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3. GENTRIFICATION PROCESSES IN THE CITY¹

3.1. Introduction

The subject of interest of this chapter are the gentrification processes in the city. The first part outlines the definition problem of gentrification in Polish and foreign literature, in the second part there is a discussion about the state of research on gentrification in Poland. The third, empirical part of the chapter presents the current research results of gentrification processes in Łódź. The analysis includes the displacement of the population from the inner-city social housing stock (data obtained from the City of Łódź Office) implemented by the municipalities, the middle class citizens who moved into the renovated flats and studentification processes, measured by the students place of residence (data from surveys conducted in 2013 within higher education institutions on a group of 1100 students).

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The creator of Łódź school of settlement geography, especially urban geography, was L. Straszewicz (1966, 1974, 1981a, b), author of numerous monographs on European capitals. Main research directions pursued in Łódź centre of urban geography include analysis of the spatial structure of towns and cities, their morphology and morphogenesis, land use, functions of urban settlements, demographic changes, housing, urbanisation processes, inner-city problems and revitalisation of cities, and, most recently, gentrification.

Research in the field of urban morphology and morphogenesis was conducted by M. Koter (1969, 1974, 1979) and M. Kulesza (2011); spatial structures of the city (including land use) and the agglomeration of Łódź were explored by S. Liszewski (1973, 1977, 1996); A. Suliborski (2001) investigated the functions of cities, J. Dzieciuchowicz (1979, 1983, 2007) – demographic changes and dwelling conditions in Łódź, J. Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz (1998) – urbanisation processes in the suburban zone, A. Wolaniuk (2012) – problems of the inner city, and S. Kaczmarek (2001) – the question of revitalisation of cities. The most recent subject of research undertaken by Łódź University geographers is the process of gentrification (Liszewski and Marcińczak 2012, Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz 2012, Szafrńska 2012).

The city of Łódź is the subject of numerous studies, including the atlas of the city and a comparative study of Łódź and Manchester (Liszewski and Craig 1997). The most important work on Łódź completed in recent years is *Łódź a Monograph of the City* (Liszewski 2009).

Geographers from the University of Łódź have for several years been engaged in the study of gentrification processes taking place in the city. Since 2012, investigation of this phenomenon has been possible thanks to funding through a research grant from the National Science Centre. In 2012 and 2013, the authors of this chapter, who participate in this research project, organised at the Institute of Geography of Cities and Tourism two Seminars on Knowledge about the City, which provided a forum for exchange of ideas and research findings, and discussions on the methodology used and research directions.

3.2. What is gentrification?

According to R. Glass (1964), the term gentrification pertains to the social and physical upgrading of the inner-city, working-class neighbourhoods. The ultimate result of this process is a (complete) change of population; essentially, blue-collar workers are replaced with white-collar professionals (middle-class households). The meaning of gentrification has broadened substantially in the last 40 years (Atkinson and Bridge 2005). Currently, the term gentrification is being applied not only to the socio-physical up-scaling of lower social status tracts but also to the upgrading of small towns and rural areas (Butler 2007) as well as to new built residential complexes on the former industrial sites in central areas of large metropolitan regions (Davidson and Lees 2010). It also appears that the composition of gentryfiers is more socially diversified (Atkinson 2008). In other words, the process involves students in the second-tier city (Smith and Holt 2007), and hyper-rich individuals supergentryfying already gentrified tracts in the global city (Lees 2003, Butler and Lees 2006). Finally, gentrification is no longer confined to private individual and corporate actors. Socio-physical upgrading is more often led by the public sector (Lees and Ley 2008).

The effects of socialist urban planning and development on the morphology of cities in Central Eastern Europe (CEE) were not homogenous (French and Hamilton 1979). Especially in large cities with the pre-socialist roots and extensive residential and industrial fabric predating World War II (WWII), truly socialist districts were raised outside historical cores – the exception being usually small scale redevelopment of central areas with socreal buildings (cf. Smith 1989). Generally neglected by the former regime, the “capitalist” urban fabric was about to be demolished and eventually replaced with panel blocs housing estates. A comprehensive, large scale socialist redevelopment of the city centres did not usually happen; the areas thus underwent a long period of social and physical decay that continued to the early 1990s, when the system collapsed in CEE.

