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The industrial heritage and post-industrial urban identity: the case of Lodz in Poland

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Abstract

Material tissue forming urban space strengthens the sense of rootedness and self-identification. Architecture defines a place, builds its genius loci, and a feeling of being at home. This article examines how the concept of redefinition of city identity is connected and merges with activities concerning adaptive reuse of the 19th-century post-industrial architecture of Lodz. The city, situated in the central part of the country, is one of three largest Polish cities and represents an international case study.

Il patrimonio industriale e l'identità urbana postindustriale: il caso di Lodz in Polonia

Il tessuto materiale che forma lo spazio urbano rafforza il senso di radicamento e di autoidentificazione. L'architettura definisce un luogo, costruisce il suo genius loci e la sensazione di essere a casa. Questo articolo esamina come il concetto di ridefinizione dell'identità della città sia collegato e si fonde con le attività relative al riuso dell'architettura post-industriale di Lodz del XIX secolo. Lodz, situata nella parte centrale della Polonia, è una delle tre più grandi città del paese e rappresenta un caso studio a livello internazionale.

Keywords: Adaptive reuse, industrial heritage, urban renewal, revitalization, city identity.

Riuso, città postindustriale, rinnovamento urbano, rinascita, identità urbana.

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1 | Introduction

Lodz, situated in the central part of the country and being one of three largest Polish cities, became prominent in the 19th century thanks to intensive development of textile industry. After the political transformation of 1989, Lodz faced a rapid industrial breakdown and de-industrialisation. Since the 1990s, in parallel with search for ways to save and revive progressive degradation of the urban tissue, attempts have been made in Lodz to create a new city image as well as to find and redefine an urban identity. Projects aimed at renewal and revitalisation of the city centre include both renovation, reconstruction or conversion of existing buildings and intended actions aimed at shaping attitudes and a local identity. Modern Lodz is subjected to a kind of an urban experiment, whose important part is creating and managing methods of social experiencing of a place and urban space.

An important role in this process is played by the meaning of architectural heritage, which is an important reference point for the local community. Material tissue forming urban space strengthens the sense of rootedness and self-identification [Rossi 1982, 130, 131; Lewicka 2012, 111]. Architecture defines a place, builds its *genius loci*, and a feeling of being at home [Sowińska 2018; Sowińska 2015, 338-353].

2 | A theoretical framework

A city may be perceived as an «organized complexity», with coexisting not only different relations and influences [Jacobs 1961], but also meanings and interpretative possibilities [Bishop, Williams 2012; Graham, Healey 1999]. It is subject to constant internal modifications. It is where various historical, cultural and social threads intersect, clash and permeate. Interferences associated both with contemporary patterns, demolitions and modernizations introduce new values in the architectural environment. Past and present engage in a dialogue, connect or contrast in urban space. Thus, dynamics and diversity are introduced into the seemingly stable architectural environment.

Political transformation is special stimulus leading to intensification of processes related to redefining and reinterpreting the urban space. These processes then become one of the essential tools legitimizing the new order, but also an instrument used to co-create a sense of collective identity in the new political, economic, cultural and social realities. Semantic values connected with architectural forms may then be displayed for certain purposes or blurred, or even erased [Leśniakowska 1996, 61]. In this way, artefacts gain new connotations, subject to different interpretations through the prism of contemporary ideas [Sowińska-Heim 2015].

At the same time, in the second half of the 20th century, primarily in response to unification and standardization, resulting i.a. from globalization, there was a significantly increasing interest in what is endemic, and the emphasis, or even recovery of local identity, became an important factor in building a sense of stability in rapidly changing and forcing mobility modern world [Lewicka 2010; Rykwert 2013, 315]. A significant role in the process is played by architectural urban tissue. Pursuit of preserving architectural objects which are important for the city gains considerable significance both due to preservation of its specificity, structures characteristic for the urban landscape, constituting its «personality structure» [Dubos 1986], and the role that architectural heritage plays in strengthening the local community. Since in Western culture, there is a deeply rooted need to look for what is durable, gives a sense of security, constitutes an important point of reference and an important factor shaping identity. The history of architecture characterised by the influence of two opposing forces: on the one hand a desire to maintain the existing form, related to the need for maintaining tradition, determined by the cultural factor, and on the other – the need for a change, resulting from social and technical transformations, which can be described as a civilization factor [Gutowski 1997, 199]. Analysing the issue from the perspective of currently dominating processes, Manuel Castells mentions identity and globalization as a pair of antinomic forces determining organization of the contemporary world [Castells 2010, 17]. At the same time, Anthony Giddens points out that currently identity appears to be extremely «delicate, fragile, cracked and scattered» [Giddens 2012, 227]. A specific crisis of «identity» that has arisen in a globalized world, at the same time provoked reflection and discussion about it [Bauman 1994, 7].

