

Housing policy as a key element of urban regeneration

Katarzyna Olbińska¹, Sara Koussan¹

¹Uniwersytet Łódzki
Poland

Abstract— Urban regeneration is a complex process that aims to bring degraded areas out of a multifaceted crisis that includes social, economic, spatial, environmental and technical issues. Housing policy becomes a key component of regeneration. It includes the modernization of housing resources, activities to ensure access to the improved housing stock for people at risk of social exclusion, controlling gentrification, as well as various complementary activities aimed at social empowerment and solving the problems of the inhabitants of the regenerated areas.

The aim of the article is to show the range and specifics of housing policy as part of urban regeneration and to identify the tools used, in this process including the means of social support. The study covers selected residential areas in Lodz and includes activities and initiatives carried out since the 1990s. The methods used include a literature review, desk research, and unstructured interview

Keywords— urban regeneration; housing policy; social inclusion.

I. INTRODUCTION

Crisis phenomena in Polish cities are characterized by a particular intensity that results from complex factors such as the socio-political and economic transformation, years of neglect in maintaining the housing stock in city centers, and dynamic deindustrialization (Majer 2014). Urban decay takes the form of a self-sustaining and self-winding spiral of change (Anonymous 2020; McCarthy 2007; Lang, 2003). Three decades after the beginning of the transformation, Polish cities face the extremely difficult challenge of urban renewal, and the needs are enormous. The degraded areas account for more than one-fifth of the area of Polish cities, directly affecting almost 2.4 million people (Jarczewski 2010). The “repair gap” is considered one of the biggest restraints on the social and

economic revival of Polish cities (Jadach-Sepiolo & Jarczewski 2015).

The first revitalization programs appeared in Poland after 1990. Previously, renewal programs that focused on the revalorization of historic areas were implemented. Until 2004, revitalization took on the form of pioneering, individual urban programs, but upon accession to the European Union, urban regeneration in Poland became strongly linked to the availability of EU structural funds. Housing remained outside the support of EU funds and thus lost its important role in revitalization in favor of projects concerning technical and social infrastructure (Muzioł-Węclawowicz 2019). The adoption of the Act on Regeneration in 2015 increased the position of housing in urban regeneration activities. The instruments it introduced are conducive to housing projects due to their strong emphasis on solving social problems in rundown areas.

The legislator defines regeneration as “a process of leading degraded areas out of crisis by way of measures implemented in a comprehensive manner, through integrated actions, for the benefit of the local community, space and economy, territorially concentrated, and carried out by regeneration stakeholders on the basis of the communal regeneration program” (Act on Regeneration, 2015). It is clear from that definition that the measures undertaken in this process go well beyond improving the housing stock, including many other activities that comprise a comprehensive and integrated intervention. The main focus is creating socially sustainable communities (Bromley et al. 2005; Couch 1999).

Awareness of the role of housing in urban development policies has been increasing for some time. They consider not only the physical condition of the stock, its ownership structure, and housing conditions but also the city’s policy towards new



and existing residents (Muzioł-Węclawowicz 2019)

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research focuses on two historical workers' estates located in downtown Lodz and includes activities undertaken since the 1990s. Due to the nature of regeneration as a process, it is based on strategic programs and other documents. As a result, the main research tools used included document analysis, literature review, desk research, and case study.

The desk research method involved analyzing data contained in publications, reports, and databases. It can be used to describe the legal situation or to study normative acts regulating various spheres of social life (Makowska and Boguszewski 2013). Desk research is classified as non-reactive research and has all the advantages attributed to the methods included in this group. Babbie (2022) distinguishes three non-reactive methods, namely content analysis, the analysis of existing statistics, and historical-comparative analyses. Desk research is the combination, or rather the essence of these methods. The desk research covered over 30 documents related to regeneration and housing policy in Lodz (including 5 revitalization programs, a resolution on housing policy, reports from pilot projects and expert opinions on settlement models or social activities organization, and reports on the implementation of the regeneration program). The information obtained was supplemented and deepened by conducting an individual, unstructured interview with the Director of the Lodz Regeneration and Housing Office. A case study should capture the complexity of a single case, be investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods, and be contemporary (Johansson 2007). The method is frequently used in urban geography for in-depth research (Szafrńska 2019) and is considered particularly appropriate for social research on practice and policy (Bartlett & Vavrus 2016, Audycka 2023). The selected research methods, in particular the desk research and case study method, are commonly used in research on urban regeneration (cf. Jarczewski & Kułaczowska 2019; Squires & Booth 2015; Konior & Pokojka 2020).

