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MARGINS AND MARGINALIZATIONS IN A POST-SOCIALIST URBAN AREA. THE CASE OF ŁÓDŹ

Abstract: As a result of post-socialist political transformations and globalization-related processes, the architectural landscape of Central and Eastern European cities is undergoing significant metamorphosis. Their architecture reflects and visualises not only economic, but also social and cultural changes. The transformations and architectural refurbishment contribute to the alteration of the city's image and the creation of new divisions into "luxury zones" and marginalized areas.

Keywords: marginalization – post-socialist city – $\angle \delta d\acute{z}$ – gentrification – redevelopment.

INTRODUCTION

Post-socialist cities have experienced major and rapid transformation. The collapse of the Communist system and the resulting democratization, market facilitation and decentralization of decision-making have produced numerous positive changes, including those in the urban design. However, some of the changes bring about different types of threats and negative results.

Currently, the "game for the city" is played by the new participants, such as the local government, foreign investors, developers and private entrepreneurs. According to Bohdan Jałowiecki, the stake is the urban area, in which each player tries to get the best location¹. Consequently, locations and zones within the city become divided into "good" and "bad" ones. The "bad" loca-

¹ Cf. B. Jałowiecki, Gra o miasto w sytuacji transformacji ustroju, in: Gra o miasto, ed. B. Jałowiecki, PAN Komitet Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju, Warszawa 1992, pp. 7-14.

tions are situated in the margins of interest and outside of the main development programs designed for the city.

The architectural tissue of the urban area becomes qualitatively and visually divided into "enclaves of luxury", perfectly matching the dominating tendency of economic development, primacy of success and prosperity, and the neglected architectural substance or whole urban zones remaining in the margin, being subject to destruction and decapitalization. A margin is understood here, according to one of the basic senses of the word, as something which remains outside the mainstream of cultural, economic and political life, and thus has a secondary importance and minor value.²

The changes made in the architectural tissue of the city reflect the changes occurring in the society and the deepening social contrasts, and the processes of marginalization taking place in the city point to a considerable problem which is not easy to solve.

THE MARGINALIZATION OF WORKERS' HOUSING ESTATES IN THE PROCESS OF REDEVELOPMENT

It is interesting to examine the processes taking place in Łódź, a city that has suffered a particularly severe crisis resulting from deindustrialization. The city that owed its development to textile industry³ has gone through painful experience due to the political transformations and the consequent collapse of many of its big industrial plants within a short period of time. Large numbers of labourers, often from the families whose members had been employed in Łódź factories for generations, lost their jobs. Jerzy Dzieciuchowicz and Stanisław Kaniewski point out on the basis of their research that the social and professional structure of Łódź changed significantly during the period of transformation from socialist to free-market economy; "particularly negative social and economic consequences were caused by the decline in the number of those employed in the industry". The unemployment rate in the 1990s in Łódź was the highest of Polish biggest cities.⁵

S. Dubiesz (ed.), Margines, in: Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2008.

³ Light industry was a dominating branch of industry in Łódź both in the 19th and in 20th centuries.

J. Dzieciuchowicz, S. Kaniewicz, *Plansza XVII: Struktura społeczno zawodowa ludności*, in: ed. S. Liszewski, *Atlas miasta*, Urząd Miasta Łodzi, Łódź 2002.

Many times in the 1990s, unemployment rate in Łódź exceeded unemployment rate of big cities with the smallest rate sevenfold: E. Kryńska, *Przemiany polskiego rynku pracy w kontekście międzynarodowym*, 04.05.2014 (online Official website of the Ministry of Infra-

Losing their job, even a badly-paid one, deprived the labourers employed in Łódź factories of their previous status and pushed them into the social, economic and political margin. Research into the processes occurring today in the Polish society clearly indicate its polarization and the division into those who have "won" and those who have "lost" as a result of the transformation.⁶ It is pointed out that the losers are mainly the labourers⁷. After the political transformation of 1989 it was this group that became heavily exposed to poverty, resulting primarily from long-term unemployment. However, marginalization also involves the social status and its perception. Communist propaganda had emphasized the role of the "working class" in developing the People's Republic of Poland, even if these were only empty slogans. Today the working class⁸ has largely lost its status, and the decrease in the number of labourers in a particular city is perceived as evidence of economic modernization⁹. Lech Gilejko also points out the marginalization of labourers in comparison to the role which they had played in the "democratic revolution"10.