In recent decades, aspects related to the importance of architectural heritage for contemporary society and the role it plays in the development of the city have been clearly accentuated and highlighted. Buildings or complexes from the past are protected not only for future generations, but also consciously included in the currently undertaken activities. This aspect was clearly highlighted already in the *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* and *The Declaration of Amsterdam* of 1975. The latter document stated that: «It is known that historical continuity must be preserved in the environment if we are to maintain or create surroundings which enable individuals to find their identity and feel secure despite abrupt social changes...» [Declaration of Amsterdam].

The postulate of combining the present and the future with the past, so clearly emphasized, among others in *The New Charter of Athens 2003: The European Council of Town Planners for the 21st century*, is on the one hand a response to modern interest of the resident in the bygone times and

the growing need to create «places of remembrance» [Nora 2009, 4-12] and on the other hand, it is an important clue for architects and urban planners, stressing importance of actions aimed at preserving the historical continuity of cities and, thus, their identity [Lewicka 2012]. Development of multicultural cities belonging to the European urban networks, while maintaining and caring for local identity, is nowadays a significant challenge and an important part of the idea of sustainable development [New Charter of Athens 2003]. Therefore, it is not about an «exclusive» identity, but about «identity in diversity» or «open identity» [Rewers 2000, 117-118)]. Another distinctive phenomenon is clearly visible democratization and pluralisation in perception of artefacts from the past, worthy of protection and important for the society, which is not limited to buildings important due to specific historical and aesthetic values or their significant age, but expanded to include objects significant from the point of view of the local community¹. As noticed by Françoise Choay, since the 1960s protection of the heritage has been extended by broadening the chronological and geographical framework, as well as by incorporating a new type of heritage [Choay 2001, 2, 4], including i.a. post-industrial buildings. It is therefore necessary to consider the cultural context of each historical building. In Lodz, a nineteenth-century factory complex made of a characteristic red brick will be perceived as a part of a significant architectural heritage, because it comes from the period when the city gained its importance and greatness. However, this type of building, for example in Italy, with its ancient monuments, would be less significant and would not create the social need for protection and preservation [Feilden 2003, 6].

In order to understand significance of monuments for contemporary societies, we need to refer to the observation contained in the *Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage*, developed in July 2003, which emphasizes that «continuity that re-use implies may provide psychological stability for communities facing the sudden end of long-standing, is significant for. sources of employment» [Nizhny Tagil Charter 2003, V]. It was also indicated that the change in their use plays an important role in the revitalization process.

3 | Political transformation and the need to revive historical and architectural heritage of Lodz

Łódź was one of the Central and Eastern European cities which after the 1989 political shift underwent a very rapid transformation and were severely affected by the deindustrialisation process. The scale of the phenomenon resulted from the character of the city, whose development and prosperity were closely related to industrialization and textile industry boom in the 19th century. In just a few dozen years, Łódź changed from a small town into a powerful, bustling metropolis. At the beginning of the 19th century, namely in 1821, Łódź was inhabited by 799 people, while in 1830, just nine years later, a number of residents was almost five and a half times higher (4343 people). At the end of the 19th century, the population reached almost 300,000, and Łódź became the second largest city in the Kingdom of Poland [Baranowski, Fijalek 1980, 196, 197]. This unusually rapid development and creation of a powerful industrial centre from scratch in such a short time was associated with government's decision to grant Lodz the status of an industrial town and to establish a large-scale industrial centre here. It was also when the architectural and urban image of the city was shaped.

After the Second World War, under the rule of the communist authorities the city's past was subjected to devastating criticism. It was presented in propaganda slogans as terrible times when «exploiters and oppressors», a small handful of landowners and manufacturers «sucked» workers' blood [Daniszewski 1946, 4]. However, despite the propaganda and ideological revolution

¹ The preamble of the Convention on the Value of the Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, 2005) formulated by the Council of Europe on 27 October 2005 in Faro, declares even that there is a need of «Recognition of the need to put people in the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage».