III. RESULTS

The history of Lodz is closely related to the development of the textile industry (Napierała et al. 2022, Zasina 2020, Young & Kaczmarek 2008, Ogrodowczyk 2024). During the city's dynamic growth in the 19th century, numerous industrial complexes emerged. Some represented the leading social and town planning ideas of their times (Wojnarowska 2013). The legacy of those times is the workers' estates, which still serve as housing, although their heyday is long gone. However, as a result of regeneration, some are returning to their former glory.

Downtown Lodz has been identified as a degraded area. There are overlapping problems related to depopulation, unemployment, poverty, low levels of education, limited educational opportunities, social dysfunctions, and a low sense of security. Additionally, the urban fabric is dilapidated and

incompatible with the current needs of the inhabitants. The revitalization area covers approx. 1,800 hectares inhabited by over 150,000 people (almost 23% of the city's population). Approximately 65% of the residential buildings in downtown Lodz were constructed before 1944, and most offer very poor living conditions (Szafrńska et al. 2019). This work focuses on two areas covered by the most intensive and long-term activities and projects that aim to bring these rundown areas out of a multifaceted crisis. These working-class housing estates are located in Księży Młyn and on Ogrodowa Street.

The poor condition of these housing estates results from:

- The lack of significant damage during World War II. and, as a consequence, limited needs in terms of reconstruction.
- Financial constraints. There were no state subsidies to renovate the city (Gryglewski 2009) in the post-war period.
- The negative attitude of the socialist government towards these areas as a remnant of the capitalistic times (Wojnarowska 2013), thus restraining renovations.
- The economic crisis. The loss of Eastern markets in 1989 destroyed Lodz's economy, dramatically increasing unemployment, poverty, depopulation and socio-spatial segregation (Napierała et al. 2022, Cudny 2012; Young & Kaczmarek 2008, Gałuszka 2017, Zasina et al. 2020).
- The communalization of the housing stock (Masierek 2016) followed by its subsequent dispersed privatization initiated by tenants, together with the use of high discounts, created a group of poor owners unable to maintain the assets (Audycka 2023, Ogrodowczyk & Marcińczak, 2021).

Księży Młyn is a post-industrial complex and estate of former factory workers' houses built by Karol Scheibler, one of the largest textile manufacturers in Lodz. It was part of the largest cotton company in Poland, and it was consistently developed by Scheibler's heirs. Next to the factory, in addition to the houses, they built a hospital, a school, shops, a fire station, and a railway station, all of which still stand today. The complex constitutes one of the most interesting post-industrial monuments in the world. While Księży Młyn is integral to Lodz's identity and cultural heritage, it is also a problematic, rundown area requiring regeneration. In total, it could house about 2,000 people.

After the war, the factory was nationalized, and during its glory days in the 1950s, it employed 14,000 workers. In the post-war period, most residents of the housing estate were workers and their families (Towarzystwo Opieki... 2011). In the 1970s, the housing estate was taken over by the city. After 1989, the factory limited its activities, only to be closed down completely in 2003.

During the socialist period, essential renovations were overlooked, and as a result, the decapitalization of buildings reached 80%. The buildings were uninsulated and not connected to the city's heating network. Therefore, as they were heated with electric devices, high electricity bills increased the residents' already high debt – in 2011, more than half of the premises were indebted. Another problem was the poor condition of the water supply and electrical installations and the

resulting fire hazard, as well as the lack of bathrooms and overcrowding (Ministerstwo Rozwoju 2016).

The second complex is located on Ogrodowa Street. It comprises 23 buildings (including 3 residential) and covers 2.3 hectares. This estate is located opposite the largest shopping and entertainment center in Lodz – Manufaktura. The estate was part of Izrael Poznański's factory. Three workers' houses have a total of 30,000 sq m. usable area, which is approximately twice as much as the houses in Księży Młyn.

