological functions;
- reducing urban sprawl in order to retain as much ecologically active areas as possible;
- eliminating the forms of spatial development which are threatening to the natural environment, in particular in the downtown areas;
- laying down foundations for creation and development of multi-functional areas which would replace mono-functional areas in the city's spatial structure;
- changing the structure of housing districts by means of emphasizing organized forms of housing development;
- providing spatial conditions and development adequate for processes of contemporary pro-ecological economic restructuring;
- providing conditions for full and unrestricted development of supra-local functions consistent with the city's size and status;
- ensuring adequate space for development of science and higher education;

- striving for a positive image of the city by highlighting spatial icons of its identity.

The study's provisions are coherent and in line with the draft of integrated development strategy. In that sense, the study may be considered a strength in terms of the spatial dimension of strategic integrated management. However, lack of local spatial development plans for the vast majority of the city is a significant barrier which slows down development processes in Łódź.

6.8. Urban management in Łódź – a success story?

Speaking in terms of strategic integrated management, Łódź is a city equipped with all necessary documents, with the exception of the strategy which is currently drafted and which has been replaced with a mid-term development plan. What is more, the existing documents seem to be coherent and mutually supportive – the provisions of key documents, such as the study of conditions and directions of spatial development, *Local Development Plan for Łódź 2007–2013*, and even the draft *Integrated Development Strategy 2020+*, are all in line. The question remains, however, what is the success rate in terms of attaining the objectives outlined in those documents.

It has already been mentioned that some of the targets laid in the *Local Development Plan for Łódź 2007–2013* were missed. Nevertheless, in order to assess whether Łódź has been managed successfully in the recent past, it seems necessary to analyze the city's general development in economic, social and spatial terms.

The city's financial standing can certainly be the starting point of such an assessment, especially in the wake of the widespread financial and economic crisis. Two general observations regarding twelve metropolitan cities in Poland are: (1) the average ratio of own income sources to total incomes decreased from 70% in 2008 to 64.3% in 2010 and (2) the average indebtedness ratio (total liabilities to total incomes) sky-rocketed from 29.1% in 2008 to 46.4% in 2010. Łódź followed these trends quite closely. Its own

income sources amounted to 68.9%, 62.9% and 66.1% respectively for 2008, 2009 and 2010. As far as the level of indebtedness is concerned, it is generally higher than the arithmetical average for all Polish metropolitan cities, but follows the same trend – the city's ratio of liabilities to total incomes amounted to 34.5%, 41.4% and 52.1% respectively for 2008, 2009 and 2010 (*Wskaźniki...* 2011).

It is evident that Łódź is fast approaching a moment when its capacity for financing further development activities will become gravely restricted, when the city will no longer be capable of generating additional debt. This may have adverse effects on the rate of development in spatial, social and economic dimension.

As far as the smart city concept is concerned, currently, there is no in-depth research available on the state of implementation of the smart city concept in Polish cities. The general perception is that the strategic documents drafted by Polish cities are insufficient for coordination of social, economic, spatial and environmental aspects of development while ICT usage is insufficient.

Looking at Łódź, it seems that the documents required by the strategic integrated management attempt to incorporate elements of the smart city concept into the planned path of development for the city. However, grave restrictions in terms of financing and huge lags in terms of housing infrastructure, transport infrastructure and communal infrastructure, and also accompanying pressure exerted by the inhabitants lead to a conclusion that the city will not be capable, in the foreseeable future, to invest enough in turning "smart".

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