The post-socialist transformation had a dramatic impact on the pace and character of urban development in the region. The post-socialist states and their urban regions were forced to introduce new, predominantly market-oriented, institutional arrangements to regulate the modes of urban governance and spatial planning. Consequently, CEE has undergone the most abrupt change of planning and real estate institutions in living memory (Ball 2006). The systemic social, economic and spatial changes have been path-dependent and highly context specific (Pickles and Smith 1998), and the former socialist states and cities have been transforming with different speed (Bradshaw and Stenning 2004, Tosics 2005, Tsenkova 2008). As a wide-ranging review of the literature on the spatial and social urban transformations and redifferentiation after socialism has been already provided elsewhere (Gentile et al. 2012, Sykora and Bouzarovski 2012), it suffices to state that the systemic changes were the most advanced in the cities of the “fast track” reforming countries – the former Eastern Germany, Hungary, the former Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) (Tosics 2005, Tsenkova 2008). The changes induced by the transition were particularly palpable in the suburban zone and the historical core of the post-socialist city (Boren and Gentile 2007). Irrespective of the location within the former socialist Europe, the capital cities have been developing and altering much more rapidly than cities laid lower in national urban hierarchies (Węclawowicz 1998). Nonetheless, even in the most quickly (re)developing districts of the capital cities, the advent and maturing of capitalism in the first two decades after the fall of Berlin Wall did not simply sweep away the socio-spatial legacy of socialism. What emerged from the mutations initiated in the post-socialist city in the early 1990s appears to be a hybrid of the socialist past and the capitalist presence (Golubchikov et al. 2013).

Even though the central areas of CEE cities started to transform rapidly already in the early 1990s (Kovacs 1998), the post-socialist social and spatial evolution of those tracts still remains understudied. Bluntly, despite numerous works revolving around gentrification (Feldman 2000, Sýkora 2005), brownfield regeneration (Kiss

2002), inner city commercialisation (Temelová 2007), and demographic change (Haase et al. 2012, Grabkowska 2012), it seems that most of the available works lacks a convincing empirical underpinning that would illustrate the mechanisms of social and physical upgrading, its actors and outcomes (Kovacs et al. 2012). Even if largely confined to qualitative analysis of social, demographic and functional transformations, there are studies on the gentrification (regeneration) of the inner cities and central zones that give some pointers to the pace and character of the phenomenon in the post-socialist city in the last two decades. As space precludes a more nuanced review of the works on the inner-city redifferentiation after socialism (for the recent review see Hasse et al. 2012, Kovacs et al. 2012), we will limit our discussion to key aspects of socio-spatial upgrading in the central tracts of the post-socialist city. The pace and scale of upgrading has been context sensitive and followed the tempo of systemic changes in the region. Essentially, the processes have been more advanced in the “fast-track” reforming countries than in the states lagging in transition. In the first decade after transition, with the exception of the former Eastern Germany where gentrification and regeneration gained momentum already in the early 1990s (Bernt and Holm 2005), the upgrading of the city centres in the other capitals of the “fast-track” reforming countries was rather slow (Sykora 2005), and usually unfolded in a piecemeal fashion (Kovacs 1998, Brade et al. 2009, Marcińczak and Sagan 2011). The socio-spatial upgrading of the central zones in the CEE city has started to flourish after 2000 (Kovacs et al. 2012), and the process is generally more advanced in the capitals of the former socialist states than in the second/third tier cities (Brade et al. 2009); yet, it is present in the former too (Hasse et al. 2012, Kaczmarek and Marcińczak 2013). It also appears that post-socialist gentrification and redevelopment could be triggered by different groups of “pioneers” (young households, students, artists etc.) (Chelcea 2006, Grabkowska 2012, Hasse et al. 2012); but the phenomena are also initiated and supported by the public sector (Bernt and Holm 2005). Finally, although post-socialist gentrification involves the upgrading of the

existing housing stock, it appears that new built, usually luxurious, residential and office spaces developed by national and international private investors dominate in the regenerated tracts (Cook 2010, Kovacs et al. 2012).

3.3. The question of gentrification in Polish scientific literature and research

Gentrification as a subject of scholarly research in geography and other scientific disciplines (e.g. sociology) appeared in Poland at the turn of the 20th century, that is several decades after identification and exploration of this phenomenon, and its definition by R. Glass in 1964. This is mainly due to the fact that this process did not start taking place in Polish cities until 1989, when the post-socialist transformation began, and it was connected with the middle class moving from block housing estates to centrally located, renovated tenements or new apartment houses, rather than with reurbanisation (return of the wealthy population from the suburbs to the inner-city).