Different attempts were made to introduce new functions and start the regeneration process of Księży Młyn, although the result was that the complex became more fragmented. It was probably inevitable, however, because of the enormous size of the former industrial area. The westernmost part, at Tymienieckiego Street, was transformed into a Special Economic Zone. Meanwhile, the huge cotton factory at the crossing of Tymienieckiego and Przędzalniana streets was bought by an Australian developer, who transformed it into loft apartments. The former fire station was redeveloped into offices by a private owner. Some industrial buildings have been left unused, and their condition has worsened to the extent that they are turning into ruins (Wojnarowska 2013).

Regeneration in these two areas is a complex and difficult issue. First of all, the historic value of these estates should be considered as it defines the scope of possible spatial and functional transformations and forces them to be carried out in accordance with conservation guidelines. Another important factor is the significant social problems found there (e.g., unemployment, poverty, a high share of elderly residents, and low social capital), the complex ownership structure of the housing, and the extremely poor condition of the buildings, public spaces, and infrastructure (Wojnarowska 2010).

The first attempts to revive the Księży Młyn area were made at the end of the 1990s. Initially, one building was renovated, and the plan was to use the funds from the sale to renovate the next building, and so on, until the whole area became private property. However, since no investors were willing to buy the premises, the building was reoccupied by municipal tenants (Masierek 2016). The main reasons for the failure included the slump in the housing market and the estate's unattractive surroundings. At that time, tenants were allowed to buy out the occupied dwellings with very high discounts, which dispersed ownership. Although privatization was then suspended (Masierek 2016), the resulting ownership structure became an important factor in later transformation attempts.

In 2007, the Family Houses Revitalization Program was passed, which included Księży Młyn and Ogrodowa Street. The plan was to relocate the original inhabitants to new flats built by the developer on land provided by the commune and to sell the estates in a public-private partnership. This marked a return to the failed concept from the 1990s. A survey conducted among the residents at the time indicated that most were willing to move to improve their living conditions (Family Houses Revitalization Program 2007). However, as Szygendowski and Walczak (2009) emphasize, the survey was biased, excluding the possibility that the residents could stay in the area. The protests of tenants and social organizations stopped the project.

(Konior 2021).

The complex ownership structure, the lack of social participation and involvement of non-governmental organizations and, again, a drop in the housing market were the reasons for the failure of this concept. While the program was developed at a time when the real estate market was booming, it was not adopted until the end of 2007, and the 2008 global financial crisis led to a lack of interest in the project from private investors (Kowalska 2010) and the idea being abandoned. Attempts to transform the area without local community participation resulted in the loss of trust in the local authorities, and withdrawal from subsequent projects triggered disappointment and a sense of impotence (Towarzystwo Opieki... 2011).

Since 2011, as part of improving the quality of the municipal housing stock in the city center, Lodz implemented the City of Tenements ("Miasto Kamienic") program. Although it did not include the areas considered in this study, it provided important experience for later regeneration initiatives. It resulted in the thermal modernization and renovation of over 170 buildings, which is regarded as a significant success for the city. The program contributed to creating a new rental policy, as well as regulations for granting replacement premises. However, the program did have shortcomings and weaknesses, including:

- The lack of a comprehensive, integrated urban regeneration approach due to the lack of a social component, insufficient information, and limited public consultations. Additionally, the reduction in the number of social housing units (Audycka 2023) and the absence of measures to preserve the original social structures meant that relatively few residents returned to previously occupied premises (DS Consulting 2015), leading to the breakdown of social ties.
- The spatial dispersion of activities failed to induce the expected large-scale renovations of neighboring private properties or generate a coherent, radical change in the quality and aesthetics of the area.
- The diversified scale of undertaken actions. Some buildings underwent major renovations, while in others, only thermal modernization and renovation of common areas were carried out. This created divisions and tensions between tenants, causing dissatisfaction and a sense of injustice and social stigmatization.
- Sole reliance on the commune budget for financing. There was no long-term planning that would have enabled applications for EU funds or established cooperation with housing communities.
- Higher-than-expected outlooks regarding consultations with the residents of the tenement houses planned for renovation, coupled with insufficient information on moving out, resulted in strained relations with residents;
- Coordination problems and insufficient supervision throughout the work, along with delayed reaction to unforeseen situations.
- Controversies arose regarding the organization of the resettlements. Tenants refused to move due to poor conditions of the replacement dwellings, delaying

construction works.