Apparently, poverty and helplessness, regrettably often passed from generation to generation, is deepening among the former labourers¹¹. Interestingly, it is not only difficult living conditions and low material status that are important, but also the subjective impression of impotence, and an attempt to "define oneself" and determine one's chances for success frequently puts a particular person in a position of withdrawal and places them in a social margin¹². These phenomena are particularly evident in post-industrial Łódź,

structure and Development. Available at: http://www.mir.gov.pl/rozwoj_regionalny/poziom_krajowy/polska_polityka_przestrzenna/zespol_realizacyjny_KPZK/Documents/ee329d16a df2458a9aea22db285a5c9bPrzemianypolskiegorynkupracywkontekciemidzynarodow.pdf, p. 9. *Cf. Strategia Zintegrowanego Rozwoju Łodzi 2020+. Diagnoza strategiczna Łodzi. Synteza*, oprac. Biuro Strategii, Partnerstwa i Funduszy Oddział Strategii Rozwoju Miast Urzędu Miasta Łodzi, Łódź, p. 11.

A. Karwińska, Zagrożenie marginalizacją społeczną w Polsce a tworzenie i przekazywanie kapitału kulturowego, "Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie", 2005, no. 682, p. 7.

P. Broda-Wysocki, Wykluczenie i inkluzja społeczna paradygmaty i próby definicji, Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, Warszawa 2012, p. 116. Cf. L. K. Gilejko, Przegrana większość. Robotnicy i chłopi, in: ed. M. Jarosz, Polska. Ale jaka?, ISP PAN, Warszawa 2005, p. 187, and L. K. Gilejko, Robotnicy w transformacji: ocena ich położeń i szans, in: ed. M. Jarosz, Wygrani i przegrani polskiej transformacji, ISP PAN, Warszawa 2005, p. 197.

Solution Currently it is also difficult to talk about the labourers as a separate social group.

⁹ L.K. Gilejko, *Robotnicy w transformacji...*, p. 195.

¹⁰ L.K. Gilejko, *Przegrana większość*..., p. 187.

¹¹ Cf. i.a. W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Bieda dzieci w środowisku wielkomiejskim (na przykładzie Łodzi), "Polityka Społeczna", 2009, no. 9, pp. 13-17.

¹² A. Karwińska, Zagrożenie marginalizacją społeczną..., pp. 7, 8.

a city perceived in the People's Republic of Poland as one predominated by the working class.

After the political transformation, attempts were made to create a new image of the city. The vision of the new identity of Łódź based on evoking the values associated with the 19th-century dynamic multicultural development of a city of thoroughly European character, does not include the labourers, who have been clearly marginalized. This process and its direction has had consequences for the functional conversion of the post-industrial areas and the program of their redevelopment. The decisions concerning the redeveloped areas reflect the city's current social and economic situation.

The fact that in the 19th century Łódź had developed as an industrial city practically from scratch determined the character of its architectural tissue. In the central part of the city, industrial buildings (including huge factories) adjoined both residential areas (industrial barons' palaces, tenement houses and workers' housing estates) and service zones. Putting industrial companies, crucial to the economic functioning of Łódź, into liquidation resulted in considerable changes in the city's core.

In 1998, there were seventeen poverty enclaves in Łódź, twelve of which were situated in the city centre. The areas inhabited by the poorest citizens of Łódź bear the distinctive hallmarks of material destruction; the urban tissue is subject to decapitalization¹³.

According to Andrzej Majer, "Diversity within the global economic and political system also means contrasts in the symbolic dimension e.g. places (...) which are 'good' and 'bad', 'safe' and 'dangerous', conducive to development or not." ¹⁴

It is worth attending to the processes producing such contrasts in Łódź, in the vast areas of the former factory and residential complexes, originally designed as a cohesive urban organism. The differentiation occurring in these areas in the post-Communist period introduces new divisions, in which certain parts become distinctively marginalized.