Professor Jerzy Grzeszczak (2010), who is a Polish expert on issues relating to gentrification, in his monograph entitled *Gentryfikacja osadnictwa. Charakterystyka, rozwój koncepcji badawczej i przegląd wyjaśnień* (Gentrification of settlement. Characteristics, evolution of research approaches, and review of explanations) provided a comprehensive review of international literature dealing with this process, offered his comments and clarified issues in this study area. In his opinion, Polish researchers rarely address this topic, while in other countries publications dealing with this subject have become a fundamental part of urban geography. J. Grzeszczak refers in his publications to Polish researchers who were the first to address this topic: A. Lisowski (1999), who analyses the concept of gentrification, A. Jadach-Sepioło (2007), who argues that gentrification has only recently begun in Poland, and M. Górczyńska (2011), who presents and compares results of research into this process in Warsaw and Paris (Grzeszczak 2010, 2012).

Cracow and Łódź are academic centres in which the study of gentrification has attracted considerable interest. The Institute of Urban Development in Cracow has published a series *Rewitalizacja miast polskich* (Revitalisation of Polish cities) (2009–2010) dedicated, among others, to this topic. In 2012 and 2013, the Institute of Geography of Cities and Tourism, University of Łódź, held 25th and 26th Seminars on Knowledge about the City, entitled “Gentrification processes in the city”.

The Seminars were devoted to presentation of research findings and methods used in studies on gentrification processes in Polish cities, and to clarification of the definitions of this phenomenon. 25th Seminar (contents published under the title *Gentrification processes in the city. Part I*, 2012) contained a discussion on the terminology and measurement methods (Grzeszczak 2012) and presentation of examples of gentrification and its opposite – social exclusion – as well as gentrifiers in particular cities. The cities presented included Słupsk (Rydz and Szymańska, 2012), Warsaw (Derek 2012, Dudek-Mańkowska 2012, Górczyńska 2012, Bouloc 2012, Szewczyk 2012, Rutkowska-Gurak 2012), Silesian cities (Runge and Runge 2012, Kurpanik et al. 2012, Kantor-Pietraga and Krzysztofik, 2012), Wrocław (Płachta and Szmytkie 2012), Cracow and Tricity (Murzyn-Kupisz and Szmytkowska 2012, Gądecki 2012), Łódź (Liszewski and Marcińczak 2012, Tobiasz-Lis 2012, Szafrńska 2012, Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz 2012), and Manchester (Kazimierczak 2012).

Part II, presenting the results of 26th Seminar, is currently in print. It will include both general considerations on gentrification processes in post-socialist cities, and more specific discussions of the problems and effects of gentrification in particular cities. Most of the studies in both parts are based on empirical research.

One of major problems connected with gentrification is its definition in Polish literature. The processes observed and described in the West are taking place in Poland with a several decades time lag and in completely different conditions, so their character and patterns are slightly different. Therefore, two approaches can be

found in Polish publications on this subject: adopting the concept as defined by foreign authors, or creative modifications of its definitions. In theoretical studies, definitions taken from foreign, mostly Western literature predominate (e.g. Lisowski 1999, Jadach-Sepioło 2009, Majer 2010).

In the second case, some of the researchers tend to identify gentrification with revitalisation (e.g. Heffner and Marszał 2011). Such an approach practically reduces this process to redevelopment and upgrading of deteriorated areas, whereas gentrification also involves social changes resulting from change of residents in renovated housing in formerly deteriorating neighbourhoods. S. Liszewski (2012) explained the difference between revitalisation and gentrification, defining the former as a spatial process connected with evolution and redevelopment of cities, and the latter as a socio-demographic process consisting in change of residents mainly in inner-city neighbourhoods.

The different approaches to gentrification are reflected in a definition formulated by M. Górczyńska (2012), who describes it as a process of invasion of higher social ranks which comprises three aspects: social structure of a given neighbourhood, change of the population, and change of the housing type.

In the literature of the subject some other definitions of this phenomenon can be found. Sociologists B. Jałowicki and M.S. Szczepański (2006) use the term “bourgeoisification” to denote the process of wealthier families and individuals moving to a neighbourhood inhabited by poorer residents or to an area formerly used by industry and trade.

3.4. Examples of current research on gentrification processes in Łódź

The topics addressed in research on gentrification in Łódź include, among others, residential shifts generated by the restoration and renewal of the housing by the city’s largest gentrifier – local gov-

ernment. Directions of removals of poorer residents of tenements, being displaced from inner city areas as a result of gentrification, are studied by A. Wolaniuk and J. Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz explores the process of studentification.