The document that actually allowed social participation in the preparation of the regeneration program was the project *Our Księży Młyn*, created in 2011. At the beginning of the project, the local inhabitants had almost no trust in the activities undertaken on the estate (*Towarzystwo Opieki...* 2011). It was intended to be a social strategy for the development of the area. However, the Society for the Preservation of Monuments, which was the initiator of the concept, decided that it was unable to create such a complex document on its own. However, a series of actions to include the local community, increase their trust, create opportunities to articulate needs, and strengthen social capital was undertaken that involved non-governmental organizations and informal groups (Konior 2021).

Larger-scale efforts to regenerate this area were first undertaken as part of the Integrated Revitalization Program of *Księży Młyn*; they continued under the framework of the Communal Regeneration Program for the City of Lodz 2026+. They were the first operational programs to be implemented in practice – thanks to the support not only of the city authorities but also of social organizations and private business owners. In 2014, the city developed a map of priority area regeneration projects, including both spatial transformations and social projects.

In 2012, a project manager for the regeneration of *Księży Młyn* was appointed. Actions taken include modernizing the technical infrastructure and public spaces, improving housing conditions by renovating buildings and connecting them to the city's heating network, creating a meeting club for residents and afterschool care for children, designating some premises for creative studios for artists, and the development of tourist infrastructure. In total, 47 buildings were planned to be renovated by 2023.

The actions were accompanied by the exchange of communal dwellings organized by the City Hall. In this way, the size of the premises was tailored to the needs of individual households. This time, the transformations involve the return of the original inhabitants. A Social Integration Club was established to provide the residents with access to the services of social workers, therapists, educators, and career counselors (*Integrated...* 2012).

Between 2013 and 2016, numerous events were organized at *Księży Młyn*, which were an opportunity to integrate residents. At the end of 2012, a competition was announced for the rental of commercial premises for art studios and workshops. To enter, candidates had to present a program of activities for the estate. The former school building was transformed into the Academic Centre of Design (Konior 2021).

Initially, a serious problem was the distrust and even hostility of the residents resulting from previous experiences, i.e., the long-term lack of renovations, unfulfilled promises related to the possibility of changing premises, and failed transformation concepts. The project manager encouraged the residents to become involved through individual conversations, collective meetings, and duty hours at the project office located on-site. A series of workshops helped to identify the area's strengths,

weaknesses and development potential and formulate guidelines for regeneration. Various forms of social consultations were developed as no single form guaranteed full knowledge of the problems and needs of the residents. The low participation in official meetings of people in the most difficult situation was overcome by individual arrangements between the project manager and the residents, which gradually convinced the local community to get involved (*Ministerstwo Rozwoju* 2016).

As part of an attempt to solve the municipal tenants' indebtedness, a debt restructuring program was created. It allows tenants to work off their obligations towards the city while also providing them with an opportunity to acquire new professional skills (*Integrated...* 2012). Other solutions have been used by the municipal property management, including: spreading the debt into installments, housing allowances, rent reduction, changing the premises to a smaller one (*Grabowska et al.* 2016), and debt forgiveness (but only in rare cases).

As a result of the renovations, the improved standards translate to rent increases. Sometimes, they are raised to a level that exceeds the financial capacity of some residents, which is one of the reasons that not all of the former residents have returned after the modernization (*DS Consulting* 2015). The settlement policy for renovated buildings is based on specific principles, with priority given to the original residents. To allocate the remaining dwellings, a verification procedure was implemented to assess whether households meet the criteria for obtaining a unit from the city's stock.

The second complex, located at *Ogrodowa Street*, maintained the concept of revitalization with the public-private partnership for a long time. Although this form of the project failed in 2008, the city authorities returned to it in the Communal Regeneration Program. Preparations for this project included the removal of residents, cleaning the building facades, modernizing public spaces, and creating a passage inside the quarter. The plan is to convert the estate into apartments, offices, commercial premises, a hostel and parking garages. The start of the investment was announced in 2019, and the tender for the project was announced two years later. Again, however, changing market conditions prevented the project from being implemented. The outbreak of COVID-19, the dynamically rising costs of materials and construction work, and then the outbreak of war in Ukraine discouraged potential investors. Therefore, the first building, located at 24 *Ogrodowa Street*, will be renovated by *Lodz Infrastructure Company*.