Fig. 1: *U Scheiblera* lofts in former Karol Scheibler's spinning mill (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

Fig. 2: 19th-century spinning mill of Izrael Poznański's factory complex, nowadays Andel's Hotel (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

Fig. 3: Piotrkowska Street – the main urban, historical and symbolic axis of Lodz (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

Fig. 4: Restored buildings of Izrael Poznański's former industrial complex and the marketplace of *Manufaktura* (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim). 9 Julia Sowińska-Heim

² In the 1870s and 1880s, at the time of greatest prosperity, the factory complex of Karol Scheibler was one of the largest in Europe. The beginnings of a powerful urban and architectural complex date back to the 1850s. Production in a spinning mill founded by Karol Scheibler, equipped with a modern, as for those days, steam engine, started in 1856. The initial complex consisting of a factory building, residence and private park was systematically expanded, especially from the 1860s. In the 1860s. Scheibler purchased extensive areas, socalled Księży Młyn (Eng. the Priests Mill). Karol Scheibler came from the Rhineland.

³ Created by Izrael Kalamanowicz Poznański in the 1870s and 1880s and gradually expanded until the outbreak of the First World War, the huge complex consisted of a factory, workers' houses, church, hospital, canteen performing also cultural functions and other buildings functionally complementing the complex. A palace with a private garden was also erected in the immediate vicinity of the factory. in the period of the Polish People's Republic, Lodz was still perceived as "Polish Manchester", the city of «one hundred factories» and «one hundred chimneys» [Gzamm 1951, 2]. Despite denial of the role of families of factory owners in creation of the city after 1945, as well as disavowing significance of the heritage left by them, the former factories retained their function. The political transformation of 1989 brought radical changes regarding the foundations of the city's economic functioning. As a result of deindustrialization, many factories and plants inseparably associated with the image of the city were closed. Among others, the largest cotton factories: Peace Defenders Cotton Factory «Uniontex» and Marchlewski's Cotton Industry Factory, later named «Poltex», employing over a dozen thousand people, were put into liquidation. They functioned in two Łódź most important nineteenth-century factory complexes, taken over by the state as a result of nationalization following the Second World War: the first one in the buildings of former Karol Scheibler and Ludwik Grohmann United Industrial Plant², the other one – in the former industrial and residential complex of Izrael Poznański³. The characteristic, monumental bodies of both Scheibler's and Poznański's spinning mills, reflecting medieval defence architecture, still belong to the most recognizable elements of Lodz architectural heritage.

Collapse of Łódź industry not only increased unemployment and marginalization in the space of the city occupied by former workers and their families, ghettoization of urban space [Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 2009; Jankowski, Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 2010], but also to degradation of post-industrial architectural tissue. Vacant houses became a characteristic feature of the urban landscape of Lodz in the 1990s. This problem mainly affected the city centre. It was when the city authorities emphasized the need to revive historical, architectural heritage of Lodz, combining undertaken and planned activities with a narrative about reconstruction of the identity and stimulating stronger identification of Lodz residents with the city [Dziennik Urzędowy Województwa Łodzkiego, No. 6, item 71]. The priority was to revive Piotrkowska Street, being the main urban, historical and symbolic axis of Lodz. In the 1990s, as many as 50% of post-industrial areas located only at this most important city street, changed their function [Piech 2002], which well reflects the scale of the problem.

The city authorities, as well as its residents, were forced to rethink and revise the urban identity created in a completely new economic and social situation. Political shift stimulated a kind of urban self-reflection and a look at the city's past. However, this is not a fully critical reflection, but rather search for positive values that can contribute to consolidation of the local community, as well as creation of a contemporary image of the city. The most notable are the efforts to rehabilitate the history of Lodz from before 1918, the period depicted in post-communist times as the «golden age of the city». In the officially created discourse, present both in documents and promotional campaigns of the city authorities, as well as festivals organized in Lodz (e.g. the Festival of Four Cultures) or conferences, the past becomes an important point of reference. The greatest emphasized is put on the modern and unique character of Lodz - amulticultural, ethnically diverse city with strongly European roots [Puś 2005, 25], which, thanks to creativity of its residents, turned from a small village into a bustling metropolis in just a few decades. Reference to the bygone period of rapid, almost spectacular development of Łódź in the 19th and early 20th centuries is also connected with an attempt to bring these features to the present day. Emphasizing the European roots of the city is associated with a desire to transform modern Lodz into a vibrant European city and restoring the old atmosphere of dynamism and creativity [Michlic 2008, 289-290; Sowińska-Heim 2017, 217-238].