The actors causing gentrification processes in the central zone of Łódź include:

- 1) local authorities, which displace the residents of municipal tenement housing being renovated;
- 2) developers;
- 3) private owners of tenement buildings, who dislodge economically weaker tenants and replace them with middle-class residents;
- 4) private owners of tenements, who rent renovated flats (formerly occupied by displaced poorer residents or persons who died) to students, or open private student dormitories (lodging houses for students).

The housing stock in Łódź is among the oldest in Poland. The central zone of the city contains old tenement houses built at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, which were communalised after the World War II. Today, Łódź has the largest number of publicly-owned subsidised dwellings of all the cities in Poland. Of the 6108 residential buildings, as much as 51% are local authority housing (Table 3.1).

Before 30th June 2013 the residents of municipal tenements could buy their flats at a 90% discount; starting from 1st July 2013 the discount is 75%. Between January and May 2013 the Municipality of Łódź sold 1072 flats, and further 3000 were waiting for the decision. In 2012, 1979 council flats were sold. It is interesting to know that family members (including grandchildren) of a deceased resident of a municipal flat are entitled to buying this flat at a discounted price, which is likely to result in rejuvenation of the inner-city area, where better educated grandchildren will replace their grandparents.

Municipal housing is mainly located in the central part of Łódź – 22% of the subsidised housing stock is in the smallest inner-city

district called Śródmieście. The technical condition of municipal housing is very bad – the majority of the buildings have not had major repairs or renovations for several decades. Large flats were often divided after WW II into two or three smaller units, with common bathroom and toilet in the hall, and settled with people representing all social groups. Today, average floor space of a municipal flat is 44.2 m², while the average for a housing unit in Łódź is 53.6 m².

Table 3.1. Structure of housing in Łódź, 2010

| Number | Total in Łódź | Municipal property | | Currently being repaired | |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----|-----------------------------|-----|
| | | number | % | number | % |
| Residential buildings | 6 108 | 3 094 | 51 | 70 | 2.3 |
| Flats | 55 894 | 26 139* | 46 | 476 | 1.8 |

* Apart from 26 139 flats in buildings 100% municipality owned, municipal property includes 29 755 flats in condominiums.

Source: E. Kucharska-Stasiak et al. (2011).

Over time, the household structure changed – the children moved to block housing surrounding the inner city, and in consequence there were some flats about 100 m² occupied by only one person, who heated only one room. For this reason Łódź was put at the top of the priority list for large scale major repairs and modernisation of old buildings with budgetary funding (Korniłowicz 2009). At the beginning of the 21st century the city authorities started a wide-ranging programme of renovation of the municipal housing stock in the central part, promoted since 2011 under the name “Mia100kamienic” – City of (100) tenements.

The gentrification process is mainly taking place in the city centre – an area larger than the administrative district of Śródmieście, which has artificial boundaries not embracing the compact inner-city development. Thus, for the purposes of this analysis, a division of Łódź into 61 residential units (housing estates) has been adopted, with names that reflect their origins and are identifiable by local communities.

The tenement buildings from which residents have been displaced because of the poor technical condition of the flats are located in 10 housing estates. The tenants have been transferred to 31 estates (Figure 3.1), so there has been considerable dispersion of lower-income households which had occupied social housing or were behind with paying the rents. In 11 of the renovated tenements the residents did not have to move out because of the repair works. The buildings from which occupiers have been dislodged are in various parts of the inner city, which makes renovation works more difficult and costly. Further buildings designated for restoration in 2014 are located in their neighbourhood, which will result in revitalisation of entire urban blocks, thus improving the appearance of the city.

Table 3.2. Numbers of housing estates and tenement houses from which tenants were displaced between 2008–2013

| District | Number | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|---------|
| | housing estates | tenements | households | tenants |
| Śródmieście | 10 | 47 | 208 | 562 |
| Polesie | 2 | 19 | 250 | 601 |
| Widzew | 1 | 4 | 18 | 35 |
| Total | 13* | 70 | 476 | 1 198 |

* Including two housing estates belonging to Śródmieście and Polesie, and one housing estate situated in the districts Śródmieście and Widzew.

Źródło: own elaboration based on data from the Housing Section of the Infrastructure and Housing Department, City of Łódź Office, 15.06.2013.