The experience gathered over time resulted in a change in the approach to how the regeneration is organized. The current program includes renovations that require over 2,000 people to be moved. The carried out diagnoses showed that many residents, including those with rent arrears, are struggling with multi-level interconnected problems. The solution is comprehensive and gradual work with the beneficiaries and their families (*Grabowska et al.* 2016). It is necessary to integrate various sources of aid and long-term advice and support. In response to those challenges, a new model of support was developed. The pilot project covered eight areas, including the quarter at *Ogrodowa Street*.

The support is based on 16 new social workers, called Lighthouse Keepers and Area Hosts, to guide the affected households through the relocation process and help them deal with official matters, such as negotiating the best terms for moving and repaying rent arrears. The role of Lighthouse Keepers goes even further, accompanying tenants to appointments at municipal offices and directly helping them find employment and obtain benefits (Audycka 2023). The long-term goal of the Lighthouse Keepers is to increase the inhabitants' independence and empowerment.

The Regeneration Act of 2015 protects tenants of municipal stock in designated Special Regeneration Zones against eviction as a result of regeneration. The Special Regeneration Zone coincides with the urban regeneration area. This solution was used in Lodz. Tenants of municipal housing who must vacate the premises due to renovation must be provided with alternative accommodation and should be able to return to their original premises after the renovation. If it is not possible, the municipality is obliged to offer a new lease agreement to the tenant for another premises, with at least the same housing conditions (The Regeneration Act, 2015).

Some of the buildings renovated as part of the "City of Tenements" program have been allocated replacement housing. The right to decide on mobility and the future dwelling, together with proximity to their current home, has been identified as a main factor that influences the tenants' satisfaction with resettlement (Maecelbergh 2012; Kearns & Mason 2013). Households were contacted prior to the release of tenders for renovation work and were accompanied until they moved into the target home. They could choose from several premises and had the right to reject them if the standard was unsatisfactory. This gave them a choice and the opportunity to negotiate satisfactory terms (Audycka 2023).

Additionally, the commune's housing policy was modified, with measures taken to improve the efficiency of how municipal housing stock is managed. One of the objectives was to increase the efficiency of allocating dwellings to households in need of support by lowering the income thresholds to justify renting units from the municipal stock (The City of Łódź's policy... 2016). New rules for the privatization of communal housing were also established. It was assumed that privatization would only apply to selected buildings wholly owned by the city in which tenants with a total share of at least 50% of the property declared their willingness to purchase. Dwellings in renovated buildings will not be available for buyout for at least ten years after the modernization is completed. The buyout will only be possible in buildings designated by the city, and discounts will not be used.

Securing the housing needs of people in the most difficult situations is a great challenge, as is securing a rent level that ensures the long-term maintenance of the condition of the housing stock. To deal with these issues, the city imposed changes to its rent policy; in particular, it raised rents for council premises to 3% of their replacement value and created a rent arrears monitoring program. Residents in a very poor financial situation are entitled to housing allowances, while people with eviction notices are moved to premises made available as social

rental and for which rents are very low.

A serious obstacle to the comprehensive regeneration is that, due to financial constraints, private housing stock remains untouched. The Regeneration Act allows the city to provide subsidies for private owners for renovation and conservation works. As part of the Communal Regeneration Program, Lodz has established a fund that organizes annual calls for proposals to co-finance renovations.

IV. DISCUSSION

The experience in conducting regeneration and the evolution of the approach to housing policy this process in Łódź presented here may be particularly valuable due to the beginning of a new period of regeneration planning in Poland. Until the end of 2023, communes had the possibility to choose the form of the document that was a base for this process. They could implement this process on the basis of municipal regeneration programs in accordance with the so-called statutory path or on the basis of other regeneration programs (non-statutory path). Of the 2,477 municipalities in Poland at the end of 2022, 332 (13.4%) had municipal regeneration programs, and over 1,100 (44.7%) conducted these activities based on other programs and strategic documents. Municipalities that have chosen the latter solution since 2024 will have to develop municipal regeneration programs in line with statutory requirements to continue the activities undertaken in this area. They will thus gain access to many additional tools, such as the right of pre-emption or the possibility of subsidizing renovations of private buildings not entered in the register of monuments. Therefore, potentially new regeneration programs may be prepared by a significant number of municipalities in Poland in the near future. At this stage, the mistakes, successes and experiences of other cities can be very useful.