4 | Fragmentary revitalization of two largest factory complexes in Lodz

An important part of the large-scale activities aimed at city centre revitalization is adaptive reuse of post-industrial Lodz buildings. The undertaken activities resulted in creation of numerous award-winning projects, such as Łódź shopping and entertainment centre, called Manufaktura (referred to in the press as the «largest shopping centre of Eastern Europe» [Frak 2011, 4]), together with Andel's Hotel and U Scheiblera lofts⁴. This is how fragmentary revitalization of areas formerly belonging to the two largest industrial tycoons of the 19th century, Izrael Poznański and Karol Scheibler, was carried out. In both cases, merger of the nineteenth-century past and present day is supposed to be a kind of magnet, attracting with its originality and uniqueness, while the use of existing buildings, which is an integral part of the urban landscape, authenticates and legitimizes new development investments. This process is particularly visible in case of the former factory complex of Izrael Poznański, which for over a century (up to the 1990s) was a symbol of greatness of Lodz industry, and nowadays, as the Manufaktura shopping centre, it has become a showcase of the reviving post-industrial city [Sowińska-Heim 2013]. Particularly significant aspect is creation of the internal market among the post-industrial buildings, which has become an important public space. The idyllic atmosphere among the fountains and cafes, although far from the original character of the factory space, well met the need for creating a tidy, aesthetically-shaped public space in Lodz. However, the nineteenth-century structures adapted to the new function underwent significant modifications, becoming setting for modern functions rather than reliable testimony to the past. Post-factory buildings that can be seen today are to great extent facades, because their interiors were completely modified. At the same time, introduction of a new function into the old walls saved difficult to develop, huge factory buildings, which are an important architectural heritage of the city⁵.

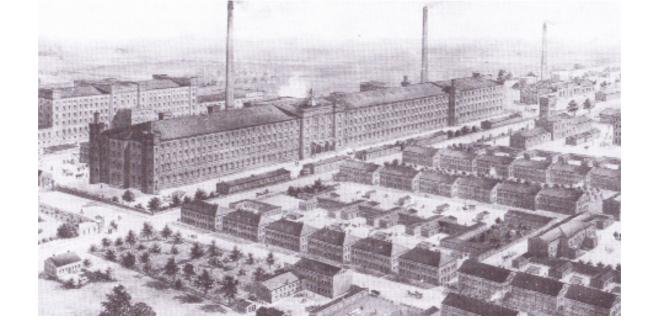
Due to considerable size of the areas occupied by the former factory complexes, adaptation of only selected building resulted in losing original cohesion. Introduction of new functions resulted in divisions within the original complex, modifying its composition. In case of the former complex of Izrael Poznański, Ogrodowa Street, once an internal axis of the complex, currently delineates its boundary, while a function of an axis is currently performed by the recently created «market» of Manufaktura. Transformations related to adaptive reuse of post-factory buildings forced the city authorities to take action also in other areas (including a decision to revitalize former workers' houses).

In case of the huge urban-architectural complex that once belonged to Karol Scheibler, thoughtful composition is also subject to physical and symbolic divisions. This problem, as in the case of the former Poznański's complex, particularly concerns division between the main factory building (spinning mill) and the former workers' housing estate opposite the factory. The extensive area of Księży Mlyn (Pffafendorf) constituted an important part of the urban and architectural complex of Karol Scheibler, created in the 1850s and systematically expanded. In the 1860s, a workers' housing estate was erected there. Nowadays brick, unplastered facades of the family houses and a huge, four-storey spinning mill situated opposite are a characteristic and recognizable element of Lodz architectural landscape. After the political transformation in 1989, this one of the largest nineteenth-century residential and factory complexes in Europe was divided, and its selected parts were adapted to new, diverse cultural and artistic functions (Lodz Art Centre and Art Factory) or turned into offices (i.a. a former building of the factory fire station) or residential spaces (already mentioned *U Scheiblera* lofts). In accordance with the concept adopted in 2010 by the City Council, the former workers' housing estate was transformed into a

⁵ It is worth emphasizing that it was the first adaptative reuse of the architectural heritage carried out in Łódź on such a scale. The works were performed in 1999-2006, that is, before putting forward recommendations in The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage (2003).

⁶ The decision was mainly related to the attempt to include the project in the current activities related to applying for the title of the European Capital of Culture. Resolution No. XCI/1585/10 of the City Council in Łódź of 7 July 2010 on determining the directions of activities for the President of the City of Łódź in the scope of preparation of the integrated program for development of the Księży Mlyn area «Księży Mlyn 2016».