By the end of July 2013, under the “Mia100kamienic” programme of inner-city revitalisation, residents of 70 tenement buildings (487 flats) had been displaced (Table 3.2). This study takes into account only those dislodged households which had accepted the accommodation offered by the municipality by 15th July 2013. Each of the families was offered a choice of a restored, modernised flat for their occupancy (renovated walls and floors), with central heating,

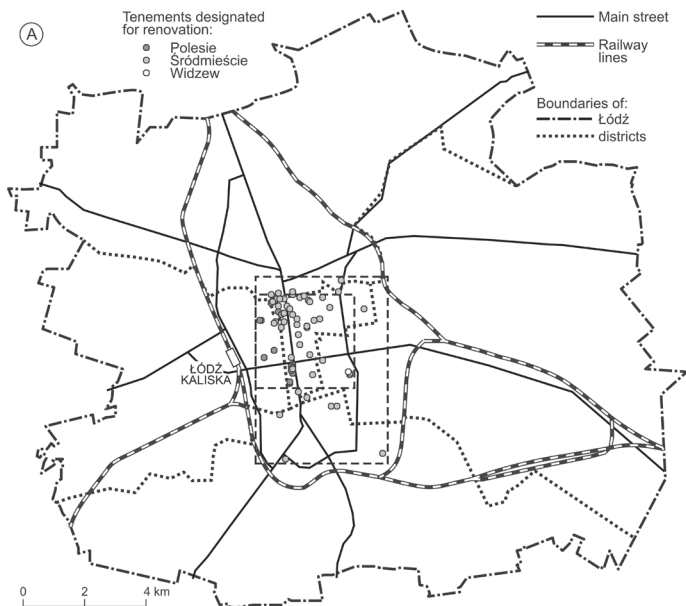


Figure 3.1A-B. Location of municipal housing, already restored and in the process of renovation, in Łódź, July 2013

Source: own elaboration

toilet and bathroom (which means a higher standard than in the previous flat), or one of two flats needing major repairs.

The greatest number of tenements (47) being renovated by the Housing Department of the district Śródmieście are in the northern part of the central zone of Łódź, in a housing estate (residential unit) called Nowe Miasto (New Town), built in 1821–1823. In this unit, 116 households (328 persons) were dislodged from 16 tenement buildings. 60 persons found accommodation in the same unit, 95 in the housing estate Centrum, 70 in Stare Miasto (Old Town), 16 persons in Zielona, and 22 in Żubardź. Thus, 86% of the displaced residents of Nowe Miasto were relocated to areas not far away from their former dwellings, and the remaining households moved to more distant units (Figure 3.2).

In the residential unit Centrum, 49 households (129 people) from 11 buildings under repair (including two tenements in the area of the Nowe Centrum Łodzi) were relocated to 13 residential units. 1/3 of the dislodged households found accommodation in other tenements in the same unit, and 27 persons moved to new apartment blocks built by the municipality in Olechów, 8 km away, but in a nice, green environment. 24 households (62 persons) were relocated from 5 tenements in Śródmieście to Centrum (24 persons) and to Nowe Miasto (9 persons).

The unit Zielona is administered by the Housing Department for Śródmieście and the Housing Department for Polesie. From 8 tenements being renovated in Śródmieście 12 households (24 persons) were relocated to Centrum, and from 11 tenements in Polesie 171 households (467 persons) were dislodged and accommodated in 25 residential units: 105 persons in Stare Miasto, 63 in Nowym Mieście, and 90 in Zielona. In the unit Politechniczna, 79 households (134 persons) were displaced from 8 tenements and moved to 19 units (35% of the residents to Nowe and Stare Miasto). In the housing estate Widzew, 4 former workers' houses in Księży Młyn, in the unit Fabryczna, are in the process of renovation. 18 of the 35 residents were moved to workers' houses in the same unit, and the remaining persons were accommodated in 9 much more distant units (Figure 3.2).