There have been attempts to regenerate Księży Młyn for over 20 years. The area of the workers' houses became the subject of many programs, which initially focused only on renovating the physical fabric of buildings. Over time, however, they expanded to include and increase the role of social components. The areas described in the article served as a testing ground for various transformation approaches and concepts, bringing valuable experiences that influenced the evolution of the approach to regeneration and the role of housing policy in this process. Satisfying housing needs and improving the quality of housing stock are central to the regeneration policy, creating opportunities to identify other needs and problems faced by residents of the degraded area. The dialogue established with residents enables the provision of appropriate support in terms of improving the quality of life, social inclusion, and empowerment of those in need.

However, the scale of Lodz's regeneration needs is enormous. Urban projects implemented with the help of EU funds are only catalysts for broader actions. They are only a fraction of what is required for this so-far neglected post-industrial city. The city does not have sufficient funds in its budget for comprehensive regeneration, and it has not

developed effective local participatory instruments. Therefore, it is necessary to seek innovative solutions and involve private investors in the regeneration on a much larger scale (Kowalska 2010). Upgrading housing stock is a crucial part of this process.

An experience that should certainly be considered in the future is reaching those stakeholders who do not participate in official consultation meetings, as they often provide valuable insights into important issues (DS Consulting 2015). However, as individual meetings help to overcome this problem only partially, a more effective approach combines various consultation methods. The participation of activists and organizations, as well as an on-site and committed coordinator of regeneration activities, is also vital (Ministerstwo Rozwoju 2016). Thus, the combination of the work of social lighthouse keepers and area hosts is an example of an innovative solution that provides substantial positive effects that go far beyond solving the housing problems.

A positive aspect of the Księży Młyn regeneration project was the attempt to organize the ownership structure of residential buildings. The city actively supported housing communities in preparing the design and construction documentation, thereby mobilizing private owners' funds and enabling applications for external funds for the renovations (DS Consulting 2015).

A potential threat in the regeneration of the studied areas is the risk of gentrification and the potential deterioration of living conditions due to increased tourist traffic. Both housing estates are adjacent to post-industrial buildings that have been transformed by private investors (the apartments in Księży Młyn and the Manufaktura complex in Ogrodowa Street). Numerous new developments are now under construction in the vicinity of both areas. These factors may create pressure to increase rents and prices. The buildings in Księży Młyn remain in communal ownership, which provides some protection against gentrification, at least for a decade. Yet, some gentrification in this area is already taking place as original residents with rent debts do not return to the renovated stock. They are moved to substitute housing with social rent. This makes the local government the leading gentrifier of the city center (Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz et al. 2017, Ogrodowczyk 2024).

Among the threats resulting from changes in the housing policy, some authors (e.g., Grabowska et al. 2016) highlight the ongoing privatization of the municipal stock and the pressure to increase the share of private dwellings in the structure of the city's housing stock. This leads to inflated prices and rents, subsequently increasing the housing cost burden for households and decreasing affordable housing availability, leading to the exclusion of low-income residents. A group particularly affected by this situation may be medium-income households. They are not entitled to social rental or housing allowances, but at the same time, they are unable to meet their housing needs on the free market.