This process is visible e.g. on the premises of the former estate of Izrael Kalmanowicz Poznański, 19th-century Łódź manufacturer and tycoon, one of the most important people in the city's history, who contributed to its prosperity and development. Poznański's empire occupied the vast area near

A. Majer, Współczesna urbanizacja i szanse dla Łodzi, in: ed. W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńskia, J. Grotowska-Leder, Ryzyka transformacji systemowej (na przykładzie Łodzi), Wydawnictwo "Absolwent", Łódź 2000, p. 71.

¹³ Cf. W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Bieda dzieci w środowisku wielkomiejskim (na przykładzie Łodzi), "Polityka Społeczna" 2009, no. 9, pp. 14-15; B. Jankowski, W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Mieszkańcy tódzkich enklaw biedy 10 lat później, Wydawnictwo "Biblioteka", Łódź 2010, pp. 9-10.

Piotrkowska street, the main axis of the city. This complex is thus important not only from the historical point of view, but for the future of modern downtown Łódź.

The factory and the residential area belonging to Izrael Poznański, expanded since the 1870s, was the second biggest complex of this kind, after the Scheibler and Grohman Corporation. The complex included not only factory buildings and the adjoining elegant residence of the owner, but also workers' houses, so-called "famulas", and such buildings as a factory hospital, a canteen for the employees, and a wooden church. The canteen was also used as a place of meetings and cultural events, e.g. the performances of an amateur theatre.

Just before the outbreak of the First World War, the premises of the factory covered the area of 28.5 ha, and it employed ca. 7000 workers¹⁵. With them in mind, Izrael Poznański decided to erect three large residential buildings with four or five floors and two or three wings as well as eighteen smaller houses, 1086 flats in all¹⁶. They were situated along Ogrodowa Street, opposite the factory buildings. Thus Ogrodowa Street became an internal axis of the complex, and the whole constituted a coherent and organized composition.

The flats usually had one or two rooms; only a few, inhabited by better qualified staff and above-average labourers, were a bit larger. The buildings did not serve only residential functions: service establishments were located on the ground floor at the front. Some greenery was arranged on the side of the yard. The construction lasted from the late 1870s to 1896.

After World War II and the imposition of the Communist system in Poland, the factory was nationalized, yet its function and form remained the same. The name was changed to Julian Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plant and then, in 1970, to "Poltex" Cotton Industry Plant. The new patron of the plant was not picked at random: the former manufacturer, capitalist, "exploiter" was replaced, in accordance with the new guidelines, by the Communist activist of the labour movement from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. After 1945, the plant was still the second biggest workplace in Łódź, employing 12,000 people¹⁷.

I. Popławska, Architektura mieszkaniowa Łodzi w XIX wieku, PAN, Komitet Architektury i Urbanistyki, Warszawa 1992, p. 100.

Although a decision to build houses or the whole factory housing estates resulted partially from willingness to improve dramatic conditions in which majority of labourers lived, it had also a distinctively different, practical aspect, since the manufacturer, providing his employees with accommodation, gained greater control over them. Cf.: J. Rykwert, Pokusa miejsca. Przeszłość i przyszłość miast, Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, Kraków 2013, pp. 124-125.

S. Kaczmarek, Rewitalizacja terenów poprzemysłowych. Nowy wymiar w rozwoju miast, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2001, p. 111.

The status of Łódź labourers became elevated to "the avant-garde of Polish proletariat"¹⁸, at least in theory and in propaganda slogans, which declared that Łódź would turn into "a city of industry, culture and prosperity of the working masses".¹⁹ The slogans stating that the factory would no longer serve the interests of "the successors of Poznański's lords" but those of "the labourers working in this factory and their children"²⁰ were going to be confirmed by the proudly announced transformation of Poznański's palace into "a gorgeous nursery school and a crèche"²¹. Although in the times of the Polish People's Republic "the proletariat of Łódź" did not experience significant improvement of its material welfare, the working class was certainly in the centre of political attention.

When Poltex Cotton Industry Plant was put into liquidation in 1991²², the city began to search for a new function and first of all, new users of the post-industrial complex. It was not an easy process, considering the vast space and the capacity of the buildings.