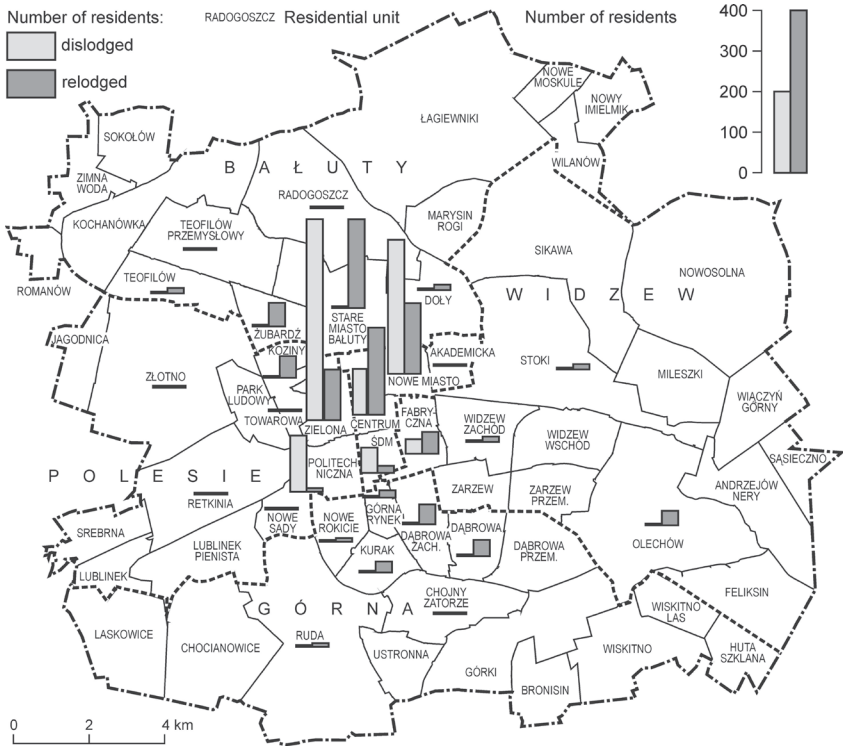


Figure 3.2. Spatial distribution of the dislodged and relocated tenants in residential units of Łódź, as of 15th July 2013

Source: own elaboration

To sum up, the greatest numbers of residents were displaced from Zielona (491 persons), Nowe Miasto (327), Politechniczna (135) and Centrum (133) (Figure 3.2). These residential units represent the progressive type of demographic development (Kieniewicz et al. 2002). The most persons found new residence in Stare Miasto (217), Centrum (213) and Zielona (125) – units also representing the progressive model of demographic development. A negative migration balance was noted in Zielona (-366 persons), Nowe Miasto (-155) and Politechniczna (-126). All the remaining residential

units (28) to which tenants were relocated had positive balance, with Stare Miasto (+217 persons) and Centrum (+80 persons) being top of the list, which had a positive effect on their demographic structure.

Table 3.3. The structure of dislodged households

| Number of household members | Number | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | in Śródmieście | | in Polesie | | in Widzew | | total | |
| | house-holds | persons | house-holds | persons | house-holds | persons | house-holds | persons |
| 1 | 50 | 50 | 84 | 84 | 8 | 8 | 142 | 142 |
| 2 | 54 | 108 | 58 | 116 | 4 | 8 | 116 | 232 |
| 3 | 44 | 132 | 60 | 180 | 5 | 15 | 109 | 327 |
| 4 | 37 | 148 | 30 | 120 | 1 | 4 | 68 | 272 |
| 5 | 18 | 90 | 13 | 65 | - | - | 31 | 155 |
| 6 | 2 | 12 | 4 | 24 | - | - | 6 | 36 |
| 7 | 2 | 14 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 14 |
| 8 | 1 | 8 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 8 |
| 12 | - | - | 1 | 12 | - | - | 1 | 12 |
| Total | 208 | 562 | 250 | 601 | 18 | 35 | 476 | 1 198 |

Source: own elaboration.

One-person households constituted the highest proportion (29.8%) of the 476 displaced households, two-person households – 24.4%, three-person households – 22.9%, and four-person households – 14.3%. There were only 31 households consisting of 5 persons, 6 households with 6 members, two – 7 members, one 8-person household and one 12-person household. Providing accommodation with central heating and sanitation facilities to so many one-person households presented a problem for local authorities, as less and less small flats are being constructed or evacuated.

Up to the present, 30 tenement houses in Łódź have been renovated and another 40 buildings are in the process of restoration and modernisation, which has already cost 150 million zlotys. 12 build-

ings with 166 flats are ready to be resettled. Of the 476 displaced families only 10 returned to their apartments at 32 Więckowskiego Street, and one family to 38 Legionów Street. Rent levels in the renovated buildings increased by 30%, the average level being now about 9 zlotys per 1 m².