⁴ *Manufaktura* was granted, among others, the status of the Tourist Product of the Year 2006, it was given the ULI Global Awards 2007 (i.a. for the quality of the created public space) and became a winner of the competition organized by CiJ monthly for the best shopping centre and the best general construction product. It was also given the status of the best facility in Central and Eastern Europe dedicated to trade and recreation – CEE Real Estate Quality Awards 2006. It received certificates such as: BREEAM in-use or POT Golden Certificate 2010. U *Scheiblera* lofts, where apartments are currently being sold by a receiver, were given the status of i.a. the best Polish modernization in the competition Europa & Africa Property Awards 2010. They were created in the former Karol Scheibler's spinning mill.



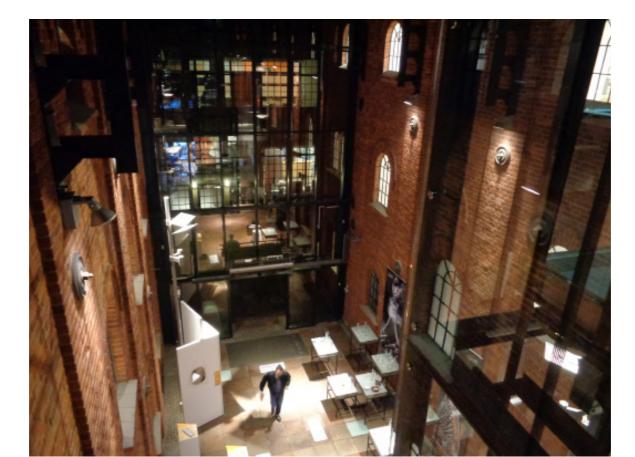


Fig. 5: Karol Scheibler's factory complex with a monumental spinning mill and a workers' housing estate. Printed in the album of the Scheibler i "Grohman" company, Lodz 1921.

Fig. 6: Lodz Art Centre and Art Factory – a cultural and artistic conglomerate, which occupies former halls 19thcentury factory belonging to Karol Scheibler and Ludwik Grohman's United Cotton Industry Plants (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim). model creative district⁶. The current project, still in progress, assumes primarily preservation of the housing function in modernized facilities, and, in addition, creation of art studios, cafes and restaurants. During activities taken so far, integrity of the complex has not been preserved.

5 | Adaptive reuse and the concept of Lodz as a creative city

At the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, the city authorities adopted the concept of building the image and promoting Łódź as a creative city [Lodz brand management strategy for 2010-2016 (2011)]. This allowed for inclusion of the city in the pan-European tendencies with simultaneous reference to the local cultural heritage, including avant-garde artistic activities (i.a. one of the first collections of modern art in the world: the International Modern Art Collection of the «a.r.» group) or the achievements of Lodz Film School, as well as fashion and design.

The idea of stimulating the process of urban renovation and economic revival, as well as contributing to creation of a new image of the city, both for residents and tourists, through introduction of cultural activity is very clearly visible in the project «EC1 Łódź – City of Culture». At the beginning, implementation of the project was based on cooperation between the city authorities and the private sector (World Art Foundation co-created by American director David Lynch), and since 2015 it has become a key investment related to adaptive reuse of architectural heritage carried out by the city in cooperation with Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The project of transforming the oldest Lodz power plant from the beginning of the 20th century into the centre related to cultural, artistic and educational activities (including exhibition halls, modern planetarium, interactive Science and Technology Centre), has become a part of the project covering renovation of 90 ha of land located in the city centre, near the main Piotrkowska street. According to the assumptions, introduction of a new function should contribute to renovation and stimulation of this part of the city, but also to creation of a new, functional centre and showing the contemporary identity of Lodz [Karpińska 2012, pp. 135-154]. While efforts to renovate this part of the city may bring a positive effect and lead to its actual recovery, the very concept of creating a «new centre» in the immediate vicinity of the historic centre may raise concerns about violation of the historical urban-architectural and semantic structure. Functional change of large post-industrial areas in the downtown creates a valuable opportunity to include places previously closed and inaccessible to residents in the city life. However, undertaken activities require very careful rethinking and clarification of the purpose and cultural significance of new urban spaces emerging in this way, as well as their integration with the surroundings. In case of a project such as EC1, it is even more important, since the buildings used by the oldest Lodz power plant, despite of being an interesting example of industrial architecture from the beginning of the 20th century, did not play a significant role in the urban space or in the consciousness of the residents. Limiting the project to locating institutions associated with broad cultural activity in a given area without a deliberate concept of combining it with public space, or introducing additional functions related to relaxation, rest and leisure, such as cafes, restaurants or clubs, have turned EC1 in its current shape into a place where you come with a specific intention (e.g. to a science centre or a cinema), but it is not a place where you stay with pleasure. What is more, despite potential of the place, a part of the EC1-East, where a new segment housing i.a. a planetarium, was added to the oldest facilities of the power plant, may be compared, due to i.a. an impersonal nature of the interior design, empty «cold» spaces, to the transit space, non-place of Marc Augé [Augé 2012]⁷.