V. REFERENCES

- Audycka, B., "The right to stay put" or "the right to decide"? The question of displacement in the revitalization of Łódź (Poland), *Housing Studies*, 2023, 38:10, 1845-1859.
- Bartosiewicz, B.; Kowara, S., Uwarunkowania procesu rewitalizacji zespołu zabytkowych domów rodzinnych w Łodzi, *Studia Miejskie*, 2010, 1, 359-371.
- Babbie, E., *The Practice of Social Research*, Cengage Learning, Boston, 2016.
- Bartlett, L.; Vavrus, F., *Rethinking Case Study Research: A Comparative Approach*, Routledge, London, 2016.
- Bromley, R.D.F.; Tallon, A.R.; Thomas, C.J., *City Centre Regeneration through Residential Development: Contributing to Sustainability*, *Urban Studies*, 2005, 42:13, 2407-2429.
- Communal Regeneration Programme for the City of Łódź 2026+, Resolution of the Łódź City Council XXXV/916/16, 2016.
- Couch, C., *Housing Development in the City Centre*, *Planning Practice and Research*, 1999, 14:1, 69-86.
- Cudny, W., *Socio-Economic Changes in Lodz - The Results of Twenty Years of System Transformation*, *Geografický Časopis*, 2012, 64:1, 3-27.
- DS Consulting, *Raport z wykonania zadania 1 pn. Rekomendacje w zakresie integrowania przedsięwzięć rewitalizacyjnych wraz z diagnozą dotychczasowych praktyk*, 2015.
- Family Houses Revitalization Program, Resolution of the Łódź City Council XXII/464/07, 2007.
- Gałuszka, J., *Examining patterns of policy change in a post-socialist city: the evolution of inner-city regeneration approaches in Łódź, Poland, after 1989*, *Town Planning Review*, 2017, 88:6, 639-664.
- Grabowska, I.; Ledzion, B.; Śliwowski, P. (eds.), *Zestaw analiz i rekomendacji w zakresie społeczno-gospodarczej sytuacji obszaru pilotażowego, EGO - Evaluation For Government Organizations s.c.*, 2016.
- Gryglewski, P.; Wróbel, R.; Ucińska, A.; *Łódzkie budynki 1945-1970, Księży Młyn Dom Wydawniczy*, Łódź, 2009.
- Integrated Programme of Revitalization of Księży Młyn, Resolution of the Łódź City Council XLV/843/12, 2012.
- Jadach-Sepiolo, A.; Jarczewski, W., *Housing Policy as a Part of Urban Regeneration Policy — The Case of Poland*, *Journal of Business and Economics*, 2015, 6:2, 381-392.
- Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz, J.; Szybel-Boberek, M.; Wolaniuk, A., *Post-socialist gentrification processes in Polish cities*, *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 2017, 24:2, 145-166.
- Jarczewski, W.; Kułaczowska, A. (eds.), *Raport o stanie polskich miast. Rewitalizacja*, Instytut Rozwoju Miast i Regionów, Warszawa – Kraków, 2019.
- Jarczewski, W., *Skala degradacji miast w Polsce*, in Ziobrowski Z & Jarczewski W (eds.), *Rewitalizacja miast polskich – diagnoza, Rewitalizacja miast polskich*, Tom 8. Instytut Rozwoju Miast, Krakow, 2010, 57-64.
- Johansson, R., *On Case Study Methodology*, *Open House International*, 2007, 32:3, 48-54.
- Kearns, A.; Mason, P., *Defining and measuring displacement: Is relocation from restructured neighbourhoods always unwelcome and disruptive?*, *Housing Studies*, 2013, 28, 177-204.
- Konior, A., *Zarządzanie dziedzictwem kulturowym w kontekście procesu rewitalizacji obszarów przemysłowych*, Attyka, Kraków, 2021.
- Konior, A.; Pokojcka, W., *Management of Postindustrial Heritage in Urban Revitalization Processes*, *Sustainability*, 2020, 12(12), 5034.
- Kowalska, E., *Program rewitalizacji w Łodzi*, in: Muzioł-Węclawowicz, A. (ed.), *Przykłady rewitalizacji miast, Rewitalizacja miast polskich*, vol. 12, IRM, Krakow, 2010.
- Lang, T., *Insights in the British Debate about Urban Decline and Urban Regeneration*, Working Paper, Leibniz – Institute Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS), Erkner, 2003. <https://leibniz->