Former tenants of social housing, those with rent arrears as well as those without a legal title to an apartment do not have the right to return. There are no social (subsidised) flats in the restored buildings, which will enhance their social status. In nearly all renovated buildings the ground floors of the front elevations are designated for service activity for creative persons with interesting business ideas, which should create new jobs. New tenants belong to the middle class, so we are witnessing a process of gentrification – displacement of low-income residents and influx of more affluent population.

The new residents include students, who form one of the groups generating gentrification processes. The students are referred to as “apprentice” gentrifiers, and the process itself has been called studentification (Grzeszczak 2010). The issue of studentification has already been addressed by Polish researchers.

Universities have always had strong influence on the spatial development of cities (Wolaniuk 2010), and students cause transformation of their housing stocks (Zborowski 2005). The impact of students on urban development has been investigated by a number of Polish academic centres. For example, the “consumption” of the city by students in Poznań is described by W. Gaczek et al. (2006), and M. Murzyn-Kupisz et al. (2012) have explored the studentification processes and their effect on the space of Cracow and Tricity.

Studentification in Łódź has not so far been the subject of academic study, although its 120 thousand student community potentially generates such processes. The students in Łódź constitute more than 16.5% of its total population. Łódź, having in the inter-war period a population of over 600 thousand, did not have higher education institutions until after the World War II. After 1990, over twenty new private schools for higher education appeared in the city.

The student population in Łódź supplements the decreasing number of its residents – in the years 1988–2011 the city lost 130 thousand people as a result of migration and natural decrease of population. The majority of the students come from outside Łódź. Only a small proportion of them, from far-away locations, lodge in student dormitories. The majority rents flats in the city, possibly close to their schools. They generate processes leading to spatial and social changes in the city.

To examine the location and types of accommodation occupied by students from outside Łódź, and find out who are providers of rented accommodation, and whether we are actually witnessing the process of studentification, a survey was conducted in 2013 on a group of 1100 students representing four higher education institutions in Łódź, proportionally to the size of their student body. The schools selected for the purposes of this study are Łódź's two largest educational establishments: University of Łódź (about 40 000 students) and Łódź Technical University (about 20 000 students), and two art schools: the Higher School of Film, Television and Theatre (about 1100 students) and the Academy of Fine Arts (1200 students). The majority of students in these institutions come from outside Łódź, e.g. in 2013 the University of Łódź had 62% of such students.

The survey covered non-resident persons not living in student dormitories and Łódź residents who did not live with their parents. The latter group accounted for 14.3% of the respondents. The majority of the respondents (56.2%) were from the Łódź voivodship, 27.2% were from other locations in Poland, and 2.4 % came from abroad. All of them rented or owned/co-owned apartments in the city.

The respondents were young adults, of whom 76% were on Bachelor level courses of study, and the rest were studying for a Master's degree. A small percentage of the students were married (2.5%) or lived with a partner (4.8%). 1.2% had children, usually one (66%).

For 62% of the respondents studying was their sole occupation, the rest was also working, either occasionally (over 20%) or

on a regular basis (less than 9%). Sources of income included family (nearly 50%), occasional or steady work (over 21%), and scholarships (15.5).

Average monthly income as reported by the respondents mostly was not more than 1000 zlotys (nearly 50%), and much more rarely between 1000 and 1600 zlotys. Only 6.5% reported income above 1600 zlotys, which included less than 3% with income above 2000.

As regards the type of accommodation, flats in block housing were the most popular type (Figure 3.3), and in the second place were flats in tenement houses. These two types of dwellings were chosen by over 95% of all the respondents.

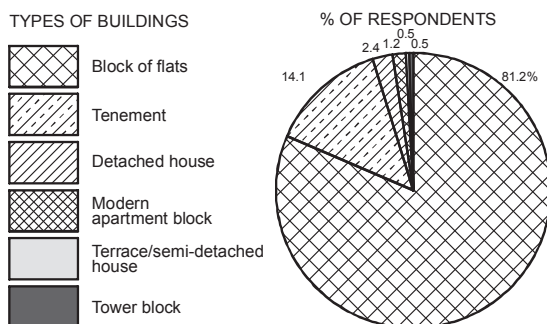


Figure 3.3. Types of buildings in which the respondents live

Source: own elaboration

The popularity of renting apartments in block housing in peripheral housing estates is connected with availability of such flats and reasonable rent levels – between 700–800 zlotys and 1000–1400 zlotys. In the case of flats in tenement housing in the inner-city area the rents are from 1000 zlotys for a room with a kitchen to 2000 and more for a three-room flat.