In 1996, the French company Apsys decided to invest in this area and redevelop the historic complex²³. A huge shopping and entertainment complex, "Manufaktura", one of the three biggest investments of this kind in Poland, was opened in 2006 in modernized post-factory buildings complemented with some new ones on the premises of the former plant²⁴. One of the old buildings houses the Modern Art Museum, while the monumental building of former weaving mill (30 meters high and 187 meters long, with the surface area of almost 40,000 square meters) was converted and adjusted by Op Architekten, Wojciech Popławski and Andrzej Orliński to the requirements and standards of the four-star Andel's Hotel²⁵.

Rezolucja Wojewódzkiej Konferencji aktywu PPS i PPR, "Głos Robotniczy", 1946, nr 98, n. 1.

Beatus, Zbudujemy organizację partyjną ludu łódzkiego. Przekształcimy Łódź w miasto przemysłu, kultury i dobrobytu mas pracujących. Wywiad z tow. Kozłowskim pierwszych sekretarzem Komitetu Miejskiego Polskiej Partii Robotniczej, "Głos Robotniczy", 1946, no. 94, p. 4.

²⁰ Beatus, *1-szy Maja u robotników Poznańskiego*, "Głos Robotniczy", 1946, no. 107, p. 3.

Nie oddamy naszych fabryk!, "Głos Robotniczy", 1946, no. 106, p. 3.

²² By a decision of the Minister of Infrastructure Ministra Przemysłu of 01.08.1991.

In 2012, Apsys company sold "Manufaktura", making considerable profit, to a German investment fund, Union Investment. A sum of 390 m. euro was the largest sum earned that year from selling commercial properties in Poland. Łódź City Hall did not use the preemption right.

Galerie i centra handlowe. 12.06.2013. (online) Available at: http://www.najlepszegalerie. pl/galerie.

More broadly about problems concerning redevelopment of the area and assigning new functions to it, see: J. Sowińska-Heim, Conversions and redefinitions – architecture and identity of a place, "Art Inquiry. Recherches sur les Arts", vol. XV (XXIV), 2013, pp. 191-205.

The shopping and entertainment centre, opened in 2006, achieved notable commercial success. During its first year, it was visited by ca. 16 million people.²⁶ Manufaktura is regarded as a symbol of the redevelopment of Łódź in the post-industrial period, and at the same time as an "icon" of the industrial city.

An important part of the redeveloped complex is an internal "market-place", artificially created in place of the former narrow streets running between the factory buildings. The space formed in this way is attractive and consumer-friendly. However, although Manufaktura is situated in the city centre, it functions as a self-oriented, self-sufficient enclave. This problem is often noted and addressed during the meetings of Łódź urban planners, searching for the ideas for linking Manufaktura with other areas in the city centre²⁷.

The isolation of Manufaktura, resulting from an incomplete economic and social redevelopment of the complex, concerns its relationship with the city, but also the separation between the former factory and the residential complex built by Izrael Poznański for his employees. The workers' houses, once an integral part of the architectural complex, have been totally marginalized and remain outside the redeveloped area. Ogrodowa Street, which used to be the axis of the complex, currently marks one of its borders, while its center is Manufaktura's marketplace.

In his book *Old & New. Design Manual for Revitalizing Existing Build-ings*, devoted to the conversion of the high weaver mill into the four-star Andel's Hotel²⁸, Peter Jäger proffers very positive opinions on the redevelopment, and he finishes his text with a characteristic statement that enjoying the vertiginous, gorgeous view from the modern, fully-glazed swimming pool situated on the highest storey of the former high weaving mill, we realize that "the city of labourers is a thing of the past".

Currently, the "famula houses" (large tenement "multi-family houses") inhabited mostly by the former workers of the factory form a downtown poverty enclave.²⁹ Their standard has practically not improved since the 19th century – time has stopped here for over one hundred years; the shared toilets are situated in corridors, there is no connection to the city sewage or heating systems. At the same time, the total negligence of investment lasting for

Pracownia Urbanistyczna in Łódź.

K. Świerczewska-Pietras, Rewitalizacja zamknięta jako przykład zagospodarowania poprzemysłowego obszaru Łodzi, "Prace Komisji Geografii Przemysłu", 2009, no. 12, p. 178.
It was a motivation of i.a. a competition At source of Piotrkowska, organized by Miejska

²⁸ F.P. Jäger (ed.), *Old & New – Design Manual for Revitalizing Existing Buildings*, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2010, p. 137.