- irs.de/fileadmin/user_upload/IRS_Working_Paper/wp_insights.pdf (accessed on 4.02.2024).
- Masierek, E. Prywatyzacja i podnoszenie jakości mieszkaniowego zasobu komunalnego w strefie śródmiejskiej jako elementy polityki mieszkaniowej Łodzi. In Masierek, E. (ed.), *Present challenges of housing policy in Polish and Ukrainian big cities*, "Space – Society – Economy", 15, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, 2016, 89–113.
- Maeckelbergh, M., Mobilizing to stay put: Housing struggles in New York City, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2012, 36, 655–673.
- McCarthy, J., *Partnership, Collaborative Planning and Urban Regeneration*, Ashgate e-Book, 2007.
- Majer, A., *Odrodzenie miast*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Łódź – Warsaw, 2014.
- Makowska, M.; Boguszewski, R., Analiza danych zastanych – zagadnienia wstępne, in Makowska M (ed.), *Analiza danych zastanych. Przewodnik dla studentów*. Wydawnictwo naukowe Scholar, Warszawa, 2013, 9-31.
- Ministerstwo Rozwoju, ŁÓDŹ. Osiedle Księży Młyn – wprowadzanie zmian z poszanowaniem dziedzictwa kulturowego, in *Ludzie Przestrzeni Zmiana Dobre praktyki w rewitalizacji polskich miast*, Warszawa, 2016.
- Muzioł-Węclawowicz, A., *Polityka mieszkaniowa w procesie rewitalizacji Wałbrzycha*, conference proceedings, 2019, https://www.funduszeuropejskie.gov.pl/media/92493/8_Material_konferencyjny_Polityka_mieszkaniowa_w_procesie_rewitalizacji_Walbrzycha.pdf (accessed on 2.02.2024).
- Napierała, T.; Leśniewska-Napierała, K., Municipal investment expenditures by pork-barrel mayors: evidence from a transition economy, *Miscellanea Geographica*, 2022, 26:2, 94-100.
- Olbińska, K., *Planowanie procesów rewitalizacji miast. Teoria a praktyka*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, 2020.
- Podręcznik dla Latarników Społecznych, Centrum Promocji i Rozwoju Inicjatyw Obywatelskich OPUS, Łódź, 2018.
- Regeneration Act of October 9, 2015, *Journal of Laws* 2020, item 802 as amended.
- Squires, G.; Booth, C.A., Dysfunctional neighbourhoods: A conceptual framework for urban regeneration and renewal, *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal*, 2015, vol. 8:3.
- Szafrańska, E.; Coudroy de Lille, L.; Kazimierczak, J., Urban shrinkage and housing in a post socialist city: relationship between the demographic evolution and housing development in Łódź, Poland, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 2019, 34, 441–464.
- Szygendowski, W.; Walczak, B.M., *Adaptacje zespołów zabytkowych we współczesnych realiach społeczno-gospodarczych na przykładzie dziedzictwa poprzemysłowego w Łodzi*, In Szmygin, B. (ed.), *Adaptacja obiektów zabytkowych do współczesnych funkcji użytkowych*, Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, ICOMOS, Politechnika Lubelska, Warszawa–Lublin, 2009.
- The City of Łódź's policy regarding the municipal housing stock 2020+, Resolution of the Łódź City Council XXIV/571/16, 2016.
- Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami Oddział w Łodzi, *Projekt Nasz Księży Młyn*. Raport, Łódź, 2011.
- Wojnarowska, A., Revitalization of Historic Workers' Estates as an Instrument of Achieving Spatial and Social Cohesion of City – the Case Study of Księży Młyn in Łódź, in Marszał T and Pielesiak I (eds.), *Spatial inequality and cohesion*, Polish Academy of Sciences Committee for Spatial Economy and Regional Planning, 2013, 105–119.
- Wojnarowska, A., *Koncepcje programowo-przestrzenne zagospodarowania zabytkowych zespołów zabudowy familijnej w Łodzi (Conceptions of spatial and functional redevelopment of historical workers' estates in Łódź)*, *Studia Miejskie*, 2010, 1, 343–358.
- Young, C.; Kaczmarek, S., The Socialist Past and Postsocialist Urban Identity in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Łódź, Poland, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 2008, 15:1, 53–70.
- Zasina, J., Students' leisure consumption patterns in cities: Three-dimensional pictures from Łódź and Turin, *Miscellanea Geographica*, 2020, 24:4, 253-262.
- Zasina, J.; Sokołowicz, M.E.; Nogalski, S., *Łódź City Tour: The Changing Nature of the Urban Restructuring of a Post-Socialist Industrial City*, *disP - The Planning Review*, 2020, 56:2, 8-19.