Rented accommodation provides competition for student dormitories, which, incidentally, are very few. The price of a single room in a dormitory is 490 zlotys a month, a place in a three-person room

costs 270 zlotys. A well-equipped apartment in the city can be rented cheaper if the cost is shared by a group of lodgers.

2.9% of the respondents lived in a detached house or a terrace, and only 1.4% in an apartment block. 75% of the rented flats did not need any repairs and the standard was reported as satisfactory.

Most of the respondents (over 77%) rented flats from strangers, and only 10.8% from a friend (Figure 3.4). Every tenth person letting a flat was its owner or the flat was owned by the spouse.

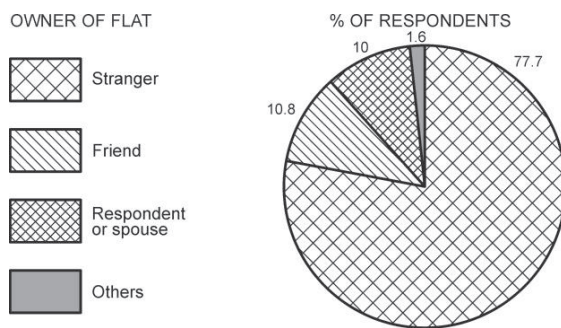


Figure 3.4. Owners of the rented/occupied flats

Source: own elaboration

Students generally preferred two (51.7%) or three (23.5%) rooms with a kitchen, more rarely one room with a kitchen (12%). Rented apartments were usually occupied by several persons, mostly two (31.5%), three (31.7%) or four (20%). Only in 10% of the cases it was one person. The co-lodgers were friends (nearly 70%), partners, strangers or spouses.

Over 24% of the respondents rented flats located in main streets in the central part of the city (or close to the centre) (Figure 3.5): Piotrkowska (3%), Narutowicza (2.5%), Wojska Polskiego (1.8%), Zgierska (1.5%), Pomorska (1.2%), Rewolucji 1905 r. (1%) and Kopcińskiego (1%). No concentrations of student lodgers have been identified, which is due to their preference for apartment blocks outside the city centre.

pensive cafes, pubs, small supermarkets of well-known chains, or copy shops.

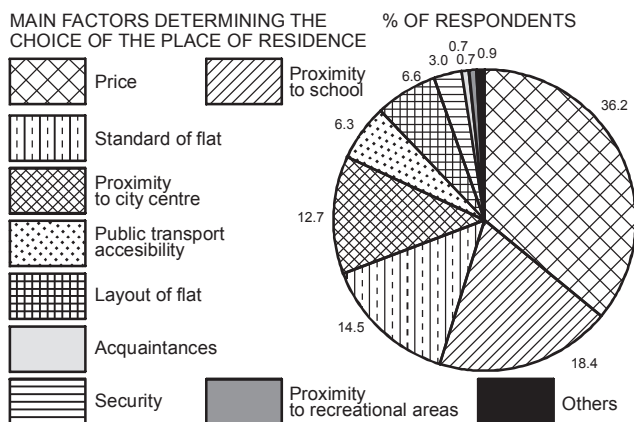


Figure 3.6. Main factors determining the choice of residence

Source: own elaboration

In central areas are also located subsidised local authority flats intended for students. This is a new local government initiative addressed to the best students selected by the authorities of Łódź's higher education establishments. The flats are in renovated municipal tenements with low rent levels.

Students are changing the demographic and social structure of Łódź. The city is gaining residents, mostly young and well-educated. Some of them stay only for the duration of their studies, others stay for good. Local communities in locations with student tenants benefit, too, because some services aimed specifically at students appear in these locations. Also, flats are being renovated with a view to renting them to this group of potential tenants.

This study shows that there are no large concentrations of students in the space of Łódź (apart from student dormitories), which indicates that studentification processes in Łódź are in the initial phase.

3.5. Conclusions

Due to the fact that gentrification is a phenomenon of a global nature, it was considered important to survey it in post-socialist city. Both scientific literature and research in Central Europe have appeared only recently therefore it was decided to examine the gentrification in Łódź. It turned out that the gentrification processes in Łódź are in the initial phase and they are carried out mostly by the local authorities, developers, private tenement owners. In Łódź academic centre a certain part in the gentrification process is played by students who choose as their residence the peripheral housing estates and the old, renovated tenements in the inner-city of Łódź.

The perspective of further studies of gentrification in Łódź would be to trace the displacement of the middle class within the city, as well as the influx of new gentrifiers.

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