J. Grotowska-Leder, Łódzkie enklawy biedy, in: ed. W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Żyć i pracować w enklawach biedy (Klimaty łódzkie), Instytut Socjologii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 1998, p. 40.

many years, or rather decades, and no renovations result in a slow degradation of the architectural substance.

The problem of ignoring the former labourers in the process of creating the modern image of Łódź has been pointed out by, for instance, Michael Fleming.³⁰ He claims that the 19th-century architectural complexes are becoming a tool in the campaign for changing the image of the city. Fleming writes simply about the "fetishization of the place", while limited attention is paid to the needs of the citizens. He also emphasizes that the tenants of the old workers' houses are often treated as a problem, making the process of redevelopment more difficult.³¹ It is them, and not the owners, who are generally blamed by the local council for the abject condition of the buildings.³² The poor inhabitants of the enclave, mostly jobless members of the working class, are also perceived as unwanted neighbours, and their presence evokes fears about the safety and the aesthetics of the place³³.

In 2011, Łódź City Hall even decided to build some container housing estates on the outskirts of the city for the people evicted from the council flats (mostly from the tenement houses) covered by the redevelopment program.³⁴ In this way, the poorest inhabitants were to "disappear" from the city centre. Had this project been carried out, we would not be talking now about marginalization, but rather about exclusion and sending people out to live in ghettoes. However, a year later, the new Vice-President of Łódź stated that creating container housing estates was the last resort, which would hopefully not be used.³⁵

The famula houses in 24 and 26 Ogrodowa Street (included in the Register of Historic Buildings) as well as the third famula house in 28 Ogrodowa Street are marked on the map of *The Priority Area Redevelopment of the Centre of Łódź for 2014–2020+* prepared by the Łódź City Hall. It assumes a comprehensive renovation of the buildings and development of the area as well as the creation of new service establishments.³⁶ As a result of the renova-

M. Fleming, Legitimating urban "revitalisation" strategies in post-socialist Łódź, "East European Politics and Societies", 2012, no. 2, pp. 267-268.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

³³ Ibid.

J. Sobczyńska, W Łodzi powstają 3 osiedla kontenerowe. 30.04.2014 (online) Official website of "Dziennik Łódzki" newspaper, published 28.11.2011. Available at: http://www.polskatimes.pl/artykul/477226,w-Łódźi-powstana-3-osiedla-kontenerowe,id,t.html.

J. Sobczyńska, Łodzianie nie trafią do kontenerów. 30.04.2014 (online) Official website of "Dziennik Łódzki" newspaper, published on: 14.03.2012. Available at: http://www.dziennikŁódźki.pl/artykul/530161,Łódźianie-nie-trafia-do-kontenerow,id,t.html.

Biuro ds. Rewitalizacji i Rozwoju Zabudowy Miasta, Rewitalizacja obszarowa centrum Łodzi. Wstępny plan projektu 7 – część inwestycyjna, Łódź; Biuro ds. Rewitalizacji i Rozwoju Zabudowy Miasta, Rewitalizacja obszarowa centrum Łodzi. Wstępny plan projektu 8 – część inwestycyjna, Łódź.

tion, the standard of the flats will rise significantly – there will be no shared toilets in the corridors, the buildings will be connected to the sewage and heating systems. There will be more service and public areas. One famula house is going to be divided into a residential part and a cultural one.³⁷

In August 2013, the President of Łódź, Hanna Zdanowska, presenting the plan for the redevelopment of the famuła house on the corner of Ogrodowa Street and Gdańska Street, admitted that 140 families would be relocated³⁸. She stated that on the completion of the renovation, the tenants would have the chance to come back to their flats on condition that they would not have any outstanding debts and would agree to pay a higher rent from then on.³⁹ In reality it means that the overwhelming majority of the current tenants will not come back to the same location. They may be offered flats located in various other parts of the city. Apparently, the process of downtown gentrification in Łódź is clearly beginning or rather going on.