⁷ The research was carried out as part of the *Bilbao Effect or the cargo cult?*, by a team of sociologists from the Institute of Art at Nicolaus Copernicus University under the direction of prof. Krzysztof Olechnicki.



Fig. 7: Renovated buildings of former EC1 power plant, dedicated to a cultural, educational and artistic functions (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

A completely different way of thinking about introducing a new function related to the widely understood creative industry takes place in the Lodz project, Off Piotrkowska. Initially, a developer assumed turning the site of a former cotton factory of Franciszek Ramisch, located on 1,3 ha directly at Piotrkowska Street into a shopping and office complex and a hotel. The works were going to start in 2008, however, due to the economic downturn, the project was not started. Yet, an independent association of young enthusiasts of the Lodz industrial architectural heritage was allowed to undertake alternative cultural activities in post-industrial buildings. Concerts, workshops and discussion meetings were held in the facility, provisionally arranged by the users. With time, the place began to evoke positive associations, and thanks to bottom-up initiatives, vacant buildings have become a lively creative space. These changes inspired the developer, who treated them as a starting point to build further concept of the place, planned in a long-term perspective [Plevoets, Sowińska-Heim 2018, 134-137]. Official commencement of the project, sponsored by the developer, took place in 2011 and coincided with the idea of promoting Lodz as a creative city. Destroyed and neglected post-industrial buildings were occupied by fashion designers, architects, as well as other designers, but the atmosphere of the place was determined primarily by bustling culture cafés and restaurants. Although the developer have carefully controlled the changes taking place at Off Piotrkowska, there is still an impression of freedom of action, including spontaneous adaptive reuse resulting from bottom-up initiatives. Since the lack of space aestheticization and its spectacularization led to creation of a place that escapes negatively perceived commercialization. Off Piotrkowska is an interesting example in which the informal and spontaneous nature of adaptive reuse has become an impulse and inspiration for the investor to create a concept of reviving a place and carrying out further planned activities, which, importantly, have been implemented smoothly and gradually, without establishing clear boundaries between successive stages of the venture.

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Fig. 9: A new project added to a renovated historical building of EC1 power plant (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

Fig. 8: Renovated and rebuilt area of EC1 (photo by Julia

Sowińska-Heim).

Figg. 10-11: Off Piotrkowska in former Ramisch factory (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

3 | Conclusion

Adaptive reuse of post-industrial buildings is an important impulse for both renovation of urban areas, identity reconstruction and improvement of Lodz image. In the process leading to creation of positive references and elimination of negative connotations related to the economic and social crisis, the use of local cultural and architectural heritage plays a significant role. Since it is an important part of the city history, and at the same time its significance can be reinterpreted and shown in new contexts interesting for the present [Gospodini 2006, 326, Sowińska-Heim 2018]. Nowadays, the phenomenon of adaptive reuse of architectural heritage plays a very important role in processes occurring in the urban tissue. In many respects, Łódź is an exceptional case. Not only because of the scale of the phenomenon and special location of many buildings and industrial complexes that have lost their original function in the city centre, but also due to their aesthetic and historical value. Introduction of a new function involves not only interference with the material architectural substance, but also affects the change of relations with the urban environment and leads to assigning new meanings as well as cultural and social values. A functional change may lead to revival and popularization of places that previously did not play a significant role in the urban space, or to make secondary divisions by introducing different functions into the buildings constituting the originally coherent complex.

What constitute an important challenge for modern Lodz is creation of both functional and aesthetic connections between spaces characteristic for the city, such as Manufaktura or EC1. A comprehensive view of the ongoing processes and changes would make it possible to restore desired cohesion in the central city space.

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