CONCLUSION

The increasing contrast between the neighbouring areas, the marked social and spatial stratification, in which cost-effectiveness determines the fate of the place and its architectural tissue, results in a mosaic urban pattern. Social inequality is consolidated within the city space. Some parts of the city undergo improvement in the quality of their architectural environment, while the others face physical, social and economic collapse. The relative spatial homogeneity of the Communist city is being replaced by the logic of free-

³⁷ Ibia

⁵⁸ eviction judgments with the right to social housing have been passed against the dwellers of the quarter outlined by Ogrodowa St., Zachodnia St., Legionów St. and Gdańska St., and the required number of social flats has amounted to 217. Whereas in the quarter outlined by Ogrodowa St., Gdańska St., Legionów St. and Cmentarna St., there have been 144 eviction judgments, and it has been decided that the number of required social flats amounts to 489. These decisions concern not only tenants of famula houses, but also those living in neighbouring tenement houses: Famuly jak nowe, 03.05.2014 (online) Oficjalna strona Urzędu Miasta Łodzi; utworzona: 14.08.2013. Available at: http://uml.Łódź.pl/miasto/aktualnosci/?news=23962.

³⁹ Ibid.

According to Kazimiera Wódz and Jacek Wódz "mosaic cultural identity of a city" is particularly typical of transitional periods, coming, like in this case, after a fierce political transformation: J. Wódz, K. Wódz, W poszukiwaniu nowej tożsamości. Miasta Śląska i Zaglębia w okresie przemian końca XX, in: ed. B. Kloch, A. Stawarz, Tożsamość społecznokulturowa miasta postindustrialnego w Europie, Rybnik–Warszawa 2005, pp. 7-16.

market rules. 41 The marginalization discussed here is primarily connected with poverty 42 and its physical reflection in degraded architecture.

The discontinuity and polycentrism of the urban space, emphasized by the division into "oases of luxury" and neglected zones situated in the margins seems to match the attributes of "postmodernity", such as incoherence or fragmentation.⁴³

The visual and qualitative duality appearing in the city emphasizes the social differentiation and spatial marginalization of specific groups of citizens.



1. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, The former main gate to Izrael Poznański's industrial complex, currently one of the entrances to *Manufaktura*, 2012

S. Hirt, K. Stanilov, Twenty years of transition: the evolution of urban planning in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, 1989-2009, UnHabitat, Nairobi 2009, pp. 11, 25.

⁴³ Z. Bauman, *Dwa szkice o moralności ponowoczesnej*, Instytut Kultury, Warszawa 1994, p. 7.

Marginalization types depending on a field of life which they concern have been clearly presented by: Ł. Łotocki, *Marginalizacja i wykluczenie a obcość*, in: ed. R. Szarfenberg, C. Żołędowski, M. Theiss, *Ubóstwo i wykluczenie społeczne – perspektywa poznawcza*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2010, pp. 174-175.



2. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, The "market" of *Manufaktura*, 2012



3. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, The interior of the shopping center, 2014



4. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, A view of the former workers' houses from *Manufaktura*, 2014



5. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, Workers' houses on the other side of Ogrodowa Street, 2014



6. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, In the back yard, 2014



7. Photo by J. Sowińska-Heim, A view of Andel's Hotel (four stars plus a swimming pool on the roof), 2014.

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Biuro ds. Rewitalizacji i Rozwoju Zabudowy Miasta, *Rewitalizacja obszarowa centrum Łodzi.* Wstępny plan projektu 7 – część inwestycyjna, Łódź.

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MARGINESY I MARGINALIZACJA W POSTSOCJALISTYCZNEJ PRZESTRZENI MIEJSKIEJ NA PRZYKŁADZIE ŁODZI (streszczenie)

W wyniku postsocjalistycznej transformacji ustrojowej i procesów związanych z globalizacją krajobraz architektoniczny miast Europy Centralnej i Wschodniej ulega istotnym przemianom. Architektura odzwierciedla i obrazuje zachodzące zmiany nie tylko gospodarcze i ekonomiczne, ale również społeczne i kulturowe. Pod wpływem podejmowanych przekształceń i działań architektonicznych zmienia się obraz miasta i tworzą między innymi nowe podziały – "obszary luksusu" oraz przestrzenie zmarginalizowane.

Słowa kluczowe: marginalizacja – miasto postsocjalistyczne – Łódź – gentryfikacja – rewitalizacja.